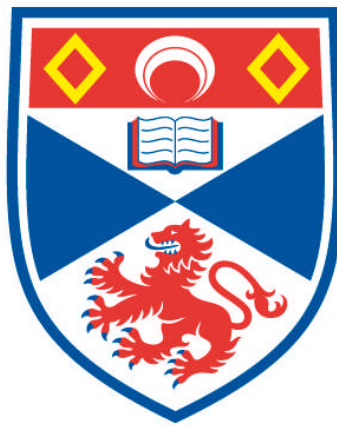


**CONCILIAR POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE
REIGN OF HENRY VII**

Lisa L. Ford

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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University of St. Andrews

April 2001




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ABSTRACT

Since Elton's commentary on the absence of critical study of the early Tudor council in 1964, some progress has been made towards a wider, fuller, more detailed understanding of Henry VII's council and where it fits—or does not—into the development of council under the Tudors. However, the early Tudor council remains something of an enigma. Added to that is recent interest by late medieval historians in just how much power Henry VII exercised in the operation of his councils. Was Henry ruling, or were his bureaucratic counsellors ruling him? A reexamination of the various Elizabethan/Jacobean council extracts, as well as the examination of data contained in a wide variety of primary documents, such as the chamber account books, petitions, privy seal warrants and view books, provides evidence with which to suggest a more precisely defined and better organized council than that previously established for the first Tudor monarch, and also to demonstrate that Henry VII was actively involved in the business of the protean forms of that council, at Westminster or away. This thesis hopefully advances the picture of the conciliar and administrative matrix which was governing under Henry VII, its component parts, including an embryonic privy council, the personnel of that council, the systems through which conciliar business was developed, and the king's position at the head of that council in the most literal sense.

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Abbreviations

Add. MS	Additional Manuscripts, British Museum
BL	British Library, London.
<i>CIPM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analagous documents: Henry VII</i> (3 Vols; London, 1898-1955).
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry VII</i> (2 Vols; London, 1955-63).
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VII</i> (2 Vols; London, 1914-16).
<i>CSP Milan</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the archives of Milan</i> , ed. A. B. Hinds, (London, 1912).
<i>CSP Spanish and CSP Spanish, Supp</i>	<i>Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain</i> , ed. G.A. Bergenroth (13 Vols.; London, 1862-1954)
<i>CSP Venetian</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice</i> , ed. R. Brown, (38 Vols.; London, 1864-1947).
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. Leslie Stephen and Stanley Lee (63 vols; London, 1885-1900).
DL	Duchy of Lancaster
EETS	Early English Text Society
f(f)	folio(s)

HL EL	Ellesmere MSS Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
PRO	Public Record Office, London.
<i>RP</i>	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> (6 Vols.; London, 1767-77).
REQ	Requests
SP	State Papers
<i>STC</i>	<i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640</i> eds. W.A.Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer (3 vols., London, 1986-91)
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
YCA	York City Archives

Notes on Quotations and References

All quotations taken from primary sources retain the original spelling. Proper names have been modernized, as have the names of places in the itinerary. Where a manuscript has been damaged or is not fully legible, the reconstruction or blank space is indicated with [square brackets]. All dates are by the modern calendar, with year ending 31 December.

Manuscripts

Manuscripts in the PRO and BL often contain several sets of page or foliation numbers, so the following are specific guidelines:

- ◆ BL Cotton MS Julius Bxii: numbers cited are the later set of foliation numbers added in the same handwriting as that used for the table of contents.
- ◆ HL EL 2652: the numbers used are the large folio numbers written on the top center of the *recto* pages.
- ◆ Requests 1/1: the numbers used are the large printed numbers on the upper corner of the *recto* pages.
- ◆ PRO E404: the documents are not uniformly numbered. Where they exist, numbers have been given for great clarification, but within the files such as E404/81, individual warrants may not have numbers on them and are thus identified by the file number.
- ◆ DL 5/2 and 5/4: numbers used are the large printed numbers on the upper corner of the *recto* pages.
- ◆ PRO E36/214: the numbers used are the large printed folio numbers on the upper corner of the *recto* pages.
- ◆ The household account books, E101/412-416 inclusive are very indifferently numbered, some with page numbers, some with folio numbers. I have numbered them

according to the style found in each book, with a preference for folio numbers in books which had both.

◆ E404 does not have each piece numbered individually, and some of the files also contain specifically numbered divisions by year. I have provided these specifications wherever possible.

Introduction

Since Elton's commentary on the absence of critical study of the early Tudor council in 1964 in 'Why the History of the Early Tudor Council Remains Unwritten' and the dangers inherent in pursuit of that study, further progress has been made towards a wider, fuller, more detailed understanding of Henry VII's council and where it fits--or does not--into the development of council under the Tudors.¹ In 1975, Elton himself, in his series of essays on Tudor government, praised the work of John Guy on Wolsey's Star Chamber, Dale Hoak on Edward VI's council, and M.B. Pulman on the Elizabethan council, for offering new and significant contributions to the literature on council under the Tudors, with some valuable, if brief commentary on Henry VII's council.²

From that time, tantalizing pieces have been added to the puzzle that is Henry's council in its protean forms. Elton expected Margaret Condon's forthcoming contributions on Henry VII's council to be useful, and so they have proven.³ David Starkey has added further commentary on privy council, via the rise of privy chamber from Henry VII's physical adjustments to his housing in 1495, and John Guy has also addressed the development of privy council as well as provided a precise synopsis of

¹ *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government: Papers and Reviews 1946-1972* (Cambridge, 1974) i, pp. 308-338. Article first published in 1964, in *Annali della Fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, i (Milan, 1964). All page references in this thesis are from *Studies*.

² G.R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: the points of contact. ii, The Council' in *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, iii (Cambridge, 1983), p. 21, n. 43. Article first published in 1975 in *TRHS*, Fifth series, 25 (1975), pp. 195-211. All page references in this thesis are from *Studies*.

³ For M. M. Condon, see 'Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII', in C. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 109-142 and 'An Anachronism with Intent? Henry VII's Council Ordinance of 1491/2', in R. A. Griffith and J. Sherborne (eds.), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 228-253.

the reign in his *Tudor England*.⁴ These efforts have added new dimensions to a council flatly dismissed by S.B. Chrimes as an undifferentiated unit.⁵ Starkey contributes the picture of a large and diverse council that used much of the same personnel, but in its operation divided into smaller units, such as council in star chamber, which 'led substantially separate lives'.⁶ Guy and Condon both definitively separate the Council Learned from the king's plenary council, while Gunn's recent overview offers the opinion that the route to a privy council with specifically defined membership, the central institution of later Tudor governance, 'is far from clear'.⁷

But, as Starkey emphasises, perhaps the most striking comment of earlier Tudor historians of the council was that of A.F. Pollard, who commented in 1922 that the development of the council and the history of fiscal administration under the Tudors should be traced through the household books and ordinances: the classic approach to the history of government, which is studied through the formal documents it generates.⁸ Starkey's focus on the importance of privy chamber development and the shifts in its personnel which led to the shaping of the later Tudor privy council has become familiar territory, and synthesises with the meshing of 'institutions, ideas and individuals' which John Guy calls for in reexamining the sixteenth century, a move away from bureaucratic and institutionalized focus to the dynamics of politics and political process via the actions and influence of the prime movers, as well as political

⁴ For John Guy, see 'The Privy Council: Revolution or Evolution?' in C. Coleman and D. Starkey (eds.), *Revolution Reassessed* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 59-85, and *Tudor England*, (Oxford, 1988), Chapters One and Three specifically; D. Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility in Tudor England' in R. G. Asch and A.M. Birke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: the Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 175-204.

⁵ S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London, 1972), pp. 97-98.

⁶ Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility', pp. 176-77.

⁷ Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 67; S. J. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 48-49.

⁸ A.F. Pollard, 'Council, Star Chamber and Privy Council under the Tudors. i. The Council', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), pp. 337-340; Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility', p. 175.

writing and its influences, a direction which Stephen Alford tracks as the most significant development of Tudor history in recent historiography.⁹

More than perhaps any other of the Tudors, Henry VII could benefit greatly from a serious effort to infuse individuals and ideas back into the institutions of government, while at the same time attempting a reexamination of those institutions. Henry is currently every sixth-former's and undergraduate's bane, the boring, clerkish king best known for his ability to balance a ledger, with only Steven Gunn producing an article which put such a human face on Henry and his court as to enable Stephen Alford to comment 'Characters like Henry VII now appear less willing to sign accounts...and more determined to encourage a vibrant court'.¹⁰ Just as the early Tudor army was the household on the march, the early Tudor council was the household as advisory board, legal counsel and fiscal agents, and the busy hub of Henry's governance.

Disconnected from this piecemeal pursuit of the council is a second issue that has recently been the focus of late-medieval historians rather than Tudor-Stuart specialists, namely the involvement in, and authority of, the king over his council. In particular, John Watts' essay in *The Reign of Henry VII*, the proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium, a gathering focused on medieval history, asks specifically, 'Was England governed by councils in the reign of Henry VII?'.¹¹ Watts protests the Eltonian idea that that 'intensification' or 'renovation' of existing systems under Henry VII could have been accomplished without affecting the political structures,

⁹ S. Alford, 'Politics and Political History in the Tudor Century', *The Historical Journal*, 42, 2 (1999), p. 535.

¹⁰ Alford, 'Politics and Political History', p. 548.

¹¹ J.L. Watts, 'A New Foundation of his Crowne': Monarchy in the Age of Henry VII' in B. Thompson (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, V, p. 49.

and that this adjustment may fall under the head of 'constitutional' change.¹² In particular, Watts states 'just as the "departments of state" went (in part) "out of court", so royal power went (also in part) out of the royal person, to be vested in officers, in lords, in communities, in laws'.¹³ In other words, the expansion of the bureaucracy that produced entities such as the Council Learned and the likes of Empson and Dudley, also leached power or the exercise of power from the monarch.

The question of Henry's personal role in government has become an issue for debate in the past few decades; prior to that there seems less question as to Henry's officiousness, involvement in policy-making and administration, and exercise of executive power. Pickthorn, writing in 1934, perceived Henry as fully in control of his council, stating that he had, and exercised, the power to choose his own ministers, consult them at will and take what advice he pleased from those outside his nominal council; Pickthorn insists the council existed 'to enable the king to do what he ought; not to decide what the king ought to do'.¹⁴ This approach remained influential. Elton, in *England Under the Tudors*, states that Henry's council was 'more primitive and less organized' than the consolidated council which ruled Richard II, but says 'The one qualification which embraced them all was that the king had chosen them: they were his men and did his will'.¹⁵ R.L. Storey, in his 1968 biography of Henry, declared that though conciliar 'committees' probably exercised some initiative, the matters being referred to them, and their proposed measures 'rested, as always, on the final decision of the king'.¹⁶ In a less complimentary turn, B.P. Wolffe, in 1971, said Henry suffered from 'an inability to delegate responsibility', a product of his 'brooding

¹² Watts, 'Newe Ffundacion', p. 32.

¹³ Watts, 'Newe Ffundacion', p. 34.

¹⁴ K. Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VII* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 29-31.

¹⁵ G.R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London; reprint, 1965), p. 61.

¹⁶ R. L. Storey, *The Reign of Henry VII* (New York, 1968), p. 99.

suspicion of impending treachery', a statement which gives Henry the credit for personal supervision of government but robs him of any complimentary aspect to such a policy.¹⁷

What seems a subtle new direction emerges in Penry Williams' brief comments in *The Tudor Regime*, published in 1979: Williams argued that Henry's financial administrators effectively controlled the royal finances, and 'exercised significant influence and power' not because of any major office, but 'because they had specific and personal authority from the king', a statement which seems at one and the same time to grant Henry singular power in appointing and maintaining a cadre of his councillors, and yet does not establish the king's direct personal influence, a step in the direction of Watts' arguments.¹⁸ Christine Carpenter, the most recent contributor to the Henrician legacy, supports the idea of the 'institutionalization of many of the personal aspects of the monarchy', claims Henry VII's administrative men wielded 'enormous power', and suggests the king's personal rule was not so personal as traditionally accepted.¹⁹ Carpenter strongly expresses her support for Watts' ideas, particularly that Henry allowed greater leeway and more power to his bureaucrats, and gave up a measure of personal kingship, or never really got a grip on it in the first place.

This thesis will thus deal with institutions, individuals and ideas as much as possible, to enlarge our understanding of Henry's council. It will trace the development of offices, systems and 'traditions' of council in order to demonstrate a

¹⁷ B. P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509* (London, 1971), p. 195.

¹⁸ P. Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 422-3. Williams' comments are made even more interesting by his point that these men were not great officers or members of the nobility or clergy, but professional lawyers who were essentially members of the king's household. This ties in strongly with the notion of their place as the king's personal 'baronial' men of business.

council with a more precise organization than has previously been conjectured. It will attempt to identify more clearly the men involved in those manifestations, their singular personalities and political roles, and their place in the effective operation of governance under the first Tudor. It will incorporate political theory and literature of the time period to pursue ideas which may offer some insight into Henry VII's actions, or the influences on those with whom he was surrounded.

Chapter 1 will attempt to reexamine the extracts of council in conjunction with several other sources, in order to put a more precise form to the king's council attendant, or what might be called his 'privy council', the men whose service in the day to day development of policy with the king, as well as those whose informal council was invaluable to Henry. This chapter will demonstrate the reliance on the court as council, and the dominance of the court and great officers in policy-making, and administrative business.

Chapter 2 will broaden the picture to the plenary council, that body which met in Westminster, and increasingly at All Hallows, and there 'reviewed' the work of the privy council on issues important to the political community at large, approved their efforts, and offered input for future debate or refinement of issues. The composition of the council will be discussed, with particular attention to the role of the nobles and the prevalence of councillors with present and past household connections. The way in which conciliar business is developed from informal discussions between the king and councillors, the privy councillors and then the plenary council, with the occasional eye to Parliamentary statutes will be traced from the various records extant.

¹⁹ C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses; Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 246-7.

Chapter 3 will focus on the most highly refined expression of Henry's council organization, his Council Learned in the Law, and reexamine the reputations and roles of some of its better and lesser known participants. The Council's primary use as a means of persuasion and enforcement in the matter of the king's debts, and the complex system through which the chamber provided and oversaw the business of Council Learned will be examined in detail. Finally, Chapter 4 will discuss more specific refinements and expansion of the council matrix, particularly in reference to administrative and fiscal business, and the development of these measures emanating from the king's desire for control and accountability.

Throughout each chapter, this thesis will provide evidence of the king's interaction with, and place in, the power structure, through the presentation of data collected from a wide variety of primary documents: signatures from inquisitions post mortem, petitions, grants and privy seal warrants, 'conversations' culled from the memoranda of the king's chamber account books, collection and audit books for several of the fiscal and legal servants of the king, orders and decrees, chamber accounts, recognisances, signed bills, and view books, and argue that these elements of the administrative system demonstrate the king's active, willing and consistent participation in the fiscal and administrative business of his realm, while conciliar extracts, correspondence, ambassadorial letters, corporation and guild council minutes and proclamations demonstrate his direction of policy-making. It will argue that though the king may not have been present at all meetings of his council, he was never far behind them in an understanding of the issues going forward. The aim of this thesis overall is to try to take understanding of Henry's council, in its protean forms, another step beyond that developed since Elton's gentle reminder that more needed to be done to rescue the early Tudor Council from its eclipse.

Chapter One:

Henry VII and 'Privy' Council

S.B. Chrimes, in his book on Henry VII, insisted that 'nothing could be more obvious than the essential unity and flexibility of the council throughout the reign...there was no "whole" council, no "privy" council, no "inner" council, no "attendant" council...'.¹ To Chrimes, the king's council and its councillors retained an essential fluidity in their roles, and councillors might be obliged to pursue any aspect of the business of council and governance in any form, at any time, and Chrimes further argued that committees or specialized courts should not be invented from the records extant.² Finally, Chrimes argued that examining Henry VII's council in reference to Henry VIII's was to indulge in Whiggish determinism by trying to trace earlier developments from the later ones, and that Henry VII 'was no great innovator'.³

At the time of Chrimes' pronouncements, the works of Sir Geoffrey Elton were still his principal source for these opinions, and the predominant influence on the issue of Tudor government. Elton's review of the Bayne and Dunham volume *Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII* dismisses that book's tendency to distinguish judicial activities as a precisely defined 'Court of Star Chamber' in the Elizabethan style, while *England Under the Tudors* essentially confines commentary on Henry VII's council to claims that he was no innovator in the way he selected his

¹ S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London, 1972), pp. 97-98.

² Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 98-99. Chrimes objected to Somerville calling Council Learned 'a committee of the council', and compares it to historians making the same mistake in conjecturing a 'court of Star Chamber' from the use of a chamber by that name as a location for business.

³ Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 98-99, 319. This charge is argued against by D. Starkey in 'Court and Government' in C. Coleman and D. Starkey (eds.), *Revolution Reassessed* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 30-31, specifically in regard to the development of the privy chamber.

councillors; a council composed of nobles, prelates and 'new men' personally selected by the king had pre-Lancastrian antecedents.⁴

This chapter will argue that Henry VII's council can be perceived as much more differentiated than that proposed by Chrimes and Elton. By separating the extracts of the Early Tudor council registers relative to Henry VII contained in the Ellesmere, Hargrave, Harleian and Lansdowne documents according to dates of meeting and size of attendance lists, this chapter will attempt to show the court operating as a more specialized or 'institutional' body handling judicial causes and debate on policy, and to suggest the roots, if not the formalization, of a 'privy' council may be found in the reign of the first Tudor king.⁵ It will examine the meetings of Henry's 'privy' council within a larger matrix of court, council and administration, and demonstrate the king's intense and well-informed interaction with, and awareness of, the business of this body. This chapter defines the 'privy council' of Henry VII as meetings of generally 20 men or less who served the king as advisors and judges on a day to day basis, and who were essentially Henry's court as council, with a membership primarily of great officers, household officers or courtiers. Once this is done, one can begin to envision a far more effective and defined conciliar structure than that suggested by the model of a massive, amorphous council with the undefined roles and inflated numbers commonly mooted by historians.⁶

⁴ G.R. Elton, *England Under The Tudors* (London, 1955; 2nd edition, 1977), pp. 44-45.

⁵ G.R. Elton, 'Why the History of the Early Tudor Council Remains Unwritten', in *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government: Papers and Reviews 1946-1972* (Cambridge, 1974), i, pp. 312-13.

⁶ J. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 10-11, and Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 102 both bring forward the number of 227 councillors for the course of the reign, as provided by *Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII*, eds. C.G. Bayne and W.H. Dunham (Selden Society, 75; London, 1958), pp. xix-xxii. Condon provides a figure of 240 identified by the title of councillor or mentioned as attending council during the reign, but discusses the danger of 'councillor-counting' in attempting to give definitive numbers. M.M. Condon, 'An Anachronism with Intent? Henry VII's Council Ordinance of 1491/2', in R. A. Griffith and J. Sherborne (eds.), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 231-2.

In attempting to extrapolate roles or patterns for Henry, his councillors, or their business from the extant council extracts, one must acknowledge the difficulties. In order to avoid the well-rehearsed errors of earlier historians, who relied solely 'on small samples of record material', and yet still attempt advance historical knowledge about the council, its councillors, and its operation, an attempt has been made to incorporate as much additional information from varied resources as possible.⁷ Complete council registers for Henry VII no longer exist, and so the historian must rely on extracts collected in a variety of volumes by early modern antiquarians and clerks. In total, these collections offer extracts for approximately 200 days of council meetings over the course of a 24-year reign, with the majority of those days falling prior to 1497.⁸

Fortunately, the extracts mostly appear to corroborate each other, with occasional differences in dating and wording, and variations in attendance lists.⁹ The extracts are further limiting when one acknowledges that they were probably collected according to personal and particular criteria, demonstrated by Sir Thomas Egerton's index of extracts from the registers in the Ellesmere papers, which included the heading 'Matters of State', 'Decree agaynst a Lawyre for giving ill

⁷ J. Guy, *The Cardinal's Court* (Hassocks, 1977) p. 1, for quotation, and Chapter One for a discussion of the limitations of the extracts and errors in Star Chamber history perpetuated by early modern antiquarians and clerks using the records to produce biased commentaries. R. Virgoe, 'The Recovery of the Howards in East Anglia, 1485-1529', in E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht and J.J. Scarisbrick (eds.), *Wealth and Power in Tudor England* (London, 1978), pp. 2-3 for an example of commentary by historians on the dearth of private correspondence for Henry VII's reign.

⁸ A tally of the days from HL EL MSS 2652, 2654, 2655 and 2768 and BL MSS Hargrave 216, Harley 305, and Lansdowne 160 and 639. 32 extracts are dated post-1497.

⁹ J.A. Guy, 'Wolsey's Star Chamber: a study in archival reconstruction', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5 (1975), pp. 169-180, provides an excellent discussion of the nature of the Ellesmere extracts, the identities, when known, of their compilers, and their apparent accuracy. On issues where controversy does arise, one has to judge by the amount of corroborative evidence. For example, within the Ellesmere MSS themselves, one can find an issue, war with Ireland, in HL EL MS 2652 12r and 2655, f 6r-v dated December 1505, while HL EL 2768 ff 10r-v, puts it in amongst issues apparently dated 1506. BL Hargrave MS 216, f 153r, and BL Harley MS 305, f 40r both provide the date of 1506. S.G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community and the Conflict of*

Consell', 'Damages and Coste to the party wronged and how to be levyed', and other sections indicative of his agenda for sorting issues.¹⁰

Collections of extracts also do not follow precise patterns. For example, in British Library Hargrave MS 216, the dates on extracts veer back and forth even on a single page. An entry for 1490-1 (6 Henry VII) is at the top of folio 146v, after entries for 1485-6 (1 Henry VII) and before entries for 1487-8 (3 Henry VII). On folios 148v-149r, entries shift from November 1494 to May the same year, to November 1492, to June 1493, though entries for 1493-4 are also inscribed in folio 148r. The Ellesmere extracts also demonstrate this curious mix of back-and-forth dating, with entries dated 1506 and 1503 on one folio page, followed by entries from 1505 and 1504 on the next folio page, and perhaps even pages shuffled in the wrong order.¹¹ The PRO catalogue states in its entry for the first book of orders and decrees for the Court of Requests under Henry VII, that the book is 'misbound with confused date order', and the book contains penciled notes throughout guiding the reader to entries for the same time period which are contained in earlier or later pages.¹²

A further observation pertinent to identifying 'privy' council, is the caution that the persons transcribing the records in the Elizabethan or Jacobean period may have created composite attendance lists. An example is found in HL EL MS 2654 which lists meetings for 11, 20 and 23 November 1503 grouped together under one heading, and at which a total of 23 councillors are named, and the business at hand is

Cultures, 1470-1603 (New York, 1985), pp. 91, 98 offers external evidence for dating this issue to 1506.

¹⁰ HL EL MS 2652, ff 3v, 5r-6r.

¹¹ After examination of HL EL MS 2768, it is possible to conjecture that the rearrangement of ff 8 and 9 would create a slightly better sequence, but even so, the entries are still out of order. There is also an odd jump in PRO DL 5/2, ff 18v-20r. The entry at the bottom of 18v appears to be finished at the top of 20r, and the entries go from Easter 1501 on 18v, to Trinity 1500 and Michaelmas 1500 on 19r, and Hilary 1501 on 19v, or what should be 19v, as the corner of the page where the stamped number would be is missing.

the Merchants Tailors' patent from the king. This extract states the Mayor and City of London were given a day to appear, voice objections and show evidence why the king could not make such a grant, and Chief Justice Fineux appeared before the council to discuss the finer points of the King's patent to the Merchant Tailors.¹³ However, in an extract from HL EL MS 2655, at which 17 councillors are listed as attending, the entry is dated only 11 November, and it refers only to a day being given to the Mayor and City of London to appear in the cause stated above.¹⁴ Consequently, when looking for the actions of 'privy' council, this chapter will concentrate on singular extracts which list 20 people or less, in order to try and distinguish the smaller council from the greater.¹⁵

The extracts for which we have attendance lists which satisfy this criterion almost exclusively present the council meeting at times when the king was resident at Westminster or nearby; additionally, they appear to fall for the most part within the law terms. When Bishop Fox retired from office in 1516, he wrote to Wolsey, "*when the terme is done, kepe the Counsell with the Kyngis grace wherso euer he be*", so Henry and his council may have felt the keeping of term was of high priority, particularly with a king as peripatetic as Henry.¹⁶ Some of these sessions appear to fall as much as a week or two out of the law terms, but these deviations may be due to law terms extending outside the broad guidelines given by the *Handbook of*

¹² PRO REQ 1/1. See Appendix I, p. 237, dates for April and May, to understand the way in which the pages range back and forth.

¹³ HL EL MS 2654, f 18v.

¹⁴ HL EL MS 2655, f 2r.

¹⁵ Numbers compiled from HL EL MSS 2654, ff 1r-22r; 2655, ff 1r-6v; 2768, ff 2r-7r; BL Lansdowne MS 639, ff 23v-24v; BL Harley MS 305, ff 26r-40r.

¹⁶ P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.), *Letters of Richard Fox 1486-1527* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 82-4. The italics are added for this thesis.

Dates.¹⁷ Further reason is suggested by the council ordinances for the regency council of 1492, which directed the council to confine their business to term times, with the exception of ‘such thing as is for the good of the king and of his land, and such as requireth necessarily [sic] and hasty spede...’.¹⁸

Using the general boundaries for the law terms established by the *Handbook of Dates*, it is possible to identify five instances in which ‘privy’ council may have been ‘out of term’. However, three of those cases may arguably still fall within term if one takes the guidelines as general and flexible. In reference to council meetings of 19 and 20 May, 1496, using the *Handbook of Dates* guidelines, the meeting of the 19th would have fallen on the last day of term, and that of the 20th would have fallen on the day immediately after the presumed end of term. The meeting of 26 February, 1498, would have fallen four days outside the general guidelines for law term dates, but within certain parameters given by the *Handbook*.¹⁹ Another meeting of 3 December, 1506, would have fallen just one day past the general guidelines for the end of term.²⁰

The first instance which demonstrates a major deviation from the law terms occurred in March and April 1486, and featured ‘Divers Sittings in the Star Chamber, and no presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal nor other Bishops, but 14 other Lords and several other persons’.²¹ Using the calendars mentioned above, Easter term would presumably not have begun until 12th April of that year, so the

¹⁷ *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, eds. C.R. Cheney and M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 99-101, sets the approximate boundaries of the law terms as: Michaelmas term, 6 October to 1 December; Hilary term, 20 January to occasionally as late as 22 February; Easter term, from 15 days after Easter to the morrow of the Ascension, both variant dates; and Trinity, from the octave of Trinity Sunday, a variant date, to 14 July. Dates for these last two terms have been ascertained and applied for this thesis using the calendars in the *Handbook*, pp. 155-225.

¹⁸ Condon, ‘Anachronism’, p. 246. This is article 12 of 20 in this document.

¹⁹ *Handbook*, p. 99, states the term always ended before Lent, and different lengths of terms were determined by differing dates for Lent. In 1498, Lent began on 28 February, therefore the 26th was the last day before Shrove Tuesday and the Lenten season. *Ibid*, pp. 205-5.

²⁰ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r for 19-20 May 1496; BL Lansdowne MS 160, f 309r for 26 February, 1498; BL Hargrave MS 216, f 153r and BL Harley MS 305, f 40r for 3 December 1506.

council appears to have been deliberately sitting out of term, for reasons which will be discussed later in this chapter. The second clearly deviant extract, dated 28 July 1496 specifically states the meeting is 'out of term', and the Chancellor sat in judgment, on his own, and at Lambeth.²²

When 'privy' council kept the law terms in order to carry on judicial business, it seems likely they sat at Westminster. If so, then the registers from which Sir Thomas Egerton and other antiquarians jotted their notes of council were probably those used for Star Chamber business, and simply used as well to record the business of larger plenary councils and smaller 'privy' councils in judicial mode. Westminster was still the site for the business of the kingdom. It was the royal residence in London, and Colvin's book on *The King's Works* mentions the Star Chamber and a separate Council Chamber which likely provided the meeting place for the various forms of the council, and continued to do so until the fire of 1512 reduced Westminster palace to a place mainly for celebrations and meetings of the various legal courts.²³ The undifferentiated nature of the records, such as HL EL MS 2654, which shows both the judicial and policy-making business of the king's council being implemented in a single meeting, further suggests single sets of books. However, it composite entries may have been created by the antiquarians. For example, a meeting of 13 May 1488, attended by 20 councillors, discussed messages from Ireland as well as the *Intercursus*, and heard two judicial causes.²⁴ It is also possible to find a plenary meeting of 40 councillors, in November and December 1488, hearing judicial cases and discussing state matters, such as sending an embassy to Spain and establishing

²¹ HL EL 2652, f 1v.

²² BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r. The king was in the south, in Dorset. See Appendix I, p. 240.

²³ H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, iv, pt. ii (London, 1982), pp. 286-88.

²⁴ HL EL MS 2654, f 10r.

trade and communications with Flanders.²⁵ Equally, one can find extracts which show the 'privy' council occupied purely with judicial business, and the plenary council occupied purely with state matters, and it is difficult to judge whether this is record consolidation or Elton's 'unreformed' council.²⁶

The records of the Court of Requests, which generally maintained close attendance on the king, appear to be entirely separate from those of the 'privy' or plenary councils, which adds to the impression of a 'privy' council hearing judicial cases which operated largely at Westminster.²⁷ From 1495, the personnel of the Court of Requests also appears to have become differentiated generally from that of 'privy' council, a point which will be discussed later in this chapter.

With these cautions in mind, this thesis will attempt to address the question of conciliar roles and patterns by first examining those meetings which appear to be the 'privy' council exercising its ancient privilege as the arbiters of royal justice generally show less than ten councillors in attendance. Table I below shows the proportion of great officers and court members who were judges in those particular meetings.²⁸ The personnel of the 'privy' council was flexible, but after 1488 the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Privy Seal were habitual attendees, and attendance at such meetings was primarily by members of the court. Though lords spiritual and temporal were attendees of 'privy' council, such members seem also to have been courtiers or held great office, such as Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who served as Lord Treasurer from June 1501, and sat on all 'privy' councils meeting after that time, an observation

²⁵ HL EL MS 2654, f 11r-v.

²⁶ Lansdowne 639, f. 24r; HL EL MS 654, ff 16v-17r.

²⁷ See Appendix I, p. 261-2, n. 108 for instances when the Court of Requests moved ahead of the king.

²⁸ D.A. Hoak, *King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 1-2 and Guy, *Cardinal's Court*, pp. 5-6 both comment on this ancient privilege.

which follows the historical discourse on the issue of Henry's council operating like a baronial council.²⁹

Table I.
Council attendance in meetings of less than 10 regarding judicial matters: 1485-1509

	Total Present	Great Officers	H/H Officers	H/H Knights	Chief Justices
Feb 1486	3	2	1	0	0
Jan 1488	9	3	1	2	0
May 1495	4	2*	0	0	0
July 1495	8	3	3	1	0
Nov 1495**	1	1	0	0	0
May 1496(1)7		3***	1	1	0
May 1496(2)6		3	2	1	0
Nov 1496	1	1	0	0	0
Feb 1497	1	0	0	0	0
July 1505	4	3	0	0	1
Nov 1506	9	3	0	1	0*

* The Keeper of the privy seal was present, but whether this indicates Fox or someone perhaps functioning as temporary keeper is not sufficiently established. The argument for the temporary keepership is discussed below, pp. 42-6*.
 ** One of at least 3 occasions on which the Chancellor or Lord President sat alone and heard judicial business, as reflected by the other entries with one in attendance.
 *** Following on the argument that at this time, Thomas Savage, Bishop of Rochester was acting as President of Council.

Further examples include a February 1486 session attended by the Earls of Oxford and Nottingham, respectively Lord Great Chamberlain and Earl Marshal, and Christopher Urswick, the king's almoner, who sat on 9th February and apparently

²⁹ HL EL MS 2655, ff 1v-6v for Surrey's council attendances. J. Guy's comment in this regard is in *Tudor England*, p. 58. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, p. 146, says that Henry's financial administration in particular 'was operating rather like the council of a great lord', particularly the

gave suitors days for bringing in answers, evidence and proofs, and suspended one cause until the Easter term.³⁰ The Ellesmere extracts indicate that judicial matters were heard that same season on 25 and 31 January, 6, 8, 10, 13, 15-18 and 24 February, but does not provide further attendance lists for the judges. The first Parliament of the reign had convened on 23 January, 1486 and important issues such as the king's title, financial grants, and resumption were likely to draw the attention of the political community to the extent that judicial matters were neglected, with the exception of this small gathering.³¹ This impression is enhanced by the notation in the extracts that after Parliament was over, the king apparently left a Westminster council behind to hear business in the upcoming Easter term while he, the court and his great officers presented a show of strength on the Northern progress lasting from early March to the end of May.³²

Other extracts which denote small groups of councillors and only list judicial matters, occur at scattered intervals and continue to be dominated by the court. In January 1488, the issue under scrutiny was that of the mayor of London receiving orders to make inquiries into embracery and concealment of a jury, the discarding of the king's bills by them, and an unlawful assembly. The king was present at this inquiry, and probably resident at Westminster.³³ Though this sounds like a matter covered by the Star Chamber Act of 1487, the personnel involved bears no resemblance to that

Duchy Council. Watts, 'Newe Ffundacion', p. 35, discusses whether Henry could have managed the 'privatisation of public power'.

³⁰ BL Harley MS 305, f 26r.

³¹ Dates of Parliament from E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology* (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 2; London, 1986), p. 572.

³² See Appendix I, pp. 210-211 for king's itinerary on progress.

³³ Appendix I, pg. 217 is inconclusive. The court appears to have been resident at Greenwich for much of December and January, but a window is open from 26 January to 2 February in which there are no direct warrants from Greenwich. There are privy seals issued from Westminster, suggesting the king had moved there for several days of council meetings, and then returned to Greenwich at their conclusion. Judicial cases are heard on 6th and 7th February, but there is no evidence to indicate whether the king sat in these sessions, or if they were held at Westminster or Greenwich.

prescribed for such an inquiry, including as it did the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Derby and Devon, the lords Ormond, Gray Codnor and Hastings, and Sir John Risley, Sir Thomas Lovell and Sir John Fortescue.³⁴ Those present include three great officers, and three household officers, and the extracts suggest this cause may even have been remitted to this court-dominated group from the plenary council which met in Westminster on 30 January.³⁵ One set of extracts for the 30 January meeting notes the presence of the king, and records that the Mayor and Alderman of London were to be warned by Lovell to appear the next day. The *verso* of that folio contains a single undated entry headed 'Rex' and presumably records a 'privy' council meeting of 31 January, as it states 'the Maior of London shall of newe inquire' into charges in a case of embracery and concealment of a jury, and it lists the nine men named as councillors.³⁶ This is not simply a continuation of the previous folio, as only six of the nine men listed are on the attendance role for the larger council, but rather, reflects a separate group.

The king's presence at this small judicial meeting may not have been an isolated incident; an extract of 7 December 1489 states 'decreed by the king and his counsell that W^m Brok meddle not with the maner of Hudrich in Buck', and in February 1493, 'the King himself decreed a privy seal to the Justice of the Common Place for stave of processe in the Cause between Dogett and the L. Fitzwalter, tylle he gave theym other commands by the lyke wryttes'.³⁷ Even if these comments reflect the king's orders to council from outside the council chambers, a longer extract

³⁴ HL EL MS 2654, f 8v. The Star Chamber Act called for the Chancellor, Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal 'or twoe [sic] of them' to summon a bishop, a temporal lord of the king's council and two justices, preferably the chief justices. HL EL MS 2768, f 1r.

³⁵ Bedford was Lord Great Steward, Derby was Constable, Sir John Fortescue, Chief Butler. Lord Ormond was the Queen's Chamberlain, Bray was Chancellor of the Duchy and Lovell Treasurer of the Household. HL EL MS 2654, f 8r for the 30 January meeting.

³⁶ HL EL MS 2654, f 8v.

describing the latter case emphasizes the king's personal involvement in the issue at a previous meeting of his council, and his direct and personal orders on the issue at the council meeting then taking place.³⁸ On both those occasions, the king appears to have been resident at Westminster.³⁹

The most striking absence from the small group of 31 January is that of the Lord Chancellor. Conversely, in November 1495 and 1496 and February 1497, the Chancellor and the 'Lord President', presumably Thomas Savage, sat alone on two occasions each.⁴⁰ These sittings occurred during Parliaments and just after a Great Council in November 1496, and were concerned with process in legal causes, so consequently may reflect an acknowledgement that someone was needed to carry on with judicial business while weightier matters required the attention of the usual councillors or, as appears to be the case on 9 November, 1496, to provide conciliar presence or direction during the law term while the king was briefly away at Havering.⁴¹ On that day, the Lord President apparently took action on a single case, dismissing it to Chancery.⁴²

The idea of a Westminster base for 'privy' council, particularly in judicial mode, takes a definitive turn in 1495, which coincides with David Starkey's timing of the rise of the privy chamber, and in the extracts and order books, the 'privy' council and the Court of Requests undergo some intriguing shifts at that time.⁴³ A small group meeting on judicial business and dominated by prelates sat in May 1495; three

³⁷ HL EL MSS 2652, ff 1r, 2v;

³⁸ HL EL MSS 2654, f 14v. The translation used is *Select Cases*, p. 25.

³⁹ See Appendix I, pp. 222, 229.

⁴⁰ BL Lansdowne MS 160, f 308r; Lansdowne MS 639, f 24v.

⁴¹ See Appendix I, p. 240-1.

⁴² BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24v.

⁴³ D. Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility in Tudor England' in R. G. Asch and A.M. Birke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: the Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 175-204.

cases in Easter term were heard by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of York, John Blythe, Bishop of St. Asaph's and Richard Redman, Bishop of Salisbury.⁴⁴ The king was either at Shene or Westminster during that time, and Redman and Blythe were apparently also with the court, as their names appear on a Court of Requests attendance list of 17 May.⁴⁵ Councillors were therefore still flowing between the *curia* in undifferentiated mode, and business was being done in conjunction with the residential court. But during the months of June and July, a different situation emerges. On 3 July 1495, preparatory to a progress North and when the court was apparently at Woodstock, a council headed by Archbishop Morton, and including Rotherham, Urswick, Lord Dinham, Bray, Risley, Thomas Fitzwilliam, then Recorder of London, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer Hody met to hear a case of false deed.⁴⁶ Other issues were heard during June and July; the court was at Sheen until roughly 19 June, then away to Woodstock before heading North to the Midlands sometime around 3 July.⁴⁷ A treasury warrant from Woodstock with the sign manual indicates the king was there on 25 June, and the Court of Requests sat at Woodstock on 27 and 28 June and 1 July, but the period between 29 June and 4 July is void of privy seals from any location, though before

⁴⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 23v.

⁴⁵ PRO REQ 1/1 f 40r. See Appendix I, p. 237 for itinerary. The itinerary registers privy seals and warrants to the exchequer from Sheen and Westminster during that month, so again, the king may have been resident at Westminster for selected days when council was in session, or the court may have met at Westminster without his presence.

⁴⁶ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 23v. Fitzwilliam appears to have been recorder until c. September 1495, when Sheffield took over. *Calendar of letter-books preserved among the archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall. Letter-book L, Temp. Ed. IV to Henry VII* (London, 1912), pp. 304, 308.

⁴⁷ PRO REQ1/1, ff 111v-113v shows the court sitting at Woodstock on 27-28 June and 1 July, and C82/136 has privy seals from Evesham Abbey in Gloucestershire dated 4 July, and from Worcester dated 4 and 7 July. PRO REQ 1/1, ff 113v-114r show the court sitting in Worcester 6 and 9 July. See Appendix I, pp. 237-8.

and after that they were certainly issued from locations coinciding with the king's itinerary.⁴⁸

Morton's significance as the anchor of a Westminster council, such as the singular notation that he sat alone 'out of term' at Lambeth, and the probable development of the Presidency of council as a 'chancellor-on-progress' are both points which have been addressed by John Guy.⁴⁹ At the same time, there is a change in the Requests attendance lists. Prior to the summer progress of 1495, Bray, Lovell, Guildford and Daubeney were listed among those sitting regularly with Requests, but during this particular progress, the judges in Requests were the court clerics and diplomats--Savage, Fitzjames, Middleton, Hatton, Morgan, Martin--plus William Greville, a serjeant-at-law and later justice of the Common Pleas.⁵⁰

There is no indication of the location of this early July 'privy' council meeting, but it is possible this reflects the 'privy' council, headed by Morton, sitting at Westminster to finish the law term, rather than 'privy' council attendant on the king at Woodstock. Henry had already utilized Morton at Westminster, while he was away, when he travelled to France in 1492, and this also may have been a good time for Henry to leave Morton, and perhaps the other 'privy' councillors mentioned--Bray, Risley and Dinham, to provide a secure base in London in the wake of Sir William

⁴⁸ PRO E404/81/3, contains the letter, dated 25 June from Woodstock with the sign manual. PRO REQ 1/1, ff 112v-113v. See Appendix I, p. 237

⁴⁹ Guy, *Cardinal's Court*, pp. 11-13.

⁵⁰ A.B. Emden (ed.), *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 293 says Richard Hatton was king's chaplain by 1494 and councillor by 1500. A.B. Emden (ed.), *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, ii (Oxford, 1958), pp. 691-2 says Fitzjames was chaplain to Henry VII by 1489 and almoner in June 1495; pp. 1277-8 for Middleton says he was an ambassador to Scotland, and he appears as a judge in Requests from 1493; PRO REQ 1/1, f 77r. *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 420 says Edmund Martin was a king's clerk and appointed clerk of hanaper in 1493, and pp. 16, 457 indicate John Morgan was a king's chaplain from at least October 1485, and the Dean of Windsor by October 1493.

Stanley's execution.⁵¹ Evidence shows that Henry prescribed the councillors who would attend on him for the purpose of sitting on Requests; perhaps he similarly appointed 'privy' council to keep the law term at Westminster.⁵²

Morton's place as head of affairs at Westminster is suggested by several discernible events or orders. Morton and John, Lord Dinham, the Lord Treasurer, had both remained in England when Henry went to France in 1492.⁵³ The council extract of July 1496 which specifically states the Chancellor was present at a meeting out of term at Lambeth, came at a time when the king was in Dorset.⁵⁴ In May and June 1500, when Henry was in France, Morton likely stayed behind again: there is no record of his presence in Calais among the myriad names recorded in the *Chronicle of Calais*, and it is likely his advanced age had already kept him from an embassy to Maximilian in 1499.⁵⁵ This may have been a point at which Morton also ran up against the king's will, in executing business at Westminster. Evidence suggests the king's council took a decision which was reversed by the king upon his return, to judge by the following extract: 'A decree taken by the counsel cancelled by the kinges letters directed to Mr Robert Rydon then clerke of the counsel. The decree did concern the removeing of a markett within the cittie of Canterbury'.⁵⁶ The Canterbury city minutes record a bill delivered to the city council on 10 March, 1500, asking for foreign merchants to be restrained from setting up their own markets in Canterbury 'to the grete impoverysshyng of many inhabitantes of the same', claiming old

⁵¹ Observation of a like division of labour with part of the 'privy' council on progress and part in London to establish a royal presence there in the reign of Henry VIII has been made by Andrew Johnston, currently doing research on William Paget, a secretary of state under Henry VIII.

⁵² See below, pp. 21-3

⁵³ Condon, 'Anachronism', pp. 229-230.

⁵⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r for July 1496. See Appendix I, p. 240, for king's itinerary.

⁵⁵ J. G. Nichols (ed.), *The Chronicle of Calais, in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (Camden Society, 35; London, 1846), pp. 3-4.

⁵⁶ BL Harley MS 305 f 35r.

precedent for such a move.⁵⁷ It seems possible that Morton, as head of king's council in Henry's absence, or as the ecclesiastical lord of Canterbury, would have been drawn into the issue and made a decree through Westminster council, and that the king may have been addressed on the issue in Canterbury on his return from France, and rescinded this order until he had a chance to review the issue himself.⁵⁸

As for the 'privy' council in advisory mode, the extracts again reflect mainly matters being discussed in the law terms at Westminster. It is possible that there were registers for the 'privy' council travelling with the king, but if so, they appear to have been lost. A meeting of November 1486 to discuss both cloth export regulations and a riot in York took place in the king's presence, and with Henry apparently resident at Westminster, though the court may have been at Greenwich.⁵⁹ As mentioned earlier, meetings in May 1488 reflect an undifferentiated character of items listed for business, as both judicial matters and issues of Ireland and the *Intercursus* with the Netherlands were discussed by approximately 20 councillors, again in the king's presence.⁶⁰ Generally, groups discussing major policy issues such as foreign affairs, reform of the coinage statutes or domestic policy list more than ten councillors. In April 1496, meetings with 18 or 19 councillors in attendance addressed, with the Mayor and Alderman of London, the issue of the city giving bonds for observance of the *Intercursus* between England and Burgundy, and appointed a specific 'committee' of the council to negotiate the marriage between

⁵⁷ CC/AC 1, docs. 27 and 34v.

⁵⁸ See Appendix I, p. 254 for Henry's stay of several days in and near Canterbury upon his return from Calais. Also, see below, pp. 37-8, for a discussion of an earlier issue in which Morton passed the London merchants on to the king rather than making decisions himself. By 1500, Henry appears far more comfortable with his decision-making and command, and likely felt that an issue affecting trade was better left to him for final decision.

⁵⁹ HL EL MS 2654, f 7v. See Appendix I, p. 212, n. 13 for Westminster/Greenwich commentary.

⁶⁰ HL EL MS 2654, ff 9r-10r

Prince Arthur and Princess Katharine of Aragon.⁶¹ A group of 17 councillors meeting in November 1503 gave the Mayor and City of London a day to present their arguments against the king's patent to the Merchant Tailors, and a group of 16 councillors meeting in December 1506 discussed war with Ireland.⁶² A meeting at which 19 councillors were present, for which only an appearance in response to a privy seal and an order to George Percy and a companion 'to put in articles for everie parte' is noted, occurred in November 1489, but considering it was during the time of a Parliament it is possible that the 'privy' council in judicial mode was simply gathered in greater numbers than usual, or that other affairs were being discussed on which the extracts are silent.⁶³ At all the above-mentioned meetings, except that of December 1506, the king was present. On that occasion, Henry was in residence at Greenwich.⁶⁴ With very little in the way of other conciliar extracts from this time period, it is impossible to draw any startling conclusions about Henry's absence from this meeting.

The council meeting of 8 and 9 November 1486 focused on an issue which appears to have come to the king's notice and then was brought by him to council, and thus offers the opportunity to examine Henry's actions with his 'privy' council in order to determine how much of the council business is an expression of the king's actions.⁶⁵ On those days a small group of councillors discussed the need to examine statutes regarding sale and export of unfinished cloth. Related issues were

⁶¹ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r.

⁶² HL EL MS 2655, f 2v for 1496; HL EL MS 2654, f 18v for 1503; BL Hargrave MS 216, f 153r and BL Harley MS 305, f 40r for 1506.

⁶³ HL EL MS 2654, f 13r.

⁶⁴ See Appendix, p. 277.

⁶⁵ HL EL MS 2654, f 7v. Though this extract is dated 1487 in *Select Cases*, p. 15, the suggested date seems more likely. W. Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, ii, (Rolls Series, 1877), p. 164, states Cornborough, who is mentioned in the extract, was keeper of the wardrobe from 22 August 1486 to 2 February 1487, 'on which last named day Alvered Corneburgh

reverberating outside the council chambers--the 1486 Parliament had annulled restrictions on Italian merchants passed under Richard III. Though the Parliament also enacted bills protecting English shipping from the 'deceit' of customs being practiced by naturalized aliens, and confirmed an act against the import of certain foreign products passed under Edward IV, London merchants still apparently felt they were not being fairly dealt with, as Hanseatic merchants had far greater privileges in England than English merchants did in the Lowlands.⁶⁶ In October 1486, Henry requested members of the mercers and merchant adventurers to meet with the 'lordes of his Councill' for discussion of trade issues, in anticipation of a proposed diet at Calais with Maximilian. These discussions may have brought issues to a head: on 7 November a contingent from Bristol protested against the limitations of trade with the Easterlings, as they claimed the foreigners were better customers than the London merchants, and that without their trade, 'Bristowe shulde be utterly undone'. The Mercers' court record further states the Bristol contingent presented their views first to the council, and then the king, with apparently much 'defamyng and grete sclaunder' of the Londoners. The Merchant Adventurers called for a meeting that same day to formulate their own response to the situation, which had apparently been requested by Henry for his better information in making a decision.⁶⁷

The result of the protesting, pleading and objections may have culminated in the command to Avery Cornborough, keeper of the great wardrobe, 'to summon the legal advisers of the King's Council in order that Statutes may be examined and a

died', and his inquisition post mortem also says he died 2 February, 1487; consequently he could not have been conducting business for the king in November of that year.

⁶⁶ *Statutes of the Realm*, eds. A. Luders, T.E. Tomlins, J. Raithby *et al*, ii, (London, 1816), pp. 502, 506-8; 1 Henry 7 c. 8, 1 Henry 7 c. 9, 1 Henry 7 c.10. The opinion of the ill-feeling of the Hanseatic merchants is asserted in J.D. Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries: The Commercial and Political Interaction of England and the German Hanse 1450-1510* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 90-91.

report made'. The record also states that any compromise decided upon should be explained to a few merchants and clothiers.⁶⁸ Cornborough's involvement in the issue is the first example in the extracts of a courtier being given primary responsibility in overseeing an issue of council. Cornborough was an excellent choice for the matter; he was not only an experienced councillor, a veteran of Yorkist government who had served Edward IV and Richard III, but his affinity with the city and its interests would have likely assured the Londoners they were well represented.⁶⁹ He was also in a good position to understand the opinions and issues of the city's cloth merchants, having been involved in the purchase of cloth and goods from the beginning of the reign.⁷⁰ The dynamics of the related events are of interest in the suggestion that discussions of trade issues may have coincided with an expression of frustration, and Henry may have resolved to set his council to examine issues emerging from talks with the Adventurers that would ease tensions. The 1487 Parliament passed an act forbidding the export of woolen cloth by foreign merchants before it was properly finished, which suggests that this discussion bore fruit in producing an issue for Parliamentary action.⁷¹

⁶⁷ L. Lyell and F.D. Watney (eds.), *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 294-5.

⁶⁸ HL EL MS 2654, f 7v. Lyell and Watney (eds.), *Mercers' Company*, p. 295.

⁶⁹ B.P. Wolffe, *The Crown Lands 1461-1536: An Aspect of Yorkist and Early Tudor Government* (London, 1970), p. 200 identifies Cornborough as under-treasurer to Richard III, an office he continued to serve in conjunction with Bray until 1487, and 'experienced in Duchy administration'. *CPR 1476-1485*, p. 41 contains a general pardon dated July 1477 for Cornborough, esquire of the body, identifies him as resident in St. Helen, London, and provides pardon for his former offices of usher of the chamber, yeoman of the chamber and escheator of Cornwall.

⁷⁰ *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 141 dates Cornborough's patent as keeper of the great wardrobe 27 September, 1486. Campbell, *Materials for Henry VII*, ii, pp. 163-180, lists records provided by his widow of his accounts dated from 22 August, 1486. Hugh Conway was the first keeper of the great wardrobe, but Bray appears in a number of notations the first year of the reign as the primary purchaser of cloth and other 'stuffs' for the king, and one schedule of July 1486 couples Bray and Cornborough as the main disbursers of money for a variety of services and goods including cloth and trims. Henry may have eventually felt Cornborough to be better placed in that service than Conway.

⁷¹ J.C. Wedgwood (ed.), *History of Parliament Registers of the Ministers and of the Members of Both Houses 1439-1509* (London, 1938), p. 513.

While it may be possible to trace the work of 'privy' council, in its meetings at Westminster, the discussions of the king and his councillors, or what may be called the 'privy' council attendant, during his extensive travels away from Westminster are barely visible. The Spanish Ambassador, De Puebla, said he himself laid before Henry's council 'assembled at Richmond', in October 1504 a document regarding the issue of Spanish ships receiving special privileges, 'and after many conferences, and much debate, the conclusion was arrived at, with which the king acquainted you in his letter sent from here'.⁷² The king and council were active in other regards; registers of the Court of Requests notes its meeting at Richmond on 10 October 1504, and entry is made in the Ellesmere extracts of a single judicial cause noted to Michaelmas 1504, but with no specific date and no attendance list.⁷³ A plenary council meeting with 34 in attendance took place in November at Westminster, and several weighty issues were discussed but nothing relative to Spanish shipping, though the amity with Spain, an issue also mentioned by De Puebla in his letters, was discussed.⁷⁴ So it appears possible that, as De Puebla claimed, the issue was concluded by a council at Richmond, and not brought to the notice of the plenary council in November. Further evidence that may provide the names of councillors meeting with the king outside of term time and outside of Westminster, as well as the business they were focusing on, are the enrollment of two petitions, both signed on 20 July 1506, which included a list of witnesses who may have been the primary advisors on this grant, or approved its terms.⁷⁵ Both petitions modified the statute denying Welshmen the privilege of

⁷² *CSP Spanish*, i, 401.

⁷³ PRO REQ 1/3, f 134r; HL EL 2768, f 8r; BL Hargrave MS 216, f 151r and BL Harley MS 305, ff 37r-v, both repeat the Michaelmas dating.

⁷⁴ HL EL MS 2654, ff 19r-v.

⁷⁵ PRO C82/287 has the original petition for the Chirkland tenants which has only Dudley's signature at the bottom in the style of the other petitions mentioned. The petition for the Denbigh grant does not appear to be in PRO C82/287, but both petitions are enrolled on PRO C66/599, m.

holding offices and lands in England, and the signatories were Warham, then Chancellor, Bishop Savage, Fox, then Lord Privy Seal, Bishop Story, the earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury and Surrey, Lord Daubeney, Thomas Lovell and Edmund Dudley. The majority of the signators were courtiers or great officers.⁷⁶

It is equally difficult to trace the membership of council attendant, though it is possible to identify more easily those who served as the judges for the Court of Requests, and were generally with the king on his travels. In fact, an excerpt from the order books of the Court of Requests, and notes of another antiquarian and Elizabethan/Jacobean lawyer, Sir Julius Caesar, provides a rota of councillors named on 12 February 1494 to accompany the king from April to October of that year.⁷⁷ During that time Henry travelled from London, through Kent to Canterbury, back to the London area and on to Sheen and Windsor, and later up into Oxford, to Woodstock, then back to Windsor, from whence he returned to Sheen and the London environs in time for All Hallows at Westminster.⁷⁸ The rota included mainly courtiers, both lay and spiritual, and lawyers from both court and bench, and was divided into precise shifts, as well as delineating those expected to remain 'continuously' with the king during the 'circuit to be made by the same lord King after Easter'.⁷⁹

The 'continuous' members for the entire perambulation were Bishop Fox, keeper of the privy seal, Bishop Savage, and a cadre of household knights, officers

4(18), and 5(17), and the names of the witnesses and their offices are inscribed on the end of both grants, though not on the original petition.

⁷⁶ Oxford was Lord Chamberlain, Surrey, Lord Treasurer, Daubeney, Lord Chamberlain of the household, Lovell, Treasurer of the Household, Dudley, President of the Council, besides the offices mentioned above. Wedgwood, *Parliament Registers*, p. 597 for listing of offices of Surrey, Daubeney, Lovell, *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 63 for Oxford's appointment. The enrolment in the footnote above is the first evidence of Dudley's title.

⁷⁷ L. M. Hill (ed.), *The Ancient State Authority, and Proceedings of the Court of Requests by Sir Julius Caesar* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 39-40. Caesar took his notes from PRO REQ 1/1, f 1r.

and lawyers, namely Andrew Dimmock, the solicitor general, Reginald Bray, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Richard Guildford, knight of the body and soon to be comptroller of the household and Thomas Lovell, treasurer of the household, as well as Thomas Jane, Dean of the King's chapel, Henry Ainsworth, secondary in the privy seal office, and William Warham, king's clerk and newly made keeper of the rolls in February 1494.⁸⁰ The shifting personnel included John Kendal, prior of St. John's and Lord Robert Willoughby of Broke, steward of the household, for Easter until August, Giles, Lord Daubeney, lieutenant of Calais and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, for August through October, Robert Rede, a serjeant-at-law, from 12th February to July, and Chief Justice of King's Bench William Hussey for July through September.⁸¹ This tightly knit group of men, commanded specifically to keep attendance on the king were all holders of offices critical to the royal household, government administration or to the king's courts and legal counsel, and besides their duties with Requests, may have also served the king with informal counsel on other matters.

Caesar's records add other names which contribute to round out the list of courtiers serving as judges of the council attendant. In March, the Court of Requests was joined by John Blythe, the newly elevated Bishop of Salisbury, and a former king's chaplain and Master of the Rolls, and William Stanley, Chamberlain of the

⁷⁸ See Appendix I, pp. 233-236.

⁷⁹ Hill, *Court of Requests*, p. 39.

⁸⁰ *CPR 1485-1494*, p. 469. See below, pp. 41-6 for discussion of the President of Council. Guildford's date of appointment as comptroller is uncertain: J.D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors: 1485-1558*, (London, 1952; 1962 reprint), p. 650 says only 'by 1495'. PRO E101/414/4, the first account book of Richard Guildford, as comptroller of the household, commences in Michaelmas 1494.

⁸¹ Rede was probably executing his first duties as a king's serjeant-at-law during his appointed round, as his appointment was registered in the Chancery April 1494. *CPR 1485-1494*, p. 461.

Household.⁸² In August, Robert Middleton, as previously mentioned, sat with the court, and in October, Richard Mayhew, described as ‘king’s councillor’ and king’s clerk made an appearance.⁸³ The order and decree books of Requests also mention several names in attendance lists other than those provided by Caesar: Dr. Sheffield and John Mordaunt in March, Robert Shirbourne in June and Henry Wyatt in October.⁸⁴ Shirbourne, a king’s clerk, is identified as secretary, Wyatt was the clerk of the king’s jewels and mint, and Mordaunt was soon to join the king’s serjeants-at-law.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, attendance lists for Requests taper off after 1498, and thus provide little in the way of evidence after that time as to the king’s attendant councilors, but the names which do appear include mainly those which suggest the council was derived from the court. Beside the continuing rota of household clerics and deans of chapel, in January 1498, Richard Pole, a knight of the body and Prince Arthur’s chamberlain sat with the court, in May 1498, Robert Shirbourne was present again, still listed as the king’s secretary; Richard Guildford and Thomas Lovell, the household comptroller and treasurer and Charles Somerset, a knight of the body, sat with Requests in June 1499.⁸⁶ Robert Drury, who was titled ‘king’s councillor’ by a grant of May 1504, and sat with ‘privy’ council in 1506, sat with Requests in November 1505.⁸⁷

⁸² PRO REQ 1/1, ff 81r-82v. Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Cambridge to 1500*, p. 68, for Blythe. *CPR 1485-1494*, p. 354 for mention of Stanley’s office, and REQ 1/1, f 81r gives his title.

⁸³ PRO REQ 1/1, ff 86v-87r, 91r-v.

⁸⁴ PRO REQ 1/1, ff 82r-v, 83v, 91r-v.

⁸⁵ Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Oxford to 1500*, p. 1686 says Shirbourne was ‘king’s clerk, secretary and councilor by 1496’. *CPR 1485-1494*, pp. 136, 219, 433 for Wyatt’s titles and grant of mint office, and *CPR 1485-1494*, p. 461 for Mordaunt’s.

⁸⁶ *CPR 1485-1494*, p. 299 for Pole’s title as knight of the body, *CPR 1494-1509*, p. 29 for identification as the Prince’s chamberlain. Charles Somerset was identified as a knight of the body in the list of those going to the war in France in 1492. *Foedera, conventiones, litteræ ... et Acta Publica*, eds. T. Rymer and R. Sanderson, xii, (London, 1711), pp. 477-80.

⁸⁷ *CPR 1485-1494*, p. 368 for title. HL EL MS 2655, ff 6r-v for ‘privy’ council.

Perhaps more beneficial to an understanding of Henry's use of and acceptance of counsel outside the boundaries of the Westminster council chamber, is through the activities of specific individuals in relation to significant issues and discussion with the king. Those councillors whose advice seemed to be of the greatest importance to Henry, and who are most frequently mentioned as having influence with him are often those not generally found 'attendant' upon the king. Though John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury appears to have been particularly indispensable to the king as an advisor and administrator, it has been demonstrated that he was most likely to be left at Westminster or in London to act as head of council there. Morton could be found at court on occasion: De Puebla, the Spanish ambassador, stated when a delegation arrived from Spain in July 1498, Henry received them in 'secret audience', at which Morton was the only Englishman present. After that initial hearing, Henry declared the message better fit for a public audience 'and called into the room all the great men of his kingdom who were in the palace,' whereupon he conferred with them at a space removed from the ambassadors.⁸⁸ On the following day, Morton was once again the only witness to Henry's subsequent conversation with the Spanish ambassadors.⁸⁹ Just after the Great Council of February 1487, as the Earl of Lincoln and Henry each gathered their forces, Morton went with the king on his Easter progress, and presumably was present when Henry 'assembled his Counsell for the Ordering of his hooste' in Coventry and issued a proclamation for the 'goode rule of his hooste by the advise of the reverend fader in god the archebissshop of canterbury the bisshop of Wynchester the bisshop of excester and of al other temperly lordes ther

⁸⁸ *CSP Spanish*, i, 202.

⁸⁹ *CSP Spanish*, i, 202. A later letter regarding the embassy states that Morton and De Puebla were present 'and an old gentleman whom they call the treasurer,' presumably Dinham. *CSP Spanish*, i, 204.

present and of other his councelleres'.⁹⁰ However, shortly afterward, Henry parted company with Morton at Leicester before going on to meet up with Lincoln's troops, and it seems likely that Morton was either left in the Midlands to keep watch or returned to London for the same purpose.⁹¹ In spring 1489, the Cotton Julius chronicler remarked that 'the king sent for the lorde John Morton then archebishope of canterbury and chaunceluer of englande for to have his counseill and advis' upon the arrival of ambassadors from Maximillian and the King of Portugal when the king was celebrating Easter at Hertford.⁹² Henry was at Hertford from 9 April, and it appears that Morton may have gone to and from London at this time, as he appears to have come from an unspecified location away from the king on 13 May, the day after the king's initial departure from Hertford, to join the gathering forces heading north to deal with Northumberland's assassination.⁹³ Fox had also been noted as the bishop conducting divine services during that Easter period.⁹⁴ An order for all appearances by privy seal or recognisance to be moved to the next term, as the king was going North with his army, also suggests that Henry desired matters particular to his interests to be suspended during a potentially chaotic situation, and while both he and his Chancellor were too far removed to keep an eye on business at Westminster.⁹⁵

M.M. Condon stresses the need to recognize Henry's avenues for informal counsel and his use of it, as well as the fact that men like Morton and the Earl of Oxford were as useful to the king away from court as near it, and to acknowledge the value of correspondence for the exchange of information between the king and his

⁹⁰ HL EL MS 2768, f 8r; BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, ff 25r-26r.

⁹¹ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 27v.

⁹² BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 53v.

⁹³ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 54r.

⁹⁴ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 53v.

⁹⁵ HL EL MS 2768 f 4r.

close advisors.⁹⁶ Unlike the later Tudor reigns, there is little in the way of an active political correspondence existing, except perhaps in the record of letters sent by the king, and in the few survivals that appear in the Paston and Plumpton letters. During the time period mentioned above, on 21 April 1489, an issue before Star Chamber was resolved by Henry VII's letters addressed to Morton, from Hertford Castle.⁹⁷ Between December 1495 and August 1500, there are record of at least 17 letters delivered to Morton by the king's messengers, from various locations, such as Bristol, Exeter, Dartford and Northampton.⁹⁸ Three letters sent in July and August of 1499 at the time in which Oxford was with the king in the Isle of Wight, may have been relative to issues of Edmund de la Pole's flight from England.⁹⁹

Oxford was also a recipient of regular missives; several letters delivered to Oxford by king's messengers can be found in the chamber accounts, and some of them may be conjectured to time with events around them. Two letters of January 1496 may be relative to Poynings' return from Ireland; the letter of late December 1496 could be post-Parliamentary business, or perhaps issues arising from Bedford's death. Letters sent in a group in mid-September 1497, to Lords Abergavenny, Dacre and De la Ware, and the Earls of Arundel, Suffolk and Essex are likely regarding Warbeck's landing in Cornwall. Letters among a similar large group delivered in late March 1501, including what appears to be the majority of the parliamentary peers and their wives, may be relative to the impending wedding of Arthur and Katharine.¹⁰⁰ Correspondence which reflects the activities of Oxford in relation to kingdom business include a letter sent in 1499 to John Paston III by the Earl, commanding him

⁹⁶ Condon, 'Anachronism', pp. 230-31.

⁹⁷ HL EL MS 2652, f 3v.

⁹⁸ PRO E101/414/6, f 43r; E101/414/16, ff 1v, 23v, 39v.

⁹⁹ PRO E101/414/16, ff 70r, 72r.

¹⁰⁰ PRO E101/414/6, ff 14v, 16v, 56v, 87v; PRO E101/415/3, f 47v.

to seek out the names of those recently fled to the continent with the Earl of Suffolk, and those who may have returned or remained but were in Suffolk's confidence, and place them under surety.¹⁰¹ Oxford wrote from the Isle of Wight, where Henry was in residence, and proclamations dated that same day, forbidding ships to carry unlicensed passengers give an idea of what must have been under discussion.¹⁰²

The Earl of Oxford is another individual whose counsel to the king is obscure, though his influence with Henry was rumored to be great. Oxford was of greater value in the counties, but Henry seems to have sought his informal counsel as often as possible, in the lack of his regular attendance at court. Oxford was rarely at council meetings either in the first two years or after 1494, though he was generally present at great court festivities. Correspondence to and from the Earl indicates Oxford was kept informed of business at court, and was summoned when the king needed his help or advice. Generally, however, the Earl was left to manage his largely extended estates and oversee the activities of the inhabitants of the regions in which they were located.¹⁰³

Oxford's attendance often combined his courtier and conciliar roles: thus he attended Henry during the ceremonies of the Feast of St. George in 1488, which Henry held in 'his oune chapell above the Castell,' then retired to dine privately with the king, who 'both dynede and sowped in his oune corner glasisid Chaumber' that day

¹⁰¹ N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1971-1976), i, 838. John Paston is identified as John Paston III, following the example in the genealogical chart in C. Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Fastolf's Will* (Cambridge, 1996), p. xvi.

¹⁰² Davis ed. *Paston Letters*, i, 838. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, (New Haven and London (1964), i, p. 52.

¹⁰³ BL Cotton MS Julius B.xii, ff 21v-24v. Oxford attended Prince Arthur's christening 24 September, which in fact was held up to allow for his arrival, and finally began without him, though he arrived during the ceremony. Oxford remained at court for All Hallows, and must have left shortly after. Virgoe, 'Recovery of the Howards', pp. 8-9 describes the extent of Oxford's demesne, and the Earl's political importance and influence.

in company with Oxford, Daubeney, Derby and Dinham.¹⁰⁴ Derby, Daubeney and Dinham appear regularly in the extracts of council in the first few years, unlike Oxford, who appears twice only, but Oxford regularly attended feasts, festivals and ceremonial occasions, and undoubtedly such a private supper was intended for Henry to take advantage of his presence and canvass his opinions in tandem with those of his other intimate advisors, similar to Francis I's morning consultations.¹⁰⁵ Oxford also joined Henry at Hertford, most likely for a council of war, upon the news of Northumberland's death in 1489, and then hastened back to his own castle of Hedingham to summon men for the planned muster.¹⁰⁶

Other individuals who can be identified as providing Henry with his 'informal counsel' were the three men mentioned at that intimate supper with Oxford. The Earl of Derby was a regular courtier, Lord Dinham, the Lord Treasurer, was a survivor from Yorkist government and apparently a well-trusted convert, and Daubeney was also a courtier and the king's stalwart defender of Calais. Unlike Oxford, Dinham appears to have served as a courtier, as well as a London negotiator for the king. He was sent before the Mayor of London in 1485-6, with other of the king's councillors, to request a loan for the king, and again in 1496 to ask for the seal of the City of London on the *Intercursus* with the Netherlands.¹⁰⁷ Dinham and Daubeney were

¹⁰⁴ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 49r.

¹⁰⁵ C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 246. Carpenter presents this idea in using John Watts' notion that Henry left the governance of his kingdom up to others as long as they provided him with his personal needs, and that his council and bureaucrats effectively ran the government for him.

¹⁰⁶ Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters*, ii, 818, 819. Oxford was not initially with Henry at Hertford in 1489, as the earl received a letter from the king dated 22 April in which Henry filled him in on news of the embassies then present at court. *Ibid.*, i, 413. However, by 30 April, Oxford wrote to Paston from Hertford to give him news of Northumberland's assassination and orders to muster. Oxford again wrote from Hedingham on 6 May to Paston, obviously in reply to a letter from Paston, to instruct him to muster for 12th May. Oxford's company joined the king on 15th May. BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 54v.

¹⁰⁷ A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (eds.), *The Great Chronicle of London* (Gloucester, 1983), pp. 240, 263

mentioned in the minutes of the Mercer's company in February 1490, in connection with a bill put before Parliament regarding issues of 'injury' between the Citizens of London and the officers of Calais. Company members were appointed to 'comen' with Daubeney, Dinham and Lord Audley.¹⁰⁸ The matter was mentioned again briefly in March, and in April 1490, a set of indentures apparently resulting from the arbitration of Daubeney and Dinham, between 'the Kynges liege people Merchautes on the oon partie, and the Maire, Aldremen & Burgeis of the towen of Calais' was given to a servant of the company to take to Calais to receive the Mayor's seal. The London companies had already applied their seals.¹⁰⁹

The company seems to have developed high expectations of Dinham's influence with the king on their behalf; he and the Chancellor were the two men named by the company to be consulted on the issue of the Synxon Mart before the matter went to Henry, and when they received what to them appears to have been an unsatisfactory answer, 'the myndes of some parsones' among them were to take the matter to Dinham, apparently to enlist his support in persuading the king. The majority, however, decided to follow the king's request, and wait for Henry to acquire more up-to-the-minute information on Maximilian's mind and movements.¹¹⁰ Dinham continued to figure in their records as their chosen go-between, and perhaps Henry's: in April 1492, he was the man to whom the Adventurers gave their list of ships selected to go to the Easter market, as he promised to show it to Henry and

¹⁰⁸ Lyell and Watney (eds.), *Mercer's Company*, pp. 198-99.

¹⁰⁹ Lyell and Watney (eds.), *Mercer's Company*, pp. 204, 206-7.

¹¹⁰ Lyell and Watney (eds.), *Mercer's Company*, pp. 215-6. In December 1491, Dinham offered the company 400 marks to fund a priest to sing masses for the soul of his brother, Roger, 'for speciall favour love & trust had toward us ouer any other'. Ibid, p. 222. Cf. F. Kisby, 'The Early Tudor Royal Household Chapel, 1485-1547', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Royal Holloway University, 1995, pp. 336-338, states the men of the household chapel who were involved in various London religious fraternities, provided court to community links for better communication and mutual trust and support politically and fiscally.

secure the licenses for the ships listed, and Dinham was the one who informed them of the rendezvous with Lord Broke and the king's ships for their escort to Zeeland.¹¹¹

Did these councillors appear to have influence with the king? This question is of a piece with the examination of Henry's will and the notion of whether he was governing or allowing others to govern for him. During Henry's reign, certainly men sought the attention and goodwill of those supposed to be influential with the king, and the names of those perceived to have the royal ear are proposed by several sources. Peter le Penec, a Breton émigré and 'king's councilor' from December 1492, whose closeness to royal circles has been documented by John Currin, advised the Duke of Milan to write letters to Morton, Daubeney, Fox and Savage.¹¹² In 1497, Bray and Lovell were identified as men with an unhealthy influence on the king by the rebels of Blackheath who included them in the list of those they had considered the greatest influence in securing the parliamentary tax that prompted the rebellion, but the habit of blaming the king's evil councillors in times of rebellion, and focusing on those of non-noble blood, was a well-established game.¹¹³ De Puebla wrote to Ferdinand in Oct 1507, that 'The King of England has no confidential advisers,' and commented that the Lord Great Chamberlain was 'more in his confidence than any other person'.¹¹⁴ Katharine of Aragon also identified the Lord Chamberlain as the person 'who can do most in private with the King,' and begged her father to write to him regarding affairs in England.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Lyell and Watney (eds.), *Mercer's Company*, p. 226-7. The license was duly secured, along with a tally of £100 from the king.

¹¹² J. Currin, 'Pierre Le Penec, Henry VII, and the Breton Plot of 1492: a Case Study in 'Diplomatic Pathology', *Albion*, 23 (Spring, 1991), pp. 1-22. *CSP Milan*, 572, 579. *CPR*, 1494-1509, pp. 9-10 for Penec's denization and grant with the aforesaid title.

¹¹³ Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 278.

¹¹⁴ *CSP Spanish*, i, 551.

¹¹⁵ *CSP Spanish*, i, 552. Whether these letters indicate the same person, the Earl of Oxford, who was Lord Great Chamberlain, or perhaps Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, who was by then perhaps Lord

The comment of De Peubla in 1507 is perhaps the most significant. Henry seems to have become more self-reliant as the reign wore on death removed such trusted and loyal companions as Bedford, Bray, and Morton. Even Bray's influence appears more in the matter of administrative business and private suits than great affairs. The chamber books demonstrate that Bray spent a great deal of time in consultation with Henry over fiscal matters, and correspondence to Bray features a number of people, including the Duke of Buckingham, thanking him for his 'grett peyne' in 'all my cawses', but Bray's name disappears from the Court of Requests attendance lists records after 1495, the letters to him contain mainly requests for favor in issues before Council Learned or offices, and he was not at every recorded council meeting, even when Henry was present.¹¹⁶ It is notable that the financial ministers, Empson and Dudley, were not perceived as having great influence with the king in the chronicle traditions ensuing after their deaths, but rather the story given out was that Henry was ignorant of their extortion, and later chapters will discuss their relative equilibrium among the financial administrators of the king.¹¹⁷

Morton's possible rebuke at Henry's hands over the Canterbury market, and Bacon's story of Henry's levying a fine for excessive retaining on the Earl of Oxford suggest that though Henry carefully gathered counsel and certainly listened to it, he was a king who took decisions himself and who in fact protected his status at the top

Chamberlain of the Household, may be debated; De Puebla's comment regarding the aforementioned officer as being of Henry's blood would tend to direct attention toward Herbert.

¹¹⁶ HL EL MSS 2654; 2655. Bray's name is not among the councilors listed for 27 June and 16 July 1486, 8 and 9 November 1487, 7 May and 24 November 1488, 5 and 9 February and 28 November 1489, February 1491, and February 1499. The king is present at all of those except the last. BL Lansdowne MS 639, 23v. Bray was at a small sitting of council in Star Chamber in 1495 where Henry was not present. WAM 16053 for Buckingham's letter to Bray.

¹¹⁷ Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 337.

of the hierarchy.¹¹⁸ His careful selection of advice, and imperviousness to influence is also suggested by the fact that regular proximity to Henry did not always equate with importance or influence. William Courtenay, the Earl of Devon's heir, was granted 50 marks per year in March 1501, 'for his daily and diligent attendance on the king's person', an encouragement of his attendance at court more likely motivated by uncertainty over his convictions rather than appreciation of his advice.¹¹⁹ In addition, the heirs to peerages who grew up at the court did not find themselves thus becoming the favoured councillors of the king. Both the 5th Earl of Northumberland and the 3rd Duke of Buckingham were royal wards, but they were also among the councillors who appear to have been present mainly at the larger, more formal meetings of council, and they were alleged to have complained bitterly about being left out of affairs in the early years of Henry VIII's reign.¹²⁰ The Marquis of Dorset's heir was a courtier for several years, and both he and Courtenay were incarcerated for treason at the end of the reign and into the beginning of the next, for their suspected conspiracy with the Earl of Suffolk.¹²¹ The ill-fated Suffolk lived at court for much of his adult life and was a participant in court revels, ceremonial meetings, and chivalric honors,

¹¹⁸ See above, pp. 15-16 for situation with Morton. Bacon, F., *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, ed. R. Lockyer (London, 1971), pp. 209-210, for the well-known story of the king fining Oxford for illegal retaining. No evidence of such a fine has been found.

¹¹⁹ *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 223.

¹²⁰ P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.), *Letters of Richard Fox*, pp. 43-44.

¹²¹ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* (London, 1861), i, pp. 389-91 demonstrates that Lord Harington, as Dorset was then, was prominent in the ceremony of the creation of Prince Henry as Duke of York in 1494. Harington was also with Henry in Calais in 1500 for the meeting with Archduke Philip, and was an organizer of the jousts for Arthur and Katharine's wedding. *CSP, Spanish*, 278. Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, pp. 313-14. Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 3-4. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers*, pp. 225-229 contains 'Depositions touching Edmund de la Pole', in which it is stated that 5 or 6 nights before the Earl of Suffolk left England, he 'bankketid prively in a place in London with lord marques, lord Essex, lord William of Devonshire...'. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, eds. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, R.H. Brodie *et al* (London, 1920), i, pt. i, 170 contains notation of Richard Carew, lieutenant of Calais, writing to beg Henry VIII's good offices, in which he comments on his keeping of Courtenay and Dorset at Calais.

but felt sufficiently excluded to attempt a usurpation.¹²² David Starkey expresses the view that Henry restructured the privy chambers in 1495, partly as a means to maintain a distance between himself and the ‘constant, insidious pressure’ of the court nobility.¹²³

The common tie among the favoured seemed to be their level of dedication to the execution of the king’s business as well as their good behaviour in and out of court.¹²⁴ Relative to the issue of De Puebla’s comment that the king had no confidential advisors may be the fact that there were few men by the end of the reign with whom Henry had a long-standing relationship of trust, built over time, such as Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who laboured hard and apparently uncomplainingly in the north from 1489 to 1500, despite his attainder, incarceration, and the ‘piecemeal restoration of his estates’ through a combination of royal favor in repeals and grants, deaths and purchases.¹²⁵ Morton and Oxford were companions of the exile, and on call for duty, either at Westminster or wherever the king might be.

¹²² BL Add. MS 7099, f 33r, Suffolk, Essex and Courtenay were rewarded ‘for the disguising’, presumably at Twelfth Night, in 1496, though the notation of payment was in early February of 1497. Suffolk was made a Garter Knight, accompanied the king to Calais in 1500 to meet Archduke Philip, and was the only nobleman among the several pairs of courtiers sent by Henry in October 1497 to escort the new Venetian ambassador to the king after his landing in England. Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 3-4. *CSP Venetian*, i, 754. Suffolk and the Bishop of London, referred to in the letter as ‘two of the chief personages of [Henry’s] court’, escorted Trevisian on the final leg to his audience with the king. Buckingham was present at the audience.

¹²³ D. Starkey, ‘Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547’, in D. Starkey (ed.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), pp. 73-75.

¹²⁴ Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 278. That devotion to the king’s business above all was expected may find expression in the rewriting of the ordinances for the College of the Holy Trinity in Tattershall, Lincolnshire, of which Henry’s mother, Margaret Beaufort, was patron. The original ordinances, written c. 1460, said the Master was to reside at the college except for one month in the year. The new ordinances, dated 15 May, 1501, said the Master could accept any benefice below that of bishop, and would not be bound to residence if detained by service to the King, Queen, ‘or other powerful person, where he may better serve the college or protect its rights’. *Report on Manuscripts of Lord De L’isle and Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place* (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts 77; London, 1925), i, pp. 179-85.

¹²⁵ M. M. Condon, ‘Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII’, in Charles Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), p. 117 for the quotation. Virgoe, ‘Recovery of the Howards’, pp. 12-14, for a detailed description of the process of regathering the Howard inheritance.

Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham, seems to have been content to adhere closely to the king, excepting his time at Durham, perhaps prompting his admission of “xxviii yeres negligence” in his diocesan duties, a period which corresponds roughly to the time between 1516 and his first elevation to the bishopric in 1487.¹²⁶

This observation directs attention back to one of the major issues addressed by this thesis: that while Henry was absent from Westminster, affairs of state and even administrative matters were still being handled by him, channeled to him through his ministers, or overseen by him through conversations, documents and warrants which enabled him to have an eye to the business of his kingdom at all times. From July to October yearly, Henry was often to be found out of London proper, sometimes as close as Greenwich or Richmond, sometimes further afield at Woodstock, Windsor or Kenilworth, or ranging round some of his favorite hunting locations. However, the king’s intention to manage the business of the realm from any location and his expectation that the significant business of the realm would revolve around his person are suggested by the close adherence of the locations mentioned on privy seal warrants to the king’s own itinerary, by the apparent development of a well-recognized clerk of council attendant as well as a clerk of the council at Westminster, and by the king’s own letters to his council in Westminster when he was absent, and the assignment of conciliar rota. Whether in regards to foreign affairs, local markets, or chamber accounts, systems appear to have been put in place which allowed all

¹²⁶P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.), *Letters of Richard Fox*, pp. 12-26, almost invariably come from places that can be mapped onto the king’s itinerary. The letter on p. 12, dated 5 September 1489 at Windsor, that of 27 April 1493 from Warwick, that of 10 May 1495 in London, 29 July 1500 from Isleworth, 31 January 1501 from Coventry, 6 September 1501 at Richmond, can all be compared to the dates in Appendix I, to demonstrate that Fox’s movements closely paralleled those of the king. Even letters which have only a suggested date of 1506, one from Richmond on 21 July, and one from Southwark 24 December, *Ibid*, pp. 35-37, place Fox with or near the king at that time. The letter quoted is in the above-mentioned volume, pp. 82-4, and tentatively dated 1516 by the editors. Fox was consecrated Bishop of Exeter in April 1487. *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 247.

issues to be reviewed easily by the king, if they did not actually go through him first, and the development of a President of the Council and clerk of council attendant ensured the proper organization and maintenance of the king's business regardless of his location. The series of signatures which began in the latter part of the reign on privy seal warrants and inquisitions post mortem, the development of view books, the 'conversations' that can be traced through account book memoranda and Henry's apparent collection of copies of business for his personal reference, which appear to have traveled with him, were part of this system.¹²⁷

The chamber book memoranda contain several mentions of the king's copies of business. One entry reminds an unspecified person to speak with the Council Learned 'to take an ordre for the recognisance of the baron of Graystok the king hath the copy thereof'.¹²⁸ Another memorandum mentions a letter residing in 'the king's little coffer' in regards to the keeping of a session for the Duke of York.¹²⁹ A lengthy discourse of the results of a review of the accounts of Berwick ended in Henry writing to Sir Richard Cholmeley, Prince Henry's lieutenant in the North Marches, with precise instructions on the disposition of the funds, and admonishment for unnecessary 'over allowances' that were detected. The memorandum states that the king had a copy of the accounts from which this observation was made.¹³⁰ Later entries state Cholmeley promised Henry to follow his instructions, and answer at his next account for unpaid sums in arrears appearing on a bill delivered by Bray 'which

¹²⁷ A. L. Brown, 'The King's Councillors in Fifteenth-Century England', *TRHS*, 5th Series, 19 (London, 1969), pp. 99-100, talks about informal discussion that resulted in council decisions, viz. the 'constant coming and going of messengers, letters and councillors between king and council', or what he calls the evidence 'behind the records'.

¹²⁸ BL Add. MS 21480, f 181v.

¹²⁹ BL Add. MS 21480, f 180v.

¹³⁰ BL Add. MS 21480, f 174r.

is in the kinges litell coffer'.¹³¹ An earlier folio mentions that the Dean of St. Paul's and Amyas Paulet put various men in Somerset and Dorset to fines, of which the king had a book as well as a partial list of names of people who had not yet paid their penalties.¹³² Two indentures which are specifically noted as having been 'enrolled in the Chauncerye', also bear marginalia saying 'In custode domini Regis', presumably indicating the terms were enrolled on the close rolls, while the king kept the original documents.¹³³ The notation in the memoranda of a 'greate Royat Don by one Charleton' includes a subsequent note that Charleton was 'sent fore to be examyned befor the counsaill'.¹³⁴ The many coffers which travelled with the king may not have been carrying just the king's wealth, but also the king's records of business.

Henry's attention to business while on progress appears as diligent as when he was resident in Westminster. In February 1486, while the parliament was in session, and the king presumably occupied, an extract for 15 February stated, "The Lordes Lisle and Brightmere and others dismissed of the Ryott for that the king himselfe would heare the same as his attorney made certificate".¹³⁵ Another, dated 18 February, "decreed that the kinges letters be directed to the Lord Dynham to heare and finish the matter betwene Jane(?) Dymocke and Oliver Baresby".¹³⁶ Henry also personally examined a Christopher Moresby regarding an issue of murder in a council meeting at Westminster in February 1489, and when another cause against Moresby came up in the courts in Easter term that same year, while the king was at Hertford, Henry's letters, sent to Morton, gave permission for Moresby to be represented by an

¹³¹ BL Add. MS 21480, ff 177r, 180v.

¹³² BL Add. MS 21480, f 175r.

¹³³ BL Add. MS 21480, ff 125r-126r. One indenture was given by the Earl of Kent, another by Cecily, Marquess Dorset with Henry Stafford.

¹³⁴ BL Add. MS 21480, f 184r.

¹³⁵ HL EL MS 2652, f 1v; BL Hargrave MS 216, f 145v. BL Harley MS 305, f 26r.

¹³⁶ HL EL MS 2652, f 1v.

attorney.¹³⁷ A few weeks later, as the king gathered his forces and headed north to deal with the murder of Northumberland, an order was sent for all appearances by privy seal or recognizance to be continued to the next term 'because the kings majesty is going in to the North with his armie'.¹³⁸ With Morton, Fox and the king's secretary, Oliver King as well as 'all the substans of ouder officers of the kinges hounourable householde' heading North for an indefinite period, there may have been no one in London the king trusted to carefully guard his interests, and little chance of keeping watch on matters with a rebellion on his hands up North.¹³⁹

Though Morton was the king's most valued advisor and friend, his job appears also to have involved assessing and channeling matters on to the king; in September 1487, Morton, as Chancellor, summoned a representation of the Merchants Adventurers to Mortlake, at a time when Henry was lodged at Warwick following his brief progress north after Stoke.¹⁴⁰ Morton delivered a rebuke to the fellowship for continuing to send ships into the territories of the 'Kyng of Romayns' in the absence of an *Intercursus* between the two kings, and without license from Henry. They protested they held a safe-conduct from Maximilian, valid until 15 November; Morton replied that Henry's knowledge of the safe-conduct and his allowance of some ships to depart due to the urgency of their cargo did not constitute a license for ships to come and go freely. But most significantly, though the fellowship pleaded for Morton to grant them license, he would not, nor command them to halt sailing, but recommended they cease operations until the matter was heard by the king, and his personal license given. Plans were immediately made to ride to the king in Warwick, and settle the matter with him there. The delegation

¹³⁷ HL EL MS 2654, f 12v.

¹³⁸ BL Harley MS 305 ff 29v-30r.

returned in ten days with Henry's reply, and presented it to the reassembled company.¹⁴¹

Matters might also be suspended to wait upon the king's pleasure or attention, as suggested by a council entry which states the Lords Clifford and Dacre and Sir Christopher Moresby were committed to the Fleet for riot, sometime around 25 or 28th November 1488, then further states 'on the first December, the King being present, Lords Clifford and Dacre were fined £20 each for riots admitted against Moresby'.¹⁴² Rather unsurprisingly, when Lord Fitzwater departed without answer in a cause being heard during Hilary term 1490, he was sent a privy seal ordering his appearance before the king and council by himself or attorney, and in January 1496, a cause that had been heard by Arthur's council was handed over to the king's attention, as it was decreed that both parties were to appear before Henry personally, the following Thursday at Westminster.¹⁴³ Henry must then have passed this case on, as further action on it is taken in May of that year before a small group of the administrative council when the king was resident at Sheen, but it seems to have gone through his hands for determination of further action.¹⁴⁴ When the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Trevisian arrived in London in late August 1497, Henry had him brought to Woodstock and welcomed him, and though Trevisian was promptly sent back to London to await the king's return to his capital, apparently with the excuse that 'Woodstock was a sorry village', there are suggestions that such incidents were as much policy as privacy.¹⁴⁵ Raimondo de Soncino, the Milanese ambassador

¹³⁹ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, ff 54r-55v.

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix I, 216.

¹⁴¹ Lyell and Watney (eds.), *Mercer's Company*, pp. 300-302.

¹⁴² HL EL MS 2654, f 11r.

¹⁴³ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r.

¹⁴⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r.

¹⁴⁵ *CSP Venetian*, i, 754.

suspected Henry put him off in September 1498, when the king was ranging round Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, in order not to offend the king of France, as they were negotiating for the Orléans ransom, though the 'general opinion' amassed by Soncino was that the king preferred not to receive ambassadors while he 'kept little state', as he was presumably taking a smaller court with him on his peregrinations.¹⁴⁶

As well as 'privy' council business and requests, the king closely watched the business of his administrative council and his fiscal ministers regardless of his location, and the chamber accounts book for September 1499 to September 1505, contain 28 folio pages of memoranda which record items of business apparently recorded for the king as a result of discussion or report, and which feature varied margin notations indicating the state or resolution of the business. For example, the note 'vac p regem', presumably *vacatum per regem*, appears regularly throughout these pages, inscribed in the left margin next to various items, presumably denoting the item was settled in some fashion by the king. One of the clearest examples of this is a notation that Richard Mayhew, one of the king's chaplains and his almoner, 'offred unto the kyng on the behalve of the provost of Eaton C li for mortassing xx li of land and for xl marc more the king is content'.¹⁴⁷ The text of the memorandum delineates the king's wishes and input, and an immediate warrant of the king's, with the chancery date of 23 March, 1501, granted the provost and college of St. Mary Eton by Windsor, license to acquire mortmain lands to £27 per annum. A further memorandum addended indicates they acquired £20 worth of lands in November 1504.¹⁴⁸ This appears to have been a negotiation made personally between Henry and his servant, and consequently marked in the book as being sorted. Equally direct

¹⁴⁶ *CSP Venetian*, i, 771, 776. *CSP, Milan*, 584.

¹⁴⁷ BL Add. MS 21480, f 178v.

is a notation of 'finem fecerunt cum Domino Rege', next to an item to call for the forfeiture of recognizances of those men bound for customs of Hampton, or a bond with the margin note 'vacatum concordum cum Domino Rege' presumably indicating either Henry negotiated with Lorenzo Bonvici, the debtor, or the agreement was made commensurate with his approval. If Empson and Lucas did the negotiating, they may have had to render it up to the royal nod before the deal was closed.¹⁴⁹

Notations that provide evidence of the king's attention to business while noted to be out of London include one that states 'the kinges grace hath signed at Wodistok ii lres myssyves deliyverd to thandes of sir R Bray', dealing with licences for the customers of London and Hampton.¹⁵⁰ Another memorandum states that accounts of Sir John Turberville pertinent to his tenure at Calais were 'determined at Wyndesore in June anno xvii (1502) by the auditor' for Michaelmas 1500 to Michaelmas 1501.¹⁵¹ Henry was at Windsor in June 1502, and likely present at this accounting, considering a later notation that Richard Knight and John Durrant, Turberville's deputies, 'hath declared before Sir R Bray in the kinges presence' the entirety of Turberville's debt, and Durrant 'sheweth moreover before the king at Berkely' the sum he promised to 'save for the kinges behove' from the wages of his office, perhaps hoping to secure the office of Treasurer for himself.¹⁵² A notation on the same folio indicates a summary of the accounts of a John Walleston, lately cofferer to the Prince, which were made before the Prince's council, were delivered to Henry by Bray on 13 September, the eve of the Holy Rood, at which time the itinerary suggests

¹⁴⁸ *CPR, 1494-1509*, pp. 241-2. Whether the difference in the amount of lands is a scribal error or the result of further negotiation cannot be determined.

¹⁴⁹ BL Add. MS 21480, f 172r, and ff 58v, 62v, 65v for Bonvici.

¹⁵⁰ BL Add. MS 21480, f 175r.

¹⁵¹ BL Add. MS 21480, f 183r.

¹⁵² BL Add. MS 21480, ff 184r-v.

Henry may have been at Berkeley Castle or Fairford.¹⁵³ Henry was at Berkeley Castle in August and September of 1502, so it appears that administrative business as well as state matters were regularly taken to the king regardless of his location.¹⁵⁴ That the king's attention was sought early on in certain matters is suggested by the notation that Christopher May, a bailiff of Yarmouth and controller of customs showed his book to the king, Bray and Southwell to prove that a Robert Crowmer, customer there, gave false accounts to the king for his customs, and that the matter would be discussed 'at this next terme afre alhalotide'.¹⁵⁵ The margin note says action was taken for the situation but there is no sign of it in the records, so any further discussion may have remained between Henry and/or Bray, Southwell and the defendant.

Such a wealth of business argues the need for effective organization of its management, particularly if the Chancellor might be left to mind business in Westminster while the king pursued his happily peripatetic life. The need to keep the Chancellor at Westminster as required, and with an attendant clerk, yet keep business organized and running efficiently on progress, suggests excellent rationale for what appears to be administrative developments under Henry, that of a President of Council, and the division of the Clerk of Council's office into Westminster clerk and clerk of council attendant. The office of Lord President of Council appeared during Henry's reign and appears to have been intended originally as an aid to the organization and execution of business, whose use was shifted as its holders' responsibilities changed. Bayne identified Thomas Savage as President of the Council from 1495-1502, then Richard Fitzjames from 1502-6 and finally Edmund Dudley

¹⁵³ See Appendix I, p. 261.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix I, p. 261 for dates at Berkeley Castle.

from 1506-9.¹⁵⁶ Additionally, Guy names Richard Fox, Lord privy seal, as President in the early years of the reign, with the title likely being connected with the office of Lord privy seal.¹⁵⁷ The privy seal remained close to the king throughout the reign, and it is logical that an office whose holder oversaw the Court of Requests and council attendant business, as well as collected petitions and sorted business, much of which would require privy seals for summoning witnesses and defendants or requesting letters under the great seal after the resolution of cases, would develop from the work of the privy seal office.

With this in mind, it is interesting to explore the possibility of an additional metamorphosis of the office of Lord President, just prior to Savage's administration, related to the king's possible wish to maintain immediate access to the privy seal, a metamorphosis which might add another name to the list of Presidents. Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, may have briefly held custody of the privy seal in 1494-6, in anticipation of Fox's lengthy absences from court to handle Scottish business from his bishopric of Durham, and thus served as President of Council.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ BL Add. MS 21480, f 174v.

¹⁵⁶ *Select Cases*, eds., Bayne and Dunham, p. xxxv. PRO REQ 1/2, f 184v, 14 March, 1502 listed Fitzjames as 'presid' and Savage is acknowledged by that title, in the long chronicle of the Pilkington case, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, ii (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts 55; London, 1903), pp. 30-38, when the chronicler says Bishop Savage 'at that tyme and long aftur sete lord Presedent of the Kyng counsaile chamber,' and again PRO REQ 3/3, on a bill addressed to 'the Bishop of London, Lord President of the King's Council'. Guy's addition of 'on progress' in *Cardinal's Court*, p. 147, n. 104, makes perfect sense, as the title specifically appears only in relation to business done by Requests, as the only mention of this title in the Ellesmere extracts refers to a time when Henry was resident at Westminster, therefore the Lord President, then Savage, would have been hearing cases there.

¹⁵⁷ Guy, *Cardinal's Court*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁸ Even though the extant signet letters to the office of privy seal in PRO PSO 2/3 are scattered and scanty, it is still interesting to note that they stop rather abruptly in 1494, and of the two dated 13 H7, one, dated 25 November, is addressed to 'Master William Warham' as keeper of the rolls, rather than Fox, who might be presumed busy in the north during this time shortly after the siege of Norham. The other appears to have been misdated by the PRO, as it is addressed to the Bishop of Exeter, a title Fox had not held since 1492, and there is no evidence to connect the then Bishop, Richard Redman, to the office. Additionally, the signet letter is a request of letters patent for the grant of the surveyor and receivership of Richmond Fee and its lands, during the minority, of Edward, Earl of Warwick, the son and heir of Isabella, late wife to Clarence, to John Walsh. The

Such speculation arises from a listing of 'Eboracen C.P.S'. on the council attendance lists of 7 and 11 November, 1494 which Bayne identified as clerical error.¹⁵⁹

Rotherham appeared in roughly 50% of the council extracts during the first eight years of the reign, but he seemed unusually prominent in extracts of the period between November 1494 and July 1495, at the same time that Fox was conspicuously absent, and Rotherham was appointed head of the group given special order to study corruption in 1494, in the same session in which the initials 'CPS' appear by his name.¹⁶⁰ Fox was absent from those sessions for one of the few times since 1486, and Savage was present at the larger meeting of 1494, but not small judicial sessions of 1495.¹⁶¹ Rotherham did sit with those groups of four and eight councillors judging cases in Star Chamber in May and July 1495, and with a similar group in May 1496, again during a time when Fox was absent from the council extracts.¹⁶² The Chancellor was present at these meetings, and the combination of Morton and Rotherham strongly suggests his custody of the seal, as the Chancellor and Lord privy seal generally were present at 'privy' councils.

patent roll record is dated 21 July, 1486. *CPR 1485-1494*, p. 64. This would put it within the privy seal keepership of Peter Courtenay, who was then Bishop of Exeter. The notation for the year has been lost from the PSO letter, except for the date of 20 July, which fits in with this entire scenario; consequently this letter may be misfiled.

¹⁵⁹ *Select Cases*, eds., Bayne and Dunham, p. 28, n.1.

¹⁶⁰ HL EL MS 2654, f 15r. In this extract, the initials C. P. S. are clearly written next to and in conjunction with the notation 'Eboracen', while in HL EL MS 2768, f 5r, dated 10 November, BL Hargrave MS 216, f 148v, and BL Additional MS 4521, f 111r, the notation P: S: Custos is written below Eboracen, making it appear a separate notation. Prior to this, the notation was generally that of Fox's bishopric along with the letters CPS, the exception being 'Dns de PS' in February 1489. HL EL MS 2654, f 12v.

¹⁶¹ Fox may have spent part of 1495 in the North, certainly for his installation as Bishop, and Henry apparently gave him commissions of muster and concealment for the Northern Counties in March, April, and December. He was at Bishop Auckland in August. In January 1496, he was at Berwick with the army; in 1497 at Alnwick and Norham in March and Norham and Berwick in August-September. In 1498 Fox was at Norham in August and September and Melrose Abbey in November. In amongst these dates, he was heavily involved in negotiations with Scotland on the Truce of Ayton and the marriage, and presumably spent much time up north on that business. PRO E/101/414/6, f 23v, indicates Fox was up north in March 1496, as Henry sent letters to him in a batch that included letters to the mayors of York, Newcastle and Berwick.

Chrimes commented on Fox's extraordinary ability to perform his duties as keeper of the privy seal while being employed on such a preponderance of the king's major diplomatic embassies and negotiations, such as the Treaty of Étampes, the marriage of Princess Margaret to James IV, and the alliance with Archduke Charles.¹⁶³ If the title of Lord Privy Seal was created in order to provide Fox with a face-saving honorific, while allowing custody of the seal to shift to the head of council attendant, this would change that estimation somewhat, and explain the continual movement of the privy seal with the king. Henry may have been loath to remove Fox from the office in 1494, lest he 'lose face', or Henry lose a trusted ally in the office, but Fox was needed and trusted to help settle the North, and it is possible Henry designated that the Lord and Keeper were to be considered different positions. Rotherham may have thus served as both Lord President and Keeper of privy seal, eventually handing both tasks off to Savage.¹⁶⁴

The leadership of Requests seems to have shifted directly from Fox to Savage in early 1495, as both their names figure prominently among Requests attendance lists, while Rotherham is conspicuously absent.¹⁶⁵ Though Rotherham lived until 1500, his name disappears from the council extracts after 1496, when Savage came into prominence, and that there may have been a continuing shift in the offices powers and duties in that year seems likely from the fact that Savage was named to head a commission to treat for the marriage of Arthur and Katharine of Aragon in April

¹⁶² BL Lansdowne 639, f 23v-24r. Fox, though in London on 10 May, had been too ill to go to court, as he wrote to Lord Darcy. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers*, II, p. 57.

¹⁶³ Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 116-7. *Foedera*, xii, pp. 328-330 indicates Fox was involved in the marriage negotiations from 1487.

¹⁶⁴ In a personal conversation with Miss Condon, she argued that the deprivation from Fox of the office would have been too great a demotion for Henry to visit upon Fox. If, however, the title Lord Privy Seal was created with perhaps such a view in mind, and the keepership was then an alternative or subordinate position, then honour and purpose could both be satisfied. Fox is referenced in the

1496, and in May, Savage and Rotherham appeared to trade attendance at small council meetings.¹⁶⁶ Subsequently, Savage was present in both a plenary council meeting of November 1498, and a 'privy' council meeting of February 1499, while Fox was still absent.¹⁶⁷ In November 1499, at the largest recorded meeting in the extracts, Fox was present, and in his usual place in the attendance lists directly below the Chancellor. By 1501, Fox resumes his place in the council extracts.¹⁶⁸

The presidency of the Council in the first part of the reign was confined to bishops whose duties were multiple: Fox, Savage and Fitzjames, all served as head of requests and sat on the council during their respective tenures. However, a metamorphosis of the title came late in the reign with Edmund Dudley's term of office. The bestowal of the title upon Dudley, from approximately July 20, 1506 when he was identified as such on a grant, was a radical shift in both personnel and purpose, but suited to the needs of the situation.¹⁶⁹ From 1496-7, when Savage held the office, the use of the title as a means of bestowing authority can be surmised: on two occasions recorded in the extracts, the Lord President was the only other person outside of the Chancellor recorded to have sat alone in Star Chamber and made judicial decisions.¹⁷⁰ In giving Dudley the title of President, Henry gave him privilege in using the privy seal though his conciliar status would also have provided such means, but more importantly, it gave him a title of sufficient political importance to

extracts as Lord Privy Seal for the first time in 1489, in HL EL MS 2654 f 12v, and alternately as *custos* or *dominus* afterward.

¹⁶⁵ PRO REQ 1/1, ff 77r-94v.

¹⁶⁶ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r. According to BL MS 978, f 7r, Rotherham died 29 May, 1500.

¹⁶⁷ HL EL MS 2654, f 16v, HL EL MS 2655, ff 2r-v.

¹⁶⁸ HL EL MS 2654, f 16v. There are no intervening attendance lists until after Fox's shift to the Bishopric of Winchester in 1501.

¹⁶⁹ *CPR 1494-1509*, pp. 464, 471.

¹⁷⁰ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24v.

smooth his path in dealing with the king's business.¹⁷¹ As will be discussed in Chapter 4, this also produced a metamorphosis of the title in which it moved away from the council attendant.

The presidency appears to have begun as an office under Henry VII, while the clerkship of the council developed from an established office into a dual role. Both positions have been debated among historians, but no consensus reached.¹⁷² The initial appointee under Henry to the office of clerk of the council, John Baldiswell, had an unremarkable tenure but a curious ending to his term in office; his replacement in office, Robert Rydon, the Vice-Admiral of England was a different matter.¹⁷³ Rydon's position and background was markedly different from Baldiswell's, a prime example of the precept that the increased literacy of the fifteenth century gave greater numbers of laymen the opportunity to challenge the clergy for important offices; 'a lernyd man in the lawe Cyvyle' he was given duties ranging from legal matters related to admiralty affairs to diplomatic missions to Scotland, although his solitary journey may have been undertaken purely in his role as clerk, for supervision and signing of the final treaty with Scotland.¹⁷⁴ Baldiswell had also been given diplomatic missions, but it seems likely that during his tenure of the office he was confined to service with the court as clerk of council attendant. Conversely, the evidence supports the idea

¹⁷¹ Further connection with use of the privy seal comes from a letter in Kirby (ed.), *Plumpton Letters*, p. 112, dated February 1496, in which Plumpton's servant writes of speaking to 'my lord presedent' regarding a privy seal someone was trying to sue out against Plumpton.

¹⁷² Guy, *Cardinal's Court*, p. 147, n. 104. Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility' pp. 190-91. Pollard, 'Council, Star Chamber and Privy Council under the Tudors: I. The Council', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), pp. 343-353.

¹⁷³ According to Condon, 'Anachronism', p. 238, Baldiswell 'lost his reason', and was consequently replaced in his office. One could say nothing distinguished him so much as his leaving of office.

¹⁷⁴ 10 June 1499, a commission given to Rydon solely, 'clerk of council and vice-admiral of England' as plenipotentiary 'for the concluding of peace with James, King of Scots'. *CPR, 1494-1509*, p 180. G.D. Squibb, *Doctor's Commons* (Oxford, 1977), p.25, says 'the successful lay advocate in the early 16th century could look for promotion only to the judgeship of the Court of Admiralty', which explains Rydon's early affiliation with this body, but Rydon obviously found an alternate opportunity.

that Rydon was not clerk of council attendant, but excepting ambassadorial trips, he was ostensibly based in London.¹⁷⁵ In a letter from Rydon addressed to Dr. Middleton, regarding a cause between a Rodney Catt and one Polstede, it appears Polstede had brought suit against Catt, who had been committed to the Fleet by the council in November 1493 for stealing goods from Danish and Portuguese merchants. Catt's release to answer the charges had been requested of the Archbishop: Rydon was writing because Polstede subsequently withdrew the suit.¹⁷⁶ The letter was signed by Rydon, and dated 15 April, but with no specific year, and the location is indecipherable. It appears to be April 1494, by its position in timing and dating in the Requests book, at a time when Henry and the court were in Canterbury and Sandwich.¹⁷⁷ Middleton is presumably Robert Middleton, king's councillor and chaplain, and evidence suggests that between March 1493 and Middleton's death in 1499, Middleton travelled with the king and sat in Requests when not away on diplomatic business, and consequently Rydon addressed the letter to Middleton as the clerk of council travelling with the king.

Middleton's name appears continually in the list of attendees for requests but Rydon's only appears once in January 1496 when the court was at the Tower of London, and all Middleton's appearances on the extracts of council at Westminster occur when the king was present.¹⁷⁸ An earlier-discussed council extract for June-July 1500 mentions the king's letters 'directed to Mr Robert rydon then clerke of the

¹⁷⁵ In a discussion of Rydon's status with Margaret Condon in 1997, she stated her long-held belief that Rydon served as clerk when the Council was in Westminster. Pollard, 'Council, Star Chamber and Privy council', p. 346, also asserts that the person who is so named to that position in the privy seal records appears to be the clerk of the king's council in star chamber, or Westminster.

¹⁷⁶ HL EL MS 2768, f 4r for Catt's order of imprisonment.

¹⁷⁷ PRO REQ 1/1, f 100r. The privy seal was in Canterbury in mid-April, judging by PRO C82/119.

¹⁷⁸ PRO REQ 1/1, ff 77r-168v; PRO REQ 1/2 ff, 11v-14v. HL EL MSS 2654, ff 15r-16r; 2768, f 5r; BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r. Middleton was also the clerk for three privy seal warrants in 1496-7. PRO C82/145, 150, 158.

counsel'.¹⁷⁹ If this decree was perhaps sent on from the king at Canterbury, where he stayed for approximately two weeks at the end of June, it would indicate Rydon's stationary job in London, probably with the intent of having someone there Henry could rely on to handle important correspondence effectively.

When Rydon signed bills 'for the Council at Westminster' on 16 February 1504, the court was in Westminster. He signed again for the Chancellor and Lords of the Council at Westminster 27 January 1506, and for the council at Westminster 18 May 1506, both times when the court was at Westminster or Richmond.¹⁸⁰ Rydon's signature appears on several bills ordering privy seal s to be issued for cases in Star Chamber and even a case that appears to have gone to the Council Learned, in which Lord Clinton was summoned to appear at Westminster by privy seal order dated 22 November 1505.¹⁸¹ Clinton's case turned up in the Council Learned in Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas of 1506.¹⁸² Several of Rydon's privy seal orders were marked 'for the Lord Chancellor and Lords of Council', 'for the council, Lord Chancellor and others'.¹⁸³ Most of these coincide with times when Henry was in and about London, but besides the case of 1494, in May 1500 Rydon signed a privy seal request 'by order of the Lord Chancellor' at a time when Henry, along with a large number of his councillors, including Bishop Savage and Fox, Lord privy seal were in Calais.¹⁸⁴ As

¹⁷⁹ See above, p. 15-16. HL EL MS 2768, f 6v says Trinity 1500, so this should have been sometime between 21st June and July 8 in 1500. During most of that time, Henry was travelling outside of London. See Appendix I, pp. 254.

¹⁸⁰ PRO STAC 1/2/77, 107, 126.

¹⁸¹ Examples include PRO STAC, 1/2/54/2; 1/2/74, 79/2; 1/1/47.

¹⁸² PRO DL 5/4, ff 83r, 88r, 91r. It is not possible to determine if Rydon was acting under the orders of Council Learned or Star Chamber, but this again connects him with the business of the stationary courts.

¹⁸³ In PRO STAC 2/14, a writ giving the cause to the Abbot of Reading and Walter Elmys has 'Barons, clerk per consilium' on it. Barons was the Master of the Rolls at the time, a person generally present at Council meetings.

¹⁸⁴ PRO STAC 2/8/247-250. Rydon's signature also appears on a bill for the order of presumably a privy seal to summon Lord Clinton in the 'council at Westminster', with further notes indicating

explained earlier, it seems likely Morton was overseeing ongoing council business at Westminster, with Rydon acting as clerk of the various forms of council there, as in this time period there are records of a perjury trial in Star Chamber and the letters to Rydon regarding the Canterbury market.¹⁸⁵ Also in April 1502, bills were signed by Rydon and ordered by the Chancellor and Lords of the Council for decrees against rebels in York under the great seal, which were ordered by letters of privy seal.¹⁸⁶

This system of stationary and attendant clerks obviously suited Henry, for after Middleton's death, the position of clerk of council attendant appears to have been taken up by Robert Sampson, a privy seal clerk.¹⁸⁷ Bayne and Condon identify him as, respectively, clerk of the council of Requests and clerk of council attendant.¹⁸⁸ In October 1505, Sampson was the recipient of a letter written by Thomas Carvanell 'gengityllman ysser for the kyngys chamber' addressed 'unto hys welbelovyd M Sampson clerke off the concell with the kyng'.¹⁸⁹ In the letter, Carvanell indicated that he was writing about a matter for which he had already sent to Sampson for a privy seal, and was now asking for a postponement of the case as he was about to be married. Carvanell had been a member of the household since at least 1503, thus one presumes he was aware of to whom he should address his business.¹⁹⁰ Additional instances in which Rydon signed bills 'by order of the lords of council' or 'for the

Clinton appeared in November 1506. As mentioned above, in Michaelmas term 1506, Lord Clinton appeared before Council Learned. PRO DL 5/4, f91r.

¹⁸⁵ HL EL MS 2652, f 11r, says the letter containing Rydon's instructions was 'under the kings owne signet and hand to Robt Rydon Clerk of the Counsell'.

¹⁸⁶ PRO C82/230.

¹⁸⁷ Evidence from Requests points to one of the six privy seal clerks acting as clerk of council attendant in combination with Requests. The appointment of the clerk of the council, who was stationary at Westminster, was the appointment which appears in the patent rolls. Sampson continued to serve his function as privy seal clerk while travelling with the court, to judge by his signature on privy seal letters from outside London. PRO C82/196, 204 and 207 contain samples of those letters.

¹⁸⁸ *Select Cases*, eds. Bayne and Dunham, p. lxxxv. Condon, 'Anachronism', p. 234.

¹⁸⁹ PRO REQ 2/5/215.

council at Westminster' as compared to Sampson signing 'by order of the council of the lord King', or 'by the lord king's council', add to the evidence for the separation of function.¹⁹¹ Based on these observations, it seems Henry had a selected conduit for council business on progress, such as Middleton or Sampson, while Rydon maintained a stationary position from which to sort and direct the council business in London. Sampson's signatures on the bottom of privy seals begin to appear from May 1497, but more importantly from August of that year, his signature appears most frequently on privy seals that closely follow the king's itinerary, including the more obscure locations such as Sunninghill, Notley Abbey and Basingstoke, and he travelled with the king to Calais in 1500.¹⁹²

Sampson also conveys that sense of flexibility which is noted in the service of Henry VII, and which often makes it impossible to perceive an office or council as fully 'institutionalised'. An entry in the king's memoranda from sometime around 1501-2 refers to him as 'Sampson, Clerke of the Counsaill', and indicates that he may have been used by the Council Learned, as the entry links him with Mordaunt in a case of uncustomed wool, in which Sampson takes down a confession.¹⁹³ Sampson's clerkship of Requests is suggested by his signature on two bills requesting privy seals

¹⁹⁰ *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 309. Carvanell is also mentioned in PRO E101/416/11, a book describing from which source household members' wages were being paid.

¹⁹¹ PRO REQ 1/1 f 41r; 2/4/369; 2/8/6. PRO STAC 1/22/77.

¹⁹² Appendix I shows the king's itinerary. The letters from the privy seal itinerary in Appendix I which bear Sampson's signature, or endorsement as clerk, at the bottom, are dated Sept. 26, 1499 from Basingstoke, C82/196; June 3, 1500 from Calais C82/205; Sept 6, 1500 from Notley Abbey C82/210; June 13, 1504 from Sunninghall C82/259. There are many more with his endorsement, but these demonstrate the basis for the commentary on Sampson. The privy seal letters bear several different names during the course of the reign, and three in particular--Medley, Ashby and Reynold--are names identified during the course of the reign as signet clerks. *CPR, 1494-1509*, pp. 312, 367, 605. Sampson's name first appears in May 1497. After that, Sampson's name appears frequently, and if the king is away from London, Sampson's name is generally among those which appear on privy seal letters, and sometimes the only name.

¹⁹³ BL Add MS 21480, f 178r.

at the order of the king's council, and in the proceedings of requests.¹⁹⁴ He also took depositions in a case heard before the Court of Requests at Greenwich when the court was in residence there in July 1504.¹⁹⁵

In short, Henry appears to have developed offices and systems which kept him involved in the business of his kingdom regardless of his location, and ensured that the business itself ran smoothly. He also kept himself well-informed of the activities of his kingdom, and appears to have accepted counsel or information from any source which offered. An informed king was a wise king, and political treatises from the 14th to the 16th century, included the admonition to get advice from as wide a section of society as possible in a search for truth, as courtiers only flattered and nobles had other agenda.¹⁹⁶ J. P. Genet, in a discussion of political theory relative to the localities comments 'the late medieval king, was, in short, a man of dialogue. He had to take public opinion into account; he needed both to give information to his subjects, in order to justify his actions, and also to be informed of their desires and grievances.'¹⁹⁷ Henry's first progress in March-May 1486 offered such opportunities. The chronicler noted that 'in every shire that this king our souveragne lorde rode the Sheriffe of the same shire gave ther attendaunces...and in like wise the nobles of that Countre visited the kinges grace as he passed by'.¹⁹⁸ Henry appears to have both listened and encouraged dialogue. The town of Bristol pragmatically used their pageant poetry to let Henry know their commercial and economic concerns and their

¹⁹⁴ PRO REQ 2/4/369, 2/5/29.

¹⁹⁵ PRO REQ 2/1/33.

¹⁹⁶ See Christine de Pisan, *The Book of the Body Politic*, ed. K. L. Forhan (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 18-19; M. Day and R. Steele (eds.), *Mum and the Sothsegger*, (Early English Text Society, Old Series, 199; Oxford, 1936), p. 28.

¹⁹⁷ J.P. Genet, 'Political Theory and Local Communities in Later Medieval France and England', in J.R.L. Highfield and R. Jeffs (eds.), *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1981), p. 19.

hope that he would rectify them. As the oration by 'King Bremmius,' historical founder of Bristol declaimed:

This towne lefte In great prospertie
Havyng riches and welth many folde
The merchaunt the artyficer everyche In his degre
had great plentye both of silver and golde
and lifed in joye as they desire wolde
at my departing but I have ben so longe away
That Bristow is fallen into decaye

Irrecuperable without that a due remedy
By you ther hertes hope and comfort in this distresse
provede bee at your leyser convenyently
to your navy and clothe making whereby I gesse
The wele of this towne standeth in sikenesse
maybe maynteigned as they have bee
In dayes hertofor in prospertie.¹⁹⁹

Sidney Anglo notes that the timing of the pageant and Henry's meeting with the worthies of Bristol suggests he may have been listening to the poetry for clues, as the summons to the Bristol men and the resulting dialogue between king and subjects, which dwelt on the very issues raised by the poem, occurred after its presentation.²⁰⁰

Communication from the counties also came to and through courtiers, from men with stewardships and local offices, and nobles who served on commissions of the peace and were loyal to the king, and whose men used them as conduits of information. When Sir Robert Plumpton, who was probably then Constable of Knaresborough, sent Edward Plumpton, a London lawyer and servant of George, Lord Strange momentous news of Sir Henry Wentworth's departure from his assigned post in the North in 1490, Edward responded 'incontinent upon yt, I toke a bote, and went to Grenewich, and shewed the matters to my lord of Derby; and he

¹⁹⁸ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 18v, says at Acton, on the road to Bristol, Henry dined with the sheriff, Sir Robert Poyntz.

¹⁹⁹ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 19r.

²⁰⁰ S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969), p. 34.

appoynted me to attend uppon him unto he spake with the King and so I did'.²⁰¹ In a letter of Oxford's to John Paston III in January 1487, the Earl told Paston 'as for such tithynge as ye have sent hider, the Kyng had knowlech therof more than a sevyn-nyght passed. And as for such names as you have sent, supposyng them to be gone with the Lord Lovell, they be yitt in England, for he is departyng with xiiii personys and no moe. At the Kynges comyng to London, I wold advise you to see his Highnes'.²⁰² The Mayor of York sent on to Richard Fox, then Henry's secretary, an examination of a man who apparently had information about Lincoln's flight.²⁰³ When Philip, Archduke of Austria, washed up on English shores in 1506, two anonymous men brought the king news of the great event and were rewarded for it, but he also received letters from the Abbot of Milton 'and other knights and gentelmen in Dorsetshire'.²⁰⁴ Even the Irish lords understood the value of such offerings, to judge by Lord Howth's assertions that when Kildare sent secret letters to Margaret of Burgundy telling her of the boy they were calling her nephew, Howth himself determined to 'sende over to the king and advertysse him of all this matters frome the beginninge to the endinge whos was the doers of and maynteners of the holde matters in Ierland and Flanders'.²⁰⁵ After Henry's death, his faithful men kept the regency councillors well-supplied with information, as when Lord Darcy wrote to

²⁰¹ Kirby (ed.), *Plumpton Letters*, 87; p. 10-12 for discussion of family holding of the post at Knaresborough. 38, n. 1 identifies Edward Plumpton as Sir Robert's 'kinsman and legal adviser', and 39, n. 1 as George, Lord Strange's secretary.

²⁰² Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, 807.

²⁰³ P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.), *Letters of Richard Fox*, p. 10.

²⁰⁴ PRO E36/214, f 16r.

²⁰⁵ Lambeth Palace Carew MS 6232, f 114r-v. Howth also informed Henry of when the rebels left Ireland for England, giving Henry the opportunity to force a confrontation immediately, before they could gather adherents in England. *Ibid*, f 115r.

Bishop Fox in August 1509, warning of dissension among Northumberland's servants over the membership of the new king's council.²⁰⁶

Henry also seems to have awaited corroborative information before making decisions, or passing news along. A letter of William Paston to his brother John Paston III, in April 1489 was noted to be a copy of a letter from Henry VII to the Earl of Oxford, and in it the king states he wrote only after receiving two accounts of events in Brittany from different men, which verified each other, so he could be sure he was giving Oxford accurate news. Upon receipt Oxford apparently gave Paston leave to copy it and forward the information to interested parties.²⁰⁷ At a meeting with the Merchants Adventurers on 7 May 1491, over the issue of the safety of their ships on the annual expedition to Synxon Mart in the Netherlands, Henry's advice upon being consulted by their deputation was that the Adventurers 'shulde first send a fast man ouer the see' to discover, in confidence, the state of the country, the size of the army and navy lodged at Sluys under Philip, and whether Maximilian was planning to enter the Netherlands. Upon receipt of such information the king promised the Adventurers to 'shewe us more of his mynde & will' in the matter.²⁰⁸ The messenger returned within 11 days, and his letters were promptly taken to the king, who refused to commit ships to an expedition to Synxon Mart, and asked the Adventurers to hold

²⁰⁶ P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.), *Letters of Richard Fox*, pp. 43-4. Darcy's eagerness to provide Henry with information is also demonstrated in a letter in PRO SC1/44/7, in which he promises to bring Henry news of men committing unidentified offenses, and send any offenders he hears of to Henry's gaols, and also indicates he enclosed a letter from the Duke of Buckingham, who had requested Darcy's help in some matter, which Darcy refused until 'I myght know the plesir of your grace'. Darcy's entire letter is markedly obsequious.

²⁰⁷ Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, 412.

²⁰⁸ Lyell and Watney (eds.), *Mercers' Company*, pp. 213-5. The company subsequently sent a man to a mercer at Bruges, 'recityng the Kynges mynde aforsaid'. The contents of the letter essentially repeat the king's points, and state that the King requested the information.

off until he had received further information on the results of the Council at Malines and the movements of the Roman King from other sources.²⁰⁹

Evidence suggests that the king also performed his part in the dialogue between king and kingdom. In the letter from the king to Oxford of April 1489, mentioned above, Henry stated that having received news from Brittany through a trusted source, he was sending it on to Oxford 'as we dought not but that ye be desirous to undrestonde'.²¹⁰ Henry stated in a letter of April 1492 to Sir Henry Vernon that he had information 'by our espies that we have in the parties beyond the see, as othrewise' that the French were preparing for aggression against England.²¹¹ An instance in January 1496 of seven messengers going out in all directions simultaneously with letters to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford and Arundel, Lords de la Warr and Saintmond, and Walter Hungerford, John Cheyney, Brown, Darrell and Harcourt gives one the impression that something momentous was taking place; considering the letters were sent between one and two weeks after Perkin Warbeck's marriage to Katharine Gordon, perhaps the answer is only too obvious.²¹² All of the Earls listed, as well as Hungerford and Cheyney appear in the extracts as councillors, and all had served on commissions of array in previous years. Another messenger laden with letters was sent to the North in the second week of September 1496: the fifteen names listed included knights and lords who had served on commissions of array, the bishops of York and Durham and the Earl of Surrey, and may have been for information or requests for input in advance of the proclamation of

²⁰⁹ Lyell and Watney (eds.), *Mercers' Company*, pp. 215-6.

²¹⁰ Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters*, ii, 412.

²¹¹ *Duke of Rutland MSS at Belvoir Castle* (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts 24; London, 1911), p. 13.

²¹² PRO E101/414/6, f 16v.

25 September for war with Scotland.²¹³ Again, two weeks before the proclamation of musters for the Scottish invasion, letters went to the Earls of Wiltshire, Kent and Shrewsbury, Lords Abergavenny and Hastings, and the Marquis of Dorset.²¹⁴

Soncino's comment that 'the courtiers likewise have a great knowledge of our affairs' supports the belief that information acquired by Henry was shared with an eye to creating a united front, and also suggests that the great affairs of state were being discussed and opinions canvassed within the court, ostensibly the seat of 'privy' council.²¹⁵ Membrilla, a Spanish envoy, remarked in a letter of March 1509, that he could not swear to the accuracy of his report of the visit of Maximilian's ambassadors, 'but as all the affairs of this court directly that they are negotiated become public, it may be that he who told it me may have heard it in a good quarter'.²¹⁶ Such would appear corroborated by the public announcement of the Scottish marriage the day after the treaty had finally been ratified.²¹⁷ Indeed, so well informed on foreign affairs was Henry that the Milanese ambassador begged his master to send any intelligence given in greater detail or more quickly that he might have something new to tell Henry, as the Englishmen at the Roman court kept him thoroughly up to date.²¹⁸ De Puebla may have complained that Henry said one thing to him in private, then changed his mind after talking to his council, but when De Puebla canvassed opinion among the courtiers and councillors, he got the same story

²¹³ PRO E101/414/6, ff 45v-46r.

²¹⁴ PRO E101/414/6, f 84r.

²¹⁵ *CSP, Venetian*, i, 751.

²¹⁶ *Supplement to Volume I and Volume II of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London, 1868), p. 23. Membrilla's full name was Guiterre Gomez de Fuensalida, Knight Commander of Membrilla, but the calendared letteres generally identify him as Membrilla.

²¹⁷ *Foedera*, xii, (London, 1711), pp. 787-92, for treaty; Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 317 for announcement date.

²¹⁸ *CSP Milan*, 540; *CSP Venetian*, 751.

from all.²¹⁹ This tally of opinion fits the image of a court-based council discussing or ‘ripening’ topics among themselves, and presenting a unified ‘party line’ to Parliaments, great councils, and apparently, foreign ambassadors.

The business of Henry VII’s ‘privy council’ was focused around the king, wherever he might be, though a select council, led by the Chancellor in most cases, might remain in London to complete business in term or out, and act as surrogate for the king when he was necessarily absent. Whether the business at hand was debate on policy and affairs of state, judicial hearings, or administrative issues, Henry appears to have maintained control of the issues before his council even while away from the Westminster base of operations. Council at Westminster appears to have exercised the power to make minor or judicial decisions in the event of Henry’s absence, but the evidence suggests that in matters of state the king was the primary source of decision-making, and the leader of policy debate, and that even minor decisions taken in his absence would be rescinded if they did not meet with the king’s approval.

Additionally, Henry appears to have kept a close eye on judicial and administrative matters, even when he was absent from council meetings concentrating on those matters, and to have been well-versed enough in these affairs to intervene with advice, orders or decisions. The flexibility of conciliar roles and council numbers makes it difficult to be precise, but it is possible to conjecture smaller, judicially oriented meetings of council at Westminster, and plenary council in advisory mode which generated numbers similar to that of the later Tudor ‘privy’ councils, as well as their membership of courtiers and great officers. Despite the dearth of records and the necessity of conjecturing from small amounts of material, comparison of the extracts and related sources provides a framework for perceiving a method of doing

²¹⁹ *CSP Spanish*, i, 221.

council business which became more orderly and organized as the reign progresses, but which was at all times, firmly tied into the king as head and ultimate decision maker.

Chapter Two

King and Plenary Council:

the 'unreformed' council

The plenary councils or great councils of Henry VII were the point of contact for the king and a wider representation of his estates, and in which those councillors who were not involved in the 'privy' council would be informed of and consulted on, the major affairs of the kingdom. Whereas the personnel of the council attendant or 'privy council' of Henry VII was composed of courtiers and great officers, the personnel of the plenary councils were Elton's 'unreformed council' consisting of prelates, peers, knights, clerics and lawyers, in which the latter three groups all tended to be office holders or household members.¹ In particular, the composition of larger councils closely matches Holmes' descriptions of Henry's Great Councils, minus the burgesses, who were only summoned to be part of the Great Council when matters of taxation were under discussion--a mix of prelates, clerks, peers, knights and lawyers.²

This chapter will focus on the plenary council, its personnel, the issue of conciliar status, and the ways in which business appears to have been handed on from 'privy' council to plenary council and developed through layers of discussion. As John Guy observed, the plenary sessions fell within the law terms, and indeed, there seems to be a gradual formal development of a single time of year, All Hallows or All Saints as a gathering time for 'great' councils at Westminster.³ Further, the presence of the king at the meetings of his Great Council, and the process by which the issues presented to them had already undergone rigorous debate and assessment first,

¹ Elton, 'Tudor Government: ii. The Council', p. 27.

further enhance the picture of Henry as a monarch determined to supervise the process of debate and control decision-making regarding the issues at hand.

In his own brief extracts from the lost registers of the council, compiled in the late-Elizabethan or early Jacobean era, Sir Thomas Egerton included the heading 'Matters of State' for foreign war, treaties and ambassadorial visits, and issues affecting English merchants, those issues most likely to be brought to the plenary council. The extracts describe a body which is an instrument of royal power and one which took direction from, and deferred to, the king's wishes. Though there is little evidence the king sat frequently on judicial sessions, the extracts do reflect his presence at all plenary sessions of council, and the majority of those identified as the 'privy' council in advisory rather than judicial mode.⁴ The selection of his councillors appears to have been kept firmly within his hands, as is suggested by the number of councillors who were courtiers, household officers or great officers. The concern with control of issues that emerges from a study of conciliar business equally suggests a council in which the king maintained both a continued working interest and the final say.

Despite the difficulty of scarce and undifferentiated records, a few precise observations can be made: by the second half of the reign, extracts of the plenary council only show them meeting in November, and their business is largely confined to great affairs, such as reforms of apparel, foreign treaties and controversy among the London guilds. Even the quarrel between the Archbishop of York and the Duke of Northumberland which recurred during the council meetings of November 1504, reads as a matter perceived to be suited for a larger audience, given Henry's use of

² P. J. Holmes, 'The Great Council in the Reign of Henry VII,' *English Historical Review*, 101 (1986), pp. 842, 846-50.

³ Guy, *Cardinal's Court*, p. 7.

⁴ As noted from a study of the extracts contained in HL EL MSS 2652, 2654, 2655 and 2768 and BL MSS Hargrave 216, Harley 305, and Lansdowne 160 and 639.

the situation to issue a pointed homily on the behaviour expected of his lords spiritual and temporal. The plenary council also does not appear to meet and discuss only judicial business, with the exception of a meeting attended by 29 men in February 1489, and as the previous chapter noted, such could be the result of composite entries created for the extracts.⁵

Initially, the personnel of the plenary council seemed constructed to provide that 'institutional loyalty' described by Rosemary Horrox, which could be particularly useful to a king seeking to comprehend the customs and systems of court and politics.⁶ Henry's lack of experience in ruling made it essential to choose councillors who provided both experience and continuity, and cultivate reconciliation, particularly with those members of the political elite whose tenure was independent of the king's control. For example, in the first plenary meetings for which extracts exist, those of June and July 1486, among the six bishops who were not members of the exile court which gathered around Henry in France before Bosworth, five were councillors of Edward IV during both parts of his reign, while four of them also served Richard III in this capacity.⁷ Of those four, three had wide experience of council, court and governance. John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, had been Master of the Rolls, tutor to Edward V and President of his council as Prince of Wales, and temporary keeper of the Great Seal in 1472-3; Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, had served as Keeper of the Privy Seal and Lord Chancellor and enjoyed close ties to the court as chaplain to Edward IV; John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, had served as Keeper of the

⁵ HL EL MS 2654, f 12v. See Chapter One, pp. 4-5 for discussion.

⁶ R. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study in Service* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval History, 4th Series (Cambridge, 1989), p. 271.

⁷ Figures compiled from HL EL MS 2654, ff 1r-22r, BL Hargrave MS 216 ff 145v-146v; BL Harley MS 305, ff 26v-27r, BL Lansdowne MS 639, ff 23r-24v, and the varied lists of councillors for Edward IV and Richard III in J. R. Lander, 'Council, Administration and Councillors, 1461 to

Privy Seal, become Chancellor in the short administration of Edward V, and retained the post under Richard III until he fell under suspicion of favoring Henry's claim in 1485.⁸ Consequently, a considerable body of experience in administration and council as well as familiarity with the royal family and household were available from the clerics who were early council attendees.

It is difficult to make any generalizations about the noble presence at the initial council meetings of June-July 1486. What is most intriguing is to note the individual circumstances of those who did attend, and those who did not. The absences of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, William Fitz Alan or Mautravers, Earl of Arundel and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury from the June-July sittings of council after the king had returned from his northern progress of 1486 suggests those men were sent to keep peace and watch in the counties rather than sit in the council at Westminster.⁹ Oxford, Bedford and Devon had sizable lands and were unquestionably loyal to the crown, Suffolk and Arundel had adult heirs who sat in council, and any possible doubts about Shrewsbury's loyalty, after his efforts for Richard at Bosworth Field, were doubtless counterbalanced by the strong commitment of his uncle, Gilbert Talbot to the new regime.¹⁰ Oxford, Bedford, Devon, Suffolk and Arundel were

1485', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 32 (1959), pp. 166-179. The fifth man was Thomas Kempe, Bishop of London at Henry's accession.

⁸ The other man inherited from Edward IV, namely Thomas Kempe, Bishop of London, was king's chaplain by 1443, and a trier of petitions in every parliament between 1450 and his death in 1489. Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Cambridge to 1500*, pp. 5-6 for Alcock, pp. 489-90 for Rotherham. Emden, (ed.), *Biographical Register of Oxford to 1500*, ii, pp. 1032-4 for Kempe, and iii, pp. 1609-10 for Russell.

⁹ HL EL MS 2768, f 2r-v; HL EL MS 2654, ff 1r-7r.

¹⁰ M. Bennet, *The Battle of Bosworth* (Gloucester, 1985), pp. 90-2, and 129-30 says the arrival of Gilbert Talbot's company in Newport on the march to Bosworth Field was 'the first significant commitment from an English well-wisher', and suggests Talbot could have served as advocate for his nephew after Bosworth. Talbot was appointed to the first commission of the peace in Shropshire under Henry in November 1485; the young earl was not appointed until the following November. *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 498.

rapidly assigned to commissions of the peace, and their areas of duty, along with Derby's, formed linking blocks that covered the coastlines and ringed the centre of England up through the midlands, except for Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire, where the Earl of Wiltshire held sway.¹¹

With the exception of Derby, the proportion of attendance at plenary councils by the above mentioned six men, as reflected in the extant records, was minimal in comparison to other peers, namely John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon, William de Berkeley, Earl of Nottingham (who became Marquis of Berkeley in 1489), Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset and Edward Woodville, Earl of Rivers.¹² Bedford is only recorded at one plenary council meeting before his death in 1495.¹³ Arundel, Devon, Shrewsbury and Suffolk do not appear at all in the plenary extracts for 1486, and Oxford's appearances are in 'privy' council extracts.¹⁴ The idea that strong, strategically placed nobles' first priority was in the localities might also be suggested by the drop in attendance of Oxford, Devon, Arundel, and Shrewsbury in 1496-8, when the Warbeck issue and the possibility of war with the Scots was at its height.

An illustration of Henry's use of strong men on the perimeters, rather than in attendance at court, can be found in the case of the 4th Earl of Northumberland. Though taken prisoner at Bosworth Field, Northumberland was not attainted in the

¹¹ *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 481-508. Virgoe, 'Recovery of the Howards', pp. 9-11 discusses Oxford's local service and influence on 'crown appointments to local offices'.

¹² Operating with the consciousness that this is a limited attendance list for 24 years worth of council, but concentrating on comparison within the records which exist.

¹³ HL EL MS 2654, f 8r for meeting; Cheney, *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 451 for date of death.

¹⁴ HL EL MS 2654, ff 1r-7r; BL HargraveMS 216 f. 145v-146v; BL Harley MS 305 fo. 26r-27r for June-July extracts. BL Add. MS 4521, fo. 105r for Oxford.

first Parliament, perhaps due to his non-participation in the battle.¹⁵ Bennet suggests Henry attempted initially to supplant the Earl with other men, but found such a venture unsuccessful. None of the men named in the commission given 25 September, 1485 to array the men of Yorkshire in the event of Scottish invasion--Lords Clifford, Greystoke, Scrope and Fitzhugh--had Northumberland's status with the political community.¹⁶ The suggestion that Northumberland had lost political credibility in the north seems contradicted by a notation in the council records for December 1485 that a messenger was to be sent to the Earl to ask his opinion in the contentious issue of office of recorder for the city of York.¹⁷ Northumberland's actions in this regard may have convinced Henry to restore him to his leadership in the North, and by early 1486, Northumberland had the captaincy of Berwick, was restored to the wardenship of the east and middle Marches, and received exemption of Edward IV's several grants of office to the Earl from the Act of Resumption passed in the first parliament.¹⁸ Henry may have reserved a means of leverage over the Earl by not adjusting the Northumberland commissions of the peace to include him, but the Earl

¹⁵ C. Ross, *Richard III* (Berkeley, 1981), pp.221-222, suggest Northumberland's men may have held back from the battle largely because of logistical conditions that rendered them "out of touch" of the battle and unable to join in. Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 319, says, rather, that the Earl may have been 'honouring an earlier undertaking to Tudor'. Bennet, *Battle of Bosworth*, pp. 130-1, suggests Henry may have had his suspicions of Northumberland's motives, and that the Burgundian chronicler, Jean Molinet claimed Northumberland wished to promote the Earl of Warwick's claim.

¹⁶ *CPR, 1485-1494*, pp. 39-40. Bennet, *Battle of Bosworth*, pp 130-31 for discussion of alternative lords.

¹⁷ YCA/B. 2/4, ff 171r, 176r-177r, 181r-183v. The recorder of York, Miles Metcalf was under suspicion of sedition, and on 2 October, the King requested the appointment of Richard Green in his place. The council complied, but installed Green in the office only until Metcalf could gain his pardon. In December, Henry proposed Richard Green be promoted to the office permanently, and Northumberland provided his endorsement. The council then 'postponed' their answer in the issue, until their parliamentary representatives returned to York, and 'yeve ther advice with all othre of the counsaile...'. By 13 December, Metcalf had been pardoned and reclaimed his post.

¹⁸ *RP*, vi, p. 344. Also in *Foedera, conventiones, letteræ ...et Acta Publica*, eds. T. Rymer and R. Sanderson, xii, (London, 1711), p. 291, in a 1486 treaty with Scotland, Northumberland is identified as warden of the East and Middle Marches, Dacre of the West marches.

was named to all three Yorkshire commissions of the peace between 1486 and his death.¹⁹

The York council books and other sources indicate Northumberland was most frequently in the north after his release in December 1485; he was certainly at Braucepeth on 17 January 1486.²⁰ Once reestablished up North, he appears to have come south only when he had business to transact with the king, or attended Parliament. In addition, several letters from Northumberland to Robert Plumpton between 1487 and 1489 were written from castles and lordships in the north, and the Earl supposedly left Parliament before it ended in 1489 to return North.²¹ He was in London for the first several days of March 1487, perhaps after the end of the Great Council held at Sheen. William Paston says this meeting resulted in an indenture with Henry 'for the keyynge owt of the Schottys and warrynge on them, and [Northumberland] schall have large money, I can not tell the some for certeyn'.²² Northumberland went back to the North on 8 March, and the indenture for the garrisoning of Berwick and the funds to support it were discussed in a council meeting in late January of 1488.²³ Various incidents, as well as his death in the

¹⁹ The highest ranking member of the first commission of the peace in Northumberland, which was issued in September 1485 was Ralph, Lord Greystoke, who was also named to the commission mentioned above. *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 495-6, 506-7.

²⁰ YCA/B. 2/4, f 189v.

²¹ Kirby (ed.), *Plumpton Letters*, pp. 71-2, 74, 77-8, 80, 84. Northumberland wrote letters to Plumpton regarding various bits of business from Richmond in June 1487, Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire later that month, twice from his manor of Leconfield, Durham, twice from his castle of Warkworth and twice from Seamer.

²² N. Davis (ed.), *The Paston Letters, A.D. 1422-1509*, II, 409. The progress described in this letter nearly matches Henry's itinerary of 1487, due to the several locations mentioned and the goal of spending Easter in Norwich, as Henry did that year, according to BL Cotton MS Julius, B xii, f 25v. See Appendix I, pp. 213-4.

²³ The formal resolution of what was probably a private consultation is reflected in the extracts HL EL MS 2768, f 3r; BL Hargrave MS 216, f 146v. On 30 January 1488 the council discussed the terms of Northumberland's indenture for holding Berwick in the event of a Scottish assault. It is not entirely surprising that it was put off this long, as it appears Henry and Northumberland's discussions were broken off by the news that Lincoln had gone to Flanders and 'accompanied hym self with the kinges rebelles and enemyes', [BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 25r] after which most of

process of obeying the king's command to rigidly enforce the collection of taxes, suggest Northumberland was satisfied with his position, and willing to serve Henry.²⁴ When the opportunity arose to pursue the king's interest in the issue of the York recorder, Northumberland promptly took advantage of the situation to nominate Richard Greene, Henry's original choice.²⁵ During Henry's first progress to the North in 1486, Northumberland met him 'with right a great and noble company', which could have been part show, part protection, as the chronicler of the first progress noted 'in that tyme ther wer certeyne Rebelles aboute Rypon and midlem', and thus the king was accompanied by a formidable force.²⁶ In all, he appears to have served his purpose as well as Henry could have hoped.

Those nobles who did attend the first plenary sessions in 1486 included some with the need to gain royal favour. Dorset, whose name appears in all the extracts for the 1486 council meetings, was perhaps more hazardous away from court, hence his appearance at 16 of the 19 possible council meetings recorded in the extracts.²⁷ This changed radically by 1492, when Dorset was needed in the counties, as Lincoln, Nottingham/Berkeley, Rivers, Lisle, Northumberland, Suffolk and Huntingdon were all dead, and the Marquis began to receive appointments to commissions of the peace

the spring and summer was taken up with suppressing rebellion and the fall with the Queen's coronation.

²⁴ Perhaps this faithful service to the new king did Northumberland no favors personally. Kirby (ed.), *Plumpton Letters*, p. 10 mentions the conjecture that the mob which killed him were motivated by the anger of Richard III's former annuitants.

²⁵ YCA/B. 2/4, f 181r, letter dated November 1485, from London. YCA/B. 6, ff 5r-7r for letters from Alnwick.

²⁶ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 9v, for the retinue; f 10r for the quote. Davis, (ed.), *Paston Letters*, ii, 804, has a letter from the Duke of Suffolk to Paston, dated 20 October, 1485, warning him to have his men ready to join the king in defense array on an hour's notice, due to the possibility of rebels who have retreated to Scotland to make trouble.

²⁷ Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 293-4 and R.A. Griffiths, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (Gloucestershire; 1997 reprint), pp. 126-7, discuss Dorset's attempted abandonment of Henry in 1485, under the inducement of his mother, and his return to the exile court either by persuasion or force. HL EL MS 2654, ff 1r-7r; BL Hargrave MS 216 ff 145v-146v; BL Harley MS 305 ff 26r-27r for June-July extracts.

in 1493.²⁸ But by June, 1492, Henry had gained the wardship and marriage of the Marquis' son, Lord Harington, and the young man was maintained at court 'in the king's service', at his father's cost, by the terms of an indenture between Dorset and the King.²⁹ The Earl of Lincoln also had a father in the counties, but his age necessitated a different approach; he was not appointed to commissions of the peace, and the commissions of gaol delivery and enquiry to which he was appointed always included the more favoured nobles such as Oxford and Bedford: it is possible that Lincoln's previous incarnation as Richard's heir presumptive made his reconciliation suspect.³⁰ Perhaps the presence of Lincoln, and later, his brother Edmund, at court and council, as well as Dorset's heir, was, as Lander suggests, a means of encouraging their fathers to good behavior; it may also have been felt to provide a means by which to develop an affinity.³¹ Fortescue recommended raising young noblemen at court, saying it would bring them under the influence of those of a superior nature and direct them in a "propitious" manner, a comment which seems to hint that Fortescue believed it would aid in creating solidarity and eliminating faction.³²

²⁸ *CPR, 1485-1494*, pp. 487-88, 498 and 505 for Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire, all in March 1493, pp. 495, 504 for Northamptonshire and Warwickshire in April 1494, and pp. 491 for Leicestershire in July 1494. Accounting for the fact that the patent rolls do not appear to have recognized a difference between himself and his son, he remained on all those commissions until his death in 1501, and was added to Cornwall, Devon and Leicestershire in February 1495, *CPR, 1494-1509*, pp. 633, 636, 639-642, 645, 652, 655-6, 663, 665.

²⁹ *CCR, 1485-1500*, 612, is the text of that indenture..

³⁰ *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 106, 107, 481-508. Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 299, and Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 158-9, point out that only one contemporary chronicle claims Lincoln was Henry's acknowledged heir, but that he would likely be heir presumptive, due to Clarence's attainder.

³¹ J.R. Lander, *Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth-Century England* (London; 3rd edn., 1977), p. 178, says Henry 'bullied' Dorset into the indenture mentioned above in n. 29, which gave the bulk of his estate to feoffees named by the king, for term of Dorset's life, to be voided, and the estate passed on in the usual manner of inheritance if Dorset behaved himself.

³² Sir John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, ed. S. Lockwood (Cambridge, 1997), p. 64. D.A.L. Morgan, 'The house of policy: the political role of the late Plantagenet household, 1422-1485', in D. Starkey, D.A.L. Morgan, J. Murphy, *et al* (eds.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), pp. 36-7 also mentions Fortescue's comment, and the desire of Henry VI's guardians to make the household 'the focus of the

Others of the nobility whose backgrounds provided Henry with reasons for caution, if not outright suspicion, were present in the early council meetings. The Earl of Huntingdon, like Lincoln, was excluded from local office, as was Rivers initially, but perhaps with good reason: Huntingdon would have been a competitor for Bedford in his Welsh holdings, as well as possibly resentful of his former title of Pembroke being taken up by the king's uncle. Rivers' affinity was in East Anglia, where he would have competed with Oxford, a stronger rival.³³

The Earl of Derby's appearance at council was a reversal of the situation regarding Suffolk and his heir. Derby sat on council frequently throughout his lifetime, while his heir, Lord Strange, was apparently trusted with the duties of peace-keeper and noble presence in the localities. The Earl's consistent presence at court can no doubt be attributed largely to his role as husband of the 'noble Prynces' Margaret, who was a vital and visible part of court life.³⁴ He and his wife were

aristocratic community' by encouraging the residence of young nobles such as Richard, Duke of York.

³³ For Huntingdon, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom*, eds. V. Gibbs et al (13 Vols.; London, 1910-40), x, pp. 402-3; for Rivers, *Complete Peerage*, xi, pp. 24-5; for Dorset, *Complete Peerage*, iv, pp. 418-9. *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 481-508. Rivers was actually appointed a JP in Northamptonshire in February 1486, but Kent and Welles were already serving in that area. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III: 1476-1485* (London, 1901), pp. 566-580, indicate the counties where Rivers was appointed JP under Edward were nearly all ones in which Bedford and Oxford were newly appointed, and Henry might have wished to avoid possible power struggles. S. J. Gunn, in his essay 'Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex', in G.W. Bernard (ed.), *The Tudor Nobility* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 134-179, discusses Essex being kept close to court and away from the county because he would be competing with Oxford, the noble Henry trusted above all others.

³⁴ The Act of Parliament reestablishing Margaret in her estates and titles refers to her as 'Countess of Richmond' and 'King's Mother'. *Rotuli Parliamentorum* London, 1767-77), vi, pp. 311-12. BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 41v, calls Margaret 'the high and myghty princesse his moder', and throughout the manuscript 'the king the qwene and my ladye the kinges moder' are frequently grouped together at the head of festivities, and in other events mentioned in BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, such as ff 48r-v, when Margaret is included in procession with Henry and Elizabeth at the St. George's feast 1488, though at that same feast 'noon kisede the gospell nor pax save the king and the quene', or ff 65r-v, when a taper is borne for her immediately after the King's and Queen's at Candlemas 1490. E101/413/11/52, a signet letter with the sign manual dated 20 January 1497 is an order for purple velvet to be used during the ceremony of the tapers to be borne before Henry, Elizabeth and Margaret at the upcoming Candemas, indicating this tradition continued. Fisher's funeral sermon referred to her as 'the Noble Prynces Margarete'. J. Hymers (ed.), *The Funeral Sermon of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1840), pp. 105-7 and 164-7,

constantly with the King at the great holidays and festivities, and Derby's notes of expenses for his stay in London from 17 December 1491-12 March 1492 are a catalogue of business both personal and royal, such as privy seals sent to Staffordshire regarding cases of illegal hunting, trips to Lambeth 'for my lordes matters' and 'to get the boke of the commissions sealed', and paper bought 'to make the boke of the benevolence of Devonshire and Cornwall', presumably a record of the monies gathered in those counties from the July 1491 commissions.³⁵ On 23-24 December, Derby hired boats and carts to move his baggage to Greenwich and then on to Eltham, where the king and court were apparently spending Christmas, and he remained there until 6 January, travelling back to London from Greenwich with Bray on 7 January, roughly the same time the court moved again.³⁶

When examining the lay councillors who feature in the first June and July plenary council meetings, the issue returns to continuity and service. Most had records of royal service dating back to Edward IV. Sir Thomas Montgomery was a knight of the body and the garter, warden of the mint, and JP in Essex and Buckinghamshire under Edward IV as well as a councillor to Edward and Richard III; Sir Thomas Bouchier was a knight of the body to Edward and past JP in Surrey and Kent as well as a steward of royal lands; Sir John Risely had served as squire of the body to Edward IV, and briefly, to Richard III; Sir Roger Tocotes was a former JP

show that Margaret signed at least one letter 'Margaret R', but this could have meant either *regina*, or Richmond as appears on another letter signed 'M Rychemond'. M.K. Jones and M.G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), pp 69-70, calls Margaret's status 'semi-regal' and compares her presence at court to that of Cecily, Duchess of York in her son's court, pointing out, however, that Cecily was 'posthumously recognized as 'queen of right' her husband as rightful king.

³⁵ WAM 5474, ff 21v, 24r, 25r.

³⁶ WAM 5474, ff 21r, 22r. See Appendix I, pp. 225-6, for king's movements.

and sheriff in Wiltshire, and councillor to the Duke of Clarence.³⁷ All of these men were estranged from Richard III at some point before Bosworth, but, more importantly, they offered a mine of collective experience in local politics and royal service, continuity, and valuable input regarding what constituted political failure and discontent.

Did the council's personnel change or develop over the years? From the beginning, council, particularly the privy council, was composed of a nucleus of men whose contribution or adherence to Henry's cause before the battle at Bosworth Field gained them early favour with the new king: Morton, Fox, Risley, Reginald Bray, Thomas Lovell and Richard Guildford being most prominent among them. The lawyers and judges were closely tied to royal service and dependent on royal pleasure, as they had either been appointed to, or confirmed in, their posts by the king. This group included the king's serjeants-at-law, the chief justices, and the king's attorney general and solicitor, with an anomalous position being served by Bray, in his multiple roles as personal fiscal advisor, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and undertreasurer. As the reign wore on, plenary councils included an increasing number of those who had been, or still were, affiliated with the household or served in administrative offices. This observation appears to lend comparison with the early councils, albeit the household or administrative service having been under Edward IV or Richard III--by the 1500's, Henry had built a clerical and administrative base of his own from his household members. Of the seven prelates attending a council meeting

³⁷ Information compiled from Wedgwood, *Parliament Registers*; *Dictionary of National Biography*, eds., L. Stephens and S. Lee (63 Vols.; London, 1885-1900); Horrox, *Richard III*, and *CPR, Edward IV-Richard III, 1476-1485*. Sometimes it is extremely difficult to determine which Bouchier is being referred to, the younger or the elder, but it appears the younger was commissioner and JP in Surrey and Kent and the elder in Hertford and Suffolk. *CPR, 1485-1494*, pp. 279, 323, 349, 488, 490, 501, 502. This may be Thomas the younger, as in 1493, the grant for Windsor was renewed

on 16 November, 1504, six had been king's clerks or chaplains, or served in offices that required close association with the court.³⁸ William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury had been a king's clerk, and Master of the Rolls from 1494-1502, while Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, served as king's secretary and presumably one of his chaplains from 1485-7 as well as a member of the court in exile.³⁹ Richard Mayhew, Bishop of Hereford had been a king's clerk and almoner from at least 1497, and his name appears among the requests lists of attendance occasionally from March 1494 to March 1500, Richard Nykke, Bishop of Norwich had served as registrar of the garter and Dean of the Chapel Royal, Thomas Savage, Archbishop of York was a former King's Chaplain and President of the Council, and Chancellor of the Earldom of March and William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, called king's chaplain in a grant of 1487, was a member and then head of Arthur's council in Wales from 1493, and had served as Dean of St. Stephen's Chapel in Windsor.⁴⁰ The king's almoner also appears to have been a regular member of the council, with Urswick, then almoner, present at meetings in 1486, 1491 and 1495, and the title alone used to identify the presence of this officer in council sittings of November 1494, 1499 and 1503, and July of 1504.⁴¹ Whether this shift from naming the almoner to simply identifying him by office can be taken as an equation of the post with council membership is difficult

with Thomas and Giles Daubeney, the language indicating this was the same Thomas who received it in 1485, and so perhaps was involved in council. *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 422.

³⁸ HL EL MS 2655, ff 3r-v; 2654, ff 19r-v. *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 108; PRO Requests 1/1 f 82r.

³⁹ Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Cambridge to 1500*, pp. 239-41 for Foxe. Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Oxford to 1500*, pp. 1988-1992 for Warham.

⁴⁰ For Mayhew, *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 108; PRO Requests 1/1 ff 48r, 82r, 91r; 1/2, f 96r. For Nykke, see Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Cambridge to 1500*, pp. 430-1; for Savage, *CPR 1485-1494*, p. 7, and see Chapter 1, pp. 41-6, for discussion of the Presidency. For Smith, see Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Cambridge to 1500*, pp. 536-7, and *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 48.

⁴¹ HL EL MS 2654 and 2655, *passim*.

to say, but the king's secretary is also generally identified by title rather than by name after 1488.⁴²

Of the barons in attendance at that same meeting of November 1504, Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert and Thomas, Lord Darcy had served as knights of the body, and Giles, Lord Daubeney was Chamberlain of the household. Three of the knight councillors--Lovell, Guildford, and Edward Poynings--were knights of the body and Lovell was Treasurer of the household, whilst Guildford served as comptroller.⁴³ Another knight present was Robert Drury, then deputy seneschal of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁴⁴ An examination of those knights whose council careers span the term of the reign or who appear most frequently in the records during a particular period, include Richard Guildford and Thomas Lovell, John Risely, Reginald Bray, Richard Croft, Edward Poynings, Thomas Bouchier, and Walter Hungerford. Poynings, Bouchier and Risely were perennial figures in council and at court events and festivals, and they continued to serve faithfully throughout the reign. Croft was Treasurer of the household until roughly 1494, Bray served essentially as Henry's chief fiscal and estate administrator until his death, and Hungerford may be presumed a knight of the body, as he appeared in the company of the king and court in most of the major events of the reign.⁴⁵ Consequently, the frequent attendees seem bound to

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ *CPR 1494-1509*, p. 334. Mackie, *Earlier Tudors*, pp. 649-50. Guildford also appears to be identified in BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, ff 22v and 51v as knight constable at Arthur's christening, and vice-chamberlain, respectively.

⁴⁴ DL 28/6/2, f 8r, for Drury's post.

⁴⁵ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii mentions the above names intermittently; ff 9r-v, Hungerford, Poynings and Risely were on the 1486 northern progress, and perhaps Bouchier; f 36v, Poynings was one of the knights of the body who carried the canopy at Elizabeth's coronation in 1487; ff 51r-v, Bray and Lovell were with the king during Whitsunday 1488 at Windsor, and Guildford, Lovell and Bray were with the king at All Hallows that same year; f 53r, Risely served as 'host' to the embassy of the King of Romans at the receipt of the cap and sword, and Bray, Lovell, Guildford and Crofts were at the Christmas feast that year. For Easter 1489, f 53v, Bray, Lovell, Guildford and Risely were with the court, and f 54r, Lovell and Risely were with the king's army when they headed north in May. Bray's wife also appears at varied times, as does Lady Guildford, either wife or

the king's interest either by virtue of household/court position, administrative position, or a combination of the two, and their names appear frequently in varied mentions of court festivals and royal progresses as well as councils. These men were also generally stewards or constables on the king's lands or castles, a further tie to the king as employer/landlord; the Bouchier family held the constabulary of Windsor and acquired that of Leeds, Risley was constable of Pleshey castle in Essex, Hungerford held stewardships in Wiltshire of both Duchy lands and lands of the Earl of Warwick's, Guildford held lands formerly of the Duchess of York, and Bray and Lovell each held multiple stewardships.⁴⁶

Of the remaining men present at that same November 1504 meeting, Nicholas West and Richard Hatton were both king's chaplains and diplomats, Geoffrey Simeon was the Dean of the King's Chapel, James Stanley was a household cleric, Thomas Ruthall was king's secretary and Henry Wyatt was keeper of the jewels.⁴⁷ The chief justices and Edmund Dudley were part of the king's judicial and fiscal administration, and appointees of the king. Even the peers present were not exempt from royal influence, thanks to the number of minors who inherited peerages early in the reign, and the placement of noble heirs at court or under loyal influence. The 3rd Duke of

mother, and Lady Croft, as in ff 50r, 53r. Risely was with Urswick on embassy to Maximilian in 1492 prior to the Breton war. P. Vergil, *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil (ed.)*, D. Hay (Camden Society, Third Series, 74; London, 1950), p. 52. Hungerford was present at Prince Henry's creation as Duke of York, as were Risely and Bouchier. Hungerford was also listed with the knights of the entourage at Henry's meeting with Archduke Philip at Calais in 1500, as were Risely, Poynings and Bouchier, and was one of those appointed to organize the welcome for Katharine of Aragon, as well as meet her on the last leg of her approach to London upon her arrival in 1502, all which tends to point towards his inclusion as a knight of the body and regular member of court. Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 3. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers*, i. pp. 403-4 and 408-10, ii, p. 87.

⁴⁶ Steve Gunn indicates in 'Bouchier, Earl of Essex,' *Tudor Nobility*, p. 139, that Windsor Castle constabulary had been in the hands of the Bouchiers since 1455.

⁴⁷ Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Cambridge to 1500*, p. 293, for Hatton. *CSP, Spanish*, i, 564, identifies the handwritten corrections on Henry's bond for 250,000 crowns for the completion of Mary and Archduke Charles' marriage as that of Dr. West. PRO E30/1729. Several corrections on that bond simply change Maximilian's title from King of the Romans to Roman Emperor-elect.

Buckingham was a king's ward at Henry's accession, and the underage Buckingham as well as two of Northumberland's children and the fourth earl of Westmorland were all at one time under the supervision of Margaret Beaufort.⁴⁸ Therefore, of 33 councillors present at the aforementioned meeting, roughly nineteen had household/court connections past or present. Dudley and perhaps Roger Layburne, Bishop of Carlisle were involved in the king's chamber finance, while at least two more--Herbert and Derby--had familial ties by blood or marriage with Henry.⁴⁹ Even Humphrey Coningsby, his serjeant-at-law was appointed 'during pleasure'.⁵⁰

The numbers, as stated at the beginning of the chapter, generally ranged from 25-66, but caution must be taken in calling all who appeared in the attendance lists councillors. The vexed issue of 'councillor counting' in which Bayne's numbers appear to hold static for most Tudor historians, urgently requires reassessment, an issue on which excellent observations have been made by M.M. Condon.⁵¹ In a situation in which it can be demonstrated that a small, court-based cadre was making policy after a period of intensive information-gathering and discussion with those possessing specialized knowledge, it is perfectly natural to expect several names to appear only once or twice, at times when their input was relevant to a particular

⁴⁸ *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 113. WAM MS 32364, the accounts of Margaret's treasurer between August 1489 and August 1493 contains records of the issues of Brecknock, Hunting and Haye, properties of the estate meant to provide for the boys, and lists payment to Sir David Philip for expenses of 'lord Harry of Buck'. B. J. Harris, *Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham* (Stanford, 1986), pp. 33-34 has a good explanation for Margaret's wardship of the boys. One may also speculate whether Henry's attempts to marry off the ten-year-old Duke to the heiress of Brittany in 1488 was an attempt to both use his ward to gain a greater claim on Brittany, and to give Buckingham a future focus outside of England, thus possibly removing him as a present threat. *CSP, Spanish*, i, 29. J. Currin, 'Henry VII and the Treaty of Redon', *History*, 81 (1996), p. 355 favors the first explanation.

⁴⁹ Derby's connection was step-nephew-in-law by marriage--but his grandfather was certainly a close satellite of the court. Herbert was the illegitimate son of Henry Beaufort, 2nd Duke of Somerset, and obviously favored by Henry. *Complete Peerage*, xii, Pt. ii, pp. 846-50. PRO C82/105, contains a privy seal letter of 9 April, 1493 from Henry, which gave an annuity of ten marks to Jane Hill, 'moder to Sir Charles Somerset, Knight'.

⁵⁰ *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 222.

⁵¹ Condon, 'Anachronism', p. 231-2.

situation, an action of council which Condon perceives as traceable to the wording of one of the articles in the Council Ordinance of 1492.⁵² Bayne put scanty attendance down to the lack of records for Henry's council, suggesting that the single attendances would be multiplied by further records.⁵³ Thus, the presence of someone at a single council meeting may be attributable to that individual's particular knowledge of the issue at hand, or even his mere presence at court, and argues for a differentiation, if possible, between those who were actually 'king's councillors', and those who were there to provide consultation on specific points, an issue also applicable to membership in the Council Learned.

The meeting on the Irish situation in 1506 presents a case in point; it included the usual assortment of prelates, peers, lawyers and household knights with whom great matters were discussed, but includes the singular appearance of two people whose importance to the discussion at hand may be presumed--the Baron Slane of Ireland and Hugh Conway.⁵⁴ Conway had past experience in Ireland, and Slane, Kildare's son-in law, was undoubtedly one member of the 'important delegations' sent to Henry to beg assistance in Kildare's ongoing struggles with contentious Irish clans, as the extracts say the meeting resulted from 'suche sondes and messages as have been sent to the Kinges grace from the Lord of Kildare of the Rebellion of Ireland'.⁵⁵ Slane was there with his messages; Conway, Treasurer of Calais at the time, may have been there by chance or by order, if the privy seal letter carried to him 23 October by king's messenger was a summons to court, but both men would

⁵² Condon, 'Anachronism', p. 245. Article 7 states that to prevent untoward public revelation of council business, no one who was not a sworn councillor of this Regency body created to govern during the King's absence in France should remain in the council chamber while particular business was under discussion 'but yf thay be specially called therto by thauctoritie of the counseill aforseid'.

⁵³ Bayne and Dunham (eds.), *Select Cases*, p. xxiii.

⁵⁴ HL EL MS 2655, ff 6r-v.

⁵⁵ Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, pp. 91, 98. HL EL MS 2655, f 6r.

have had much to add in the way of pertinent knowledge in such a discussion.⁵⁶ In like fashion, the attendance at Council by Walter Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin, in November and December 1504 was likely due to Fitzsimon's presence in England as Kildare's emissary to report to Henry on the Battle of Knockdoe, fought in August 1504, and perhaps there was further conciliar discussion of Irish affairs that has been lost with the council records.⁵⁷ Another such circumstance is suggested by the presence of the former mayor and London goldsmith John Shaa at a council meeting of 1499 regarding the coinage of pennies.⁵⁸ Rather than attending as sworn members of council, these men were presumably attended to offer their input or messages relative to the issue at hand; thus their inclusion in Bayne's tally would give an unnecessary inflation to council numbers, and a misreading of conciliar roles.

Henry's council thus demonstrates a concern seen in 16th century royal French councils, as such 'specialists' were found in Francis I's councils, with the definite distinction made that they were not consequently to be considered councillors.⁵⁹ This same concern may have been present in Henry's reign in order to keep the council from growing rather too large and unwieldy, and to limit the use of the conciliar title. If the king or his councillors did not wish such casual attendance automatically to give these men a presumption of conciliar status, it may have become necessary to distinguish the specifically selected councillors of the king, particularly in light of what appears to be the political importance attached to such a role for the

⁵⁶ PRO E36/214, f 53r.

⁵⁷ Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 91.

⁵⁸ HL EL MS 2655, f 1v. Guy, *Cardinal's Court*, p. 10, comments on the inclusion of such 'experts' who were not sworn councillors in Henry's council. Condon, 'Anachronism', p. 231 also sees this inclusion of Shaa as one of those 'special' summonses.

⁵⁹ J. Guy, 'The French King's Council, 1483-1526', in R.A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne (eds.), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1986), 274-294, p. 276.

non-peerage members.⁶⁰ Just as it did for the *conseillers* of the French council, the ability to use the title 'king's councillor', which appears on various letters patent, implies a specialised bestowal of the office with its attendant powers. This and the Garter knighthood may have both become the hallmark honours of the non-peerage councillors, during a reign noted for a scarcity of ennoblements.⁶¹

That an effort was made, at least in the second half of the reign, to regulate the use of the conciliar title is suggested by the ceremonial swearing-in of councillors during the council sessions of November 1498. Of the nine men sworn in, records exist of five of them--the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lords Abergavenny, Dacre, Grey de Wilton and Hastings--attending council prior to that event, most more than once.⁶² The truly significant circumstance is that all of the men being sworn were either nobles or peers--the four additional participants were the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Essex and Northumberland and Lord Dudley. The natural rights of 'lords of the blood' to be councillors had been a source of debate throughout the middle ages, but as Elton stressed, under the Tudors the monarch chose his councillors with a free hand, and it does not appear men were acknowledged as entitled to the office.⁶³ This blanket ceremony would seem to indicate a new order for conciliar status, and represent acknowledgment by the nobles of the need to formally maintain their status as king's councillors. The occasion was made even more significant by the presence,

⁶⁰ Though Sheffield was a barrister, according to his biography in *DNB*, lii, p. 116, there is no indication of any legal background for Risely which would justify him sitting to give legal advice in a case before Arthur's council.

⁶¹ Guy, 'French King's Council', p. 278.

⁶² HL EL MSS 2654; 2768, *passim*. Condon, 'Anachronism', p. 232, only mentions eight peers sworn in, but HL EL MS 2652, f 3v includes Dudley, presumably Lord Dudley, in the count, probably as he was sworn in 12 November while the rest were sworn 6 November, and the entry is for councillors sworn in 14 H7. The linking of the two entries in HL EL MS 2768 under the same heading suggest the Prince was still present for Dudley's oath-taking as well as the others.

⁶³ J. Guy, 'The King's Council and Political Participation' in A. Fox and J. Guy (eds.), *Reassessing the Henrician Age* (Oxford, 1986), p. 127. Elton, 'Points of Contact: Council', pp. 23-4. J. F.

for the only time recorded in the extracts, of Arthur, Prince of Wales, and it is not difficult to believe that he was brought to London to be part of the ceremony, due to his position as heir to the throne.⁶⁴ Condon suggests the reverse; that Arthur's presence may have provided the reason for the swearing-in, as "an affirmation of loyalty to the dynasty".⁶⁵

This swearing-in gave a subtle 'approval' to conciliar status, a concept quite consistent with Henry's occasional tactic of ignoring hereditary traditions or claims in the bestowal of offices, his desire to emphasise the service status of the nobility relative to the crown, and his expectation that the nobles would at all times maintain a higher cognizance of their duty to the state and monarch than to their own personal interests. That expectation is evident in the rebuke delivered to the Archbishop of York and the Duke of Northumberland at a council meeting of November 1504, in which the chancellor, speaking on the king's behalf and in Henry's presence, said 'as muche as they bothe beinge men of honor and suche personns as the kinges grace had cheifflye committed to governinge and authoritye in the partyes of the Northe his heighness wolde not otherwise take yt but as a greate faulte in them bothe and that yt shold rather have bene to bothe theire honors to have geven good example to other men then to have bene of suche demeanour'.⁶⁶

If oath-taking was in any fashion considered to be an indignity, it may have been palliated by a fairly easy acceptance of noble councillors: Thomas Stanley,

Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913), p. 345, says that in the middle ages, prelates and barons were only sworn in 'exceptional instances'.

⁶⁴ HL EL MS 2654, f 16r. Henry ensured his sons' authority was at least nominally acknowledged in a number of important areas, with loyal deputies doing the work--both Prince Arthur and Prince Henry were named to the heads of commissions of the peace and to such diverse offices as Earl Marshal, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Warden of Cinque Ports and warden general of the East and Middle Marches of Scotland.

⁶⁵ Condon, 'Anachronism', pp 231-2.

⁶⁶ HL EL MS 2655, ff 4r-v.

grandson of the old Earl, appears to have been sworn in at a large session of council shortly after his grandfather's death, and it is interesting to note that within a fortnight of the second Earl of Kent's death, an order was issued to invite his heir to attend the next Parliament.⁶⁷ All of the four nobles sworn in 1498 had been elevated to Garter Knighthoods, three within the four years prior to taking their oath.⁶⁸ The five barons sworn had past records of martial service in Flanders, Brittany, the North, and at Blackheath, and four at least were Knights of the Bath.⁶⁹ The growth of the chivalric mentality under Henry VII, the strong revival of the image of comrades in war and peace, sworn to uphold king and country, may have carried over into the giving of conciliar oaths as well and succeeded in giving visible acknowledgment of conciliar membership the sort of *cachet* it acquired in later years.

This issue of controlling conciliar status in its turn leads to the issue of the king's control over his plenary councils as well as his privy councils. Was Henry a spectator, sitting before his great councils merely as a figurehead of royal authority, or were his Westminster councils subject to his will?

Perhaps the best answer can be found through an examination of the way in which business came to the plenary councils at Westminster. The 'privy' council was predominantly composed of the king's great officers and court, and worked with the king in ordering the administration, finance and policy-making; the plenary councils were the point of contact between king, court and political elite in which approval

⁶⁷ HL EL MS 2652, f 3v. There is no exact date for the young Earl's swearing-in, just the date of 1504, but as the first Earl died in July, the second was probably sworn in during the sessions of November 1504 which he attended. C82/253 contains a privy seal letter dated Dec 27, 1503, from Richmond, where Henry was in residence, which is an order for a writ inviting Kent's heir to attend the Parliament scheduled for January 1504.

⁶⁸ W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, i, (London, 1906), pp. 15-19.

⁶⁹ The career of John, Grey de Wilton appears to have been remarkably undistinguished, though he is noted as a banneret in BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 45.

was given of those issues which had already been developed by privy council, or indication given of the need for further discussion.⁷⁰

Chapter 1 presented the discussions in November 1486 surrounding the issue of statutes regarding sale and export of unfinished cloth, which may have gone to Parliament, but there are no extracts or other evidence to indicate the issue ever came before the plenary council. However, in 1494, the extracts suggest an issue that may have already been debated, or was just being given for debate to ‘privy’ council at a plenary council meeting. At a meeting with as many as 39 councillors present, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Dinham, the Earl of Derby, the Prior of St. John’s, Chief Justices Hussey and Brian, James Hobart, king’s attorney-general, and Andrew Dimmock, solicitor-general, were requested to develop recommendations ‘amongst themselves’ on the abolishment of corruption, ‘so that they maie be ripe, against the next Parliament, that when they be there knowne, to such mischeifes, convenient remedies, by the kinges highnes, and the nobles of his kingdome, maie be provided’.⁷¹ All of the men involved with this particular ‘committee’ attended the subsequent Parliament by merit of their offices or positions, with the exception of Hussey, who was deceased.⁷² More importantly, many of these men were privy councillors closely attached to the Court or to London, through virtue of office--Dinham, Lord Treasurer, the Archbishop of York, perhaps acting as keeper of privy seal, John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, briefly Chancellor in 1485 and a regular councillor, the king’s attorney general and solicitor, and the prior of St.

⁷⁰ This is much the same scenario proposed by M.M. Condon in ‘Anachronism’, p. 243.

⁷¹ HL EL MS 2654, f 15r. Slightly lower attendance figures can be garnered from BL Harley MS 305 f 32r and BL Hargrave MS 216 f 148v.

⁷² Wedgwood, *Parliament Register*, pp. 327, 347-8, 407-8, 485, 537, and 574-5 for varied lists of ‘men of law’ attending later 15th-century Parliaments.

John's.⁷³ The presence of the two chief justices as well as the king's learned counsel ensured sufficient knowledge of law and statute to formulate recommendations in that regard. The peers and the other councillors present were also commanded to debate the matter amongst themselves, no doubt so they could provide appropriate commentary and input at interim meetings, and ultimately, as Jennifer Loach remarked, create unity of purpose between the Commons and the Lords in Parliamentary discussion, and press forward the issues of most interest to the monarch.⁷⁴ The presence of Richard Guildford, Thomas Lovell, and Piers Curtis, all household officers, and Richard Nanfan and John Risley, knights of the body, as well as Reginald Bray, as MP's in the 1495 parliament, provided the means for such influence of opinion.⁷⁵

No greater detail is provided to indicate what was meant by corruptions, other than the phrases 'customs of longtime in the comon wealth of this realm used' and 'other evils'.⁷⁶ The Parliament of 1495 heard commons petitions which subsequently became acts, which bear relation to this pursuit, such as one which more clearly set out the punishment for usury, one for the prevention of extortion by the county sheriffs, and another for the prevention of perjury and unlawful maintenance.⁷⁷ John Guy credits the 1494 conciliar discussions with the passage of this last mentioned act, which created a 'court' to deal with complaints of perjury.⁷⁸

By the end of the reign, the management of the realm's business by the king and his privy council, with plenary council as the instrument of consultation and

⁷³ See Chapter One, pp. 42-5 for discussion of Rotherham as keeper of the privy seal.

⁷⁴ J. Loach, *Parliament Under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 157-8.

⁷⁵ Wedgwood, *Parliament Register*, pp. 576-582.

⁷⁶ BL Harley MS 305 f 32r

⁷⁷ *Statutes of the Realm*, eds. Luders, Tomlins, Raithby *et al*, ii, pp. 574, 579-80, 589-90.

Wedgwood, *Parliament Register*, pp. 566-8.

⁷⁸ Guy, *Cardinal's Court*, p. 20.

endorsement appears well established. The council extracts from November 1504, combined with additional sources, offer further glimpses of the privy council's work being presented to the plenary councils at Westminster.⁷⁹ On 16 November, the king commanded the Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, Secretary Ruthall and Nicholas West, to meet and discuss the various treaties Henry had with other rulers in order to see whether the treaty with Spain should be revised, this the apparent result of discussion on search for a greater amity between England and Spain.⁸⁰ The same day, council determined to call before it members of the Merchant Staplers and Adventurers to have their advice on whether to hold a diet at Calais.⁸¹ The results of both those commands appeared in the council meeting of 19 November, when the council agreed to call the Spanish ambassadors before them, and the aforesaid Merchants appeared to offer their advice.⁸² During that 19 November session, the Earl of Ormond, Lord Abergavenny, Edward Poynings, Richard Guildford, Robert Drury and Dr. West, were given responsibility, along with the two Chief Justices, for looking into the reformation of vagabonds, and excesses in apparel and 'costly fare'.⁸³ On 23 November, 'many grete reasons and longe Comunicacons were had' about vagabondage and excesses, and the subject was discussed again on 28 November and 2 December.⁸⁴ A proclamation in 1493 had sternly ordered diligence in punishing and relocating vagabonds and beggars, as had a 1495 Act of Parliament, and the 1504 Parliamentary Act offered such revisions as lightening the punishment on the beggars

⁷⁹ Other examples include the council commanding Thomas Ruthall, the king's secretary, in November 1499 to compose an answer to the Archduke's request to have a representative at Calais to control wool purchase and exports from Flanders. The council agreed that such a representative was a danger to the town. Also, in November 1503, John Fyneux, Chief Justice of King's Bench, 'reports to the Lord King' in council on his findings in an investigation into the king's letters patent to the Merchant Taylors. HL EL MS 2654, ff 16v, 18r.

⁸⁰ HL EL MS 2655 f 3r

⁸¹ HL EL MS 2655 ff 3r-v

⁸² HL EL MS 2655, f 4r.

themselves, but increasing the monetary penalty on local officials who failed to execute the Act, from 20 *d.* per default to three shillings, four *d.* per default, and giving the Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Treasurer, the Chief Justices and the Chief Baron of the exchequer the power to enquire into laxity when they chanced to be in the localities.⁸⁵ The men given the management role in discussions of vagabondage, with the exception of the two Chief Justices, had no particular qualification for leading discussion of these issues, except offices that generally kept them close to court and council.⁸⁶ Poynings, Guildford and Drury's credentials have been established: Bergavenny appears regularly in council extracts throughout the reign, and was sworn in as a councillor in the session of November 1498. Lord Ormond was the Queen's chamberlain throughout her life, and after her death he continued to sit on council and apparently remained at court.⁸⁷

This string of council sessions, with the specific 'committees' who appear to have discussed matters between the larger meetings, gives the impression that the 'privy' council retained within their membership the privilege of intensive policy-making and the plenary council were presented with their results for approval or further refinement, as does a smaller council meeting of July 1504 which decreed that intercourse and amity between England and Spain be proclaimed after the insertion of a clause stating current statutes and customs would not be affected.⁸⁸ Though attendance numbered 24, this appears to be a meeting of privy council, the councillors displaying a high concentration of those with household and court connections;

⁸³ HL EL MS 2654, ff 20r-v

⁸⁴ HL EL MS 2655, f 5r; 2654, f 22r.

⁸⁵ *Statutes of the Realm*, eds. Luders, Tomlins, Raithby *et al*, ii, p. 569 for 1495 Act, and pp. 656-7 for 1504 Act. Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Proclamations*, i, pp. 32-5.

⁸⁶ Elton, 'Tudor Government: Points of Contact II. The Council', pp. 200-2, 210.

⁸⁷ HL EL MS 2654 and 2655, *passim*.

⁸⁸ HL EL MS 2654, f 18v.

Warham, Chancellor and Bishop of London, Fox, Lord Privy Seal, the king's almoner and secretary, identified specifically by those titles, Vaughan, probably the 'legum doctore' described in a star chamber attendance list, the Lord Treasurer, the Chamberlain of the King's household, and that of the late Queen, the Treasurer and Controller of the King's household, one former and three current knights of the body, and the Chancellor and a Deputy Seneschal of the Duchy of Lancaster. Such comprised 16 of the 24 people present.

As shown above, the issue returned in the November 1504 council, but apparently after informal or 'privy' council discussion of a request for an amplification of the treaty of amity. DePuebla in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, dated 23 October, suggested the issue had been broached and discussed sometime between July and November, by stating such an amplification was unlikely.⁸⁹ When the issue was raised in the November council with the stipulation that it 'might nor in noe wise shold be contrarye to the kinges hounor nor the Ametyes made with other Princes', it was promptly handed over to Warham, Fox, Ruthall and Nicholas West, king's clerk, legal advisor and diplomat, three of whom had been present at the July meeting, and all of whom were ordered to assemble in the Star Chamber two days later to examine the matter and determine whether such conflicts existed.⁹⁰ The November council included five additional bishops besides those present in June, and a completely different complement of noblemen: Surrey, Oxford and Shrewsbury, the

⁸⁹ *CSP Spanish*, i, 401, De Puebla states he discussed a number of issues with Henry on his travels during September 1504, among which may have been this greater amity, though De Puebla also indicates Henry appeared to avoid the subject.

⁹⁰ *CSP, Spanish*, i, 433 is a 'Sketch of a more intimate treaty between Henry VII and King Ferdinand of Spain', signed by Ruthall. The document is undated, but was inserted in the letters from late June 1505 in the text because in a letter of 22 June, Ferdinand was still pressing the issue with De Puebla. Immediately after this letter in the volume is a similar set of articles written by Almazan, Ferdinand's 'chief councillor' (*CSP, Spanish*, i, 434) so it appears some exchange of ideas may have taken place after and despite the council's negative answer in 1504.

tried and trusted nobles, were present in July. In November, it was the younger nobles, Buckingham, Dorset, Kent and Derby, and the more inconsequential Arundel, who were present, with the 'old guard' not in attendance. Thus, by the time DePuebla wrote in December, that Henry 'has had great debates with all his nobles and his Council' and determined 'there can be no more intimate treaty of amity framed' everyone of note had apparently had their chance to offer views on the situation. However, extended discussion appears to have been carried on outside plenary sessions amongst council groupings dominated by the court, with action continually channeled back to members of the 'privy' council as per the direction to Warham, Fox, Ruthall and West in November, and De Puebla's comment in a letter of December 1504 that Fox and Ruthall would frame new articles on offensive war.⁹¹

Proclamations relevant to the coinage also illustrate the development of an issue from a singular situation in which the king and 'privy' council may have provided an immediate solution, to a larger discussion which may have resulted from perceptions that it was necessary to address the problem on a kingdom-wide basis. A precept from the king to the bailiff of Worcester on 5 September 1497, ordered him to proclaim that Henry's subjects were to accept all silver coins lawfully minted in England, and to refrain from using or accepting Irish pence. In February 1498, the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and several other counties and towns received a precept to forbid, by proclamation, the acceptance of foreign coins for payment other than those approved by the king and council.⁹² On 12 December 1498, a further proclamation dated at Westminster ordered the English to accept silver coins which were whole, regardless of whether they were 'small, thin and old', and a precept to

⁹¹ HL EL MS 2655 f 3r. *CSP, Spanish*, i, 419.

the Sheriff of Kent dated 16 January 1499, ordered proclamation that Irish pence could not be accepted for payment, and reiterated that English silver pence must be accepted even if they were clipped.⁹³ On 11 February 1499 a group of 15 met in council in Star Chamber. They discussed reform of the coinage of pennies, determined the minting of pennies would be forbidden, and decided that a new mould would be made for Irish Money.⁹⁴ A further proclamation, dated 23 March not only stipulated clearly the marks to be present on coins which could be accepted in payment, but directed those questioning the value of their coin to bring it to the mint at the Tower. This proclamation went to the sheriffs of every county and each major town.⁹⁵

The proclamations from September 1497 through January 1499 appear to be immediate responses by the king and perhaps 'privy' council to an apparently growing awareness of a troublesome situation. The March 1499 proclamation, however, stated that the king 'by good deliberacion and by the advice of his council' willed the actions ordered, and the stipulations in the proclamation were more precise and well-defined. The impression given is that the king issued the initial proclamations as solutions to pressing problems in specific areas, and then, after discussing the issue with council in its various forms, expanded the language of the proclamation, and issued it generally throughout England, as per a signet letter sent to the Chancellor dated 18 March 1499 from Greenwich, which contains the proclamation and a list of all the counties and towns in England. The signet letter stated the proclamation was

⁹² Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Proclamations*, p. 41. *CPR, 1485-1494*, pp. 144, 148. Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Southampton, Lincoln, Somerset, Dorset and Devon, the city of York, and Bristol, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Southampton and the Cinque Ports.

⁹³ Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Proclamations*, pp. 42, 47-8. *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 161.

⁹⁴ HL EL MS 2655, f 1v.

⁹⁵ *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 179.

sent with the ‘deliberat advise of the hool counsaill’.⁹⁶ The February 1499 council of 15, who discussed the issues encompassed by the proclamations, included Morton, Bishops Savage, Fitzjames and Henry Dean, the Dean of Windsor, Christopher Urswick, Buckingham, Northumberland and Derby, who were three of Henry’s ‘courtier’ nobles, Daubeney, Guildford and Lovell, all household officers, the Chief Justice, presumably Fyneux, and Shaa and Rede, presumably John Shaa and Bartholomew Rede, who were masters of the mint in the Tower.⁹⁷ This group encompassed a comfortable mix of spiritual and temporal lords, legal experts and, in the case of Shaa and Rede, specialists in the subject under discussion, yet the majority of the members were those with great or household offices and court connections.

The issue went on to Parliament: the Parliament of January to March 1504 passed an act to designate which coins could pass for full value, and instructed people to refuse or exchange clipped coin.⁹⁸ In July 1504, a proclamation indicated that, due to confusion resulting from the act, ‘by good deliberacion and advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and other of his council’ the king was reiterating the definition of good coin, and ordering all other to be cut in half.⁹⁹ There are no extracts which suggest whether the council meetings of July produced this proclamation, though it appears a ‘privy’ council met and discussed Spanish amity and customs issues. A plenary council of November 1504 deliberated on the subject, and as with the earlier series of proclamations, the action decided upon appears to be simply a confirmation

⁹⁶ C82/188. If this refers to the discussion of February 1499, the ‘whole council’ is being represented by the privy council. E101/414/16, f 58r, indicates that Buckingham, Essex and Abergavenny as well were sent letters by the king in early March, after the discussions noted, but prior to the issuing of the proclamation, perhaps an example of informal counsel, perhaps an entirely different matter.

⁹⁷ HL EL MS 2655, f 1v. *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 418.

⁹⁸ *Statutes of the Realm*, eds. Luders, Tomlins, Raithby *et al*, ii, pp. 650-1

⁹⁹ ‘The Proclamation of the Coyne’ (*STC* 7761; 1504) for text. Council meeting at this same time ordered the issue of a proclamation on the treaty of amity as discussed above, and the king’s letters

of what was decided in July, namely the cutting of bad coin.¹⁰⁰ The records of the meeting state that such would be proclaimed ‘the mondaye next after’, but no proclamation on the subject is extant until five months later, in April 1505, when ‘by good deliberation and advice of his lords spiritual and temporal and other of his council’, the king declared that because people were still confused over what was legal tender and what was not, exchanges would be set up in London to trade in clipped coin, all coin not so traded after Candlemas 1506 would be forfeit to the king, and anyone caught impairing coin would be put to death. The proclamation also encouraged those whose legitimate coin was not accepted to complain directly to the king’s men in London.¹⁰¹ The July ‘privy’ council may have discussed it, given it to the November councils, who then raised objections or issues, and gave it back to the ‘privy’ council for further discussion, as this last proclamation provides greater detail than the earlier ones.

In these instances, one can track the council’s actions without always being able to ascertain how much of the discussion and input belongs to the king, or how much Henry is directing the decision-making. Conversely, an example of an issue which came directly from the king and eventually went to Parliament, in which evidence of formal council discussion is lacking was that of the king’s request for feudal aids for the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, and the knighting of his son Arthur. The first time this issue appears is in an entry in the memoranda of the king’s chamber accounts regarding ‘knyghtes fees and a disme for the mariage of the kinges eldest daughter to the King of Scotess’ which appears to date from the period April-

for the taking of foreign customs from Englishmen who shipped goods in foreign boats. HL EL MS 2654, f18v; 2655, f2v

¹⁰⁰ HL EL MS 2768, f9r; 2655, f5r; 2654, f21r. The language of the conciliar extract is very similar to the language of the proclamation.

¹⁰¹ Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Proclamations*, pp. 60-1, 70-4.

December 1502, judging by the notations surrounding, which thus pinpoints its likely commencement in informal consultation and conversation between the king and his close advisors.¹⁰² Nothing in the scanty correspondence or extracts indicate that conciliar discussion occurred over this issue, but that it was mooted well prior to the 1504 Parliament is clear from the suggested date as per the chamber books. Condon remarked upon the significance of this entry in the memoranda, and another regarding the prosecution against the Earl of Northumberland for ravishment of a royal ward several months before it became a matter for the courts, and the way in which the chamber books, ‘constantly perused by the King himself and including memoranda pertaining to political matter dictated by Henry and constantly brought to his attention’ gave the King means of both supervision and execution of policy.¹⁰³ Certainly it seems likely this issue was discussed with the king’s lawyers, as the memoranda surrounding this particular entry include several likely to have emanated from the business of the Council Learned or the king’s lawyers. These entries give impression of a ‘conversation’ with one or more of the king’s lawyers over items of legal business--the Lady Ferrer’s cause ‘as hath ben proved by Sir Resapthomas prest before the kinges lerned Counsaill’; a debt of the Bishop of Ely, which ‘the L. councell hath certified’ to the king; John Mordaunt, a serjeant-at-law and attendee of

¹⁰² BL Add MS 21480, ff 181v, 182r. Issues which offer context for such a date include two notations referring to an inquisition into the Lady Ferrer’s jointure by Sir Rhys ap Thomas. A commission to inquire into the jointure of the late Lady Ferrers was issued to Rhys ap Thomas, Thomas Inglefield, Roger Codenham, and Lewis Suttons on April 29 1502, and the inquisition was held 31 May, 1502. PRO C142/15/62. The notations on both the aforesaid folios of 21480 state that the issue had been found against the Lady Ferrers, presumably in this case, Joan, late Lady Ferrers, who, along with her husband, Thomas Pointz, was found to have been taking the profits of the original jointure for sixteen years without proper title. Further, notes on the inquisition indicate it was delivered into Chancery on 13 June, 1502. A second point of reference is the memorandum of goods, lands and debts for Sir James Tyrell, Sir John Windham, and others, who were tried for treason in May 1502. A commission to enquire into Tyrell’s lands was issued 4 December 1502. PRO C142/16/76. Consequently, the assertion the memoranda can be dated to the period after April 1502 and probably before December.

¹⁰³ Condon, ‘Ruling Elites’, p. 127.

Council Learned, giving information on Arthur Pilkington, a ward in Wakefield, whose revenues had been taken illegally for six years; and the remark that Sir John Shaa 'hath shewed the king precissly befor Sir R. Bray' the amount due from the wool surplus.¹⁰⁴

Such memoranda suggest that the king's councillors had regular and fruitful conversations with the king, covering a variety of issues, and the keeping of such memoranda as well as the margin notations such as 'vacat', presumably *vacatum*, or 'finem fecerunt' suggests their progress was tracked and recorded by Henry or Heron for the king's information. These personal records of the king provide the strongest impression of his active participation in the development of business. In the case of the feudal aids, roughly two years before Parliament was presented with the request, the issue was apparently mooted by the king and his councillors. Thus, as the examples in this chapter suggest, issues were being worked out before, during and after plenary councils, special responsibilities or commissions in such cases were being given to courtiers/privy councillors who would invariably be present for further discussion, and plenary councils were being mined for advice and refinement of issues, and quoted for approval of actions.

This approval, or 'taking counsel' could prove irritating for those awaiting an answer. Ferdinand and Isabella thought Henry was sometimes unduly influenced by or constrained by his council, as appears from a letter of January 1497, in which they instructed DePuebla to tell Henry not to allow his council to restrain him in the matter of war with France.¹⁰⁵ Again, in a discussion of treaty terms relating to the marriage

¹⁰⁴ BL Add MS 21480, ff 182r-v.

¹⁰⁵ *CSP, Spanish*, i, 170. Many of the comments in the letters between De Puebla and De Ayala and the Spanish monarchs delineate the character of 'the English,' who feature as proud, independent, stubborn and changeable in negotiations, but faithful to their word once given. That is the rub,

in August 1498, DePuebla wrote that Henry was satisfied with terms which were read to him by DePuebla in a letter from the Spanish monarchs, but ‘after he had consulted with his Council about this matter, he entirely changed his mind’.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Savage, Bishop of London, in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, remarked he and DePuebla had ‘done all in their power’ to have a treaty clause changed, ‘but it was impossible to prevail on such of the other privy counselors, as were of a different opinion’.¹⁰⁷ In this latter case, if Henry was bending to the opinions of his privy councillors, it might serve as an indication that Henry knew well the limits of his will in relation to the expectations or ideas of his political community; equally, the councillors could have been an excuse for the king to stand firm on a clause he did not want changed.

That Henry was acutely aware of the need to take counsel and operate within the boundaries of expectation seems clear from his early choice of councillors, and the long development of certain issues, with myriad opportunities to gather input. Conciliar approval would also have made the settlement of controversial issues more comfortable for all, and granted proclamations a comforting edge of mutual agreement. The council extracts for the judgment upon the Earl of Warwick and Perkin Warbeck state that Henry consulted with his judges, who said both men deserved death, but that before any action was taken Henry desired to show the evidence to his plenary council and ‘demaunded’ of them what was to be done, if anything. The reply was: ‘All the said Councillors and everie of them by himself adviseth councelleth and praieth that not onlie process but execucion of Justice be also had, of not onlye Perkin but also of the said Edward and other offenders’.¹⁰⁸

however, according to De Puebla--he says ‘this is the most difficult people to bring to a decision that ever was seen’. *CSP, Spanish*, i, 221, 419.

¹⁰⁶ *CSP, Spanish*, i, 221.

¹⁰⁷ *CSP, Spanish*, i, 265.

¹⁰⁸ HL EL MS 2654, ff 16v-17r.

Thus, Henry had consent of a wide representation of his estates to eliminate Warwick. This was not the only time in which conciliar opinion was proffered as rationale. During the initial negotiations for the marriage of Katharine and Arthur, the English commissioners apparently rejected a clause in the treaty, saying that ‘the most learned men and highest dignitaries’ had conferred every day and decided the clause was not ‘permissible, just or honest’.¹⁰⁹ In a letter in which Henry appointed Sir Henry Vernon to the entourage to attend Princess Margaret on her journey to Scotland, he wrote ‘insomoch as it is thought unto us and oure counsaill inconvenient and not mete that any mornyng or sorofull clothinges shuld be woran or used at suches noble triumphes of mariage, we therfor wol and desire you tattende upon oure said doughter in youre best arraye’.¹¹⁰ Perhaps he was concerned with appearing heartless by discarding mourning for such an occasion, only three months after Queen Elizabeth’s death.

Recent work by Fiona Kisby as well as research for this thesis suggests another gradual ‘institutional’ development relative to plenary council, that of All Hallows or All Saints Day as a semi-official gathering date at Westminster, as illustrated by the table below. Such a development would have allowed for the certainty of an exchange of ideas and gathering of input, rather than reliance on the occasional great festival or event to attract the nobility to the court, or the trouble of summoning them when consultation was needed. The shift to November does seem deliberate; the plenary councils recorded in the extract appear in various months for the first half of the reign, then almost invariably in November or December in the second half, at times when the king was at Westminster.

¹⁰⁹ *CSP, Spanish*, i, 21.

Table II.**Plenary Council Meetings by time of year/location of king**

	Number present*	Month	King's Location**
1486	34	June	Westminster
1488	33	January	Westminster
1488	40	November	Bishop of London's/ Westminster
1489	39	February	Westminster
1494	39	November	Westminster
1498	46	November	Westminster
1499	66	November	Westminster
1503	43	November	Westminster***
1504	36	November/December	Westminster

* Numbers given are averages in the case of several attendance lists being given.

** All locations taken from Appendix I.

*** There is no exact date for this entry, but the king was generally at Westminster this month.

Comments in ambassadorial letters in the latter half of the reign offer the expectation that many of the nobility and king's councillors would meet at Westminster around the feast of All Hallows. As early as 1497, letters of the Milanese ambassador to England, Raimondo De Soncino, implied that the king was unexpectedly detained away from London until shortly after All Hallows, the delay undoubtedly due to the business of settling the south after Blackheath; the Queen had already been sent ahead.¹¹¹ The Duke de Estrada commented in 1504 that Henry

¹¹⁰ *Duke of Rutland MSS at Belvoir Castle*, i, (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 24; (London, 1911), p. 17.

¹¹¹ *CSP, Milan*, 548. The translation given is 'the king is coming late'. Soncino also said they had already met with Queen Elizabeth in London. The letter is dated 21 October, 1497. Henry took a fairly straight line back to London from Exeter, but did not leave that area until around 2 November. See Appendix I, p. 243.

planned to have the papal bulls regarding the dispensation for Prince Henry and Katharine's marriage read 'to the principal personages of the kingdom, who usually assemble in Westminster on the Day of all Saints'.¹¹² At the same season Henry told DePuebla he would discuss the matter of taking a second wife at the Feast of All Saints to be held at Westminster, when he 'would then confer about the matter with the chief persons of his kingdom'.¹¹³ Parliament had been dismissed several months earlier, none was expected, and though a number of councillors were perpetually at court in term time, it was possible that tacit agreement was made for consistent appearance of the greater body at such a great feast for business purposes.¹¹⁴

Most of the great ceremonial occasions of Henry's reign also took place in November; perhaps the use of All Hallows as a council gathering date resulted from this, or perhaps the reverse is true. Besides Henry's own coronation, the Queen's coronation was fixed for November 1487, and Arthur's creation as Prince of Wales for November 1489.¹¹⁵ Prince Henry's creation as Duke of York took place on 1st November 1494, Arthur's only recorded attendance at a council meeting in Westminster was on 6 November 1498, and marriage festivities for Arthur and Katharine were celebrated in November 1501, though this was no doubt equally determined by the actual time of Katharine's arrival in England.¹¹⁶ Ceremony and council were easily and conveniently combined, as in 1494 when the substance of the kingdom gathered for Prince Henry's creation as Duke of York. A servant of

¹¹² *CSP, Spanish*, i, 398.

¹¹³ *CSP, Spanish*, i, 401.

¹¹⁴ Evidence from PRO C82; PRO E36/214; PRO E101/414/16; PRO PSO/2/3 and PRO E101/415/2 demonstrates that from 1494 on, with the exception of 1497 when the aftermath of Blackheath was in full swing, and 1500 when he was at Woodstock, Henry was to be found at Westminster, Richmond or Greenwich every 1 November. See Appendix I, *passim*.

¹¹⁵ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 30r says Henry decided in September 1488 to have Elizabeth's coronation on St. Katharine's Day, 25 November, and, *ibid*, ff 58r-v, states that at some time in October 1489 he decided to have Arthur's creation as Prince of Wales on St. Andrews Day.

Paston's wrote to him 'ther hath be so gret counsell for the Kynges maters, that my Lord Chawnsler kept not the Ster Chawmber thys viii days but one day at London, on Sent Lenardes Day' and the Ellesmere extracts indeed reflect a gathering of council numbering close to 40 on the days of 6, 7, 10, and 11 November, with one cause possibly heard on St. Leonard's Day.¹¹⁷ This was the one occasion during the period 1493-97 in which the council extracts record that Henry's most reliable nobles, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Derby and Arundel were all at a Westminster council meeting, and business went hand in hand with celebration, Shrewsbury enjoying the honour of carrying the young prince during the ceremony, and the commentary indicating all magnificence was laid on, as the monarchs wore their crowns and were led in procession round Westminster Hall along with 'many odyr gret astates'.¹¹⁸

Dr. Kisby's thesis supports the idea of All Hallows as a gathering of the great in Westminster, noting that under Henry VII All Hallows was most frequently celebrated at Westminster, and that by the reign of James I, it was thought to be an established 'tradition' for the monarch to be resident at Westminster during that particular feast day.¹¹⁹ There is no reason to suppose, either, that such a meeting was the result of gathering for Christmas and New Year's festivities, as it was noted on the occasion of All Hallows in 1486 that the king was 'greatly accompanied with estate and noble people' but that subsequently 'the king kept his cristemas at the same

¹¹⁶ Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers*, i, p. 388 for date of Prince's Henry's creation; HL EL MS 2654, f 16r for Arthur's attendance at council.

¹¹⁷ HL EL MS 2768, ff 4v-5r gives date of 6 and 10 November, while HL EL MS 2654, f 15r and 2652, f 4r give dates of 7 and 11 November for the same issues.

¹¹⁸ Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters*, ii, 831. BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, ff 12v, 46v, says Henry also wore his crown in York during the first progress, and he and the queen were crowned for Twelfth Night 1488.

¹¹⁹ Kisby, 'Royal Household Chapel', pp. 234-5, 320-1, 326. The statement that she dates this 'tradition' to Henry VII seems reasonable. Kisby asserts that during the Tudor period, the holders of great estates were drawn to the court on feast days with the understanding that the king would be in Westminster for the celebration, and this was their opportunity to demonstrate their support, claim their part in service, and make contact with the monarch.

place aforsaide howbeit he was not accompanied with lordes as he was at alhalowtyde nor the king kept ther now estate In the halle'.¹²⁰ In 1489, George, Lord Strange was noted to have celebrated Christmas quite lavishly in the North, even though he had been at Parliament in December, and had to return for the second session in January.¹²¹ Margaret, Countess of Richmond also celebrated Christmases at Collyweston, at least later in the reign.¹²²

From the size and focus of council meetings to the possible development of a set season for certain meetings, Henry's council does not appear to have been quite as 'undifferentiated' as Elton believed, and more specialized than admitted by Chrimes, based on the evidence presented in Chapters One and Two. Plenary councils, meeting at Westminster, for consultation with and enlightenment of the greater body of councillors as to the affairs of the kingdom, and court-based and -dominated 'privy' councils which handled the long-term and intensive discussions of issues all through the year, seem to be discernible from the extracts available, and form a far more complex matrix of council than has been otherwise suggested. The king and his 'privy' councillors, identified issues and discussed, developed and strategised; though it is not possible to determine exactly who may have initiated issues, their presence in the king's chamber accounts memoranda suggest they may have developed from discussion between the king and select councillors, while others may have developed from issues which came to the king or council's notice. The plenary councils received the results of 'privy' council cogitation, and approved them or further discussion, and

¹²⁰ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 24r.

¹²¹ Kirby (ed.), *Plumpton Letters*, 44, 46, 80, 82. Lord Strange may have been the main guardian of Stanley interests in Lancashire, to judge by the letters of Edward Plumpton (Strange's secretary, and an attorney retained by Robert Plumpton) in which he speaks of Strange keeping 'a great Cristinmas, as ever was in this country,' at Lathom in 1489. Strange was apparently in London earlier in December, probably for parliament, then back to Lathom for Christmas, and back for Parliament again in February, when he was in Henry's presence on 15th February.

were sometimes commanded to themselves discuss the ideas further and outside the council chamber, perhaps with an eye to presenting unified arguments to Parliaments or a unified front to foreign ambassadors. The impression is that of a well-organized system with that Fortescuean eye to saving time in extraneous argument, as well as likely ensuring the discussion at hand went in the train which the king desired, and gave Henry and his intimate councillors the necessary approvals to continue their arduous and unceasing task of policy development.

¹²² Kisby, 'Royal Household Chapel', p. 224.

Chapter Three

Council Learned: The 'privatised' council?

This chapter will focus on the more 'private' function of the king's council at Westminster, or those issues most affecting his royal estate which were the province of the Council Learned and the Conciliar Court of Audit. Nothing is so surely identified with Henry VII as the work of Council Learned, and an examination of that Council provides an excellent microcosm view of the king's character, aims and involvement with the work of his council, specifically in the areas of control and accountability. As to the control and accountability of his subjects, the Council Learned was the king's body of enforcement in regards to debts, fees, wards, and any feudal incidents owed to the king, as well as the payment of sums agreed upon for the settlement of feudal incidents. As to the control and accountability of his councillors engaged on such an enterprise, this chapter will examine evidence such as books of debt collection, councillor's signatures on warrants emanating from council business and inquisitions post mortem feeding into council business, and entries in the king's memoranda of business. These sources indicate the king was lightly holding the reins of a hard-working team of legal and fiscal administrators, but ready to pull back on them when trouble arose.

Henry VII's Council Learned was one of the most highly developed manifestations of Henry's personal administration of fiscal and demesne affairs, focusing heavily on the full exploitation of the king's prerogative. With the chamber account books as their source of issues, a handful of men whose advancement was directly related to royal service diligently and zealously pursued those whom Somerville characterises as having committed 'offences which concerned the king's

feudal and seignorial rights': unpaid and overdue debt or forfeited obligations, unlawful possession of wards and the taking of their revenues; customs violations which cut into the king's profits, and resistance to taking up knighthood with its attendant fees.¹ In these cases, the Council's objective was simply to pursue the defendants until they gave in and paid up, surrendered the appropriate property or goods, or reached an understanding with the king.

The general image of the Council Learned's significance in the larger matrix of council, and in particular, the influence of specific individuals and the nature of their work requires examination and clarification beyond that of the current state of historiography. The image of a small, oppressive group of men, often embodied primarily by Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, using the power offered them by the king's rapacious desires to grasp an unwonted portion of his subjects' revenues as a measure of control too readily springs to mind. It is an attractive caricature, and one that lends great weight to the notion of Empson and Dudley building personal empires from the chances offered, and acquiring power and influence beyond their birthright, social status, or the scope of their offices, a perspective perhaps formed by a 'revision' of history from the early years of Henry VIII's reign.

Such a caricature gains strength from contemporary or near-contemporary accounts. The *Great Chronicle* entries for 1505-6 stated, 'this yere sprang much sorwe thorw the land, ffor by meane of a ffewe ungracious personys which namyd theym sylf the kyngis promoters many unleffull & fforgotyn statutis & actis made hunderyth of yeris passid /were now quykenyd & sharply callid upon to the grete

¹ Somerville, R., 'Henry VII's Council Learned in the Law' *English Historical Review*, 54 (1939), p. 435.

Inquietnesse of many of the kyngis Subjectis'.² The final commentary on Henry's reign says, '...the kyngis Grace was long syke or he dyed, In which seson he by soom weldysposid personys beyng enfourmyd of the exclamacions made of the dealyng of the fforenamyd promoters...grauntid to alle men Generall pardonys'....³ It goes on to say Henry's reputation for avarice was only partially deserved, 'ffor the Ravyne of the fforenamyd Empson & dudley...Cawsyd hys grace to bere the wyte & blame of all theyr Ill doying'....⁴ Once Empson and Dudley made an error of judgment that rendered them open to charges of treason, the council of the new king, Henry VIII, seized upon them as Judas goats, and made the most of the opportunity to shift unhappiness with the king's intensified fiscal policies over to them, while the king himself was presented as having been put upon, through the unscrupulousness of his ministers, at a time when he was too weak to combat the issue.⁵ John Fisher, in his sermon at Henry's funeral, claimed that after taking confession at Lent before his death, Henry vowed to change things, including 'a true reformacyon of all them that were offycers and ministres of his lawes to the entent that Justyce from hensforwarde try and indyfferently myghte be executed in all causes'. The sermon was given 9 May, 1509, after Empson and Dudleys' arrests.⁶

Once the story had been set, Dudley's feeble attempts in his 'petition' to gain restitution for those 'hardlie intreated' by the former administration, or his further attempts in the *Tree of Commonwealth* to cast the king as covetous, and his protests against exploitation of the prerogative and 'overzealous councillors' were not enough

² Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 334.

³ Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 337.

⁴ Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 339.

⁵ *Fabyan's Chronicle* (STC 10660; London, 1533 and 10661; London, 1542), praises Henry unqualifiedly for justice, liberality and wisdom and never mentions penitence or avarice. Vergil makes a point of discussing this weakness of Henry's in his history, written c. 1513, and added to and published in 1534.

to upset the notion that Dudley and Empson had wrested control of the fiscal program from an unresisting king, who had just managed to promise amends before he died. This perhaps set the tone for Henry's reputation of avarice.⁷ Vergil's commentary about Henry's 'avarice' is well known, and though the *Great Chronicle* continuation from 1496-1512 places blame on Empson and Dudley and says once the king was informed of their exactions, he redressed the situation, a later insertion by Pynson says of Henry 'that to hym alle vertu was allyed and noo vyce except oonly avaryce'.⁸ Francis Bacon, in his history of Henry's reign, calls the king the 'Solomon of England', but qualifies this compliment by saying Solomon was also 'too heavy upon his people in exactions'.⁹

Strangely enough, however, Bacon's characterisation of Empson and Dudley's place in Henry's affinity suits them well: 'two instruments...whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers'.¹⁰ For such appears to have been truly the nature of their positions. There can be little doubt that they took advantage of the difficulties presented and the opportunities that arose from the breakdowns of those they were prosecuting to feather their own nests. They had before them such an example in the career of Sir Reynold Bray, and undoubtedly others of their profession as well. But an in-depth examination of the work of the Council Learned, and indeed of the fiscal program at large, indicates that they were in no sense the most highly influential of men, nor did their careers run unchecked. Condon points to Henry's emendation of a grant of stewardship to Empson from a grant for life to one

⁶ *STC* 10900; (London, 1509), ff 4v-5r,

⁷ E. Dudley, *The Tree of Commonwealth*, ed. D.M. Brodie (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 28-29, 36-37.

⁸ Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 127-131. The editorial notes of the *Great Chronicle* state that in Pynson's publication of 1516, a page was inserted 'containing a panegyric of Henry VII and a notice of the opening of the reign of Henry VIII', and this appears to be the page which encompasses the above comment. Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, pp. lvii, lxi, 337-8.

⁹ Bacon, *King Henry VII*, p. 227.

during pleasure, the notation made in the king's own hand, as at once a demonstration of Henry's attention to detail and business, and his firm control over his councillors.¹¹ Dudley, unlike Bray, presented books noting his collection and delivery of obligations and money to Henry, who signed after every section of entries.¹² Certainly their conciliar status and membership among the king's personal agents of the enforcement of his prerogative, as well as their offices, gave them greater political status than that of the average early Tudor lawyer, but this chapter will argue they were most the visible of the king's men, rather than most preeminent, and equally subject to Henry's will and checks upon them.

What is the true picture of the Council Learned, its work and influence? The Council Learned, as the best known conciliar tribunal, has been examined by Somerville, Condon and Gunn, among others, but never fully explored, particularly in relation to its place in the conciliar matrix--as Elton says, Somerville gave us the council, but left us with many questions.¹³ Its characterizations have ranged from sinister to practical. Ian Arthurson perceived post-Blackheath as a time when Henry became excessive and draconian, and ushered in a 'decade of distrust, repression, imprisonment and execution', in which the Council Learned served as an instrument.¹⁴ Margaret Condon views the Council Learned as part of Henry's tendency to develop conciliar solutions for administrative problems, and states it enjoyed an unusual degree of delegation of powers from Henry, but only 'because of the very close association of the council learned with the King'.¹⁵ Steven Gunn describes it as 'a specialized offshoot of Henry VII's council designed to enforce the king's claims

¹⁰ Bacon, *King Henry VII*, p. 231.

¹¹ Condon, 'Ruling Elites', p. 129.

¹² BL Lansdowne MS 127 and HL EL MS 1518, both copies of this book, both show this.

¹³ Elton, 'Early Tudor Council', p. 309.

¹⁴ I. Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy, 1491-1499* (Gloucester, 1994), pp. 3, 167.

against those in breach of the feudal land law and other offenders'.¹⁶ The Council Learned's mission was to reassert the king's prerogative in issues ranging from wards to intrusions, and bring a greater percentage of the oft-avoided feudal dues into the king's coffers.

Before one presumes Henry to be rapacious and unfair in his demands, however, it is helpful to look at the issue of fiscal evasion. The art of avoiding taxes or feudal assessment went back indefinitely: the *Dialogus de Scaccario* states that in Henry I's time a clause was added to the sheriffs' summons to render accounts that sheriffs should testify whether any of their tenants had goods in other bailiwicks as well, as men would hide their moveable goods before the sheriff's visit in order to avoid payment.¹⁷ During the 14th century the development of the use often robbed the king of the incidents of wardship, escheat and relief, and the commissions of concealment authorized by Henry VII turned up quite a number of hidden heirs, and lands whose profits had been carefully kept from the king's sight. From documents covering the reign, it is possible to track nearly seventy cases brought to the attention of Council Learned between 1500 and 1507, which produced at least 23 underage heirs, 13 cases of heirs taking their lands without paying livery, including one case of three generations of 'unlicensed intrusion', two cases of no identified heirs, resulting in an unlicensed enfeoffment and one case where the widow simply kept the lands, as well as ten cases in which the heir was a lunatic.¹⁸

¹⁵ Condon, 'Ruling Elites', pp 133-4.

¹⁶ Guth, D., 'Exchequer Penal Law Enforcement, 1485-1509', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1967, p. 67. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, p. 87.

¹⁷ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. C. Johnson (London, 1958), p. 71.

¹⁸ PRO C142/15-21 in particular. M.M. Condon states that the results of the commissions of concealment for 1505-6 alone produced 93 returns with evidence of alienations, minorities, idiocies and intrusions, one from 40 years earlier. Condon, 'Ruling Elites', p. 122.

Along with more diligent searches for offenders came a greater desire for unsentimental perserverance in collecting on debts past and present. There appears to have been acknowledgement early on that much in lands and revenue could be lost through dilatory management and fiscal posts were no longer to be comfortable sinecures. In examining the development of the Council Learned into an agency of pursuit and enquiry, the individual who must be credited with the greatest influence is Reginald Bray. It can certainly not be coincidental that Council Learned is closely identified with the Duchy of Lancaster, Bray's most significant office from the early appointments of the reign. Reginald Bray's official appointment to the Duchy of Lancaster Chancellorship in February 1486, says 'forasmoch as we understand by credible reaport that we an our progenitours have had grete losse in the possessions of our said duchie by negligent feodarye recevors and Bailyfes of the same' Bray was commanded to 'dyscharge all and every such officer as shal not diligently and profitably for us exercise and occupie their office', and to create additional offices as necessary 'for our moost profit and availe'.¹⁹ In this he was either encouraged by, or himself helped encourage, the diligence of his king. S. E. Thorne, in his introduction to Robert Constable's *Prerogativa Regis* claimed Henry's 'vigorous' search of prerogative rights had begun early in his reign, through commissions of inquiry and *quo warranto*, and made it clear the king was determined to enforce his rights, and particularly to collect the related revenues.²⁰ More recently, Margaret McGlynn has argued as well that 'from the beginning of his reign Henry paid close attention to his feudal rights', pointing to the 1490 statute of uses, which was the first 'national'

¹⁹ PRO DL 42/21, f 1r.

²⁰ [Robert Constable] *Prerogativa Regis*, ed. S.E. Thorne (New Haven, London and Oxford, 1949), p. v.

attempt at dealing with the problem, and his immediate orders to Bray to review the effectiveness of royal officials, followed by the 1487 resumption of offices.²¹

Such diligence was both approved and applauded in 15th century European political thought, which urged a good king to maintain a constant awareness of his expectations and pursue his proper revenues, even to the point of seeking out and punishing corruption, fraud and extortion.²² The need for a king's fiscal dominance and the power it supplied as well as a king's duty to maintain his revenues was canvassed in political writings of the 14th and 15th centuries. Varied treatises advised accounting and control of revenues as 'a first step toward active financial management by rulers', and indeed they demanded that a good king demonstrate not only good budgetary and husbandry habits, but personal oversight of his finances.²³ Such were the opinions of Italian political writers of the 14th and 15th century such as Petrarch, Giles of Rome and Francesco Patrizi, who also reiterated that the demesne was the proper source for royal maintenance, through its retention, and its careful management.²⁴ One of Alfonso II's councillors, Diomedes Carafa, also argued

²¹ M. McGlynn, 'The King and the Law: *Prerogativa Regis* in Early Tudor England', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1998, pp. 10-12.

²² E. Isenmann, 'Medieval and Renaissance Theories of State Finance', in R. Bonney (ed.), *Economic Systems and State Finance* (Clarendon, 1995), pp. 37-8.

²³ G. Ashby, 'The Active Policy of a Prince' in *George Ashby's Poems*, ed. M. Bateson (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 76; London, 1899; reprint, 1965), pp. 21-22. urges the prince to 'truste to no man is execucion/So wele as to youre oune inspeccion', and to pay wages so his men 'may lyve withoute extorcion'. Ashby's advice echoes that of a French treatise of 1347 first translated into English in the mid-15th century, 'III considerations right necessarye to the good governaunce of a prince' in J. P. Genet, *Four English Political Tracts of the Later 15th Century* (Camden 4th Series, 18; London, 1977), pp. 183-88, the second of the 'III considerations' is the management of his demesne to produce adequate revenues for household, charity and defense, and it recommends careful attention to his revenues and prompt payment for purchases, an anti-purveyance argument. 'The First Act of Resumption, 1450' and 'Appropriations for household expenses, 1450' the text of which are printed in B.P. Wolffe, *The Crown Lands 1461-1536: An Aspect of Yorkist and Early Tudor Government* (London, 1970), pp. 92-94 both complain particularly about purveyance. Isenmann, 'State Finance', p. 40. Wolffe, *Crown Lands*, pp. 92-3 and *RP*, v. (London, 1832), pp. 183-4 for the Resumption Act of 1450, which rebuked Henry VI for wasting all his grants and his lands and forcing his people to struggle to support him.

²⁴ Isenmann, 'State Finance' pp. 37-8. Cf. de Pisan, *Book of the Body Politic*, ed. Forhan, pp. 19-20, who says the prince should rely on his demesne, but can raise taxes for extraordinary issues, and

for diligent accounting of the prince's revenues, although he actually felt farms and leases were a more effective means of raising demesne revenue.²⁵ In England, Sir John Fortescue's treatise, *On the Laws and Governance of England* argued the need for royal fiscal strength based on the demesne, in order to assure the king of his dominance among his lords and prevent the use of royal tyranny to gain financial security.²⁶

Council Learned was a natural outgrowth of the steps taken from early in the reign to increase control of, and accountability for, the king's demesne and revenues, and it is not surprising to find Reginald Bray at the heart of such matters. Bray's importance to the early years of Henry's financial program cannot be overemphasised, as it appears that responsibility after responsibility was entrusted to him, and the later fiscal systems grew out of his earlier work. By September/October 1485, Bray was undertreasurer of England, Chancellor of the Duchy, and clerk of the Treasurer in the Exchequer.²⁷ M.M. Condon suggests that he may have acted as effective President of the Council with Henry VII in France in 1492, and the employment of Bray, first with Dinham and others to negotiate with the city of London for loans or the sealing of treaties, then at the head of a group of councillors in 1496 to request a loan, is echoed in Dudley's duties when he later exercised that title.²⁸ Bray, Hugh Oldham and John Walsh were the men involved in what Wolffe claims was the 'earliest evidence' of a

pp. 48-9, where she advises diligence, but only in terms of staying familiar with his ministers' actions regarding his own affairs.

²⁵ Isenmann, 'State Finance' pp. 39, 44-45. Genet, *Four English Political Tracts*, pp. 183-86 also pushes for diligent accounting. A. de Reumont, *The Carafas of Maddaloni* (London, 1854), pp. 112-118 provides a brief biography of Carafa which identifies him as 'one of the first inspectors of the public accounts' under Alfonso I of Aragon and his son Ferdinand, and states that his writings show 'his practical understanding, his knowledge of business, and his worldly wisdom'.

²⁶ Sir John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, ed. S. Lockwood (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 99-107.

²⁷ *CPR 1494-1509*, p. 10. Robert Litton took over as undertreasurer in December 1494.

²⁸ Condon, 'Anachronism', p. 230. Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, pp. 240, 263, 274-5.

return to chamber finance, a writ to the exchequer of March 1493, which stated that 'on the advice of council' these three men, the receivers of the Warwick, Salisbury and Spencer lands and the lands late of the Marquis of Berkeley, Lord Morley and Earl Rivers would henceforth pay their issues directly to the king and he and his council would survey them, with effect from Michaelmas 1491.²⁹

The parliamentary resumption of offices in 1487 may have also been motivated by a desire to reorganise the fiscal systems after some initial assessment, and to allow Bray and others fiscal officers and councillors to apply the same reforming attitude urged in the Duchy of Lancaster to the king's possessions on a wider scale.³⁰ The 1487 Act of Resumption claimed that Henry 'sith the beginnyng of his Reigne, hath been besied for the defense of the Churche of Englund, and of his moost Royall perfone and this his Reame' which had kept him and his council from making appointments to offices 'such as shuld be to his moost profitte and availle' and claiming that due to this difficulty his revenues 'been greatly fallen in dekaie'.³¹ The 47 pages of exemptions to the January 1486 Act of Resumption confirmed in office many of the men who had served as receivers or auditors in Yorkist financial administration after 1472, particularly those who appear to have been 'professional' receivers and auditors, probably the acceptable response to the need for the fiscal

²⁹ Wolffe, *Crown Lands*, p. 206-7. Wolffe is careful to point out that this, and subsequent exemptions of receivers were actions directed strictly toward the man named, and not an adjunct of the office. PRO E404/81/1 contains a privy seal letter to the exchequer, dated 8 February 1492, which suggested another first step had been taken, as it explained that Walsh, receiver-general of the Warwick, Salisbury and Spencer lands in several counties had 'by our comandment hath delivered and paide unto our own handes the some of a hundred twenty and fowre poundes systene shillings thre penys halpeny ferthing for the wich we wol he be sufficiently discharged... and for your discharge to make issue of the same as money delivered unto us in our Chambr to our own handes for our necessarye expenses there', and that Walsh was to be issued a tally as indemnity.

³⁰ See above, p. 104 for Duchy appointment.

³¹ *RP*, vi, p. 403. The ideas also expressed by the act that the king had been too busy to attend to the revamping of fiscal systems, and of a household finance sliding into ineffectiveness after a change of monarchs are outlined by G.R. Elton, 'Henry VII: Rapacity and Remorse', *Historical Journal*, 1 (1959), p. 22.

systems to continue functioning under men who presumably knew their business.³²

The 1487 Act was clearly designed to give Henry and his fiscal councillors the chance to make changes in personnel, as the exemptions take up only six pages, and the act itself is expressly meant to provide that opportunity, as not only does the preamble focus on the issue of the king's inability to date to 'make nor ordeyne Receyvours, Auditours, Custumers, Collectours of Custumes, Subsidies, Countrollers, Serchiours, Surveours, Awnagers and other Officers Accomptautes', it states this and his lack of provident leases and grants has left the demesne 'greatly fallen in dekaie, and further in decay shall dailly fall, yf remedy in this behalfe be not provyded'.³³

This act presumably was the reason for a commission, dated 17 May, 1488, which gave Fox, Dinham, Hody, Bray, Savage and Robert Litton the power 'with respect to the offices of all receivers, farmers, customers, ulnagers and other accounting officers in England' which had been resumed into the king's hands by Parliament in 1487 'to let to farm all castles, honors, lordships etc. . . and to nominate auditors and receivers, customers, ulnagers, etc' through bills 'sealed by the said treasurer to the chancellor, who shall without further suit deliver letters patent of the said offices during pleasure to the persons nominated'.³⁴ More than 300 warrants falling under this description can be found in the privy seal warrants, and from February 1489, Bray, Hody and Litton in varying combinations began signing these

³² Comparing Wolffe's list of receivers and auditors of Edward IV and Richard III from B.P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History* (London, 1971), Appendix D, pp. 290-305, with the grants from the 1486 resumption act in *RP*, vi., pp. 336-384. Men such as John Luthington, Richard Sheldon, John Walsh and Thomas Aleyn, who had multiple receiverships or auditorships for significant areas such as North Wales or the Duchy of Cornwall and no other stated grants of office, are what I would term 'professional' men. Some receiverships appear to have been given as part of the holding of a manor, such as Viscount Lisle's stewardship and receivership of Kenilworth.

³³ *RP*, vi., pp. 403-408.

³⁴ *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 230.

documents, which previously featured only the signatures of the Treasurer and Chancellor.

The sorting and delegation of specific tasks to councillors who had the authority to enforce the tasks assigned to them, and who pursued them indefatigably, was to give the Council Learned its successful edge. In such a cause, by the late 1490s Bray was an excellent choice as head of the enforcing body, considering his years of experience in managing Margaret Beaufort's various households, the above-mentioned tasks given him by the king and his own tenacity. Bray acquired his large estate through opportunism, persistence, legal expertise and hard bargaining, and was ruthless in pursuing debt, to judge by his personal affairs, for example his relentless insistence on recovering 515 marks from Thomas Stillington.³⁵ The use of the king's authority to demand debt payment directly had been practiced already through the Duchy Council, to judge by an enrolment of a signet letter for John Rutland, farmer of Walton Peel to appear before the Duchy council of Lancaster in London on 4th of March, 1488, to answer for lack of payment of the farm, in which he was instructed to bring with him 'all such somes of money as bi reason of your seid offices and fermes ye ow unto us'.³⁶

An area also developed in order to ensure greater accountability to the king was in the introduction of documents and books by which Henry could review and comprehend easily the status of business. The king's personal collection of copies of obligations, fines, debts and accounts has been discussed in an earlier chapter.³⁷ An order by signet letter to Lord Dinham, dated 28 June at Kenilworth, 1493, indicated

³⁵ M.M. Condon, 'From Caitiff and Villain to Pater Patriae: Reynold Bray and the Profits of Office', in M. Hicks (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990), p. 152.

³⁶ PRO DL 37/62, m. 4.

³⁷ See Chapter One, pp. 35-36.

another method by which the king would maintain a firm grasp on his administrative council's business. It stated the king had commanded his Treasurer of War, presumably Bray;

'to make in all goodly hast a plain View and a boke of al suche somes of money of ourse as he [] layed out by oure comandement for al the tyme he hath occupied thoffice of Tr [] warres hiderto/ and for oure moore clere knowlege and suretie in his rekenyng to [] of the said office We have also comanded hym to make unto us true certificat and [] the somes of money that bothe ye and he have received of al the xvmes dis [] the furst graunte of the same hiderto/ We therfor wol and desire you and nathele [] of all youre receptes from tyme to tyme of the said svmes dismes and bennolen [] the same / ye make our said Counseillor and his Clerke under hym in the said [] to be privee and of knowlege in every thing and to make plain rekenyng unto [] entent he maye shewe unto us by plain declaracion and true certificat as is [] thus to doo as we truste you and as ye wol answeere in that behalve'.³⁸

A signet letter of 22 July, 1494 from Windsor to the Treasurers and Barons of the exchequer continues in that vein;

'And wer William Rosse keper of our ordinance and artillarye at Calays hath brought in befor you iiii Accomptes aswele of money by him receyved of the late king Edward the fourth and of us for promision of stuff ordenaunce and artillarye as of the issues of the said stuf and artillarye remaning ingrossed in the handes of John Clerc and [] Sudeley our Auditors and not yet put in befor you ner determyned/ Wherof that ye wol suffre them soo to doo we mervail greteley Wherfor we wol that ye on our behalve commande our said Auditors to make a clere declaracion of the premisses in al goodly hast and the same to sende unto us to the entent that we may knowe for diverse consideracions howe it standith betwix us and the said William Rosse'.³⁹

The king was not only requesting plain declarations to be made, but that they be made for the purpose of informing him as to the status of his accounts and ordinance. Written accounts, view books and other methods by which the king could personally keep track of the financial picture proliferated during the remainder of the

³⁸ PRO E404/81/2/34. The brackets indicate the missing edge of the document.

³⁹ PRO E404/81/3.

reign, and acquire a greater importance after the death of Bray, probably due to Henry's lack of Bray's presence as overseer of council, the increasing business and the need for accurate and intensive accounting to provide the king with sources for staying abreast of that business.

The Council Learned is perhaps the easiest of the king's councils to document and examine, particularly in the wake of Somerville's discovery of the Council registers, but to perceive the nature and place of Council Learned business as an aspect of royal chamber finance and chamber fiscal discipline, as well as its place among the matrix of other conciliar groups and fiscal posts and their exercise, requires examination and cross-comparison of a wide array of sources, including the chamber account books, the recognisance rolls, Dudley's account books, several books or lists of forfeited or overdue obligations, audited books of the royal wards and lands, and various causes in the Star Chamber records.⁴⁰ A comparison of these sources presents the picture of a tightly interwoven system of councillors, managed by the king, as agents of enquiry and discipline who played separate, but equally important, roles in supporting a push by the king to maximise both the collection of revenues and adherence to the rules governing the prerogative. In particular, the period 1499-1505 is rich in detail, thanks to the chamber account books. The chamber accounts book for 1506-1509, does not have as many marginalia and Heron's working volumes from which it was apparently compiled are missing.

Examination of these sources and others permits a reconsideration of the roles of Empson and Dudley and other members of Council Learned, post-Bray, and the interaction between courtiers aiding the king in execution of the prerogative and its members. Somerville identified the 'members' of Council Learned as Reginald Bray,

Richard Empson, Edmund Dudley, Mordaunt, James Hobart, Thomas Lucas, Roger Leybourne (Bishop of Carlisle), Robert Sherbourne (Bishop of St. David's).⁴¹

Further, he adds Humphrey Coningsby, Robert Brudenell, William Smith and Richard Hesketh to that list of possibilities by inferring their involvement from a few appearances in which they appear to be acting in conjunction with the Council.⁴²

Coningsby was certainly a serjeant-at-law retained by the Duchy from 1505-9, and he and Brudenell were both king's serjeants and later justices of King's Bench.⁴³ Smith can perhaps be identified with the escheator of the Duchy from c. 1498, and Hesketh was deputy chief steward of the north parts of the Duchy under the Earl of Derby from 1503, King's serjeant and attorney at Lancaster from Michaelmas 1507.⁴⁴

Empson, Dudley, Huse, Lucas and Hobart feature among the records of Council Learned's business. Empson, Hobart and Lucas' conciliar status is enhanced by a letter from the king 'To o^r trusty and right welbeloved counsaillor Sir Richard Emson knyght, Chancellor of o^r Duchie of Lanc Sir James Hobart knight our attorney general and Thomas Lucas o^r solicitor and to eny of them', asking the return of an obligation of Thomas Lord Dacre and his brother, Christopher upon receipt of the letter.⁴⁵ As this letter is transcribed in the Council Learned books, and such a transaction is a common one for Council Learned, it appears the expectation was that

⁴⁰ Somerville, 'Council Learned', pp. 427-42.

⁴¹ Somerville simply says 'Mordaunt', without a distinguishing initial, and discusses the fact that though John Mordaunt was officially named Chancellor of the Duchy for a brief period, as is demonstrated in the Duchy books of fees, PRO DL 28/6/2, f 8r, William Mordaunt appears to be the person most easily identified with the Master Mordaunt who appears in the Council records.

⁴² Somerville, 'Council Learned in the Law', pp. 428-9. PRO DL 5/2, f 108v; PRO DL 5/4, ff 41v, 112r.

⁴³ R. Somerville, *The History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, Vol. 1, 1265-1603 (London, 1953), pp. 452.

⁴⁴ Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, i, pp. 426, 466, 483. S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, (London, 1972), p. 151 and n. 1; PRO DL 5/2, f 117v. In fact, in this last, Smith is identified as 'William smyth eschetr of lanc', and is given four obligations of various men bound for the subsidy. This is also presumably the same William Smith later called before the Council in an argument over his office as bailiff of Gresley and Repton Hundreds, and who was, in fact, removed from the office. PRO DL 5/2, f 134r. Neither Somerville or Chrimes seems to consider this possibility.

one of the three men named would be present, and all had the authority to complete the transaction. In July 1506, Edward Musgrave was permitted by signet letters of Empson and Lucas to depart from London and return to settle his business at Michaelmas. Musgrave had been told not to depart without the king's license or that of these two men, and no mention was made of letters from Henry, so Empson and Lucas were authorised to decide for themselves how to sort this case.⁴⁶

As for Coningsby, Smith and Hesketh, their offices would have meant they would interface with the Duchy Council regularly on matters of business, as the records seem to indicate, but that they were among the primary judges and core members of the council is not necessarily borne out by their actions. Their function appears more akin to that of the justices called to Henry's larger advisory councils on matters where their expertise was needed, specialists interfacing with the business of Council Learned as required. On the other hand, Sir John Huse may be strongly argued as a core member as well. Huse's name appears regularly in the Council records as well as on an attendance list of Hilary 1504 for Council Learned in company with Hobart, Empson and Lucas. Generally, Huse appears in cases connected with the business of wards, the area of responsibility apparently passed on to Huse after Bray's death, and one covered by the apparent mandate of the council, but he was also used as a go-between with John Heron, as in a case entirely unrelated to wardships, he was asked to confer with Heron on whether a sum in question had been paid.⁴⁷

An examination of the bonds given 'to the king's use' suggests also that Sir Thomas Lovell enjoyed a close relationship with the work of Council Learned,

⁴⁵ PRO DL 5/4, f 112r.

unsurprising considering he was Treasurer of the king's household. Recognisances taken 'to the king's use' were presumably the king's way of taking advantage of the system of uses in giving his designated feoffees the power to handle any and all legal matters arising from collection, while giving the king ultimate rights to the money.⁴⁸ The first recognisance which bears this phrase is one from 1496 given to Lovell by William Spenser for payment of 300m, perhaps for an office, as one William Spenser of Stanford, Lincolnshire, was granted a general pardon in February 1498.⁴⁹ But the regular appearance of these particular recognisances in the close rolls or the subsidiary books of chamber finance commences in December 1499 with one given by Peter Curtis, perhaps the keeper of the great wardrobe, to Bray, Lovell and Hobart, to pay £10.⁵⁰ Of the three men to whom the recognisance was given, Bray was Chancellor of the Duchy, Lovell was apprentice-at-law to the Duchy, and Hobart was the king's attorney general, and Bray and Lovell were also actively involved in chamber finance, Lovell as Treasurer of the Household, Bray as the main fiscal organizer of Henry's chamber system.⁵¹ Somerville acknowledges the inclusion in Council Learned of the attorney general and king's solicitor, which he calls 'interesting'.⁵² Lucas' role as the king's spokesperson will be examined later, as will

⁴⁶ PRO DL 5/4, f 90r, says 'Sir Richard Emson and Thomas Lucas the kynges solicitor by their wrytyng under their handes and seales licenced the said Edward to depart'.

⁴⁷ See p. 131 for further discussion of the case.

⁴⁸ This assumption is made from a reading of *Jovitt's Dictionary of English Law*, ed. J. Burke, (London; 2nd edn. 1977) ii, pp. 1836-43, and J.H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History* (London and Edinburgh; 3rd edn., 1990), pp. 288-290 on uses as means of evading feudal law.

⁴⁹ E101/699/26, f 8r. *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 127.

⁵⁰ E101/699/26, f 9v.

⁵¹ Chrimes describes him as a 'principal financial administrator and property manager'. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 110.

⁵² Perhaps far more interesting is the inclusion of Sherbourne and Laybourne, neither of whom held degrees in law; Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Oxford to 1500* (Oxford, 1958), ii, pp. 1685-7, says Sherbourne was BA, MA and BM, and Emden (ed.), *Biographical Register of Cambridge to 1500*, p. 367 indicates B.Th for Laybourne. Chrimes, however, points out that Laybourne 'had sufficient legal training to be admitted a notary public by 1496'. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 151, n. 2.

Hobart's, but suffice to say the inclusion of these two men makes sense if one perceives them as Henry's liaisons with council.

The recognisances 'to the king's use' appear throughout the remainder of the reign, frequently enough to be of significance. The names which appear as those taking them are Thomas Lovell, John Mordaunt, Richard Empson, Thomas Lucas, James Hobart, John Huse, and toward the end of the reign, Henry Wyatt and John Ernley, who replaced Hobart as attorney general.⁵³ Though both Chrimes and Somerville identify William Mordaunt as the Council Learned member, it is John Mordaunt, briefly the Chancellor of the Duchy and head of Council Learned, who takes part in the recognisances.⁵⁴ The names appear in a variety of combinations, generally four or five at a time; for example, a recognisance entered in the records November 1504 was given to Hobart, Empson, Huse, Dudley and Lucas to the king's use by Adam Penington.⁵⁵ Another, recorded 26 December 1505, was given by George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, to Lovell, Dudley, Empson, Hobart and Lucas.⁵⁶ Still another, recorded 12 July 1507, was given by Francis Southwell to Lovell, Empson, Dudley, Huse and Lucas.⁵⁷ Some of these bonds can be tracked to the chamber books. The chamber accounts have record of Peter Curtis, William Skern and Gerard Daniel giving an obligation for £10 for causes unspecified, and of its payment in March 1501.⁵⁸ This is the bond mentioned above. A bond given by Lewis de la Fava, a Bolognese merchant, to Thomas Lovell and John Mordaunt and entered

⁵³ The recognisances mentioned specify John Mordaunt, and his name ceases to appear on them after August 1504, when he would have been deceased. William Mordaunt's name never appears.

⁵⁴ Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 150.

⁵⁵ *CCR, 1500-1509*, 418.

⁵⁶ *CCR, 1500-1509*, 599.

⁵⁷ *CCR, 1500-1509*, 769.

⁵⁸ BL Add. MS 21480, f 59v.

in the rolls in August 1504 is also entered in the chamber accounts for roughly that time period.⁵⁹

What is most clearly demonstrated here is the intertwining of chamber finance, court and royal officers, and the work of Council Learned. Lovell and Bray were dominant figures in chamber finance as well as courtiers and councillors, Hobart and Lucas the king's legal men. Bray, Empson, Lovell, William and John Mordaunt were all officers of the Duchy.⁶⁰ Huse operated as the manager and overseer of the king's wards in conjunction with the Council Learned. Lucas' duties included the recovery of debt, sometimes through Council Learned, and sometimes through Heron's direction from the chamber. Here again is an example of council operating in the manner of a baronial council. Condon remarks 'The council of the king as duke of Lancaster was but the largest and most sophisticated of such councils; the connection of the council learned with the duchy was no mere accident.'⁶¹

Probably the most diligent and deeply involved figure was John Heron, treasurer of the chamber, but Thomas Lucas, the king's solicitor, also played a larger role in the execution of chamber finance than may be generally perceived. In the course of examining the system of chamber finance, Lucas acquires an aura of much greater importance, and involvement, and with Heron becomes a highly interesting

⁵⁹ BL Add. MS 21480, f 111r. *CCR, 1500-1509*, 403.

⁶⁰ All received fees from the Duchy. In PRO DL 28/6/1A, ff 7r-9v, for Duchy council Michaelmas 1498-99, the men listed as ministers, attorneys and others of Duchy Council for that year are Bray as Chancellor, Richard Empson, William Mordaunt, Attorney of the king, John Mordaunt, serjeant-at-law, Thomas Lovell, apprentice-at-law. PRO DL 28/6/1b, ff 16r-v and PRO DL 28/6/2, ff 8r-9r for Michaelmas 1503-4, lists John Mordaunt as chancellor, Empson, Attorney General, William Mordaunt, attorney of the Duchy in Common Pleas, Thomas Lovell, apprentice-at-law. PRO DL 28/6/3, ff 5v-8r, Michaelmas 1504-5 lists no chancellor, Empson, Attorney General, William Mordaunt, attorney of the Duchy, and Thomas Lovell, apprentice-at-law; PRO DL 28/6/4, ff 5v-7v lists Empson, Chancellor; William Mordaunt and Thomas Lovell, as above. PRO DL 28/6/5-7, for the remainder of the reign lists those same men in those offices. PRO DL 28/6/8, ff 5r-10r for 1 H8 indicates only Mordaunt and Lovell kept their same offices.

figure. Very little is known about him; Lucas was established as a member of the Inner Temple from 1493 by a brief mention in the Inner Temple Records, and, according to M.M. Condon, was 'inherited' by the king from the Duke of Bedford, for whom he served as secretary until Bedford's death in December 1495.⁶² Lucas enjoyed the usual fruits garnered by Henry's men for their labours, gaining stewardships from the king, such as that of Kertling, Cambridgeshire, a property of the Earl of Warwick's, in 1499.⁶³ He was a JP in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. He fell under disfavour in Henry VIII's reign, again a not uncommon circumstance for Henry VII's most faithful men, and suffered suits by both Thomas Wolsey and the Duke of Buckingham for slanderous words against them.⁶⁴

The association of Heron and Lucas with the business that became the hallmark of Council Learned is perhaps one of the earliest pieces of Council Learned evidence extant. The actual birth of the Council Learned is impossible to pinpoint. The council was only the first of a series of bureaucratic expansions, which gave rise to the Conciliar Court of Audit, which Guy says attained curial status after Hilary term 1505, and specialized offices such as keeper of the king's wards and the surveyor of the king's prerogative, which themselves created new departments under Henry VIII.⁶⁵ Horowitz' article on Empson attempts to date Council Learned business from as early as 1495, but only mentions a 1497 document to be drawn up

⁶¹ Condon, 'Anachronism', pp. 235. Condon discusses the rise of specialized bodies of lawyers in magnate councils in this time period, concerned with the enforcement of the magnate's prerogative rights.

⁶² Condon, 'Ruling Elites', p. 113.

⁶³ *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 187.

⁶⁴ J.H. Baker (ed.), *The Reports of Sir John Spelman* (Selden Society, 94; London, 1978) ii, pp. 244-245. He was also sued by Buckingham in 1510, but unsuccessfully, for 'forging an inquisition'.

⁶⁵ J. Guy, 'A Conciliar Court of Audit at work in the last months of the Reign of Henry VII', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 49 (1976), p. 289.

and delivered to 'the king's learned council'.⁶⁶ M.M. Condon pinpoints 1498-9 as the point when the Council Learned 'achieved a separate institutional existence'.⁶⁷ The culling of debts or decision as to what issues the Council would prosecute seems to have emanated from the chamber rather than being the product of the council members themselves, with Heron as organizer-in-chief. It appears Heron had the task of picking through the chamber accounts for debts which had lain dormant without activity past their due date, and providing lists of such debts to a selected servant of the king for the collection or garnering of obligations attached to those debts by whatever means was most viable. A list of tallies from 1497 bears the heading 'delivered to Thomas Lucas by me John Heron to sue and make processe therof for the recover unto the kynges use at Wesminstr xxii die April anno xii^{mo} R h vii^{tum}'.⁶⁸ Though this list does not make use of a title for Lucas, it may be reasonable to assume this was one of his first acts as king's solicitor, as the date of his appointment was sometime before May 1497.⁶⁹ Marginal notes in Heron's book of accounts dated 1 October 1499 indicate ten tallies which were marked were given to Thomas Lucas 'ad sectand'.⁷⁰ Some of these correspond with the names and sums listed in Lucas' original list. As regular records of the Council Learned do not begin until Michaelmas 1500, it is hard to be conclusive, but in the records of the Council Learned for Easter 1503 one entry deals with Nicholas Simpson and William Hall, both summoned by privy seal for 'certain contemptes and other mysdemeanors'.⁷¹ Both names appear in

⁶⁶ M. Horowitz, 'Richard Empson, Minister of Henry VII', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55 (1982), p. 40.

⁶⁷ Condon, 'Ruling Elites' p. 133.

⁶⁸ PRO E/101/691/29, f 3r.

⁶⁹ J.C. Sainty, *A List of English Law Officers, King's Counsel and Holders of Patents of Precedence* (London, 1987), p. 60. Andrew Dimmock was made second Baron of the exchequer in May 1497, and Lucas replaced him as king's solicitor. For Dimmock's appointment, *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 106.

⁷⁰ BL Add. MS 21480, f 150r.

⁷¹ PRO DL 5/2, f 52v.

Lucas' original list, and are listed in the group noted as being Lucas' responsibility in October 1499.⁷² Simpson reappeared in the Council Learned books when the sheriff of Norfolk declared him deceased before the council on 17 May 1503; subsequently he showed up in a veritable laundry list of attachments given to the Sheriff of Norfolk to execute in Trinity term 1505, in which Simpson was being sought for contempt 'for certain recognisances forfeit'.⁷³ As king's solicitor, Lucas had authority to command privy seals to call people into the king's court and to pursue them through those courts, including Council Learned, if they failed to appear.

This list of Lucas' was only the first of several. Also extant are three further lists of such assignments of obligations and recognisances to Lucas to be 'put in suyt', two dated 1503 and one from 1507.⁷⁴ In addition, a file in the PRO appears to contain memoranda from Thomas Lucas and John Ernley, attorney general from July 1507, of both 'redy mony' and obligations given to John Heron 'to the kynges use', for debts of livery of lands, with one of the pages dated March 1509. Lucas and Ernley's signatures are on the bottom of their respective pages. The third page of this document resembles pages from Heron's 'working' account books which list obligations to the king, and this page includes several of the names contained on the memoranda pages as owing certain amounts for their livery. In other words, this set of documents appears to contain the source page for the debts that Lucas and Ernley were pursuing and the record of their results.⁷⁵

⁷² PRO E/101/691/29, f 3r, and BL Add. MS 21480, f 150r.

⁷³ PRO DL 5/4, f 45r, DL 5/2, f 54r for note of Simpson's decease.

⁷⁴ E/101/691/29, ff 4r-v have two more sets of obligations meant for Lucas, and amassed by Heron. 'Md that John Heron hath delivered unto Thomas Lucas the kinges solicitor the copies of these oblig folowing to be put in suyt the iide Day of Juyll the xviiiith yere of king henry the viiith (1503) and 'Md that John Heron hath deliverd to Thomas lucas the copies of these obligacions folowing the xxviiith day of Octobr anno xixno (1503)'; ff 11r-v contain the 1507 list.

⁷⁵ E101/416/6. Lucas' memorandum is f 1r-v, Ernley's is ff 2r-v, and the chamber book page is ff 3r-v.

Dudley also later received assignments in this fashion, judging by another book of overdue obligations or forfeited recognisances dated Westminster, 1 February 1505, in which John Heron 'delivered by the kinges commaundment unto Edmonde Dudley and John Michell...all these obligations folowyng for to keep and pursue unto thuse and be houve of our forsaid sovereign lord'.⁷⁶ This was probably a further evolution of the collecting system and an area of collection with which Michell was already involved, and thus incorporated with Dudley. According to the memoranda, a Master John Michell, sometime prior to June 1503, received three boxes containing a total of 42 obligations for good abearing and other causes, which concurs with the types of recognisances entered in the book.⁷⁷ In addition, 50 obligations delivered to the king by the customers of Dover of 'diverse merchautes of England for goying to the Archeduk' were 'deliberantur ad magister Michell' at roughly the same time period.⁷⁸ The book given to Dudley and Michell included at least 15 folios of forfeited or overdue obligations in the categories named above, dated through the regnal year 1504/5. Presumably some of the obligations in the book might have been from the earlier batch given to Michell, and those not cleared yet were added to and handed over to both men for action.

It appears from several cancelled recognisances which were initially cleared by John Walles, a king's clerk, that books of debt or recognisances might be circulated more than once until it was perceived that all possible attempts to collect had been

⁷⁶ PRO E101/517/11.

⁷⁷ PRO 21480, f 167r.

⁷⁸ PRO 21480, f 165v. BL Add. MS 21480, f 164v has a memorandum of merchants, who had been in the archduke's territory and brought back merchandise in violation of a proclamation, confessing their guilt before the king's council; f 165v contains the memoranda with the margin note 'Delyberant^{ur} ad magister michell'. E101/517/11, ff 5v-7r list obligations given by merchants who pledged not to stop in the Archduke's lands before returning to England from Calais, presumably in reference to the 1493 proclamation prohibiting unlicensed trade with Burgundy. Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Royal Proclamations*, p. 35.

exhausted. A notation in the chamber account books dated roughly 1 October 1505 stated that Thomas Hobbes, one of the king's chaplains, and councillors 'hath rec by indenture of the kinges grace 276 obligations...the foresaid Master Hobbis truly to accompte for them and to pay suche money to the kinges use as growe by them'.⁷⁹ Hobbes was continuing in the footsteps of a recently deceased king's chaplain, John Walles, whose executor had returned the obligations to the chamber.⁸⁰ Unfortunately Walles was more efficient at collecting than reporting: a series of signed bills in the files for warrants under the great seal include a few which carry a similar message to this one of 7 July 1506; 'we are credeble enformed that the seid vi poundes in the seid condicion made uppon the recognisance of ten pounds was treuly content and payed to our use unto John Walles clerk lately decessed whose soule God pardon as by bill indented subscribed and sealed with the handes of the seid John Walles by the seid John [Digby] and John [Villers] unto our counsell lerned shewed more playnly it may apper'.⁸¹ The bill bears Dudley's signature at the bottom. Similar terminology is recorded on a cancelled recognisance in the same month for Nicholas Newingham and Francis Southwell, and one for a William Pyrton from April 1507.⁸² It appears that some of the debtors who paid Walles were later challenged again for those debts, and were able to present signed bills from Walles indicating their debts were already paid. The names mentioned above do not appear in the notebooks of the Council Learned, but they do appear in PRO E101/699/26, a notebook similar to the one mentioned

⁷⁹ PRO E36/214, f 220r. Walles and Hobbes were both king's chaplains, and both are referred to as 'king's councillor' in varied patents. *CPR, 1494-1509*, pp. 373, 388. Dudley was apparently used to deliver some such recognisances to Hobbes, judging by an entry in BL Lansdowne 127, f 3v, that Dudley in January 1505 delivered 'vi severall obligations' to Hobbes as terms of an indenture.

⁸⁰ *CPR 1494-1509*, p. 373. Hobbes also inherited Walles' offices of canon and prebend in St Stephen's Westminster.

⁸¹ PRO C82/287. The cancelled recognisance was for a debt of John Digby and John Villers.

⁸² PRO C82/287, 297.

above for Dudley and Michell, which must have been given to Dudley as an 'assignment', and was perhaps originally given to John Walles.

This collection system and the chamber accounts ultimately provided work for the Council Learned, a point mentioned, but not perhaps made explicit enough by Somerville. The chamber account books contain, besides folios listing the king's expenses, lists of ward, lists of revenues and the memoranda mentioned in Chapter 3, folio pages of recognisances and obligations given by people for direct debts to the king, either through sales of wards or offices, feudal incidents due to the king such as marriages or liveries, payments due by indentures, bonds with foreign merchants, or forfeitures from customs or bonds for allegiance or obedience.⁸³ The impression given by a survey of these pages is that when a bond or recognisance was agreed upon with the king or his courtier/officers in whatever the issue at hand, it was recorded in these books in order to preserve a record of issues which fell into the category of the king's personal business. Many of these bonds do not appear in the close rolls, heightening the impression that this record was made specifically for the use of the king and his fiscal councillors. The recognisance and obligations folios rarely contain remarks indicative of the king's actions, as the issues there were ones already settled and recorded and simply awaiting payment. If payments were made, they were recorded in the margins; if not, the item was given on for action when past due. But once handed over, such issues were not forgotten, as when payments were wrested from men by either the Council Learned, or their threatening privy seals, those actions were also recorded in the folios mentioned. Henry's 'learned counsel' were entrusted with the king's business in the expectation that they would make decisions entirely agreeable to him, and, as mentioned earlier, review books, signatures and the

occasional traces of ‘conversations’ that emerge from the sources indicate the king kept an eye on issues even if he did not participate in their immediate resolution, and exercised his option to ‘direct or interfere’ as Somerville puts it, in the business before his fiscal administrators.⁸⁴

To illustrate this system: picking randomly through two folios in the Council Learned books of people summoned to appear before the council in Hilary 1505, one can find debts to the king in the chamber accounts book which correspond to the summonses. A John Popeday is listed in the chamber accounts with two others as bound in an obligation of 25m; a John Popeday was summoned to pay 25m to Heron or appear in front of the Council. A William Cook was bound by an obligation to pay 100 shillings per year over four years for the post of escheator in Norfolk, in which post it appears he served in 1499-1500; a William Cook was summoned to pay 100s or appear before the Council Learned. Sir William Knivet was bound in an obligation to pay £11 per year for the arrearages of one Gilbert Lambert; Knivet was summoned before Council Learned to pay £11.⁸⁵ The common denominator in each of these cases was apparent non-compliance with their given deadlines for payment. The obligation folios are haphazardly dated, but it appears that Popeday gave his original bond circa March 1503, and his payment was due Michaelmas 1503, Cook had given his bond sometime between June and November 1503, with payment due in Midsummer 1504, and Knivet had given his bond in the same general period as Cook, with payment due at Christmas 1503 and Midsummer 1504. Popeday and Cook had made no previous payments before their summons, Knivet had made one, but was a

⁸³ BL Add. MS 21480, has roughly 45 folios of such business, and PRO E36/214 has roughly 40.

⁸⁴ Somerville, ‘Council Learned’, p. 441.

⁸⁵ DL 5/4, ff 22r-v.

payment behind.⁸⁶ The other common denominator is that these bonds do not appear to have been entered on the close rolls, but to have been specifically entered in the king's account book. There *are* extant books of overdue debt and forfeited obligations that can be traced to entries in the close rolls, and which appear to have served this same purpose of providing a list from those rolls of debts to be pursued, and some of the bonds listed in this roll can be tracked to actions of the Council Learned, such as a summons to Sir Amyas Paulet in Michaelmas 1505 to pay £500 or appear, a debt which coincides with his bond as surety for Robert Curson, whose other guarantors' forfeited sureties had already been reviewed and acted upon by the Council in Easter term 1505.⁸⁷

The Council Learned in turn directed the issues of simple debt collection first to the chamber. Privy Seals were ordered by members of Council Learned to be sent 'to these persons following indetted to the king to content theis duties to John Heron to the kinges use or eles to apper bifor his grace or his Lerved Counsel at Westminster' making Heron the first contact with the men who owed debts to the king, and Heron's signature was sufficient to dismiss a claim, as in 1504 when one John Waleston appeared before Council Learned 'and shewed a byll signed with the hand of John heron beryng date at Grenewich the iiiiith day of January anno xx by the which he confessith to have received the said to the kinge use'.⁸⁸ Defendants who did go to Heron and pay, then needed to show their signed bills before the council in order to retrieve their obligations, as evinced from an entry stating one defendant's debt 'is payed to John heron as appered by his byll which was sent to the auditor to discharge the same and therupon...the said oblygacion is deliverd to the said John

⁸⁶ BL Add. MS 21480, ff 90r, 94v, 95r.

⁸⁷ BL Add. MS 21480, f 42v; E101/699/26, f 3v; DL 5/4, ff 60v, 61v, 75v.

Waller'.⁸⁹ Heron was also consulted and provided affidavit when the system broke down, as in a case in Michaelmas term 1505, when Sir Edmund Carew was hauled by the Sheriff of Devon before the Council Learned on their orders, to answer why he had not paid a debt for which he had been summoned. Carew denied owing any money, and the entry states 'Sir John Huse went to John heron to understand who shuld pay the said duetie and whether it were paid or not and therupon the same John heron certified by his hand writing that it was paid to him mens november Anno xxi and therupon he is dismyssed'.⁹⁰

In this way, a continual supply of names and obligations of recalcitrant or half-hearted debtors was directed towards the Council Learned for pursuit, that part of its business which most closely resembles Bayne's personfication of it as a 'royal debt-collecting agency'.⁹¹ However, if the business of debt-collecting from the Council Learned lists was operating at its most satisfactory level, some of the defendants called to appear would never have stood before Empson and Dudley. As explained above, people were sent summonses from the council with the command to pay a certain sum to John Heron, 'or else to appear'. This is a regular and frequent command, and in fact, Dudley's notebook for Council Learned has pages devoted to such, as in 'Prive seales to all the parsonnes folowing to content theire Dettes to the king Or elles to appere mensa pasche ut antea', referring to Easter 1505.⁹² Nearly 50 names are listed under this simple command, and some of those summoned apparently never appeared before the Council Learned, as there are no further notations next to

⁸⁸ PRO DL 5/4, f 22v.

⁸⁹ PRO DL 5/2, f 67v.

⁹⁰ PRO DL 5/4, f 76r. BL Add. MS 21480, f 104v contains the debt for which he was presumably summoned, as it matches the figures in the DL book, a £110 payment for the liberty of William Hussey, due March 1505, and still unpaid at the beginning of Michaelmas term 1505.

⁹¹ Bayne and Dunham (eds.), *Select Cases*, p. xxvii.

⁹² DL 5/4, ff 46r-53r; the quoted phrase is on folio 46r.

their names in the book or for the remainder of that term. The names are widely spaced, with sufficient room beneath them for further notation, and occasionally the handwriting in which additional notation is made appears different from the original entry.⁹³

Somerville suggested the lack of further commentary on a case after the initial notation of a privy seal may be an indicator of proceedings instead being noted on the back of a bill, but the books themselves suggest that these notations were made on issuance of the seal, and that some men, upon receiving their summons, must have gone straight to Heron and settled their debt without further reference to the court, actions reflected by entries in the king's chamber books.⁹⁴ A Thomas Magnus was sent a privy seal sometime prior to the Easter term to pay £50 or appear.⁹⁵ No additional notes appear under his entry, but a Thomas Magnus made payment of £50 on 13 April, 1505 as recorded in the Chamber account books.⁹⁶ Again, there are no additional notes, but Sir Edmond Hampden and Walter Stonor were sent a privy seal to pay £20 for an obligation or appear at Easter; the chamber books record their payment of 12 April, 1505.⁹⁷ Sir Adrian Fortescue received a similar privy seal, to pay £20 or appear; in his case, additional notes under his name state he appeared before the council and received their usual injunction to remain in attendance until his issue was settled, but must have decided to pay up, for the entry states 'the said Sir Adrian hath agreed with the counsel and paid his mony and is therefore clerely dismyssed', and Heron's account books reflect a payment of £20 for a fine, due at Michaelmas

⁹³ DL 5/4, f 52r.

⁹⁴ Somerville, 'Council Learned in the Law', p. 431.

⁹⁵ DL 5/4, f 50v.

⁹⁶ BL Add. MS 21480, f 103r.

⁹⁷ DL 5/4, f 51r; BL Add. MS 21480, f 106r.

1504, and paid 25 April 1505.⁹⁸ In cases such as these, the council functioned essentially as a billing department, with action reserved for use in the case of the reluctant, and such summons appear through the last term of their sitting in Hillary 1509.

But to return to one of the starting points of this thesis: where is the king in these affairs? So far, it has been demonstrated that the books of Henry's chamber accounts, containing personal memoranda of business, and debts recorded on the king's chamber rolls, provided grist for the mill of the Council Learned, but did Henry himself participate, or simply let Heron, Lucas and the other fiscal bureaucrats run the business? Somerville's article still provides an admirable summary of the work of Council Learned, and its processes, but he does not make explicit enough those aspects which support the idea of the king's involvement in, and direction of, the council. Evidence relative to the work of Council Learned indicates that the king applied himself to these affairs regularly, and that the issues in question were produced mainly from the king's *personal* records of debts, issues and obligations in which Henry played a proactive role, overseeing, delegating, countermanding, or settling issues.

The king and Heron were the two most responsible for the management of the system. Heron was in a position to be more conversant than anyone with the business of the fiscal councils and chamber finance and he may have been the key executor, under Henry's direction, of the varied streams of business coming into and going out of chamber and administrative council. Even Bray was assigned tasks for the king through this system: the memorandum mentioned in Chapter 3 regarding issues to be passed on to him includes such diverse items as the household accounts, 'an escape

⁹⁸ DL 5/4, f 51r; BL Add. MS 21480, f 105r.

of a convicte. . . which the lerned Counsaell sueth for', and the Marquess of Dorset's request to purchase the wardship of Lord Ferrers. Nearly all of the items on the memo are taken almost verbatim from BL Add MS 21480, and within four folios of business, which can be roughly dated to 1501.⁹⁹ Notations from the chamber books such as 'the kinges grace hath delivered a bill to James Hubart' of names of men who had not taken up their knighthood of the Bath, and who 'must make their fines unto the king's grace' and a notation that information of illegal wool-selling had come to Henry and subsequently 'the king's attorney has the names', indicate that Henry was still directing the division of business at the top, with Heron essentially playing fiscal secretary.¹⁰⁰ David Grummitt's recent article shows how John Daunce and Robert Fowler also received specific assignments for collection, in which they interfaced with Henry mainly through Heron.¹⁰¹ And even outside the fiscal administration, men were being entrusted with expanding the king's interest, as is suggested by a signet letter ordering a commission to give Thomas Darcy and others in the north the power to let the lands belonging to Berwick for the king's profit.¹⁰²

There is little evidence Henry sat in meetings of Council Learned, but rather that, as in the 'conversations' catalogued in Chapter 1, the king was kept informed of the council's work, and provided input as necessary or when he felt so compelled.¹⁰³ The chamber accounts memoranda again provide 'conversations' between Henry and Bray which include specific mentions of Council Learned business. For example, Bray

⁹⁹ WAM 16018. I am indebted to Miss Condon and Professor Guth for giving me a copy of their transcript of this letter from their volume in preparation. BL Add. MS 21480, ff 179v-182v. The date of 1 May 1501 is written in the margin at the top of folio 179v, and the date of 1st October 1501 at the top of folio 181r.

¹⁰⁰ BL Add. MS 21480, ff 164v, 165r.

¹⁰¹ D. Grummitt, 'Henry VII, Chamber Finance and the 'New Monarchy': some new evidence', *Historical Research*, 179 (1999), pp. 234-5.

¹⁰² PRO C82/216.

¹⁰³ See Chapter 1, pp. 35-36, 40-41

and the 'lerved counsell' produced information that the Lord Clifford owed 1600m for a lordship purchased by Richard III.¹⁰⁴ On the same page with that entry are notations for various items which Fox had offered Bray sums for, and the terms thereof, and this entry has "vacat per regem" on it, which suggests the king gave his approval or decided more precise terms himself. A later folio indicates Bray was offered 700m for the ward of Fiennes, the heir of Lord Say, an issue that can be suggested as coming from Council Learned, due to their handling of wardships. Other entries indicate conversations regarding Council Learned business without necessarily identifying the source, such as escapes attributed to the recorder of London, "as the lerved counsell can tell", which was followed by an entry that stated a bill of escapes from the Castle of Chester had been sent to "his lerved Counsaill" by the king.¹⁰⁵

Thomas Lucas' name appears in council entries, and the commentary indicates he passed information to Henry and carried back the king's responses, as he sometimes provides the king's specific direction on issues or reports on actions taken within the chamber system; the Council Learned books are peppered with comments reflecting Lucas' knowledge of Henry's input on particular cases. In Hilary 1507, 'it was shewed by the kinges solicitor that the said John Ratclif had agreed and goon through with the kinges grace for the such matiers as he aperid for and therefore commanded that he shuld be clerelie dischargid and dysmysseid,' and again in Easter 1508 in the cause of Edward Arrowsmith, 'M lucas the kinges solicitor shewed that he had a lr from the kinges grace for the discharge of the said Arrowsmith for his offence in that behalf'.¹⁰⁶ In Michaelmas 1506, 'My lady powes petition for her dower and the kinges lr and a bil of the value of the lord Powes landes ...vi die

¹⁰⁴ BL Add. MS 21480, f 179v.

¹⁰⁵ BL Add. MS 21480, f 183v.

Novembris in this court wer delivered to M Lucas the kinges solicitor,' most likely to be given to Heron for recording in the chamber books, as the dower had been assigned and settled almost two years earlier.¹⁰⁷ Lucas is also mentioned in the memoranda, such as an entry indicating he brought a negotiation of Richard Croft with the Council Learned to the king's attention. Croft asked for help in the case of a ward apparently being 'broken' and offered the king half of what he recovered.¹⁰⁸

Lucas was not the only one whose messages from the king appear in the Council records. In May 1504, a James Braybrook, presumably the king's chamber servant, appeared before the council to show that 'the king's pleasure' was for a matter to be respited to November of that year.¹⁰⁹ On the day designated, the king appears to have been at Westminster.¹¹⁰ When Nicholas Fyrley, a priest, was summoned to appear in Easter 1506 for hunting in the king's park of Redmarley, he was given leave to depart with the agreement that he would appear again when warned, and that 'maister Sampson oon of the clerks of the kynges privy seal', who has been established as clerk of council attendant, would send the summons to him, an indication that perhaps the king was monitoring that case.¹¹¹ Henry was not entirely absent from these proceedings: in another case involving the tenants of the Isle of Wight it was 'agreed bifore the kinges grace than being present Sir Richard Emson knight and thabbot of Quarre' that the cause would be resumed by Empson in the term following.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ PRO DL 5/4, f 132r. This entry is crossed over, and has the annotation 'ded' over the name of John Ferrers, but presumably this does not affect this observation of Lucas' actions.

¹⁰⁷ PRO DL 5/4, f 95r

¹⁰⁸ BL Add. MS 21480, f 177v.

¹⁰⁹ PRO DL 5/2, f 74r.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix I, p. 267.

¹¹¹ PRO DL 5/2, f 99r.

¹¹² PRO DL 5/4, f 118r

Though the king may have made sure he was kept aware of conciliar affairs, the Council Learned was not always so fortunate. Lord Dacre was summoned before them in Hilary 1507 to pay a debt to the king, and produced a signet letter dated July 1506, dismissing him of the debt and nullifying the recognisance, which Lucas promptly handed over to him.¹¹³ Dacre's brother Christopher learned from the experience. Just seven days after Henry gave Christopher a letter cancelling his recognisance as paid, he presented it to Empson and Council Learned and received his obligation, which they were apparently holding, at Empson's command.¹¹⁴ In Easter 1508, Ralph Brown was called to submit evidence in a case regarding the lands of Bernard Mitford which Henry had purchased, and in which evidence was delivered by a Thomas Brown, servant of Mitford's, to Sir John Cutte, 'sith cristmas last past', and for which Brown produced a signed bill from Cutte stating this fact.¹¹⁵ Again in Easter 1507, Marmaduke Clarveaux' heir, John, and three other men were called before the Council Learned on information that Clarevaux still owed money from the collection of the 1497 aid, but after a search of the records, nothing could be found and they were dismissed.¹¹⁶ In Michaelmas 1508, a London tradesman's widow was called for a debt owed by her late husband, which upon appeal to Heron was found to be owed by a man of the same name in Northumberland.¹¹⁷ Incidents such as these must have exasperated the men caught in such transactions, particularly when the cause had been settled, and it is easy to imagine that part of the highly negative reputation of the Council Learned emanates from such issues. It appears some effort was made to correct these failings, with a notation in a case in Michaelmas 1507, that

¹¹³ PRO DL 5/4, f 100r.

¹¹⁴ PRO DL 5/4, f 112r.

¹¹⁵ PRO DL 5/4, f 132v.

¹¹⁶ PRO DL 5/4, f 106r

¹¹⁷ PRO DL 5/4, f 148v.

Thomas Lucas had informed the council of the status of an obligation registered with John Heron.¹¹⁸

Obligations were apparently held by the Council until they received a signed bill from Heron or the king indicating payment, or they were past their deadline and required action. Business was sorted and kept in various boxes, and the records of the Council Learned name 'the king's box', 'the king's box of obligations', and 'a box of obligations concerning the king's lerned Councell'.¹¹⁹ Though this could be referring to books such as that given to Lucas, this 'filing system' sounds similar to the tills kept by the exchequer or even the catalogue system for documents still used today in the Westminster muniments. It is easy to imagine that the individual parchment strips on which obligations were entered, such as one finds in the uncanceled recognisance files in the PRO, would be kept in labelled boxes and stored where they were most pertinent, such as the notation from a cause in Council Learned between St. Mary Otery and their tenants in Hilary 1507, that obligations between the two 'were put in to a box and therupon written Obligacions de stando arbitrio etc inter gardianos et canonicos beate marie de Ottrey et tenentes euisdem etc. which obligacions be set and remayn in the myddyl ambrey next the dore in the Duchie Chamber'.¹²⁰ In the same term 'Thobligacions of William Ap Rys and divers other remayneth in the kings box of obligacions in the Ambrey', perhaps those obligations taken by such as Empson, Dudley, Bray, Hobart and Lucas 'to the king's use' and subsequently left in the Duchy Chamber.¹²¹ Sometimes the boxes appear to have been carried back and forth between king and council, probably for consultation, as per the notation in Trinity

¹¹⁸ PRO DL 5/4, f 118r.

¹¹⁹ PRO DL 5/2, ff 62r, 77r.

¹²⁰ PRO DL 5/2, f 113v. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, eds. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford, 1989; 2nd edn.), i., p. 390 defines an ambrey or ambry as a closet or cupboard in the recess of a wall, generally a repository for goods or books.

1503 that ‘the kings attorney lefte in the cort a box with a wryt of oon John a Burgh of kyrton in lyndsey and an obligacion wherin weer bound Sir robert Tailboys knyght and Ric Thyny’, or ‘Gregery Lovell had a prive delyver to him by oon Roger Smyth...by the sendyng of brokes servant to my lord of Surr as he hath made affidavit and afterward he appered and shewed a lese and a byll which remayn in the kings box’.¹²²

Heron, Dudley and other clerks and officers could sign bills to dismiss debt, but Henry also signed bills requesting delivery of obligations or dismissing people upon fulfillment of their bonds in the chamber.¹²³ A signet letter, transcribed into the Council Learned notebooks, stated ‘wher as an obligacion wherin william ap Rys ap Griffith with certain his suerties of North Wales stond bound to you and other in the som of five hundred markes concerning thapparence of the said william ap Rys remaineth in your keping We for certeyn considracions us specially moeving Woll and command you to cause the said obligacion to be delivered unto the sayed William furthwith upon the sight of thies our lres which shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf’.¹²⁴ From 1504-8, the number of signet letters and signed bills given from the king to dismiss debt boomed. From five letters for each year of 1503 and 1504 to 31 in 1505, 42 in 1506 and 55 in 1507. There are no such letters or bills in the files of warrants for letters under the great seal in 1508 and 1509, for which there is no immediately obvious explanation.

¹²¹ PRO DL 5/2, f 114r.

¹²² PRO DL 5/2, ff 57v, 62r.

¹²³ PRO C82/286 contains signed bills stating payment of recognisances had been made and authorizing their cancellation. Also, in the case of Lord Dacre, PRO DL 5/4, f 100r, Henry issued a letter, the text of which is transcribed in the Council register, which said Dacre ‘hathe now trulie contente unto us parcel of the said somes And for the residue hathe found unto us suche sufficient suertie as we therwith be content wherfore we by these presentes be content and licence him at his libertie to depart to his owne mansion’.

¹²⁴ PRO DL 5/4, f 107v, PRO C255/8/9.

The king's intervention in Council Learned occurred through many avenues; by writing, for example, as in the case of Lord Dacre of the North, whose signet letter from the king, informing the council Dacre had settled his matter with Henry and was free to go, was inscribed complete into the council records.¹²⁵ Suitors also felt free to run to the king after their summons, seeking his intervention, and the king exercised his privilege. The Mayor of Newcastle, denied the right by the councillors to appear by attorney, went to Henry, and brought back the king's letters commanding them to allow him the privilege, with which, of course, they complied.¹²⁶ One John Burway or Burley, appeared before Council Learned in Michaelmas 1505 and it appears his cause was removed from the curia by the king's commandment, and settled directly, as was reported to the council by the Undertreasurer, John Cutte on 28 November.¹²⁷

The memoranda of varied issues of business also contained in the king's chamber account books gives a further idea of issues outside simple recognisances and obligations which may have been directed by the king for action to Council Learned, or the most relevant person. An entry 'Md of all the multures of the Busshoppes in England which desceasse' may be the reason for at least two cases of people being summoned to Council Learned to answer for payment of multures for deceased bishops.¹²⁸ It also appears that cases of similar type might be dealt with in different ways, with some personally resolved by the king. One such cause is that of Humphrey Wellesborne, noted in an entry in the chamber books as having forfeited £100 for the escape of a thief at Wallingford.¹²⁹ In Michaelmas 1502, the Council Learned summoned before it one Humphrey Wellesborne for escapes at

¹²⁵ PRO DL 5/4, f 100r.

¹²⁶ PRO DL 5/2, f 32v.

¹²⁷ PRO DL 5/2, f 96v.

¹²⁸ PRO DL 5/4, ff 54r, 107r; BL Add. MS 21480, f 168r.

¹²⁹ BL Add. MS 21480, f 166r.

Wallingford.¹³⁰ However, another entry for escapes from Fotheringay attributed to Sir David Philip bears the margin note 'vac per regem', presumably *vacatum per regem*, and does not appear in Council Learned, nor does there appear to be a bond for fine or payment for escapes for Philip. Philip was a knight of the body, and perhaps he and the king personally settled the issue. The notation 'vacatum per regem' litters the pages of the memoranda, and gives the impression of the king's active participation in deciding who would handle issues, or resolving them himself.

No detail was too small, and no area one in which the king did not make contribution to the business at hand. When Henry ordered Sir John Huse's brothers William and Robert to be bound in £500 to him for their allegiance, he directed them to do so with his secretary (Ruthal at the time), and also bring sureties in £500 for their allegiance to be bound before the secretary.¹³¹ Henry sent writs to Thomas Savage, Archbishop of York, and John, Earl of Oxford, directing them and giving them authority to take recognisances from certain people for the king, and providing precise details of who should be bound and the terms of the recognisances.¹³²

A further tie between the council and the chamber was the use of the king's messengers to deliver privy seals to defendants, and to give affidavit of those deliveries, as in Easter Term, 1504, when the records of Council Learned state that 'Hereafter folowith the names of the personnes to whome Oliver Kightley messangier delivered certain prive seales upon payn of alliegeauns which said oliver hath made affidavit that they were truly delivered accordyng etc'.¹³³ Kightley carried messages for the king from at least November 1496, and was apparently well-trusted, as he was

¹³⁰ PRO DL 5/2, f 42v

¹³¹ PRO C255/8/5/95

¹³² PRO C255/8/8; C255/8/8/26-7

¹³³ PRO DL 5/2, f 72v.

the man to carry the king's will to the Archbishop in April 1509.¹³⁴ The wording of the message indicates these particular privy seal letters were delivered directly from Kightley to the persons named, not to the sheriff as was the usual case. Over the years, Kightley carried large numbers of writs, some of which can be connected with Council cases, as in the eleven privy seals he carried to Suffolk and Kent in June 1502 'for wullstellers,' which appears to have been a case in illegal exporting of wools brought before the Council Learned in Trinity term 1503.¹³⁵ Further evidence of the Council Learned's use of the king's messengers on their business comes in a notation of Hilary term 1503: an attachment awarded against one Thomas ap Thomas and William Gunter 'is delivered to Mathew Py one of the kings messengers here in this Duchie chamber by Thomas Lucas the kings solicitor'.¹³⁶

The names of those who were to receive the privy seals were transcribed fully in the chamber books, which the king reviewed and signed regularly; had he been curious about the status of business, or who was being summoned, it would have been simple to check. That he did keep track of seals may be indicated by the fact that toward the end of the reign, margin notes began to appear in the chamber accounts, apparently indicating at whose instruction, or on whose behalf, privy seals were being delivered. In May 1508, four privy seals recorded as delivered by king's messengers correspond to the names of men summoned to appear before Council Learned during that May or June, and the chamber book is inscribed 'Empson' in the margin.¹³⁷ Margin notations in the chamber books indicate that members of the Council Learned and the Conciliar Court of Audit freely used the king's messengers to deliver privy seals and letter pertinent to their causes.

¹³⁴ PRO E101/414/6, f 53v. PRO E36/214, f 166r.

¹³⁵ PRO DL 5/4, f 16v. Also in PRO DL 5/2, f 56r.

Not all privy seals were delivered by royal messengers. Alternative systems of delivery ensured the continuation of business when the king was away from Westminster and his messengers inaccessible, and it would also have provided means by which to avoid using the sheriffs, a point of contention. DeLloyd Guth, in his research on the exchequer, pointed to a greater tendency after 1505 for the exchequer writs of *sub pena* to defendants to be delivered either by informants or by royal servants, bypassing the sheriffs either for the sake of greater certainty in getting an accurate result, rather than a writ returned by a lazy sheriff marked 'could not be found', or to avoid the possibility of a partisan sheriff looking the other way.¹³⁸ Men would try to avoid missives from the king--one item of business before the council in November-December of 1488 was a fine of £10 for contempt against Lord Greystoke for refusing to receive a box with the king's letters, and a royal messenger was likely to be more tenacious.¹³⁹ Those alternative systems including enlisting men such as Sir John Odeham, brother to one of the king's servants, who received three privy seals from the Chancellor to deliver in October 1505, and one Ralph Roo who in Michaelmas term 1504 recounted his efforts to deliver three privy seals he had sworn out for his own matter.¹⁴⁰ A memo to Robert Rydon regarding a Star Chamber case directed Rydon to interrogate the defendant in a cause as to whether the defendant was aware '[Rydon's] servantes were at his parysshe chirche uppon Corpus Cristi dey

¹³⁶ PRO DL 5/2, f 50v.

¹³⁷ PRO E36/214, f 130r; DL 5/4 ff 135r, 136r, 137v.

¹³⁸ Guth, 'Penal Law Enforcement', p. 102.

¹³⁹ Guth, 'Penal Law Enforcement', p. 113. HL MS EL 2654, f 11r. BL Harley MS 305 f 29r.

¹⁴⁰ PRO DL 5/2 ff 86v, 95v. Probably the same John Odeham given a presentation to Shimpling parish in the diocese of Norwich by Henry in 1500. *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 214. Roo's testimony as to delivery of the seals attests to the difficulties and resistance involved. The elder Boughey pleaded sickness, and Roo encountered outright defiance in delivering another seal, as he attests 'that he delivered the prive seale to the same alex in his own house oon Rauf alen being present on the Monday afor nown the viii Day of November last pst and that [Alex] kep the same prive seal tyl the morn at unto nyght and than brought it to this Rauf his house and cast it in at his dore to his wyff then went his way and [Rauf] delivered to no moo personnes but brouht it agayn'.

to serve hym with a prevy seele'.¹⁴¹ In Michaelmas 1508, William Tailor of Dorset 'saith that he was present and sawe whan oon Thomas Elys servant to the lord Broke delivered a prive seale to oon John Langford of Costom husb in the body of the Church of Costom aforsaid upon a Sondag a iii wekke apr Bartilmewe tyde last past on which privy seale the said John Langford shuld have apperd bifor the kinges lerned counsell within xv daies aftir the receipt'.¹⁴²

Those summoned were also pressed into service, as in the case of one Nicholas Fyrley, ordered to deliver privy seals to two other men named with him in his cause.¹⁴³ No doubt Henry and his council assumed their interest in avoiding penalty and possibly passing the grievance to another would prove sufficient motive to prompt their effective service. In Easter term 1508, a James Brockas, servant of one Robert Vincent swore to having delivered privy seal letters of the king's to Sir John Aston in the presence of his wife and servants.¹⁴⁴ Vincent entry into the process was hinted at by an entry in Easter 1506 which directed Sir John to be called, followed by the cryptic comment, 'md for this mater to call upon vyncent'.¹⁴⁵ If this was the Robert Vincent listed among those granted a pardon in 1501 at Margaret of Burgundy's petition, the situation hints of an opportunity for Vincent to show his helpfulness to the crown and earn Henry's trust or favor.¹⁴⁶ In Michaelmas term 1504, Robert Boughey the elder was sent a privy seal letter to answer to 'certain contempts in disobeyng the kings other lres,' to which his son appeared and testified that his

¹⁴¹ PRO STAC 1/2/61/2.

¹⁴² PRO DL 5/4, f 153r.

¹⁴³ PRO DL 5/2, f 99r.

¹⁴⁴ PRO DL 5/4, f 135r.

¹⁴⁵ PRO DL 5/2, f 99v.

¹⁴⁶ PRO C82/216 contains a signet letter to the Chancery dated 23 March 1501 ordering letters of pardon to be given to a list of men sent to Henry by Margaret of Burgundy. Robert Vincent's name was among them, and he received his pardon.

father was too old and infirm to come to Westminster.¹⁴⁷ Boughey was one of the men to whom Ralph Roo had attempted to deliver privy seals.

Accountability was a concern even with the delivery of these unwelcome missives. The Council Learned appears to have expected confirmation of deliveries or refusals from addressees, in order to determine contempt or excuse. John Richardson (probably the James Richardson listed in the accounts) ‘oon of the king’s messengers’, made affidavit on 30 April 1507 that a John Pole was too sick to travel, consequently leaving the messenger who made the contact to swear to the man’s inability to make the court date, thereby avoiding a charge of contempt.¹⁴⁸ In a Council Learned case of Michaelmas 1504, a Thomas Harman made affidavit of his pursuit of one Christopher Brown in order to deliver to him a privy seal. After visiting the man’s home several times, Harman gave the privy seal to Brown’s servant.¹⁴⁹ Brown did appear before the Council in the next term, but Harman disappeared from the records after that, presumably having fulfilled his obligation. There was no Thomas Harman listed among the king’s messengers, so it is possible this was an informer delivering a privy seal.¹⁵⁰

Accountability is also the apparent reason for the councillors’ signatures which expanded to petitions and appointments in the latter part of the reign, as well as to Inquisitions Post Mortem which began to exhibit regularly the signatures of the members of Council Learned from roughly 1499.¹⁵¹ These documents generally have a note at the foot or head indicating the date at which it was delivered to the

¹⁴⁷ PRO DL 5/2, f 84v. The son Humphrey, stated his father was ‘iiii xx yer age and mor wherby he is so feble that he may not iorney but it shuld put him in iopardy of his lyff’.

¹⁴⁸ PRO DL 5/2, f 115v.

¹⁴⁹ PRO DL 5/2, f 85v.

¹⁵⁰ PRO DL 5/2, ff 88v, 91r.

¹⁵¹ I am grateful to Dr. Stephen Gunn for first pointing out to me these signatures.

Chancery, and the name of the deliverer.¹⁵² In the early part of the reign, generally these notes indicate simply ‘escheator’ or ‘subescheator’, or the name of one of the commissioners. But in 1499, these notes begin to regularly display the names of the king’s legal advisors associated with the council learned: Empson, Lucas, Hobart, and Mordaunt, even in cases where it was not a special writ, such as *devenerunt* or a commission of concealment.¹⁵³ The signatures do not appear to indicate involvement in the inquisition itself, to judge by the names of the commissioners on several so countersigned. The signatures generally come singly; occasionally, they indicate the escheator and a Council Learned member, such as an inquisition post mortem of July 1505 which says ‘the escheator and John Huse’.¹⁵⁴ Another unusual inscription is that on an inquisition of November 1505 which is signed by the escheator ‘in the presence of Richard Empson and others of Council’.¹⁵⁵ Because the signatures appear to identify the person who gavm the document into Chancery, it seems likely that the LF signatures on the inquisitions are indicative of documents undergoing review by specified individuals before going into the records. Margaret Condon noted this ‘preemptive interception of returned inquisitions’ in her article on ruling elites.¹⁵⁶

Consequently, it appears that escheators and commissioners were instructed to bring inquisitions that yielded prerogative results to the attention of members of Council Learned; a significant number of those with Council Learned signatures are

¹⁵² For example, PRO C142/15/14. A note at the foot reads ‘liberatum fuit Curiae tercio die Augusti Anno supra per manus Jacobi Hobert Attorney Domini Regis’, which I translate as ‘This was delivered to the Court on the third day of August the year above by the hand of James Hobart, Attorney of the Lord King’. Consequently, this thesis uses the term ‘LF signatures’ representing the words ‘Liberatum fuit’, as a convenient shorthand for these autographs. The notes are sometimes in clerk hand, sometimes in autograph. Presumably, these dates were written on the inquisitions when they were delivered into the Chancery after the pertinent business was completed. This particular inquisition took place 12 July, 1501 and was of Joanne, wife of Sir William Knyvet, in County Dorset. Hobart was not listed in the names of men who held the inquisition.

¹⁵³ PRO C142/15/5bis, 65; 18/54, 64 for examples.

¹⁵⁴ PRO C142/18/67.

¹⁵⁵ PRO C142/19/150.

the result of commissions of concealment, and provide information about lands or wards upon which feudal dues were owed, both areas over which the Council Learned had jurisdiction.¹⁵⁷ Sir John Huse, appointed manager and seller of the king's wards in 1503, signed almost exclusively on inquisitions which produced minor heirs or lunatics.¹⁵⁸ In symbiotic fashion, Council Learned provided information in the arrangement of inquisitions as shown by a list of commissions that appears in the council books of Hilary 1505, naming commissioners and ordering inquisitions of intrusions into lands held by Eleanor, Duchess of Somerset, and Thomas, Lord Cobham 'with speciall instruccions and lres therin and with writtes of attendaunce to the Shiriff'.¹⁵⁹ These names and commissions do not appear in the files of privy seal warrants or the lists of *diem clausit extremum*. The writs which are filed amongst the inquisitions post mortem, bear the same names for commissioners as those in the Council Learned records, and Robert Southwell appears to have overseen the inquiries.¹⁶⁰ Where the king's prerogative rights were concerned, members of the Council Learned were apparently expected to keep a weather eye out for all possibilities, and initiate whatever inquiries were necessary, as well as monitor the results.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Condon, 'Ruling Elites', p. 133.

¹⁵⁷ Huse's as above, and PRO C142/15/94; 17/50; 18/83-84 are examples of intrusions or taking of revenues that have Council Learned signatures on them.

¹⁵⁸ PRO C142/17/81; 18/85, 91, 105, 124; 19/11, 16, 22, 44, 47-52, 102, 105, 120-159 *passim*; 20/6-163 *passim*; 21/13.

¹⁵⁹ PRO DL 5/4, ff 59r-60v.

¹⁶⁰ PRO C142/18/55, 56.

¹⁶¹ As in PRO C82/294, a signet letter dated 8 December 1506 includes 'a bill and articles subscribed with thandes of our ful trusty knights and counsaillors Sir Richard Emson Chaunceller of our duchie of Lancaster and Sir John Huse willing and desiring you to adresse therupon our lres of comission under our grete seale' to the Bishop of Worcester, John More and Lord Broke, for issues in Nottingham and Derby. Empson and Lucas' signatures are at the bottom of the bill of articles. Later that same month, in a signet letter dated 28 December 1506, Henry ordered a commission to be set up to examine certain articles in a bill 'signed with our hand'. The attached bill lists 3 specific offences.

The chamber and the Council Learned developed the royal system of making the most from the king's demesne to a fine art. What amounts to almost a brief description of the chamber system, after its demise, is provided in a document of November 1513, a book of debts, which in form bears a vague resemblance to PRO E101/699/26 with its lists of names in the margin and the terms of recognisances listed next to them, or the Duchy books with their long lists of debtor's names and the sums owed for which privy seals had been issued.¹⁶² The introduction to the volume explains it contains 'diverse of our maters dettes and othr causes which we have ordred and appoynted to be pursued and executed by our attorney and sollicitor for the tyme beyng. And also by our counsaillor Thomas Lucas'. It instructs these men 'to procede to the due and lawfull ordre execucon and direcon aswell of the same as of all othr our maters dettes and causes which at any tyme hereaftr shall mowe fortun to come to their handes notice or knowlege or by us or any of our othr counsaillors to them to be comytted/All the same to be in like caas entred in that present boke from tyme to tyme'.¹⁶³ The book has several blank folio pages at the end, where such notations could be made. Further, the three men aforementioned are instructed they should 'at every termys ende or in every second terme atte ferthest make their reapporte of the execucon of the same' to Fox, Lovell, Sir Thomas Inglefield, Wolsey and Heron, or any two of them, in order that they might keep the king apprised of the state of such matters.¹⁶⁴ The book goes on to instruct Lucas and the king's two lawyers named to consult Hobart 'and such othr of our said fadres late counsaillors and othr persones as were prevy to thoes causes, to thentent that every

¹⁶² PRO SP1/3, 3497, ff 42r-v. The entire document covers ff 40r-64v, of which ff 53r-64v are blank. The date for this document is provided by *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, eds. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, R.H. Brodie *et al*, i, pp. 434-6. The document itself bears no date of production.

¹⁶³ PRO SP1/3, 3497, f 42r.

thing concernyng the premisses may be the more truly indifferently and substancially ordred and directed’.

The system, so familiar from the Council Learned books, of privy seals summoning debtors to pay John Heron or else appear is repeated here, in a section headed with the instruction ‘Thies persones whoos names hereaftre followe...we woll they have knowlege therof by our lres or privey seales charyng and adverstysing them to content their dute unto our servaunte John Heron to our use within the space of a moneth aftre the sight of the same our lres or privey seales...or elles to retorne and put in the said exigente in to our Coorte of Record and pursue and take out processe ayenst eny of them upon the same accordyngly’.¹⁶⁵ Such was the same system used to pursue debt through the Council Learned, and the note that it should henceforth be pursued through a court of record is a nod to the sensibilities which brought down the Council Learned. However, the system had produced great benefit to Henry VII, and it is apparent that the councillors of Henry VIII wished to revive it as much as possible.

The dominant issues before Council Learned support John Guy’s argument that Henry was governing England as his private estate through council and household, a very traditional form of monarchy.¹⁶⁶ Council Learned was a place for the king’s essentially personal staff of lawyers and fiscal administrators--Bray, Mordaunt, Empson, Dudley, Lucas, and others--to sort and act upon complaints of the king against his subjects, or the tenants of crown lands to complain to the king as landlord, such as Geoffrey Fuljamb, bailiff of Bawtry, who complained that Nicholas Morton was driving tenants off land claimed in ownership by the king. Though some

¹⁶⁴ PRO SP1/3, 3497, f 42r.

¹⁶⁵ PRO SP1/3, 3497, f 49r.

of the causes before Council Learned may appear to stray over the public/private line that John Watts mentions in his essay, it is generally possible to track them to a point at which they intersect the king's interest as a landlord or fiscal beneficiary, more so than may have been suggested by Somerville.¹⁶⁷ For example, the 'action for wrongful possession' he mentions, was in fact a summons to Sir John Risely to appear before Council Learned to answer for the claim that he occupied property in Cornhill 'Which king Henry the Vith Graunted to Richard Wiltton for terme of lyff'.¹⁶⁸ Sir John denied this, saying his property was nearby, but it seems clear rather than a dispute between private individuals brought into a conciliar court, this was a dispute between king and courtier over property potentially the king's, brought before the king's counsel. Risely was a knight of the body, and council attendee throughout the reign, who sat in the small conciliar groups which examined cases in Star Chamber.¹⁶⁹

Another cause from the Star Chamber records suggests that its transfer was due to the king's interest. One Avery Berwick laid a petition before the king in Star Chamber in which he claimed to be lawfully seised of the manor of Berwick on his father's death. Berwick claimed that immediately after 'your fyrst feld', presumably Bosworth, one Thomas Whittingdon, with no right or title to the manor, 'riotously' forced his father out. Avery, or his factors, as he was ten years old, complained to the king, who issued privy seal letters calling Thomas Whittingdon to London to answer, but Whittingdon died before it could come to a trial, and his brother and heir, John, took over the manor. Berwick's bill claimed he could not afford to pursue the case at common law. Whittingdon responded that Berwick's bill contained insufficient

¹⁶⁶ Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 58.

¹⁶⁷ Watts, 'New Ffundacion', pp. 35-36.

matter, that Whittingdon had taken the manor by right of inheritance and furthermore that Berwick was 'of good substance' and well able to afford pursuit at common law. The cause is sadly lacking dates on the original petition, answer, and replications in the Star Chamber documents, but it came into Council Learned in Hilary term of 1509, where the evidence of a third person was apparently taken, and the case sent to the Lancashire Justices of the Peace for resolution.¹⁷⁰ It would seem this move might be made by the Star Chamber justices, but perhaps this case was brought to the notice of Council Learned due to a possible issue of unpaid livery of lands in the balance. By the time it was brought to the king's attention, both claimants were the heirs of fathers who had held the property, and no mention was made of livery being offered. The manor was held of the king as tenant in chief, so he had an interest in this issue.

Henry's construction of the Council Learned and other instruments of fiscal enforcement was a concerted, diligent effort to make his subjects accountable for lands and monies he could legally claim, and which men had spent at least three centuries concealing from or defrauding from the king's possession. His methods and his approach may have been novel, but according to Elton, Henry needed to introduce novel methods of enforcement to combat the novel methods of evasion which had developed.¹⁷¹ Henry was a man of rigid principles in his expectation of kingly rights. He asked only for what the law said was his, but he asked for it in full and without evasion and grudging. When his subjects would not comply, he turned the matter over to men who had the legal acumen and political power to search out, prosecute and collect debt more swiftly and certainly than the mechanism of the exchequer would allow. But such a stance was hugely unpopular in a climate of evasion and self-

¹⁶⁸ PRO DL 5/4, f 12v.

¹⁶⁹ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24r.

interest, and lack of enthusiasm for the fiscal support of central government, except in the case of war. The very fact of its unpopularity was pointed out by DeLloyd Guth, who says that Bacon and Vergil's histories 'firmly established the caricature of Henry VII's reign that modern historians continue to accept', namely that Henry's 'strong personal rule and concern with enforcement of his feudal rights was translated into rapacity and ruthlessness'.¹⁷² To his contemporaries and near-contemporaries, Henry was ruthless because he would not be satisfied with evasion, and because he enlisted the help of a tenacious cadre of professionals, of local royal officers, even of friends, acquaintances and enemies in tracking down and calling to account those indebted to him.¹⁷³

But that the Council Learned provided political importance to any of its members seems unlikely, nor that it had any power in the political spectrum, other than that of the king's agency of collection. Dudley and Empson's effectiveness may have garnered rich estates for them, but it did not elevate them sufficiently to spare them from death, and their exclusion from other matters in which the inner circle dominated, argues that they were nothing more than prominent civil servants, made more prominent by the public's distaste for their primary responsibilities. Guth states that there is no evidence that Dudley and Empson had any involvement in penal prosecutions of customs violations, or that they were responsible for the increased

¹⁷⁰ STAC 1/2/116.

¹⁷¹ Elton, 'Rapacity and Remorse', pp. 29-30.

¹⁷² Guth, 'Penal Law Enforcement', p. 7.

¹⁷³ The London guilds appear to have also determined to take harder measures on their straying members. According to T.F. Reddaway, 'The London Goldsmiths Circa 1500' (*TRHS*, Fifth Series, 12; London, 1962), p. 51, the goldsmiths began in the late 1400's to more assiduously check the standards of provincial wares and levy fines, and made members take oaths and pay a fee. Reddaway says the summer circuits to do provincial checks were exercised particularly after Henry VII's confirmation of their charter with such powers in 1505.

activity and effectiveness of such matters after 1500.¹⁷⁴ The members of Council Learned and other of the king's administrative councillors did, as R.L. Storey remarked, have the power to take initiative within limited bounds, but the series of books such as Dudley's collection volume, conciliar signatures on privy seal letters, signed bills, petitions and warrants, and indications of discussions or discourse with Henry that are suggested by entries in the chamber accounts memoranda give the impression that the king intended to oversee the business himself. That he did so, appears in such missives as his rebuke for Inquisition Post Mortem on Beaumont's lands, initiated by Robert Southwell, and halted by Henry in 1508.¹⁷⁵ The famous sign manual on each page of Dudley's notebook of money, bonds, recognisances, indentures and even the occasional jewel collected from the king's debtors demonstrates Henry's personal oversight of the business Dudley conducted, and royal review of Dudley's completion of tasks.

Perhaps the singular attribute of the Council Learned, was their role as nemesis. Their major directive appears to have been to pursue a matter until it was resolved, or the king indicated otherwise. Men would be summoned several times, attached, pursued into counties where they were rumored to have fled, imprisoned, or generally badgered until a result was engendered through their capitulation or death. Even then, the pursuit of heirs or widows might continue. It probably did Dudley and Empson's chances of acquittal or posthumous reputations no good that they seemed to take this directive to its limits. A poignant demonstration of this was a case in Michaelmas 1505, when, at the king's command, 'by his lres to the mair of bedford'one William Colet, recorder, who had been bound 'to appere bifore the

¹⁷⁴ Guth, 'Penal Law Enforcement', p. 186.

kinges lerned counsel at Westminster crastino animarum' did so, but was 'so inwardly syke and feble that he was like to dye. Nathelasse' continues the council record, 'he had commandment not to depart the Citie of London without licence of the said Counsel where the said Colet abode unto the xiith day of novembre than next and died'.¹⁷⁶ His case was consequently discharged at the plea of one of his sureties, but such a matter makes it easier to understand both how the council acquired their reputation for ruthlessness, and why they would have been so heartily despised.

Personal perserverance transferred to a national stage, along with the power to enforce it was a hallmark of the Council Learned, and they did not shirk their duty. It also explains a perception of power related to Empson and Dudley. Their actions were taken in the king's name, and they appeared to have control of a wide variety of resources for the purpose of tracking down the guilty. But to put upon them the full blame for the workings of the fiscal machinery and ignore the rival claims of Thomas Lucas, Thomas Lovell or James Hobart, or even Bray seems unfair, and J.H. Baker's comment that 'their execution was arguably a greater judicial crime than the execution of More and Queen Anne' is quite correct.¹⁷⁷ By April 1511, records of unpaid debts amassed through Henry VII's chamber finance was being revived and the dismissal of such debts questioned. In the words of one book of debtors to the king, regarding debts that had been dismissed under Henry VIII 'And, as it is thought, many restored without ground or just cause; as Sir James Hobart and Thomas Lucas, if they had been called, peradventure could have reported and instructed them'.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ PRO C82/306. During Beaumont's life there appears to have been several agreements and dispositions of his lands made between him and Henry, and subsequently, the inquisition was undoubtedly unnecessary.

¹⁷⁶ PRO DL 5/4, f 74v.

¹⁷⁷ Baker (ed.), *Reports of Sir John Spelman*, p. 49.

¹⁷⁸ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, i, p. 242.

One final point must be raised, that of Henry's much-remarked avarice, or 'rapacity', and the Council Learned as a means of satisfying that need. Henry was not a tight-fisted miser, nor was the ambitious quarrying of prerogative rights for new and old sources of money the product of avarice. Avariciousness implies the acquisition of money for the mere fact of possessing it or beyond all possible need, a fact that tallies neatly with Bacon's stories of a vast and weighty treasury.¹⁷⁹ But the work of the Council Learned, though contributing to the health of the privy purse, was more concerned with giving notice that evasion, concealment and other means of thwarting the king's enjoyment of his prerogative rights would be met with intolerance, or as close to it as Henry and his select councillors could manage. It was more a work of persuasion than of punishment. Though much attention may be paid to Dudley's statement in his petition that Henry's mind 'was much sett to have many persons in his danger at his pleasure', through the holding of bonds to enforce good behavior, yet it should not be ignored that Dudley also says of the larger part of those bonds, 'I thinke verily his inward mynde was never to use them'.¹⁸⁰ Henry used bonds, recognisances and the tool of Council Learned as well as other councillors and offices to persuade his reluctant subjects to render unto Caesar that which was his, whether it was their service or their goods.

Control and accountability were the watchwords of the latter half of the reign, particularly in regard to the fiscal business. Delay and insufficient funds did not suit Henry. Whether he felt it a reflection on his honor, or due to his insistence on obedience and control, Henry himself paid debts promptly and assiduously met his obligations to his subjects. Margaret Condon points out that he spent many years in

¹⁷⁹ Bacon, *King Henry VII*, pp. 226-227, speaks of 'the king's treasure of store, that he left at his death' which was 'unto the sum of near eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; a huge mass of

Brittany managing a small personal household and income, and no doubt grew used to quick response and accountability.¹⁸¹ In his book on James IV, Norman MacDougall comments on the promptitude with which the Scottish dowry was paid, and the *Great Chronicle* records that loans made to Henry in 1486 and 1488 were paid in the years following; even with the turmoil of 1496-7, he repaid a loan made in 1496 from London by July of 1498.¹⁸² Henry was also diligent in providing wages and victuals for his troops, a principle lauded by Ashby and other political theorists, and which would have been helpful in his successes in Ireland among other places.¹⁸³ When those who owed him money did not observe the same meticulous behavior, Henry reacted promptly and with disfavor, as witnessed by the examples above. Henry quite simply appears to have loathed inefficiency in financial matters, perhaps because such was a reflection on the strength of his authority and the level of his subjects' obedience, as well as a sore subject in the 15th century.

money even for these times'.

¹⁸⁰ Harrison, 'Petition of Edmund Dudley', pp. 86-87.

¹⁸¹ In a conversation with Miss Condon, December, 1998.

¹⁸² N. MacDougal, *James IV* (Scotland, 1997), p. 155. Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, pp. 240, 242, 274, 287.

¹⁸³ Presumably this would have been part of the unforeseen or defense expenses approved by writers such as the author of the 'III considerations', Carafa, and Fortescue. Ashby, 'Active Policy', p. 22.

Chapter Four

Conciliar adaptation and expansion, c. 1497-1509

The years after 1503, in which Reynold Bray died, have been characterized by John Guy in *Tudor England*, as the years of Henry VII's 'most personal rule' in which the immediate warrant became the most used instrument of business, and fiscal and enforcement business were more heavily delegated to the Council Learned.¹ It may be possible, however, to view the king's personal role in the business of his councils as actually increasing after 1497, and becoming most apparent after Bray's death, from evidence of the king reviewing or expanding systems of review of all the business of the varied meetings of his councils. Rather than replacing Bray with a new overall manager, Henry fragmented Bray's responsibilities between several people and Bray's former list of tasks developed into specialised offices exercised by councillors closely attached to court, such as John Huse, knight of the body, who became the manager of the king's wards and the sale of their wardships, or Edward Belknap, esquire of the body, who became surveyor of the prerogative. Because of this expansion, and the king's apparent determination to oversee conciliar business himself, more systems were developed by which to ensure the king could easily and swiftly review the disparate items of conciliar and administrative business, and make changes or provide input as he saw fit. These refinements give a strong impression of Henry's willingness and desire to remain in control of his council and well-informed of its business.

Deloyd Guth names 1492 as the year when penal law enforcement activity in the Court of Exchequer pertaining to customs violations increased, and puts this

down to Henry finally having sufficient knowledge of the administrative and judicial affairs of his realm, and says after the failures of Simnel and the Yorkshire rising Henry felt he had sufficient domestic security to pursue his domestic interests.² That fiscal accountability was a preoccupation of the reign from early is suggested by a long list in the Cotton Julius MS of those knighted after Stoke, which was annotated with notations of which knights had paid their fees for knighthood in whole, which had paid part, and which had simply promised to pay.³ By 1501, the strength of this preoccupation is suggested by a letter of Fox's to his prior at Durham which explained the wisdom of granting lands and offices to men for their stewardship rather than letting them to farm, as had always been the custom, but 'which was thoccasion of evil justice and moch extorcion and hindaunce of the lordis proufitis'.⁴

Margaret Condon asserts that the growing instances of signatures on myriad documents after the early 1500's, as well as the development of new conciliar tribunals, was indicative of Henry's desire to force accountability, both from his subjects and his councillors.⁵ This shows a decided change from the beginning of the reign, when, in relation to the Duchy of Lancaster, Somerville noted, 'there is little sign of direct intervention in the Duchy's affairs,' once Henry handed the reins to Bray, demonstrated primarily for Somerville by the absence of the famous sign manual in the Duchy books.⁶ However, the signatures which indicate the king's

¹ Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 54-55.

² Guth, 'Exchequer Penal Law Enforcement', p. 145.

³ BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, f 30. After James Harington's name the chronicler added 'whiche is not willing never to doo as a gentilman shulde doo as he saith as yet I pray God lerne him better'. Harington was one who had promised to pay but had not done so as yet.

⁴ P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.), *Letters of Richard Fox*, p. 26. The prior was concerned because the grant went against the usual custom, and Fox explained his reasons for so doing. In the same letter he also explained to him the matter of holding land by knight service, and that neither of them can claim custody of any lands 'except the come by meynes of oder that be holden by knyghte service as by the prerogayve'.

⁵ In conversation with Miss Condon, April 1997.

⁶ Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 264.

review of issues are an element which appears later in the reign, hence Condon's comment, and so perhaps their lack in Duchy matters should not appear overly significant.

A great deal of the king's personal attention and persistence in enforcement was helpful in order to make chamber finance successful. Systems could be improved, but in order for them to function at maximum effectiveness, a threat from the monarch, and the fear of his eyes resting upon one's inadequacies was undoubtedly far more effective than a threat from his ministers. A signet letter of November 1496, informed Roger Dore, bailiff and farmer of Walsale, that Humphrey Stanley and John Walsh, steward and surveyor of the property, had told the king that 'certain somes of money been owing and due unto us by oure tenants ther... sithens the furst yer of our reigne'. Roger had until Christmas to collect or else face the forfeiture of his office 'and othr dangers that may ensue at youre perill'. Henry instructed Roger to give him the names of anyone who refused to pay up, 'that we may see to thair punycion'.⁷

Post-Blackheath Henry appears both to have fixed his attention on alternative sources of revenue, such as those which could be expanded within the legitimate prerogative of the king, and accepted the need for his intense personal involvement in order to extract the most from his resources.⁸ The king was, by then, able to put great personal effort into his fiscal system. By 1498, peace seemed well established, both on the northern borders and abroad, and the Milanese ambassador consistently averred that the current monarch of England would never again go to war. In a letter dated December 1497, Soncino commented that Henry himself said he wanted 'to

⁷ PRO SC1/51/109, f 118

⁸ The 1504 subsidy was the product of prerogative policy, as it encompassed two of the three aids mentioned as justifiable in the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, written in the early 1320's. For explanation of dating, see *Parliamentary Texts of the Later Middle Ages*, eds. N. Pronay and J. Taylor (Oxford, 1980), pp. 22-3.

rest awhile', and maintain peaceful relations with France and Scotland, and he describes the king as 'devoted to peace'. A letter later that month, from Soncino, commented that Henry 'will always wish to have peace with France, though I think if he saw her up to her neck in the water, he would put his foot on her head to drown her, but not otherwise'.⁹

That Henry committed himself to a deep personal involvement in his revenue-gathering and accounting is suggested by a letter from this phase. Don Pedro de Ayala, Spanish ambassador to Scotland, stated that Henry 'spends all the time he is not in public, or in his Council, in writing the accounts of his expenses with his own hand' which is probably the source for views of him as obsessed with accounts.¹⁰ De Ayala commented in this same letter that the customs and rents from the domain were decreasing. The previously mentioned letter to Dore appears to support De Ayala's comments about demesne revenue; consequently perhaps the activity De Ayala observed was Henry's absorption in an area which had never been neglected, but had received less of his personal supervision due to more critical demands on his time.

An increase in systems which assured the accountability of Henry's ministers also became more critically important in the years after 1497. Though the king was willing to be intensely and personally involved, the more the business expanded, the greater the need for Henry to be able to manage by review, and allow his hand-picked men to do the daily work, particularly in the years after Bray's death. The systems of

⁹ *CSP Milan*, 550, 553. In November 1498 and February 1499, Soncino again commented that Henry would not move against France, and said there would be 'no change in England' during Henry's lifetime. This move toward royal personal application to business in a period when political tumult was apparently settled is similar to that presented by Starkey for Edward IV in 'Which Age of Reform?' in C. Coleman and D. Starkey (eds.), *Revolution Reassessed* (Oxford, 1986), p. 18.

¹⁰ *CSP Spanish*, 210. However, in a letter of May 1499, the ambassador from the Duke of Milan says Henry 'attends to nothing but amusements, and to enjoying the infinite treasure he has already amassed, and which he constantly augments'. *CSP Venetian*, i, 795.

review argue that the king was not set on micro-management, or overseeing every piece from start to finish, but wished to set in place the men he felt most able and willing to emulate his business principles, and hedge them in with systems which enabled him to review completed tasks and swiftly correct any situation which veered from the desired result or effect. Such an idea is reflected by the signatures of varied ministers and officers of the king on official documents, and their inception predates Council Learned, and seems to provide a template for later expansion.¹¹

As Chapter 3 indicated, extraneous signatures appeared from at least February 1489, firstly, and unsurprisingly, in writs of appointment to offices that fall within the remit of the 1488 commission, of which Bray was part, to appoint men to various fiscal offices and grant leases, and were presumably intended to indicate commission members' action or endorsement of men selected for office.¹² As Lord Treasurer, Dinham signed all of the bills as a matter of course, but from February 1489 until Bray's death in 1503, Bray and Litton signed almost identical numbers of the bills of appointment, with Bray signing roughly 63 himself and Litton 65, and both cosigning another 98 with each other or with Hody.¹³ After Bray's death, Litton, then in Bray's former office of undertreasurer, was the sole signer until his death in 1505, and John Cutte, who was granted the post of undertreasurer in May 1505, signed them for the remainder of the reign.¹⁴ Litton's office of Treasurer's Remembrancer went to

¹¹ M. Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: a Late Medieval State* (London, 1988), p. 146, says the Breton chancery letters of the late 15th century bear the signatures 'of those in the administration who delivered or came to collect records'. Whether this was a means by which to track responsibility for business, or simply a way for the Breton chancery to keep track of its records is not clear.

¹² See Chapter 3, pp. 108, 139-40 for discussion.

¹³ Statistics compiled from a review of PRO C82/49-274.

¹⁴ PRO C82/271-324, *passim*.

Edmund Denny, whose signature never appears on these warrants.¹⁵ Other consistent signatures on the warrants are those of the King's Remembrancer, John Fitzherbert who signed 'for the exchequer' from May 1490 until his death in November 1502, and Robert Blagge, though their signatures are not on all the warrants.¹⁶ As for other members of the commission, Hody signed at least 23, generally in conjunction with Bray or Litton, and Fox signed six, with most of the aforesaid writs dated prior to 1492.¹⁷ Empson signed one with Cutte in 1506, but as the appointee was from one of the counties in which he served as JP, the signature may have been just an indication of his personal interest.¹⁸

In May of 1505, another major deviation in these sets of signatures appeared: though the Earl of Surrey was treasurer from 1501 through the end of the reign, he did not sign these warrants after May 1505, with rare exceptions: the signatures were almost exclusively those of the undertreasurer and the King's Remembrancer.¹⁹ The absence of Surrey's signature began several years after he became Lord Treasurer, and about the time Edmund Dudley was consolidating his position. As Henry did not tolerate lack of service, and Surrey had earned his advancement only through diligent

¹⁵ Consequently, one assumes Litton was signing for his office of undertreasurer, which makes perfect sense. In fact, on the first one with his signature in PRO C82/271, 'undertreasurer' is inscribed next to his signature.

¹⁶ PRO C82/49-324, *passim*.

¹⁷ PRO C82/49-100, *passim*, 212. Hody's signature appears on writs in 1496, 1497 and 1500, just once each. C82/156, 163, 212.

¹⁸ In a similar fashion, two of these appointments have the sign manual, and one a note below the Chancellor's signature stating specifically that Henry wished the man, a John Blyke, to have the office. PRO C82/266. Of the three men so favored, none can be traced to household connection, but two, Thomas Woodshaw and Jasper Filoll appear to have strong local status, and both receive their respective appointments, Filoll as collector of subsidies in Pole, Woodshaw as customer of subsidies in Southampton, in September 1501. Both appointments are in PRO C82/223.

¹⁹ There are three cases extant when Surrey did sign after May 1505, out of 74 existing warrants of this type. PRO C82/274, 301. There are two cases in 1492 of warrants that John, Lord Dinham did not sign, but these are the exceptions, and they are actually letters of safe conduct rather than offices or leases.

execution of his northern command, one may assume the signatures were left off with Henry's acquiescence.

Prior to 1500, ministerial signatures appear to remain within the business of the 1488 commission. But from roughly January 1500, signatures of varied councillors, lawyers and royal servants can be found on petitions, inquisitions and appointments, and seem to indicate the signers' responsibility to oversee or approve business relative to the contents of the document. Such an example is embodied by a signed bill given by Henry from Wanstead in Essex on 3rd August 1506, a document that also illustrates the king's attention to business, despite his summer ramblings. The bill is a record of Henry's examination 'in oure oune parson'e' of one Humphrey Warner, for the purpose of determining whether the said Humphrey was indeed an 'idiot and a fole naturall' as the king had been informed, and which would have thus made Humphrey a royal ward, as the larger part of his father's estate in Kent was held of the king by knight service.²⁰ The document states that the personal examination by the king convinced him Humphrey was sane and fit to control his own lands, and Henry commanded his escheators 'and other oure Officers' to cease actions against Humphrey and allow him free use of his lands.²¹ Humphrey's father, William Warner died in March, 1504, and one assumes there was a local attempt to have Humphrey, aged at least 24, declared unfit.²² The document itself is in the clerk hand usual to such transmissions; the sign manual appears on the left, and on the bottom right side of the warrant is Edmund Dudley's signature.

There is no indication this issue appeared before Council Learned; Dudley's part in it appears to have been the task of delivering, perhaps to Heron, 100 marks in

²⁰ *CIPM*, ii, 876.

²¹ PRO C82/288. I have not found any further evidence of the issue at hand.

‘redie money’ and 100 marks by obligation, which payment was in return for Humphrey taking possession of his lands and for the king’s further favor in the matter, ‘if any Ideocie hereafter shalbe unto him layde’.²³ The notation of this payment is in a copy of Dudley’s notebook of bonds, recognisances, money and other items collected by him for the king and delivered either to Henry or John Heron, and the notation of the delivery of the items pertinent to Warner is sometime on or after 7 August.²⁴ The dating of the sequence of events suggests that Henry interviewed Warner, presumably at Wanstead, and issued his decision, that the warrant was prepared for the king to sign, and that Warner was directed to Dudley for execution of the bond and payment of the sum agreed, with Dudley’s signature the indication that collection of the bonds or money was completed. A further signature of Dudley on Warner’s license of entry into his father’s lands, dated 28 December by the Chancery, ties Dudley into the remaining paperwork settling the case of Humphrey Warner.²⁵

Between 1500 and 1509, it is possible to track nearly 230 petitions, signet letters, signed bills and cancelled recognisances in the files of the privy seal warrants, which have a variety of councillors’ signatures on them. The appearance of signatures of various councillors on the bottom of petitions to the king for letters patent, letters of pardon and other business seems to have commenced around 1500; the earliest appears to be one of January 1500, a pardon to William Hody, then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and John Biconnell for alienating land without license, with the

²² *CIPM*, ii, 876. The *inquisition post mortem* of William Warner does not indicate that Humphrey was then considered to be an idiot.

²³ BL Lansdowne MS 127, f 28r.

²⁴ As is stated BL Lansdowne MS 127, f 1r.

²⁵ PRO C82/294.

signatures of Bray, Hobart, Empson and Lucas on the bottom right.²⁶ Based on what is extant, the numbers of petitions featuring councillor signatures appear to have risen later in the reign and then declined slightly again--between January 1500 and November 1505, only twelve of these petitions with signatures appear in the Privy Seal warrants, then from November 1505 to 31 December 1505, eight bear signatures, four of them signed by Dudley alone.²⁷ In 1506, the number jumps significantly to 71, 55 of which were signed by Dudley alone, and five by Dudley with others, including Empson, Hobart and Lucas.²⁸ In 1507, the numbers of signed petitions falls to 64, with 31 signed by Dudley alone, and eight with various others including three with John Cutte, by then undertreasurer.²⁹ By 1508, the number of signed petitions extant is sixty, with Dudley's signature on only 24 alone, and five with others, and in the few months of 1509, of the thirteen signed petitions, five of them were signed by Dudley alone, and three by Dudley and Empson, those being letters of pardon and patent in regards to the Duke of Buckingham's possession of lands of Eleanor, Duchess of Somerset, and the lordship of Cantref Selyf, South Wales.³⁰

²⁶ PRO C82/200. This appears to be the only example extant of Bray's signature on one of these petitions.

²⁷ PRO C82/279-80. It is possible there are five with Dudley's signature, as on one for 9 December, the signature is illegible. John Cutte signs on, but as this is for appointment for life of one John Camby to the office of weigher of wool in London, it falls under his remit as per the signatures for offices discussed above, pp. 14-15.

²⁸ PRO C82/93, 282-294.

²⁹ PRO C82/295-308. The three signed by Cutte are letters of pardon/release for a John Faringdon, Thomas Porter and Lambert Langtry. *CPR, 1495-1508*, pp. 501 has a pardon and release for Faringdon for his office of escheator, and Porter and Langtry also served as escheators, for Langtry, *ibid.*, 587, for Porter and Langtry, *Calendar of Fine Rolls: Henry VII* (London, 1962), pp. 194, 341. The appointments to these offices fall within the remit of the signators on bills to appoint to offices laid out by the 1488 commission, as above. Consequently, it would appear Cutte's signature indicates his acknowledgement of this business, and approval of the pardons.

³⁰ PRO C82/323. There is a fourteenth petition, signed by Southwell, included with the documents of Henry's reign, in PRO C82/327, but with a Chancery date of 18 July, 1509.

The other signatories were king's serjeants at law, the subtreasurer Cutte, (by then the main signatory on offices originally controlled by the 1488 commission), members of the Council Learned and the Conciliar Court of Audit, and in 1508, Belknap, the surveyor of the king's prerogative³¹. The singular exception, and understandably so, was a commission to Gerald, Earl of Kildare to hold a Parliament in Ireland, issued in July 1508, and signed by Edward Poynings, former deputy lieutenant of Ireland, Warham, the chancellor, Fox, Lord Privy Seal, Charles Somerset, Lord Chamberlain, and Bishop Blythe, Fineux and Rede, the chief justices, and Tremayle, Fisher, Brudenell, Kingsmill, and Butler, the puisne justices.³² The two petitions of 20 July 1506, which have been identified as the first evidence of Dudley's identification with the office of President of Council, are discussed in Chapter One.³³

Not all petitions to the king in those years bear these signatures, and the petitions that do so generally have the sign manual, so this does not appear to be an indication of business being generally rerouted to councillors in lieu of the king's attention, or the king abdicating the right of decision; rather, the signatories must have been those who either brought the business embodied by the document before the king, or were charged with either examination and perhaps discussion of the petitions or execution of business related to them in the manner described above for Humphrey Warner. Of the roughly 125 which Dudley signed by himself or with others, at least 54 can be traced to payments or obligations collected by Dudley and recorded in the Lansdowne manuscript book. Empson signed 18 alone, and 27 with others, and several of those can be tracked to Council Learned cases, as for example,

³¹ Empson, Dudley, Hobart, Lucas, Southwell, Carlisle, Coningsby and Ernley all sign. Dudley, Empson, Southwell and Carlisle all sign at least one alone. PRO C82/321, Belknap's signature appears on just two in November 1508.

³² PRO C82/315.

a cause of riot against William Fortescue and others named, which emerges first from the Council Learned books in Hilary 1508, perhaps the result of a suit brought against Fortescue in Michaelmas 1507.³⁴ Fortescue had various days extending through Michaelmas 1508 for gathering proof, among other reasons, and finally was 'through with the king' in that term.³⁵ A pardon for riots was issued to Fortescue with the chancery date of December 1508, and Empson's signature in the lower right.³⁶ Two other cases which appear in the Council Learned books and for which pardons related to these matters feature Empson's signature, contain commentary in the Council Learned books indicating they were specifically heard before Empson.³⁷

The expansion of business brought new names into the mix: signatures which can be found on various bits of business from 1506 include the principal members of Henry's Conciliar Court of Audit, Roger Laybourne, Bishop of Carlisle, and Sir Robert Southwell, and included several pardons for illegal trading, grants of offices or farms, perhaps issues arising from their duties on the court.³⁸ Certainly the two pardons bearing the signature of Edward Belknap, dated November 1508, must have emanated from his post as surveyor of the king's prerogative, considering the warrants are pardons for outlawry and forfeitures, and Belknap's office gave him the

³³ PRO C82/287 and PRO C66/599, m. 4(18), and 5(17), for petitions and enrolment. See above, pp. 20-21 for further discussion of the signators.

³⁴ PRO DL 5/2, f 125r, DL 5/4, f 121v. The suit was brought against a William Fortescue and Thomas Copleston, by a William Legh and Thomas and Joan Roger. The riot took place in Devon; a William Fortescue inherited land in remainder in Devon upon the demise of his mother, Joan, in 1501. *CIPM*, ii., 426.

³⁵ PRO DL 5/4, ff 137r, 148v.

³⁶ PRO C82/322.

³⁷ PRO DL 5/4, ff 98v, 118v. As per example, 'Thabbot of Beawley had a prive seal to appere within viii daies after the receipt therof afore the kinges lernid Counsel to answer to such thinges as than shuld be objected against him the said abbot apperid the xiiiith Day of January Anno predict bfore Sir Richard Emson knight Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancastre'.

³⁸ Guy, 'Conciliar Court of Audit', pp. 289-295. PRO E36/212, is a book of declaration of the lands of the king and his wards, accounts of butlerage and prisage, belonging to Robert Southwell. C82/313, 315, 321, 327 for various petitions with Southwell and Laybourne's signatures.

power to inquire into and seize lands of those attainted, convicted or outlawed for felony or murder, or king's widows who wed without license.³⁹

Another development in the king's quest for accountability seems to be that of 'view books'.⁴⁰ In a memo to Bray, roughly dated 1502 regarding 'greate maters in especiall,' is an entry 'for the accomptes of the household & to sett som gode order therin'.⁴¹ Perhaps the results of such a plea may be seen in two account books covering the last decade of the reign, BL Additional MS 21480 covering 1499-1505 and PRO E36/214 covering 1505-1509.⁴² Add MS 21480 has corresponding source volumes in the treasury accounts, or what might be called 'working books', the volumes in which Heron wrote his day to day accounts, but these two books appear to be master ledgers, books in which the contents of the working books were specifically transcribed in order to offer a clear, comprehensive and detailed account of the chamber finances from several volumes, and working memoranda of the king's business--Caesar's 'faire copies'.⁴³ These books bear signs of an evolving style, which provided more and more information at a casual glance. BL Add. MS 21480 begins by simply listing totals from the expenses for the weeks and months with no specific detail, then abruptly switches to the style of the working books, such as PRO E01/414/16, accounts for 1495-7, in which expenses are listed in detail, week by week, dated in the left margin by the last day accounted for, the days of the week

³⁹ *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 591. C82/321 for the pardons.

⁴⁰ BL Add. MS 21480, and E36/214. The term itself is adopted from PRO E101/407/71, f 32v, which talks of the king's 'accompte bookes of declaracion and view'.

⁴¹ WAM 16018. Margaret Condon and DeLloyd Guth have offered the tentative date of June 1502 and the contents of the memo certainly bear out their interpretation.

⁴² BL Add. MS 21480 and PRO E36/214.

⁴³ The supposition is strengthened by the margin note on f 42v at the bottom of the page which states 'Md that all thies parcelles of Recognisances before written from the labell of the same hetherunto was enterd aft John Heron's olde boke'. This kind of message is repeated various other places, such as the bottom of f 157v and midway through the pages of wards, f 162r, and on f 185 of the remembrances, and presumably refers to the contents of E101/415/3, Heron's accounts for 1499-

covered listed at the top of the page, and the sum total at the bottom of the pages, plus weekly totals.⁴⁴ Sometimes expenses are listed in group of two or three days, sometimes single days, and feast days are noted at the tops of pages, as well as locations.⁴⁵ Perhaps Henry wished to have one single volume to consult, which contained all the detail in the several 'working books' that undoubtedly traveled with the court, for greater convenience. The system gained detail over time: the expenses for feast days such as Easter and New Year's began to be separated out from January 1506. From Christmas Day 1506, expenses from the chamber were listed day to day for the 26th December through 8th January, regressed to weekly itemization until Holy Week, then went to day to day listings, and commenced listing the king's location. 29 April, 1507 also marked the first appearance of names in the margins which appear to be related to the delivery of privy seals.⁴⁶

The impression is that of an accounting system with a master ledger that gradually acquired more detail and greater sophistication, giving the examiner a clear and complete picture of the activities of the chamber and administrative council, without the need for a great deal of questions, and which enabled the reader to see quickly expenditures, obligations, finished and unfinished business. Such a system would have made it simple for Henry's ministers to enter notations of business in the ledger relative to the items therein, and for the king to consult the book for review of the chamber finance and business of fiscal councils on a regular basis.

A 17th century document by a clerk of the pells offers an explanation for renovation in the books of the exchequer by Henry which may equally apply in this

1502, and BL Add MS 59899, Heron's account book for c. 1502-1505, in which a comparison of the entries from these two books matches closely with the contents of BL Add. MS 21480.

⁴⁴ PRO E101/414/6. This style also occurs in PRO E101/414/16.

⁴⁵ PRO E101/414/6, ff 45v-46r, 90v.

instance. In speaking of the confusion engendered by too many copies of the pells of Receipt, the clerk states; 'The which inconveniences dailey apearing the said King Henry the viith...entering into the consideracion how to remedie the same suppressed those confused pelles and counterpelles and reduced them to an orderlie course of accompt reteyning of those six pelles and counterpelles onlie one Pelle of Receipt to be a ledger and coucher in Corte and as a register of the actions passed therein'.⁴⁷ The margins of Add MS 21480 are littered with notations of debts being paid or vacated, being shifted to obligations, being given to Bray, Lucas or Dudley to sort, or any notation of how or whether a particular obligation or recognisance was dealt with to a conclusion. PRO E36/214 is rather more pristine in contrast, and the sign manual is noticeably absent from its pages, as well as the payment notations that are littered throughout Add MS 21480. From the margin notations, it appears that the books were written up at the given end of a set time period, approximately five years in both cases, and that Add MS 21480 continued to be used for notations to pertinent business until late in the reign, while PRO E36/214 may have been compiled near or after Henry's death, and abandoned with the rest of the fiscal programs and before notations regarding the debts and memoranda listed were gone through. The fact that it contains a large quantity of blank pages, and a single page noting expenses under Henry VIII would support this argument. The first page of obligations and recognisances in E36/214 demonstrates that debts continued to be carried over from 21480: those paid in the previous book disappeared, while those still pending were entered in the next book in the series, as the first page of obligations in both books

⁴⁶ PRO E36/214 f 76r. The name is Southwell. PRO E36/214, f 130r for example of Empson's name next to privy seal letters which can be traced to Council Learned business.

⁴⁷ E404/71, f 30r.

hold some common entries, and those in E36/214 are generally ones on which no payment notations were made in 21480.

The death of Bray undoubtedly encouraged the increased systems of accountability, as seen by the jump in 1506 in petition signatures. While Bray lived, Henry had a manager whose abilities and honesty toward himself were unquestioned. In the memoranda of the chamber account books discussed in Chapter One, Bray figures heavily, and it is easy to perceive his role as the man the king relied upon most heavily maintain a watchful eye on the varied areas of business and keep Henry informed of issues needing his attention. The order of business in the memoranda suggest long conversations in which several areas of business were canvassed by the king and Bray, as in one folio, where the report of Thomas Worley's debt to the king from his accounts for Easter 1494 to Easter 1500, is followed by an entry regarding the debt amassed by Worley and Bray for repair of the sovereign, and then by Bray's report of amounts owed by the customers of Boston for wool shipped.⁴⁸ This last notation comes only a few folio pages after the king gave Bray responsibility for ensuring that Henry would be answered of the customs of Boston.⁴⁹ Another personal discussion between the king and Bray seems evident from an entry in which it is indicated Sir John Shaa had written to Bray and offered 500 marks for the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, which bears a margin note saying an obligation for £200 and 200 marks in ready money was received 31 December 1502, and thus the entry is marked as 'fecit'. A further entry on the same page states Bray promised that Sir John Shaa should find surety when Henry came to London at term for payment of £200, the remainder of 500m for Frowick, Chief Justice of the Common

⁴⁸ BL Add. MS 21480, f 179v.

⁴⁹ BL Add. MS 21480, f 176r

Pleas.⁵⁰ The entries seem to indicate the bartering took place out of term, and the king was kept apprised. Frowick was appointed Chief Justice on 30 September 1502, but the king does not appear to have returned to London until late October that year, and the financial matters must have received their final polish after his arrival.

With Bray's death, Henry, not Dudley or Empson, became the person who seems to have ordered and reviewed disparate items of business, and interacted with all the various entities. There was not to be another Bray, a minister with *carte blanche* in the king's fiscal management. Among the several men employed in its execution, specialisation was the order of the day. The continual expansion of business no doubt also encouraged the search for ways to manage things more easily, and brought changes and division of the responsibilities of office.

Bray's fiscal offices were redistributed and in some cases enhanced. Bray's nominal headship of the Council Learned appears to have been up in the air temporarily before going to John Mordaunt and then Richard Empson via the office of Chancellor of the Duchy. Perhaps both Huse and Mordaunt served as *ex-officio* heads before Mordaunt officially gained the office in June 1504. An attendance list of Hilary term 1504 bears the names of Sir John Huse, Richard Empson, Thomas Lucas and James Hobart, with Huse at the top, but in the petition signatures that appeared between Bray's death and his, Mordaunt was the only person to sign alone, though several were signed by Hobart, Empson and Lucas, without Mordaunt.⁵¹ Huse was made manager of the king's wards in December 1503, another example of the diffusion of responsibility after Bray's death, as Margaret Condon indicates that was one of Bray's acquired duties and it was one of the areas which the Council Learned

⁵⁰ BL Add MS 21480, f 185r.

⁵¹ PRO C82/232, 256, 257, 260, 272.

dealt with as part of the king's prerogative.⁵² By July 1504 Huse's signature began to appear on various returns of inquisitions post mortem.⁵³ Almost without exception, these were inquisitions which resulted in the identification of underage heirs, and thus fell under Huse's aegis. Commissioners were presumably instructed to direct such inquisitions to him, in the same fashion that the Star Chamber Act of 1487 directed matters of riot to go to a special grouping of council, as did an Act in 1495 regarding perjury.⁵⁴ Empson took preeminence in the Council Learned and by Michaelmas 1504 those summoned were being called before 'master Emson and others the kings counsell' instead of 'master Bray and others'.⁵⁵

The only man who ever came close to emulating Bray was Dudley, and it is unclear whether Henry ever intended him to be an overall manager *à la* Bray. John Mordaunt looked set to maintain the combined post of Duchy Chancellor and head of Council Learned, until his death in June 1504 set the matter at odds again, and Empson does not appear to have inspired Henry's faith, though he eventually was made Chancellor of the Duchy.⁵⁶ Perhaps Dudley's leap to prominence was due to his ambition, and Henry was ready to bring fresh blood into the small circle of Council Learned, someone with a hunger to achieve, and a dependence upon the king's goodwill. Dudley's apparent rapport with London would also have made him a

⁵² Condon, 'Reynold Bray and the Profits of Office', p. 147. There are several cases dealing with wards, and scattered instances of people being commanded to deliver wards to the council or more specifically to Huse on a certain day. PRO DL5/2, ff 21v, 24v, 37r, 79v, for examples.

⁵³ See above, pp. 139-40

⁵⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, eds. Luders, Tomlins, Raithby *et al*, ii, pp. 509-10 for 1487 Act, pp. 589-90 for 1495 Act. HL EL MS 2768, ff 1r-v has discussion of the 1487 act, which empowered a panel composed of the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy Seal, one Bishop and one Temporal Lord, and two Justices of the courts, preferable the Chief Justices. The 1495 act instructed complaints of perjury to be certified by the local justices to the Chancellor, and the Chancellor to then call the defendants before himself, the Treasurer, the Chief Justices, and the Master of the Rolls for examination.

⁵⁵ PRO DL5/2, ff 85r, 91v, 100v for examples.

⁵⁶ A presumption made because Empson had served as attorney in the Duchy under Edward IV and Richard III, and after probably being displaced for the Chancellorship by Bray, was again displaced by Mordaunt, and when given the post, appears to have operated much in tandem with Dudley.

valuable replacement for Bray and perhaps Dinham, as a spokesperson with the London guilds and corporation. Dudley had served with apparent success, as undersheriff of London from 1496 resigning by March 1502, and in December 1502 he and Thomas Marowe, who had also resigned, were each voted a gift of 20 shillings annually as thanks for 'faithful counsel'.⁵⁷

Whatever may be the truth, during 1504-6 Dudley seems to have been involved in administering several aspects of the prerogative, over and above his assignment book of obligations. From April 1505 to July 1506, his signature appears on a number of inquisitions post mortem including several in March 1506, with John Huse, resulting from a commission of concealment in York.⁵⁸ He began to keep his own book of decrees and orders before the Council Learned commenced from Michaelmas 1504, and to be one of its core members.⁵⁹ In November 1505, his signature appeared for the first time on one of the petitions to the king for letters patent under the great seal. But after 1506, Dudley's position reverted to one much narrower and more focused than Bray's had been. He did not sign appointments of farms and offices as Bray had, after July 1506 his name disappeared from Inquisitions Post Mortem, and after July 1507 his signatures on petitions to the king were more evenly distributed with those of several others, while a large percentage of those bearing his signature can be tracked to payments collected by him indicating his place

⁵⁷ Corporation of London Record Office, Repertory 1, 1495-1504, f 118r. Most sources say that the date of this record is 18th March, but in the original records the date appears to be 15 March. The page does come after entries for 15 and 17 March, but there is more than one page of notations for the 15th, and it has no other dates on it except the notation 'xv', so it seems possible that it may have been misplaced in binding the book, and thus appears to be for the 18th March.

⁵⁸ PRO C82/283. PRO C82/279 and 280, November and December 1505 contain four documents with Dudley's signature on them.

⁵⁹ PRO DL 5/4, f 6r for first entry.

in such tasks was probably more fee-driven than judicial.⁶⁰ A further sign of Henry's intentions regarding Dudley was a signet letter issued 21st June, 1506, which commanded the Chancery, 'Ye doo make our writtes of *Ne Exeat Regnum* after such maner forme and effecte as our trusty counsaillor Edmund Dudley shall shew unto you in that behalf,' a writ which, in tandem with control of the privy seal, gave Dudley sufficient instruments to pursue prerogative debt, his primary area of focus.⁶¹ He acquired the title of President of the Council: July 20, 1506, witnessed his first known recorded use of that title on two grants in the letters patent in which he was styled 'Esquire, President of the Council'.⁶² Dudley's assumption of authority would probably have been an outrage without some significant office, in much the same way that Pollard suggests the title of Lord President appears to have been created by the Act of 1529 merely to give Suffolk 'high official rank'.⁶³ Lacking even the dignity of a knighthood, Dudley may have been shunned in the general political hierarchy without the title, which no doubt gave him an artificial importance and justification for the aggressive policies he was designated to pursue, as well as authority for moving the privy seal.

Dudley's acquisition of the title also seems to have produced another division of responsibility and development of specialised office, relating to Requests. The

⁶⁰ PRO C82/279-327 for petitions which have Dudley's signature. Of the 134 petitions found which Dudley signed, at least 65 of them can be traced to payments in BL Lansdowne MS 127.

⁶¹ PRO C82/286. *Ne exeat regno*, according to Jowitt's *Dictionary of English Law*, ii, p. 1224 is a writ from Chancery to restrain someone from leaving the kingdom without licence of the Crown, or leave of the court. A high prerogative writ, which may be used when a person is trying to leave the country in order to avoid paying a debt, or coming to trial on the issue of that debt.

⁶² PRO C82/287. Dudley's signature appears alone at the bottom of these petitions.

⁶³ Pollard, 'Council Under the Tudors: I. The Council', p. 354. D.M. Brodie, 'Edmund Dudley; Minister of Henry VII' (*TRHS*, 4th Series, 15; London, 1932), pp. 134-148, establishes Dudley as the grandson of Lord Dudley, and the son of a sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, but demonstrates his career was otherwise unremarkable until his meteoric rise in 1504-6. She dismisses the idea of his elevation to the privy council early in the reign, which is generally derived from Polydore Vergil. S. J. Gunn, 'The Accession of Henry VIII', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), pp. 284-5, says Empson and Dudley

previous holders of the title served as heads of the Council Attendant and Court of Requests and at least one sat alone in Westminster on two occasions; Requests seems to have been handed on to the Dean of the Chapel Royal after 1506, commencing with Geoffrey Simeon.⁶⁴ There is no evidence that Dudley assumed responsibility for the business of Requests after this time, though the requests books are unfortunately mute, with no lists of names demonstrating 'attendance' at sessions as in the earlier books.⁶⁵ Simeon is much more in evidence in Requests business, and Condon states he 'sat as a president' in that court.⁶⁶ Notes on the dorse of bills in Requests which indicated that privy seals had been issued to call the defendants to court or other action had been taken to decide the case, were most frequently written and signed by Simeon: the assorted signatures which appear are those of Thomas Savage's while Bishop of London and President of the Council, Thomas Jane, Dean of the King's chapel before Simeon, John Ednam, Richard Fitzjames, signing as Bishop of Rochester, Richard Nykke, Richard Mayhew, Robert Samson, and Robert Rydon.⁶⁷ Fitzjames and Mayhew both served as almoners to Henry, Nykke as Dean of the Chapel Royal. Only a few are signed by Savage, Jane or Fitzjames during their tenures, and none by Dudley, and though many cannot be dated, those which can all fall within what appear to be the dates of Simeon's tenure as dean of the chapel, since Jane was promoted Bishop of Norwich in 1499 and died in 1500.⁶⁸ Thus, Requests

were isolated by the end of the reign both by their sudden success and sudden wealth due to opportunism, and this contributed to their fall.

⁶⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 639, f 24v.

⁶⁵ After an entry listing Abergavenny, Simeon, M. Kidwelly, and R Sutton on 29 April, 1502 in PRO REQ 1/2, f 192r the only other list of names is found PRO REQ 1/3, f 215r dated 22 November, 1505 and consists of Simeon, Vaughan, R Hatton, Robert Drury, and Richard Sutton.

⁶⁶ Condon, 'Ruling Elites', p. 111.

⁶⁷ PRO REQ 2/1-13 *passim*.

⁶⁸ There is no mention of Simeon as dean of the chapel until 1502. *CPR 1495-1059*, p. 268.

evolved into the responsibility of the Dean, and Dudley acquired a title with enough political pretension to elevate him sufficiently for his business.

The title of President of Council seems never to have been intended to give Dudley entry into affairs of state or the major political business of the realm. If such had been the case, one might have expected his presence in a meeting of the council which was not attended by Henry, which took place several months after Dudley's acquisition of the title. The meeting included Warham, Fox, Bainbridge, Surrey, Shrewsbury, Herbert, and Risley, seven men known to have been among those who controlled events at Richmond in the lapse between Henry VII's death and Henry VIII's proclamation as king.⁶⁹ Dudley's signature was also not on a commission given to the Earl of Kildare in 1508 to hold a Parliament in Ireland, though the signatures of other king's councillors were, including Warham and Fox. Even with the scanty nature of council extracts from Henry VII's reign, there are none indicating Dudley sat in solitary judgment in Star Chamber, as did the Chancellor or Bishop Savage while President of the Council, nor is there evidence of Dudley sitting in Requests.⁷⁰

The supposition that Henry's major reason for making Dudley president was to give him powers over the privy seal as an instrument of business, is strengthened by an increase in the number of privy seals sent the year of Dudley's appointment. From the entries in the chamber accounts covering 1495-1509, lists can be generated of privy seals, letters, proclamations and other missives carried by the king's messengers, specifically identified by type. In 1495, letters generally outnumber privy seals being sent, and in 1497, 276 letters are sent and no privy seals. Letters continue

⁶⁹ HL Ellesmere MS 2655, ff 6r-v. BL Add. MS 4521, ff 118v-119r.

⁷⁰ Also observed by Bayne and Dunham (eds.), *Select Cases*, pp. xxxvii-xl.

to outnumber privy seals by a significant margin until 1506, when both numbers take huge jumps, and the number of privy seals goes from an average of 51 per year to 424 for the single modern calendar year of 1506.⁷¹ Dudley's name or initial is written in the margin next to notations of privy seals being delivered, and also memoranda of business to be resolved, some of which may be traced to cases in the Council Learned notebooks or Dudley's records.⁷²

From Michaelmas 1506 onward, Dudley's work concentrated on the king's prerogative and the execution of his will, either through the dogged pursuit of debtors with and without Council Learned, or through negotiations with various London guilds and officers. Dudley's particular concentration on such matters is suggested by more than double the number of privy seals commanding payment of debt to John Heron in Dudley's notebook covering 1504-9 than in Empson's covering 1500 to 1509, not to mention the extensive lists in Dudley's book in various terms for privy seals to be sent to people regarding debts owed the king.⁷³ Dudley's duties as king's spokesman with the guilds and officers of London formed the second part of his duties. The many entries in the notebook of Dudley's exactions between September 1504 and May 1508 indicate that the focus of his work was the merchants and City of London, household members and the nobility, with whom he probably interacted while they were in the city. Also in September 1506, Dudley was sent before the City

⁷¹ Numbers compiled from PRO E101/414/16, PRO E101/415/3, BL Add. MS 21480 and PRO E36/214.

⁷² PRO E36/214, f 64v lists several letters sent in January 1507 to men whose names subsequently appear in BL Lansdowne MS 127, ff 40r-v, for giving payment or obligations to Dudley for illegal hunting in Bramley. PRO E36/214 f 81v lists several privy seals sent to the Isle of Wight for specific people in June 1507, three of whom appear in court in the following Michaelmas as per PRO DL 5/4, f 125r. From approximately September 1506 on it is possible to track varied privy seals being delivered by king's messengers whose timing coincide with notations in either the Duchy books, to petitions with Dudley's signature, or BL Lansdowne MS 127. Presumably, the letters summoned them to appear before Dudley at a certain place and time to pay, and he in turn handed the sums over to Henry or Heron, according to the notebook.

⁷³ For example, PRO DL 5/4, ff 46r-53r.

of London to represent Henry's interest in the election of new sheriffs, after Henry's choice had been overlooked. Henry commanded the mayor and commonalty to hold a new election, and elect his choice, Fitzwilliam. The day of the election, 'mastyr Dudley the kyngis precydent' brought Henry's letters to the Guildhall asking for the election of Fitzwilliam. They elected Fitzwilliam, but not without much grumbling about their privileges.⁷⁴ This first glimpse of Dudley's career as Henry's president of the council and man of business is nearly as ignominious as his end, and may have set the tone for his permanent disaffection with the Londoners.⁷⁵ Dudley was in a position to anger many important people, and if his exactions were as uncompromising as claimed, it is no wonder that he became a lightning rod, drawing all ire to him before and after Henry VII's death. Unfortunately, for Dudley, Henry had placed him in exactly the position to most expose him to frustrated fury: the person who represented the king as spokesperson with the City of London and who had the dubious honour of collecting money or bonds, recognisances and other instruments of debt from London merchants, household men, affinity members and peers; the messenger of doom for Henry's exacting insistence on receiving his dues.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 332-333. Several weeks after the election, Dudley's notebook shows receipt of £100 from Fitzwilliam 'alderman of London for ye kingis gracious favor for being sherif this yeare'. BL Lansdowne MS 127, f 31r.

⁷⁵ It is interesting to note this apparent function of Dudley's presidency, for it was no more than Reynold Bray had done twice himself, going to the mayor and commonalty of London 'with othir of the kyngis counsayll,' to ask for money or cooperation. Condon suggested Bray may have 'acted as effective president of the council with the king', while in France in 1492. Condon, 'Anachronism', p. 230.

⁷⁶ C. Rawcliffe, 'A Tudor nobleman as archivist', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5 (1975), pp. 294-300, discusses the rigorous record-keeping of Edward, third Duke of Buckingham, and his 'uncompromising insistence upon cash profits and efficiency throughout his extensive estates'. Rawcliffe perceives his 'ruthless behaviour' in this matter as justifiable, because of poor recordkeeping by his mother, and the loss of records in the latter fifteenth century, which created room for challenges to his privileges. The descriptions of his orders on documentation and his suit against a negligent secretary provide evidence that either Henry's style was being emulated, or Henry himself was one with his contemporaries in getting his rightful dues.

But despite public opinion, Empson and Dudley were not the proverbial powers behind the throne. The previous chapter demonstrated that a greater share in the business of Council Learned should be accorded to men such as Heron and Lucas. Dudley and Empson were two of the many cogs in the machinery which continued to grow and expand around Henry, as he enlarged and changed his fiscal affairs to suit his personal perspective. In the matter of debt collection, sometimes perceived as Dudley's particular provenance from the well-known copies of his book of collection, other men were as assiduously involved, such as Thomas Hobbes, who took over some of Walles' indentures, and who even received some such recognisances from Dudley, judging by an entry in Dudley's notebooks that in January 1505 he delivered 'vi severall obligacions' to Hobbes as terms of an indenture.⁷⁷ Edmund Denny, who replaced Robert Litton as Treasurer's Remembrancer in 1505, received a list of 'several tayles' in Trinity term 1507 'for to recover to the kinges use'.⁷⁸ The task of collecting the king's silver from John Gardyner, the chirographer for Common Pleas, was taken over by Hugh Denys in place of John Heron in Hilary term 1506, and from at least September 1507, Denys also regularly collected sums from Edward Belknap for 'ffynes concernyng outlawryes and mariage of the kynges wedowes' which Belknap had in turn collected in his position as surveyor.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ BL Lansdowne MS 127, f 3v. See Chapter 3, pp. 120-2 for notation of recognisances passed on from Walles' estate.

⁷⁸ PRO E36/214, f 298v.

⁷⁹ PRO E36/211. PRO E101/517/15, f 2r for quote; ff 3r-9v contain a series of sums paid by Belknap to Denys 'by the commandment of oure soveraigne lord' for pardons or licences given by Belknap. The use of this money is puzzling, and leads to consideration that Denys' collection may have formed one of those caches that Grummitt suggests was created by Henry. D. Grummitt, 'Henry VII, Chamber Finance and the 'New Monarchy': some new evidence', *Historical Research*, 179 (1999), pp. 229-243. Evidence from PRO E101/517/15, ff 2-3 suggests that Henry and Denys were aware of the sums, but there are no records of these sums being delivered to Heron. Denys' collections from Belknap, commenced in September 1507, with a total of £196, 13s, 4d. Belknap handed over a further £125, 11s, 8d to Denys in January 1509. However, Dr. Starkey's suggestion in 'The King's Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1974, p. 362, that Denys used the funds to defray the costs of his office is cast into some doubt by the fact that Denys continued to

Belknap's position represented another division of responsibility, and one likely developed from an earlier appointment by Henry, sometime between October 1499 and May 1501, when he assigned William Sever, the Bishop of Carlisle, to be the receiver and surveyor of wards and marriages in Cumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire.⁸⁰ That Sever did his duty and perhaps provided a model for the development of Belknap's post is suggested by a later entry in the chamber books informing the king that Sever had received an offer for custody of an idiot, and would take sureties and answer for the sum, as was apparently conveyed by Reynold Bray, and three later notes of wards in York, two specifically mentioning Sever's part in seizing them or certifying their existence to the king.⁸¹ Belknap's position was more comprehensive; given the title of surveyor of the king's prerogative, his task was to 'enquire and seize for the king all lands of persons convicted, attainted, outlawed or waived for felony, murder or like offence, and also the king's widows who have married without licence and their lands'. Further, he was permitted to 'lease and dispose of such lands, to levy the issues of lands of outlawed or waived persons, to seize and sell goods and chattels of persons put in exigent for felony or murder...and to assess and levy fines touching marriage of widows...'. As per the usual systems, he was required to make report before two auditors to be assigned by the king's personal

apply to Heron's accounts for expenses even after he started receiving money from Belknap. Though his total sums and number of requests for money listed in E36/214 drop off at first, being roughly £321 for Michaelmas 1505-6, and £201 for Michaelmas 1506-7, they increase in both number and total to £268 in Michaelmas 1507-8. E36/214, ff 4r-144v *passim*. Denys' position is somewhat anomalous; he is listed with yeoman, grooms and pages of the chamber and wardrobe, and again as 'servant' in the list of those with Henry at his meeting with Philip in 1500. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers*, pp. 91. Dr. Starkey in 'King's Privy Chamber', p. 363 suggests that the letter sent to Denys regarding works done at Oking in September 1508 [PRO E36/214, f 143r] indicates acknowledgement of his position as a channel of Henry's expenses, similar to the earlier arguments in this thesis regarding Sampson's acknowledgement as council attendant clerk and channel of business to itinerant council.

⁸⁰ BL Add. MS 21480, f 167v; E101/415/3, f 55r. Condon, 'Ruling Elites', p. 117, dates this more precisely to 1499, and notes its encroachment on the noble interest in the north.

⁸¹ BL Add MS 21480, ff 170v, 184v.

signet letters.⁸² Such an office again allowed one man to build a concentrated business pursuing the king's interest in specific areas which fell under the enforcement arm of Council Learned. David Grummit's recent article goes into great detail on the collection activities of John Daunce and Robert Fowler. Almost overlooked are the activities of Roger Lupton and John Oxenbridge, who emerge from a commission of November 1505 with the Earl of Surrey, Thomas Lovell and a William Pawn, to collect the long overdue benevolence of 1496, and appear to have created a booming cottage industry through this pursuit, judging by the number of privy seals they sent by king's messenger in the latter years of the reign.⁸³

Specialisation increased results, but it also necessitated greater accountability, and view books proliferated. A set of books identified as Sir John Huse's account books for his offices of wards shows the parameter of Huse's office, and the effort to present clear, audited and concise accounts on a yearly basis, structured to make them easier for Henry to follow. The king was reviewing these books; the first section of Huse's 'view book' for his office has three folios detailing the lands, and revenues from them, held by Arthur before his death, immediately followed by a 'table of contents' of the varied lands which were in the king's possession by 1503; Henry's sign manual appears on each folio.⁸⁴ After that, the pages follow a table of contents, beginning with lands that were formerly Queen Elizabeth's, who would have died during the year covered by these accounts.⁸⁵ The remainder of that section consists of accounts for the revenues of these lands from Michaelmas 1502 to Michaelmas 1503, and the pages consist of notations for the revenues due from each of the entities listed in the contents, the fees allowed, the final total due, the amount received by

⁸² *CPR 1494-1509*, pp. 591.

⁸³ *CPR 1494-1509*, p. 458. See below, p. 179, n. 98 for numbers of privy seal deliveries.

Heron 'for the king's coffers' and any arrears owed and by whom, with the sign manual throughout.⁸⁶ Following that are three pages of lands out in farm, and the sums realized, and a fourth page that appears to indicate lands in questionable status.⁸⁷ The next section, dated 1504-5, appears to be revenues for lands in wardship, and a different arrangement ensues: the pages generally contain only the sums due, deduction and the total cleared, one page for each set of lands.⁸⁸ This is followed by totals from lands in farm, revenues from lands that are presumably in receivership, a page of deductions for such things as a jointure and expenses, and two pages that seem to reprise the wards and farms, which are the only pages where the sign manual appears, and which seems to indicate the sums actually realized for each item by John Heron.⁸⁹ For 1505-6, the pages are much the same, but the sign manual reappears throughout, even though the summary pages are there.⁹⁰ The book for 1506-7 and 1507-8 retains the same format as 1505-6, but in the first year the sign manual appears to be only on the summary pages.⁹¹

A second line of review was apparently established, and is perhaps part of the remit of the members of Conciliar Court of Audit. A book identified as Robert Southwell's books of wards contains an apparent duplication of the pages of Huse's book, written in the same hand and organized in the same fashion.⁹² Southwell was one of the councillors taking part in audits of the king's books, and whom, Guy

⁸⁴ PRO E36/247, ff 9r-14r.

⁸⁵ PRO E36/247, f 15r.

⁸⁶ PRO E36/247, ff 15r-58r.

⁸⁷ PRO E36/247, ff 60r-63v.

⁸⁸ PRO E36/247, ff 74v-91r.

⁸⁹ PRO E36/247, ff 75r-98v. The pages which appear to designate the final sums realized have the handwritten notation 'computatur' next to each entry of monetary value.

⁹⁰ PRO E36/247, ff 108v-166v.

⁹¹ PRO E36/248. The disintegration of the manuscript makes it difficult to be certain where the sign manual might have been, in the section for 23 Henry VII.

⁹² PRO E36/212. According to the title, it is a book of declaration of the lands of the king and his wards, and accounts of butlerage and prisage, by Robert Southwell

asserts, 'was trained by Bray and took his place as auditor after the minister's death in 1503'.⁹³ The book appears to have been compiled sometime in 1506-7 and the first few pages contain the totals of arrears in Prince Arthur's and Queen Elizabeth's lands from the time of their deaths, followed by a 'table of contents' similar to Huse's first book, pages detailing revenues from lands in the king's demesne, with deductions and remainders, revenues from lands in farm and wardship to the king and a few pages with odd entries.⁹⁴ The difference is that the majority of the pages in this book contain the autograph message, 'computatur hoc anno', as well as notes stating the sums were delivered to Heron 'to the king's use'.⁹⁵ What appears to be Heron's personal signature with identifying flourish is also inscribed next to lines stating what sums were actually paid to him, and the sign manual is inscribed throughout.

If the handwritten notes of 'computator' on the pages of these books are Southwell's, it shows his due diligence in his assigned task as general auditor of the king's accounts, an office which then expanded in the same fashion as the other offices developed from Bray's former hegemony.⁹⁶ Like Dudley and others, he also appears to have had the use of the king's messengers to carry privy seals to people presumably summoned to the Conciliar Court of Audit to answer for various issues; the first batch of these appears April 1507 in Heron's account books with Southwell's name in the margin, in the same manner in which Dudley's name and others appear

⁹³ Guy, 'Conciliar Court of Audit', p. 289.

⁹⁴ PRO E36/212, ff 4v-5r for Elizabeth and Arthur; f 53r has two references for what appear to have been jointures, but no sums, and no other information besides listing of the lands. The wardship listings, ff 65r-69r are neat listings of lands by name, arrearages and revenues, which include several farms at the end, followed by a recap of most of the entries with names of receivers who apparently are responsible for the lands and arrearages; ff 74v-77r, and 80v-81r are accounts of butlerage and prisage.

⁹⁵ The handwriting of this message appears to be same as that on the pages of PRO E36/247.

⁹⁶ Guy, 'Conciliar Court of Audit', p. 289. The handwritten notes might, however, be Henry's. There is a resemblance between those notations and the handwriting of the king as exhibited in E101/413/2/3, ff 1r-2r. If such is the case, this is further evidence of the king's direct involvement in and direction of his councillors in their duties.

next to notations of privy seal delivery.⁹⁷ In fact, in the last few years of the reign, the number of privy seals sent by the king's messengers for Southwell, and for Lupton and Oxenbridge far outstrip the numbers sent by Dudley or Empson.⁹⁸

Over these varied men and their assigned tasks, Henry remained the chief executive, and very much hands-on. Dudley's accounts were personally checked by Henry and paid to Henry or Heron. Huse was being audited and his account summaries checked by Henry, as per the king's sign manual in Huse's books of account for his office of keeper of the king's wards. Lucas was conferring with the king on cases in Council Learned and returning his answers to that Council, and undoubtedly also filling Henry in on the business in the council meetings, perhaps in the same way Bray had done. Heron's books were checked by the king, as were Deny's accounts. Dudley, Empson, Hobart, Lucas, Cutte, Hobbes, Simeon, Southwell and later Ernely, king's attorney general replacing Hobart, and Belknap, surveyor of the prerogative, all put their signatures to petitions that came under their particular province for review or collection of fines. Henry thus knew exactly whom to summon if something went wrong or displeased him, or if someone needed to receive guidance or correction in the execution of his duties.

The interconnecting network of courts, business, signatures, books and copies of books demonstrate the development of an increasingly information-intensive

⁹⁷ PRO E36/214, f 76r.

⁹⁸ PRO E36/214, ff 76r-161r, *passim*. Where deliveries of letters and privy seals can definitely assigned to specific names, Southwell can be matched to the notations for 307, Lupton and Oxenbridge for at least 405, and Lupton alone for an additional 125, between April 1507 and December 1508. Dudley and Empson together account for roughly 193 Privy Seals and letters between June 1507 and February 1509. Prior to 1507, the chamber accounts do not have margin notations of names for privy seal deliveries. Dudley and Empson's notations are almost entirely for single letters or privy seals, while Lupton and Oxenbridge, and to a lesser extent, Southwell, send out as many as 59 seals with one messenger, all going to a specific county, though generally the numbers range much lower. Southwell's business would presumably be related to Court of Audit, Lupton and Oxenbridge perhaps to the collection of the benevolence for which they receive a commission in 1505 along with Surrey and Lovell.

system in which the chosen lawyers, auditors and councillors of the king handled the day to day minutiae of business, reviewing cases, suits and complaints, producing recognisances, pardons, warrants collecting payments and auditing accounts. The king could review books and documents rapidly, noting totals, arrears, offices, grants and other assignments and intervene in those which did not meet his approval, or were perhaps brought specifically to his attention. There is little point in arguing that the king did not direct every bit of business. Henry would have been hard-pressed to manage such a feat, with the extent of the expanded chamber business, and his peripatetic habits. Henry does appear, however, to have developed checkpoints that gave him the power of quick comprehension and determination of accountability, in order to assure himself that business, done by his specially chosen and trained men, was being done to his specifications and approval, whether he was close to London or away. David Starkey provides a picture of a king who would 'devote himself to the long, lonely hours of toil over accounts and dispatches which gave him a more detailed knowledge of the operations of his government than any English king before or since.'⁹⁹

A curious explanation of changes in the system and the king's close shepherding of it emerges from a document by a Jacobean clerk of the Pells which discussed Henry's desire for a system that would effectively enable him to review his accounts and monitor the effectiveness of his revenue collecting, and also provide greater secrecy regarding the state of the king's revenues.¹⁰⁰ The document, written c. 1602, contains the details of a controversy between two clerks of the Pells over the proper duties of an office, held by a John Lewes in Henry's reign. Lewes was Deputy

⁹⁹ D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in D. Starkey, (ed.) *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), p. 75.

Chamberlain of the Counterpells from 1485 to an indeterminate date, an office in the exchequer of receipt.¹⁰¹ The document details Lewes' activities from 1504-5, at which time the Deputy Chamberlains appear to have been John Warley, Thomas English and John Middleton, with the office Lewes may have been exercising uncertain.¹⁰² According to the document's author, from 1504-5, John Lewes, 'with the assistance of Henry Pemberton, his clerke, and others made a declaration of all the Kinges revenues cominge into the Receipt, and also of the Issuinge and remayne of the same, the like from that yere unto his deathe he continued yerely' and after that, the practice was carried on through the current time.¹⁰³ Further, the document states the office of Pelles was altered in regards to the keeping of keys to the Treasury, a change made in 1504-5 which 'grewe out of the great and deep wisdome' of Henry 'and became established in another forme and maner of execution'.¹⁰⁴ Speaking further of Henry, he says 'Who being as he is reight worthilie stiled in story a prince of most prudent and politique governance and knowing that the welle ordering and managing of Treasure greatlie importeth the Soveriegne of anie estat, and finding the Course therein formerly houlden to be obscure intricat and Confused...and therein all very unserviceable And lastly that the state of his Treasury by the ministry of many handes became from time to time exposed thereby to the knowledge of moe persons than were fitt and convenient in a cause of that nature begaune a new platforme differing from the former as by comparison of bothe may easily appeare'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ PRO E407/71.

¹⁰¹ J.C. Sainty (ed.), *Officers of the Exchequer* (List and Index Society, Special Series 18; London, 1983), p. 182, says he was in office from Easter 1485 under Richard Guildford.

¹⁰² Sainty (ed.), *Officers of the Exchequer*, pp. 182-6.

¹⁰³ PRO E407/71, ff 5r-6r.

¹⁰⁴ PRO E407/71, f 28v

¹⁰⁵ E407/71, f 28v

The document goes on to explain that previous to Henry's intervention, the Lord Treasurer and Chamberlains kept at least six copies of the receipt and issue for greater ease of reporting and review, and that these pells contained all the daily receipts and issues. The system had originally consisted of only two, one for the King and one for the Lord Treasurer, but gradually expanded with four other copies being rendered, 'which were no lesse requisite to be then kept by the Chamberleines severally both for the kinges securitie for Comptrolers and for their own indemnitie in the matter of your charge and discharge'. However, this system was apparently displeasing to Henry by the latter part of the reign because of excessive charges for writers and parchment and because the custom of entering issues in the pells at random, without any categorisation meant the pells were 'utterly unserviceable for his use'.¹⁰⁶

The scribe continues with the observation that Henry 'wold be informed how his revenue came in or was issued out in severall natures, and see the correspondence of one year with another that by comparison thereof finding his revenue to decrease or his issues to increase in any nature whatsoever he might enquire of the causes and putt such remedies thereunto in either case as was requisite and as apperteyned he could not receive due advertisement thereof but with long search and much charge in digesting and sorting the same out of that rude and indigested chaos...'.¹⁰⁷

The other reason suggested by the Jacobean clerk for Henry's revision of the exchequer systems was secrecy. The clerk's document explains Henry eliminated the system of extraneous pells and counterpells 'for the more secrecy of his affaires that neither the matter thereof in generalitie or the causes in spetialtie might wholie appeare

¹⁰⁶ E407/71, ff 29r-v.

¹⁰⁷ E407/71, ff 29v-30r.

in anie our roles, conceiving in his princelie wisdom the matter of Issues to be not only as a Double key to open and shutt the secrets of the princelie affaires both forreine and domesticall but as it were the privie key of his Inner Closett whereby his Dormant Treasure might remayne the more privat and secret no waie being so readie and open for overture of the actions of princes, or for discovery of their secrett intentions as by the issues of their Treasure'.¹⁰⁸ Grummitt argues that evidence from books kept by Heron's clerks indicates the presence of hidden revenues, as well as the fact that large sums of money from 'casual revenue' were not reflected in Heron's books, and thus Henry had personal caches of money, separate from the main accounting.¹⁰⁹ Such caches may have been the source of his final gifts of money to support specific building projects, something for which the revenues collected by Hugh Denys may have been used.¹¹⁰ In the week of 15 April, 1509, Henry directed sums of £2500, £5000 and £6500 to be paid to the Abbot of Westminster, Dr. Hatton and 'left in a cheste remaying in the mynte at the Tour of London', all for building projects of the king's at Westminster, Cambridge and London, which he desired to continue after his death.¹¹¹ The Calais treasury, or other of the missing caches proposed by Grummitt may have been set aside as insurance, in the event of a usurpation; remarks made by ambassadors in 1497 that Henry was 'in dread of being expelled the kingdom' by Perkin Warbeck, and that he 'had placed all his property in a tower nearest the coast, that he might escape if necessary' suggest that a personal

¹⁰⁸ E407/71, f 30v.

¹⁰⁹ Grummitt, 'Chamber Finance', pp. 238-240.

¹¹⁰ Bacon, *King Henry VII*, ed. Lockyer, p. 226 speaks of Henry leaving his private treasury 'in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at Richmond'. PRO E36/214, f 143r, contains notation of payment made to 'master Esterfeld upon a lre sent to Hugh Denys towarde the bilding of the Kinges manor of Oking', perhaps an indication of where some of the money Denys collected was directed.

¹¹¹ PRO E36/214, f 166v. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1968), p. 516, describes the struggle John Fisher had with Henry VIII to retain sufficient funds from Margaret Beaufort's inheritance to

cache may have served the purpose of a treasury in exile, should such a situation occur.¹¹² Such a hidden treasury would have indeed been valuable, as in the last five years of the reign alone, Henry lent at least £324,000 to the members of the Habsburg dynasty, in his efforts to secure the interests of his own dynasty at home and abroad, made nearly £45,000 in loans to merchants, spent more than £37,000 on building and repairs, and almost £50,000 on jewels and plate.¹¹³ These expenditures swallow up most of what would have been the total provided for those five years by the best estimates of his recorded income, around £100,000-113,000 per annum, and are all expenditures that would have been defined as extraordinary.¹¹⁴ Secrecy in the king's records thus would have served a double purpose; allowing no more than a few close advisors or officers to understand the extent of the foreign loans, and providing the king with personal treasuries which could benefit himself and his family alone, if the need arose.¹¹⁵

In the introduction to this thesis, attention was drawn to Starkey's comments on the household ruling the kingdom and the king who ruling the household, as well as Condon's comment that the power structure shifted to permit the king's will to filter into the counties through the centre or court and the king's domination of that

finish building her college of St. John. Perhaps Henry feared something like would happen to his projects.

¹¹² *CSP Venetian*, i, p. 245. Grummitt's characterisation of the Calais deposits of the French pension as another 'deposit treasury' would give additional significance to the apparent concerns of Conway that the lieutenant of Calais should be personally loyal to Henry. If these sums in Calais formed part of an anticipated treasury in exile, Henry would wish to ensure that in a usurpation whoever was in charge of Calais would remain loyal to him so he could retrieve his money. Grummitt, 'Chamber Finance', pp. 238-9.

¹¹³ These figures are compiled from examination of the chamber account books BL Add. MS 21480 and PRO E36/214.

¹¹⁴ These income figures taken from Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, pp. 109-162.

¹¹⁵ As a further note, a recognisance dated 6 August 1502 by the controller of Calais, binds him to make separate books of controllment from the treasurer's books, and not allow the Treasurer to see his books, nor to be permitted to view the Treasurer's, and that the books were to be delivered yearly to the king or an assigned deputy. *CCR*, ii, 161.

system.¹¹⁶ Both these comments provide a platform for examination of what appears to be perhaps a conciliar experiment, or *ad hoc* use of the council at a potentially difficult time in the reign. On 20 May, 1493, a set of 19 commissions of the peace were issued which empowered a core ‘committee’ of roughly twenty-four men--including Prince Arthur and Morton, three bishops and one prior, four earls, four clerks, two justices, the solicitor general, and a serjeant-at-law, besides several men of various offices.¹¹⁷ This ‘committee’ did not replace the usual county commissions entirely--a number of local peers, gentry and lawyers were appointed as well in each county. The critical point to be noted here is the composition of the core group. Its membership, even that of the nobles involved, was court-based.¹¹⁸ For example, the bishops were Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Oliver King, Bishop of Rochester, and Thomas Savage, Bishop of Rochester, or, respectively, Lord Privy Seal, the king’s secretary, and king’s chaplain and councillor. The two barons, Daubeney and Broke, were Chancellor of the Exchequer and Steward of the Household. The knights, Bray, Lovell, and Guildford were household or administrative members; Bray was Chancellor of the Duchy, Lovell was Treasurer of the household, and Guildford

¹¹⁶ Starkey, ‘Intimacy and innovation’, p. 75. Condon, ‘Ruling Elites’, pp. 109-110.

¹¹⁷ PRO C66/573, m. 5d-10d. That the commissions were written out in a block is evident by the fact that many of them just say ‘ut supra’ for the date rather than the date being repeated. Even more distinctive is that they are surrounded by other commissions of the peace dated prior to this block, and that the front of ms. 4-9 are all blank, so it looks as if this section was added in later. PRO C66/573 m. 5d is the first one dated 20 May, and m. 10d is the last one in the series dated ‘ut supra’ to that date. All of them are headed by Arthur and Morton, and then the names of those who form the core committee are mixed with local names added to the particular commission, in order of precedence. PRO C66/573 m. 4d ends with commissions to Shropshire dated 13 February, and Derbyshire dated 16 February. PRO C66/573 m. 11d begins with the commission for Nottingham, dated 20 February, followed by one for Derbyshire dated 27 March.

¹¹⁸ PRO C66/573, m. 5d-10d. J. R. Lander, *English Justices of the Peace*, (Gloucester: Sutton, 1989), pp. 114-5, has a chart of this ‘committee’, but it appears to have several inaccuracies, and may be questioned on the inclusion of Oldham and Alcock. This thesis focuses specifically on the commissions given 20 May, 1493, when this core council appeared. Lander is including the years 1492-5.

was a knight of the body, and soon to be comptroller.¹¹⁹ The Chancellor, Great Steward and Constable of England were present in the persons of Morton, Bedford and Derby, and the clerks included the secondary in the privy seal office, Henry Ainsworth, and the Master of the Rolls, John Blythe, with William Warham and Thomas Jane, both household clerics.¹²⁰ The lawyers involved were the Chief Justice of King's Bench, two serjeants at law and the solicitor general. Even the nobles were those closely associated with court--Derby, Suffolk and Essex, the first omnipresent with his wife, and the latter two both young, courtier nobles.¹²¹ All of the men named sat on the king's council prior to these commissions or appeared on the council rolls during the term of this commission, and for the most part were readily available to the king through their continuing presence at court. Undoubtedly, they would never have sat as a group on all these commissions, but certainly they had authority to do so, with the exception of the Earl of Derby, who was not on the commission for Worcester.¹²²

The reason for this select committee is not indicated, but it could have been another way for the king to establish court-county ties, and initiate productive dialogues between men who formed the regular core of the privy council and the

¹¹⁹ PRO E101/414/4, the first account book of Richard Guildford, as comptroller of the household, commences in October 1494.

¹²⁰ Jane and Warham's names both appear on a requests attendance list of March 1493, and Jane's appears regularly during this time period, Warham's occasionally. PRO REQ 1/1, ff 77-82.

¹²¹ BL Add. MS 7099, f 33r, Suffolk, Essex and Courtenay were rewarded 'for the disguising', presumably at Twelfth Night, in 1496. The thirteen-year-old Earl of Essex carried the spurs at Henry's coronation, jousted and took part in Prince Henry's knighting ceremonies, joined in Katharine of Aragon's reception, fought at Boulogne and Blackheath, and attended Parliament from 1495. *Complete Peerage*, v, pp. 138-9. *DNB*, vi, p. 11. Essex and Suffolk were generally present with the court in varied locations early in the reign, Suffolk, after the death of his brother. They were at Elizabeth's coronation, with the king for Easter at Windsor in 1488, and Suffolk was at the St. George feast shortly after, with Henry for All Hallows 1488, the receipt of Henry's cap and sword from the pope shortly after, and accompanied him for Christmas and Twelfth night at Shene. and in the king's train which headed north after the news of Northumberland's death in 1489. BL Cotton MS Julius Bxii, ff 43r, 48r, 49v, 51r, 53r, 54r.

¹²² *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 505.

localities, with the end product of providing information and observations to the king in his continual councils, specifically on the issues in counties lacking a strong peerage presence. Of the 19 counties for which these commissions were appointed, six lacked a great lord due to his minority status, and in two the primary presence were members of the baronage, thus leaving such counties without a strong, singular presence for peacekeeping or enforcement.¹²³ The deaths of several nobles had left Henry with fewer noblemen to descend upon a county on the king's behalf, as Lander suggests, 'to keep the local establishments in line', and Henry seemed loathe to create new nobles, or strengthen any with additional regional powers.¹²⁴ The timing of the commissions suggests this last concern, as a proclamation of February 1493 urged JP's and other local officers to more diligently execute the statutes regarding the prosecution of murderers and the punishment of vagabonds as the king had learned 'that full heyne murdres, robries, thefts, decaye of husbandrye and othir enormities and inconveniences daily increase within this his realme'.¹²⁵ The committee was also formed in what appears to have been a time of uneasiness: to use Warwickshire as an example, Christine Carpenter's study asserts that county was suffering from a

¹²³ Judging by the leaders of the counties in the 1488 commissions of array. *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 278-82. The Duke of Buckingham was placed on commissions in Buckinghamshire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire after he reached his majority, as was the Earl of Northumberland in the three Yorkshire ridings. With property in 24 counties and the Welsh Marches, Buckingham was eligible for a wide variety of commissions, and appears to have been used in counties lacking a peer.

¹²⁴ By 1492, death had removed Lincoln, Nottingham/Berkeley, Rivers, Lisle, Northumberland, Suffolk and Huntingdon from the lists of potential JP's, and after 1493 there are signs of adjustments to spread authority evenly and enhance it. The new Earl of Suffolk inherited his father's responsibilities in Norfolk and Suffolk. Bedford was added to Cambridge, Leicestershire, Lincoln/Kesteven, and Oxfordshire. The Earl of Wiltshire was returned to the commissions in Buckinghamshire and the Earl of Kent was added a year later. The Earl of Essex was appointed to the next Hertfordshire commission. Dorset and the new Earl of Kent were added to Northamptonshire, and Dorset was also added to Leicestershire and Warwickshire. Thomas, Earl of Arundel was added to Worcester and as soon as Buckingham came of age in 1498 he was added to the commissions in Kent.

¹²⁵ *CPR 1485-94*, p. 434. PRO C65/126, m. 14, the act states 'by the negligence mysdemeanyng favour and othre inordinate causes of the Justice of peace in every shire of this his realme; the lawes and ordenaunces made for the politique wele peace and gode rule of the same and for profite suertie and restfull living of his subgiettis...be not duely executed'.

breakdown of order and severe disruption due to factional infighting, and Henry was garnering his first inklings of the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy which ended in the death of Sir William Stanley¹²⁶ Due to the element of nervousness in regards to Perkin Warbeck's potential as a troublemaker, the commissions may have been intended to give warning: sending men who were patently the king's select councillors and legal advisors to intrude briefly on local politics would strongly signal that the king was determined to see all, know all and exert influence where necessary, a preoccupation with information and the use of courtiers and councillors as the monarch's eyes and ears that found expression throughout the reign of the Tudors.¹²⁷

The fact-finding remit of the commissions is suggested by the council meeting of 1494 in which the issue of corruption was introduced for consideration and general discussion before the next Parliament. Once these commissions had met, the men included would have been able to offer valuable insights to Henry on local issues and potentially hazardous individuals or situations, as well as the effectiveness of legal practice in the counties. Such a supposition is further strengthened by the margin notation for each commission ordering the inclusion of Bray, (in all but four or five counties) Lovell, Rede, Huse, Kingsmill and Dimmock in the *quorum* of men 'wise and learned in the law' of which at least one was required to be present for sentencing

¹²⁶ C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 570-2 states the murder of a man in a property dispute in the king's demesne, and the alleged meeting of Sir Humphrey Savage with Warbeck's ambassador in February 1493 'must have been enough to make [Henry] think long and hard about the state of [Warwickshire]'. Carpenter believes Henry was aware of the meeting within a short time of its occurrence. She also times Henry's moves to resolve the crisis, through a readjustment of authority, to May 1493, the same time the commissions were issued.

¹²⁷ PRO C66/573, in the enrolment of the commission for Lindsey, Lincolnshire, it appears that there may have been changes and Rede, both Sheffields, Dymmock and Kingsmill were added later, but the difference in colour could be fading of the ink. In the commission listing for Cambridgeshire, Dymmock and Kingsmill's names are squeezed into a space that would only have held one name, and also appears to have been scraped clean. Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Book named the Governor*, ed., S. Lehmborg (New York, 1962), pp. 13, 157, brings forth Aristotle's concept that a prince required

or judgment.¹²⁸ These margin notes appeared next to each commission, and included, beside those five or six men, two or three more who were local JP's.¹²⁹

The attendance of these individuals at the actual sessions is difficult to track; there do not appear to be records of expenses paid to justices for every county during the operative years of this particular set of commissions, but a few of the counties which received new commissions within roughly a year do show evidence of attendance by some of the committee members in a manner that suggests it was related to the work of the commission.¹³⁰ A session of the peace in June, 1493 in Oxfordshire was attended by Bray, who had not previously been a JP there, and was not returned to the county when the 1493 commission was superseded, though he was later appointed JP in that county.¹³¹ Bray also attended the Northamptonshire sessions for several days in the period covered by the commissions, and in July 1493, Giles Daubeney, Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke, and Thomas Lovell attended a session of the peace in Northamptonshire.¹³² None of these men had served in that county prior to the commission, and did not return after that commission was superseded by a new one.¹³³ Richard Guildford, another 'committee' member appeared at an inquisition in March 1494 in the East Riding of York; he had not

many officers and friend to serve as his eyes, ears, hands and legs. This precept was invoked by such later Tudor images as the rainbow portrait of Elizabeth.

¹²⁸ PRO C54/353, m. 5d, and throughout.

¹²⁹ PRO C54/353. The North Riding quorum was rounded out by John Fisher, William Danvers and Richard Danby, further strengthening the conciliar ties, as Fisher was a king's serjeant, and Danvers a justice of the Common Pleas. Danby is the only one for whom a specific household or conciliar connection cannot be demonstrated under Henry VII, but a Robert Danby was one of Richard III's northern legal counsellors, and a justice of the bench under Edward IV.

¹³⁰ Lincoln/Lindsey received a new commission in November 1493, Oxford and Worcester in December 1493, Northampton and Warwick in April 1494. Additionally, Leicester and the East Riding of Yorkshire received new commissions in July 94.

¹³¹ PRO KB9/398/44. *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 497. *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 654.

¹³² PRO E372/339, PRO KB9/400/53-4,

¹³³ *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 494-5.

served there before, and did not return with subsequent commissions.¹³⁴ Bray and Lovell also appeared for the first time in Hertfordshire at an inquisition in January 1495, within the terms of the 1493 commission in that county, but in this county they both remained on subsequent commissions.¹³⁵

These brief commissions gave members of Henry's privy council the opportunity to acquire direct information in a legitimate fashion, yet not remain in the offensive position of being permanent 'foreigners' on commissions. Carpenter indicates that such a practice in Warwickshire created dissension and dissatisfaction, and Henry appears to have learned the lesson from Richard III's plight, that the increased concentration of power into fewer hands and the plantation of men from outside established county families could create resentment, and rebellion.¹³⁶ Though Henry did help men such as Lovell, Daubeney and Bray build up their power in local areas where they were not previously among the ascendant families, this could not be done on a large-scale basis without causing resentment.

Such meetings may also have given councillors an opportunity to 'talent-spot' among the local gentry. Carpenter comments that, in Warwickshire, Henry increasingly gave the rule of the counties into the hands of local gentry, most often those with connections to the royal retinue or household, and several men who were appointed for the first time with the commission of 1493 remained on subsequent appointments for their counties.¹³⁷ Of the core committee, Bray remained on future commissions in Buckinghamshire, Derbyshire and Hertfordshire and Lovell in

¹³⁴ PRO KB9/400/60. *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 506. *CPR, 1494-1509*, pp. 666-7

¹³⁵ PRO KB9/404/36. *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 488-9. *CPR, 1494-1509*, pp. 642-3.

¹³⁶ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 578-83

¹³⁷ The Greys of Wilton in Buckinghamshire; William Findern and John Fineux in Cambridgeshire; Humphrey Coningsby in Hertfordshire; Richard Pinchbeck and Thomas Tempest in Lincolnshire Holland; Henry, Lord Codnor and Richard Pole in Lincoln Kesteven; John Cheyney and James Savage in Nottinghamshire; Lord Latimer in the West Riding.

Hertfordshire, Lincolnshire Lindsey, and Nottinghamshire.¹³⁸ Other long-term JP's added to commissions immediately after 1493 were John Villers, Thomas Jakes and Everard Fielding in Leicestershire; John Skipwith in Lincoln Lindsey; William Mering and John Fisher in Nottinghamshire; Nicholas Agard and John Aston in Staffordshire; William Houghton and Gilbert Talbot in Worcestershire; Thomas Kebell and Brian Palmes in the East Riding; Kebell and Richard Cholmeley in the North Riding; Lord Clifford, Cholmeley, Edward Savage and William Ingelby and Thomas Wortley in the West Riding.¹³⁹ Most of these men had local connections; and a great number of them connections to the household, king's law courts or affinity. Talbot was a knight banneret, Fisher a king's serjeant-at-law, Kebell a serjeant-at-law, Savage was the bailiff of Hatfield and Thorne in Yorkshire, and Wortley the constable and porter of Middleham, of which castle Lord Clifford was the chief steward.¹⁴⁰

The commission in this form was never repeated. Perhaps this is an indication that it was ineffectual, and men appointed did find it difficult to attend the sessions in the counties as well as maintain their personal and administrative business. Perhaps it was highly effective, for its specific purpose, and the king never found it necessary to repeat the exercise. It is one of the anomalies of Henry's reign, for which we do not have conciliar correspondence to enlighten us as to its purpose or its results.

As this thesis has attempted to prove, Henry appears to be a king intent on his personal rule, involved in the business of his council, and determined to remain informed. The task he took upon himself was a heavy one, requiring a significant investment of time and energy, and which probably proved tremendously exhausting. As Chapter 4 indicated, the chroniclers of the reign of Henry VIII took up the tale

¹³⁸ *CPR, 1494-1509*, pp. 629-669.

¹³⁹ *CPR, 1494-1509*, pp. 629-669

that Henry VII sickened and grew detached from business in the last years of the reign, but scattered pieces of evidence still preserve the notion that the king was fully involved in the business of ruling. The excuse of his feebleness seems itself weak. Certainly there were times in the last two years of his life when he was physically incapacitated, and, equally times when he was strong and in full health. He was reported so ill for several days in March or April of 1507 by De Puebla, the Spanish ambassador, 'that his life was despaired of', and the notation in the account books of payment 'to oone of the under clerkes of the signet for wryting of the kinges will' during the week of March 14-20 indicates serious concerns, and yet he seems to quickly recover his grip on business, as De Puebla claims that immediately after this spell of illness the king gave him audience and discussed matters with him for two hours.¹⁴¹ By August, De Puebla reported that Henry was on a long hunting foray 'going from forest to forest, and from one mountain to another. He did not remain a single day quiet in the same place,' an occurrence which made it necessary to track him down and find out when he was available to do business.

This image of an almost restless round of hunting does not accord with that of a man suffering from lingering ill-health, and when De Puebla wrote on 5th October, 1507 he again said Henry had been out hunting or hawking every day from 26th August to 5th October, during which time De Puebla was his guest, and states 'The King of England has never enjoyed, during the last twenty years, such perfect health, and never been so strong and robust as he is now. It is wonderful to see how his long illness has given him twice as good a constitution as he had formerly. He is growing

¹⁴⁰ *CPR, 1485-1494*, pp. 9, 91, 118, 192, 210. BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii, ff 29r, 63r.

¹⁴¹ *CSP Spanish*, i, 511. PRO E36/214, f 71r. The only other notation of the king producing a will occurs two weeks before his death.

stout.’¹⁴² Katharine also remarked at this time that the king moved about too much for her to gain audience with him.¹⁴³ He carried on business as usual, signing Dudley’s accounts through the last entry, dated May 1508, and in that same month a case appears in Council Learned which was deferred by them ‘unto suche season as the kinges Counseill may be therin advertized or knowe the kinges ferther pleasure in that behalf’.¹⁴⁴ A letter which arrived in Venice on August 17, 1508, claimed that Henry was very ill--’in extremis’--perhaps referring to a spell of illness he may have suffered in June or July, but he seems to have recovered sufficiently well to spend August traveling in a small loop between Wanstead, Enfield, Hatfield and other points, most of which seem to be hunting grounds or chases.¹⁴⁵ That he was also still keeping an eagle eye on business is suggested by the privy seal letter dated 11 August 1508, rebuking Southwell for swearing and sending out writs of diem clausit ‘without our notice or knowledge’ on lands in which the king had particular claim.¹⁴⁶ His continuing personal direction in matters to come before the Council Learned is suggested by an entry from January 1509 stating ‘according to the kynges commandment and writing’, the bailiff of Dunwich had sent two prisoners up to Council Learned at Westminster on 23 January in a case of seditious words.¹⁴⁷ Also, on 25 January 1509, Richard Empson took delivery of two prisoners from Calais ‘in

¹⁴² *CSP Spanish*, i, 543, 552.

¹⁴³ *CSP Spanish*, i, 552, 541, 543.

¹⁴⁴ DL 5/4, f 135v.

¹⁴⁵ *CSP Venetian*, i, p 330. PRO C82/316. Unless they are referring to a possible spell of illness Henry may have had, and which may explain his prolonged stay in June and July at Greenwich. The reason for this conjecture is his payment to Lupton on 22 June, 1507 for the redemption of prisoners ‘by the king’s gracious almes and charitie’. PRO E36/214, f 84r. 115 prisoners were also redeemed by the king’s payment in April, 1508. PRO E36/214, f 129r.

¹⁴⁶ PRO C82/306. This warrant is probably misfiled, as a notation at the bottom says C82/332, and it is dated August 1508, but filed among the warrants for October 1507. It states Southwell ‘hath sued out certain our writtes of *Diem Clausit extremum* into divers counties within this our Reame after the decease of the late viscount Beaumound concernyng the landes and possessions to hym late belonging’.

¹⁴⁷ PRO DL 5/4, f 156r.

the counsell Chambre at Seynt Brides in London' expressly at the order of the king's letters to him and to the Council in Calais, according to the Council Learned books.¹⁴⁸

Arguments for Henry's rumored weakness could be advanced by the fact that it is harder to discover payments made for debts in the final two years, and there also occurs a curious falling-off of signet letters cancelling recognisances. A study of the extant signet letters shows a significant rise and then decrease in their numbers during the last six years of the reign: prior to 1504 there was a brief upswing, from one or two prior to 1499, to nine each year in 1499 and 1500, 18 in 1501, falling to ten each in 1502-3. The numbers then rose again with 17 in 1504, 36 in 1505 and 57 in 1506, falling off after that to 55 in 1507, 17 in 1508, and 2 for the partial year 1509. Roughly 70-90% of the signet letters given between 1505 to 1507 were for cancellation of recognisances as they were paid into the chamber treasury, and their falling off runs parallel to a decline in the number of privy seals and letters sent that can be deduced as sent by the king's messengers for Empson and Dudley, which peak in 1507 with roughly 95 and fall off to 55 in 1508 and 25 for the partial year 1509.¹⁴⁹ Post-1507 there does not appear to be a signet letter extant for cancellation of a recognisance, and cancellations in 23 and 24 Henry VII are fewer in the close rolls.¹⁵⁰

A possible explanation for perceptions of Henry becoming detached from his conciliar business is that after thoroughly indoctrinating Heron, Empson, Dudley, Lucas and others as to what he expected regarding enforcement, Henry left the greater part of the day to day responsibility in their hands, reviewing their efforts regularly through his systems of view books. Dudley and his compatriots were the visible actors on the stage of fiscal enforcement, and the king's behind-the-scenes

¹⁴⁸ PRO DL 5/4, f 156r.

¹⁴⁹ Figures compiled from a study of the PRO C/82 files for Henry's reign inclusive.

work in his increasingly private chambers, as suggested by David Starkey, escaped notice, and he was presumed to be uninvolved in those affairs.¹⁵¹ In the issue of falling off of payments, it could be a problem of record loss, or perhaps Henry permitted an easing up on payment of bonds, feeling that he had made his point, and did not wish to push it too far, particularly as age finally made its advances known, and Henry's thoughts turned to the dangerous moment in which the dynasty would have its first change of kings, a moment at which Edward IV had failed signally. Certainly, he allowed Buckingham and Essex's debts to hang indefinitely, and the chroniclers as well as John Fisher in his funeral sermon for the king describe him as penitent, remorseful and aware of his sins against his people, which may be a sentimental interpretation of his actions.¹⁵² Surely, if Dudley and Empson were whipping the system along in the way proposed, there would be a continued stream of payments to the chamber.

It is a puzzle, one which will probably never be resolved, due to the inherent paradoxes. Did Henry indeed slacken his grip on the reins? Did he cease to sign cancellations and leave such an item of business to his fiscal ministers, preferring to simply to review the books to keep track of their results? Or was there a tacit strategy, due to the varying nature of the king's health, to suspend enforcement of payments for a time in order to ease a transition of power? The sacrifice of Empson and Dudley demonstrates that some gesture of conciliation was felt necessary in the

¹⁵⁰ PRO C82/309-326. The signet letters are for a variety of commissions, collations, pardons and grants of office.

¹⁵¹ PRO DL 5/4, ff 115r-v, in Michaelmas term 1508, an obligation dismissed with 'a bil of acquittance therof made by the said John Heron...which acquittance remayneth in the box'; the entry immediately following says the council themselves dismissed another obligation; f 117r, that same term another obligation was dismissed after payment to Heron. For Starkey's comment, see above, p. 181.*

¹⁵² *Great Chronicle*, p. 338. It is notable that *Fabyan's Chronicle*, ff 233v, 234r, (STC 10660; London, 1533), makes no mention of either avarice or penitence.

event. The eventual resumption of the pursuit of the king's debt, albeit without the revival of the hated Council Learned, demonstrates the system worked only too well to give it up entirely.

Conclusion

The council of Henry VII certainly appears to be capable of sustaining reassessment, as Elton recognized; but a cautious reassessment at best. The greatest drawback to advancing the picture of Henry VII's council in its protean forms is the danger of making definitive statements based on very small amounts of record material. In terms of conciliar extracts, less than a year's worth of days are provided to represent 24 years worth of meetings. There is also a lack of conciliar correspondence of both the qualitative and quantitative variety that exists for Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Instead, the historian must concentrate on as many disparate sources as can be consulted; correspondence, signatures from inquisitions post mortem, petitions, 'conversations' culled from the memoranda of the king's chamber account books, collection and audit books, orders and decrees, recognisances, view books, ambassadorial letters, and guild minutes in conjunction with the council extracts in order to approach a better understanding of the council.

After thoroughly examining and comparing these sources, it is possible to argue that Henry's council should be granted a place in the 'evolution' of Tudor council that eventually produced the forms most familiar to Tudor historians and students from studies of the later Tudors. Henry's council is a hybrid between the large, cumbersome 'unreformed' council Elton decries as a vehicle designed mainly for wide representation, and the precisely staffed and organized privy council he glowingly attributes to Cromwell.¹ If conciliar extracts are separated into smaller 'privy' council meetings and larger plenary council meetings, the business given to

¹ Elton, 'Tudor Government: ii, The Council', pp 27-29 describes this conciliar shift.

each grouping examined for its stage in debate or consultation, and the smaller 'privy' council meetings, and committees' policy-making and administrative agenda acknowledged, one can develop the image of a conciliar matrix with a distinct separation of duties and, on occasion, personnel, operating in a more specialized fashion than that admitted by Chrimes and Elton, and gives Henry's council a reason to claim greater credit for efficiency and effectiveness.

The policy-making which is visible appears to have been conducted by the king and the smaller 'privy' council which consisted of the courtiers and great officers who generally served the king in his court at Westminster and elsewhere. The extracts suggest that the 'privy' council attempted to keep the law terms at Westminster, and that meetings of the 'privy' council away from Westminster either went unrecorded, or produced records or notes that have since been lost, unlike the Court of Requests, which had its own separate registers. The 'privy' council was composed of those men whose offices in the chamber or the administration of the realm tied them closely to court and to the king. The nobles were not generally involved in the business of 'privy' council, unless they had offices or interests that kept them close to court, but, the involvement of certain nobles, like Oxford, in the informal counselling of the king, can be tracked through letters and proclamations, and Henry made good use of the wisdom and talents of his peers as well as his courtiers.

As for the issue of the king's loss of power in the development of his systems of governance, Gillespie, in his essay on Fortescue's concept of royal will brings up a pertinent point, which can be applied to Henry; did Henry have the power to enforce his judgments, and were they acted upon?² This thesis has presented evidence to

² J. L. Gillespie, 'Sir John Fortescue's Concept of Royal Will', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 23 (1979), p. 59. Gillespie was commenting on the comment of Bracton, 'Nor does it suffice to have

support the assertions that the king interacted continually, and in an informed fashion, with his councils, that they were expected to direct affairs of administrative business or greater issues to him for direction, and if they acted in a fashion displeasing to the king, he did not hesitate to reverse their decisions. These points suggest that the king did indeed exercise his will with the expectation that it would be acted upon, and that he retained control of both the larger political issues and smaller administrative details of his reign.

David Starkey has remarked that Henry's court was 'for the first time in generations, the sole centre of power'.³ Though that power was shared with his chosen agents, it can be argued that they did not deprive him of power in the process of exercising it in his name, and that his continual oversight of, and contact with, those agents ensured it his will was being exercised. Both Starkey and Condon perceive the councillors of Henry VII as agents of the his will, rather than independent operators, and there is evidence to argue that point.⁴ In developing items of business, whether for council, parliament, or pursuit by the administrative and fiscal bodies, councillors might be given very specific duties, as when the king's secretary, Thomas Ruthall, was commanded to write new articles for amity with Spain, Avery Cornborough to review statutes pertinent to cloth exports, Thomas Lucas to pursue certain debts and Edmund Dudley to collect certain bonds and recognizances. Still, their assignments came from the king's chamber accounts, meetings of the council or the king's specific command.

The difficulty lies in knowing how much of the business before council can be attributed to Henry. Issues from the memoranda are the closest hints one can get to

jurisdiction unless he has the power of coercion; could he not ensure the execution of his judgement, his judgements would be illusory'.

the king's generation of business for his councils; where the king can be seen in action is in the execution of business, direction of it, and reactions to items proposed to him in personal conversations, or warrants which reflect the king's involvement, such as the examination of Humphrey Warner by the king to determine Warner's mental competency.⁵ Certainly the picture created by the council business is that of an active, managing king, but his production of those issues cannot be pinpointed more directly than through the chamber books.

Fortescue is a constant touchstone for examinations of Henry VII, as per Watts' article on the council, and Henry's policy does have its Fortescuean aspects; he appears to appreciate the wisdom and utility of a 'new foundation of his crown' which will increase royal strength and wealth, and he also appears to be more than willing to preserve that foundation, establishing a curia to defend its parameters and rights.⁶ The Council Learned in the law was a body of men devoted to extracting the utmost from the king's rightful prerogative, revenues and demesne, all through the process of inquiry into the legal rights of the king in regards to a variety of issues and complaints. Henry's council in advisory mode also fulfills a Fortescuean hope in their apparent attention to discussion and consideration of the amendment of laws with an eye to the possibility of Parliamentary action, as in the council extract in which the king ordered review of an issue by a group of men including the Chief Justices, specifically for the purpose of future Parliamentary consideration: 'ripening' issues for either the purpose of covering all the possible bases before taking them further, or

³ Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation' p. 75. Condon, 'Ruling Elites', pp. 128-9.

⁴ Ibid for Starkey. Condon, 'Ruling Elites', pp. 128-9.

⁵ See Chapter 4, p. 157-8.

⁶ Watts, 'New Ffundacion', p. 36.

perhaps in some cases determining that further action was unnecessary.⁷ The king himself was open to counsel, and apparently assiduous in gathering it, though we cannot tell whether any particular advice or advisor influenced his decisions.

However, one must return to the original point made at the start of this thesis; was Henry--or England--ruled by his councils?⁸ Fox's comment to Wolsey, to "kepe the Counsell with the Kyngis grace whersoo euer he be", and the privy seal office's close shadowing of the king suggests that the heart of governance lay with the king, though it appears the council in judicial mode may have developed a habit of keeping the law terms at Westminster.⁹ This last, and Heron's gradually stationary role, might embody Watts' partial separation, but when examined against the business of the extracts and the organization of the king's chamber and his court, as well as the nearly continual attendance on the king of the Privy Seal, it appears any loss of power was being adjusted for by the king's close attention to his business, and his provision of dialogue between himself and his ministers, as well as the apparent redirection of important business to him as long as he was within England. Rather than power going 'out of court' in the fiscal council, the development of the chamber as the main treasury of the king drew financial strength into the court, and the Council Learned, though a Westminster-based court of fiscal enforcement, was fed its tasks by the chamber, in what became a highly developed system. As Gunn has suggested, the king stood at the apex of this system, and after Bray's death, he seems to have done so consciously and deliberately. Even with his 'privy' council acting as judges in Westminster, the councillors, particularly in the years when Morton headed affairs, were tried and trusted, Morton above all. However, if the issue of the Canterbury

⁷ HL EL MS 2654, f 15r.

⁸ Watts, 'Newe Ffundacion', p. 49.

market was a rebuke to Morton, then the king was not shy of exercising or expressing his will.

A recent paper by John Guy addressed the ‘Renaissance’ model of counselling, or a government ‘in which the monarch lay at the centre of politics, and power radiated outwards from his Court despite the existence of established, and even representative, institutions of finance, law, and regional government.’ and in which the ministers and bureaucrats were ‘personal servants of the king rather than the public servants of the state.’¹⁰ Such is true of chamber finance, with Bray, Dudley and Empson acquiring their importance from their service, as well as the focused and concentrated roles in administrative government encompassed in posts such as seller of the king’s wards and surveyor of the king’s prerogative, exercised by courtiers, and in the concentrated membership of household and former household members in the council.

Can we match Henry against the Fortescuean king supposedly wished for by his subjects, a king who would ensure their peace and stability so they could live in security and enjoy their income? In his protection of the royal demesne, his personally directed pursuit of the royal revenues and implementation of more effective collection, he appeared to satisfy the 15th century desire for kings to be more fiscally conscious. George Ashby, in his instructive poem to Henry VI’s son advised him to “live of youre own properte/Of youre Revenues, lyvelode & Rent/ Propornouncing after the quantite/Yore expenses by youre oune Iugement/Paying all that is to youre estate lent/”, as then his subjects “will leave you at youre ease”.¹¹ Ironically, the effective pursuit of prerogative rights through Council Learned meant that some of

⁹ P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.), *Letters of Richard Fox*, pp. 82-4.

his subjects might enjoy less income than they had hoped, and after the king's death, the activities of the Council Learned appear to have been the primary cause of complaint against Henry.¹² In the case of his council in advisory mode, and the business of 'privy' and plenary council, Henry took counsel both formally and informally, and actively sought opinions and input from councillors and from bodies such as guilds, conveying the impression that he desired the two-way dialogue necessary for good governance.

The extracts, offices, correspondence and memoranda, join together to give a picture of an active, managing king, but the records loss and lack of correspondence defeat all attempts to get closer than this to perceiving the extent of the king's will. It does seem that one can argue Henry was a king quite willing to take seriously the business of ruling. But both Watts and Starkey bring up ideas, that in turn tie into a phrase mentioned by both D.A.L Morgan and Christine Carpenter: open access. Carpenter bemoans the fact that under Henry this style of kingship was ended.¹³ Watts comments that under Henry, government was 'unusually detached, legalistic and conciliar'; Starkey has provided a picture of a king who, having constructed a private set of chambers, was free to, apparently happily withdraw and 'devote himself to the long, lonely hours of toil over accounts and dispatches.'¹⁴ Henry was less visible than previous monarchs, and the distance he cultivated in his private residences, as well as his public persona may have worked to his disadvantage. The

¹⁰ J. A. Guy, unpublished paper, 'The Tudor Privy Council: An Insular or Renaissance Model?', pp. 4-5.

¹¹ Ashby, 'Active Policy' p. 21.

¹² Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*, pp 338-9 mentions avarice as being Henry's single flaw, but modifies this by saying Dudley and Empson were the real culprits in avarice, because it was done in Henry's name, and thus '...Cawsyd hys grace to bere the wyte & blame of alle theyr Ill doynge...'.
¹³ Morgan, 'House of policy', p. 57, remarks that Edward IV's household service was not 'an open-access' affair. Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 266 specifically refers to the rise of the privy

privacy and detachment he may have needed, or perceived to be a desirable element of kingship, and constructed fine new chambers to find, was a new concept in the practice of kingship, and perhaps distressing considering that invisibility and privacy in previous kings was generally symptomatic of weakness or problems.¹⁵

Henry does not give the impression of a monarch who was weak, subservient to his council or unconcerned with its business. Indeed, from examining the chamber books, it is easy to envision the king heading off for a fortnight of hunting at Woodstock or Enfield Chase, with an ambassador at his heels, horses heavy laden with his coffers of books and documents, and a parting admonition to his councillors at Westminster to direct urgent business to him posthaste. He did not deny himself the enjoyment of those refreshing interludes in the forests, but neither did he shirk his duty, but pursued both energetically.

chamber and restriction on access to the monarch's presence, once the monarch had become 'the single focus of power.'

¹⁴ Watts, 'New Fundacion', p. 48. Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation', p. 75.

¹⁵ Such as Henry VI's 'disappearance' from public view when in the bouts of madness, and the attempts to keep it hidden. Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 129.

Appendix I:
Henry VII's Itinerary/Privy Seal Itinerary

Abbreviations for sources

Published primary sources

- ACMC* *Acts of the Court of the Mercer's Company, 1453-1527*, eds. L. Lyell and F.D. Watney (Cambridge, 1936).
AH [Vergil, Polydore] *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. D. Hay (Camden Society, 3rd Series 74; London, 1950).
- CIPM* *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analagous documents: Henry VII* (3 Vols; London, 1898-1955).
EH Bentley, S. (ed.), 'Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VII, from December 7, 1491 to March 20, 1505', in *Excerpta Historica, or Illustrations from English History* (London, 1833), 85-133.
- FC* *Fabyan's Chronicle* (STC 10659; London, 1516).
FDA Rymer, T., *Foedera, Conventiones, Leterae, et cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, eds. T. Rymer and R. Sanderson (20 Vols.; London, 1704-35).
- GC* *The Great Chronicle of London*, eds. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, (Gloucester, 1983).
HBC Fryde, E.B., Greenway, D.E., Porter, S., and Roy, I. (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology* (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 2; London, 1986).
- MEM* *Memorials of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. J. Gairdner (Rolls Series; London, 1858).
PL *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. N. Davis (2 Vols; Oxford, 1971-1976).
CSPS *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain*, ed. G.A. Bergenroth (13 Vols.; London, 1862-1954).

Manuscripts

- CJBxii* BL Cotton MS Julius B. xii
EL Henry E. Huntington Library Ellesmere MSS 2652, 2654, 2655, 2768.
Harl BL Harley MS 305.
Harg BL Hargrave MSS 216, 297, 6811.
Lans BL Lansdowne MSS 160, 639.

21480 BL Add MS 21480; Household book of Henry VII by John Heron 1499-1505.
 59899 BL Add MS 59899; Chamber issue and Memoranda book of Henry VII by John Heron 1502-1505.
 E36/214 PRO E36/214; Book of King's Payments 21H7 to 1 H8.
 C82 PRO C82; Chancery, Warrants for the Great Seal, Series II.
 C255 PRO C255; Chancery, Tower and Rolls Chapel Series, Miscellaneous Files and Writs.
 412/15 PRO E101/412/15; Warrants to the keeper of the great wardrobe, E4 and H7.
 412/19 PRO E101/412/19; Account book of Richard Croft, treasurer of household, 2 and 3 H7.
 412/20 PRO 412/20; Documents subsidiary to account of Peter Curteis, keeper of great wardrobe, 2 and 3 H7.
 413/3 PRO E101/413/3; Part of a household account book.
 413/8 PRO E101/413/8; Account book of the same.
 413/9 PRO E101/413/9; Account book of John Spelman, controller of the household.
 413/11 PRO E101/413/11; Subsidiary documents to wardrobe accounts, 8 to 18 H7.
 413/13 PRO E101/413/13; Part of a household account book.
 414/3 PRO E101/414/3; Account book of William Cope, cofferer of household.
 414/4 PRO E101/414/4; Part of account book of Richard Guildford, controller of the household.
 414/6 PRO E101/414/6; Account book of John Heron, treasurer of household, 11 to 13 H7.
 414/14 PRO E101/414/14; Account book of the household, 13 and 14 H7.
 414/16 PRO E101/414/16; Account book of John Heron, treasurer of chamber, 13 to 15 H7.
 415/2 PRO E101/415/2; Account book of the household, 15 and 16 H7.
 415/3 PRO E101/415/3; Account book of John Heron, treasurer of chamber, 15 to 18 H7.
 415/4 PRO E101/415/4; Account book of Richard Guildford, controller of household, 16 and 17 H7.
 415/12 PRO E101/415/12; Account book of William Cope, cofferer of household, 19 and 20 H7.
 416/1 PRO E101/416/1; Account book of William Cope, cofferer of household, 20 and 21 H7.
 416/7 PRO E101/416/7; Documents subsidiary to accounts of Andrew Windsor, keeper of great wardrobe, temp 24 H7 and 1 H8.
 E404 PRO E404/79-85; Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt, Writs and Warrants for Issue.
 PSO 2 PRO PSO; Privy Seal Office, Warrants, Series II.
 REQ 1 PRO Requests 1; Court of Requests, Miscellaneous Books.
 REQ 2 PRO Requests 2; Court of Request, Proceedings.
 YCA York City Archives, City House Books

Notes on Itinerary

Many of the observations made by H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, in *Historical Notes on the use of the Great Seal of England* (London, 1926), appear to hold true for Henry VII, for example his comment that, 'The privy seal was never a personal seal. It was kept, from the beginning, by a clerk generally attendant upon the king. It appears to have remained in that person's keeping at all times'. Further, Maxwell-Lyte says that the Keeper of the Privy Seal, and one or more of his clerks 'were usually in personal attendance on the King, wherever he might be...'.¹

Maxwell-Lyte also comments on the gradual recognition of privy seal warrants 'as valid in themselves for such actions as payments from the exchequer, due to the cumbersome nature of getting a letter of Great Seal'.² Certainly many of the letters in PRO E404 are simply privy seal letters, but in February 1487, the sign manual was added to one of the letters, and after 1488 it became a fairly regular feature. The number of warrants with and without the sign manual fluctuate, but generally there are more without.

The footnotes attempt to explain or conjecture dates that appear to be out of synchronization with other sources, and to pinpoint the possible issue; scribal error with the wrong year, wrong month or wrong day written down, and even wrong location. Maxwell-Lyte states it is not unusual to find such errors, and that 'writs of Privy Seal cannot always have been actually written on the day on which they are dated', particularly days when there were huge numbers of them being produced.³ Maxwell-Lyte states that contradictions in location, in which the locations are not within an easy ride of each other, may be indicative of writs prepared after they were authorized at a certain place.⁴ In cases where the deviation is inexplicable by scribal error, but there is corroboratory evidence for another date, I have placed it on the conjectured date. I have also pointed out the cases when a signet letter or instrument with the sign manual was from a location near the court's apparent place of residence, thus it presumably indicates the king's presence in that location.

Maxwell-Lyte also asserted that the office was occasionally divided, with some members accompanying the king and others remaining with and taking orders from the council--as witness the privy seal letters dated from London when Henry was in France in 1492.

¹ pp. 21, 28.

² Ibid, p. 35.

³ Ibid, p. 67.

⁴ Ibid, p. 71-2.

Maxwell-Lyte warned that itineraries compiled from warrants under the Privy Seal “would be that of the Keeper of the Privy Seal or one of his four clerks rather than that of the King”, but as the following itinerary demonstrates, the privy seal tended to closely shadow Henry throughout his reign.⁵ The itinerary of the Privy Seal is added in order to demonstrate the extent to which it shadowed the king, though there are times when it appears to lag behind by a day or two, perhaps due to differing locations or instruments approved but finished after the court had moved on. Toward the end of the reign, it is possible to find several instances where the Court of Requests also appears either to be ahead of the king or behind. When a document from C82 is included in the king’s itinerary, it is because it bears the sign manual or is actually a signet letter or signed bill.

Dates given are predicated on where the king appears to be resting for the night, particularly in reference to the times when his progresses shift on a daily basis. In cases where it has been impossible to clarify the spelling of a town or village name, I have left a query (?). Assumptions have been avoided in recording locations; they are listed precisely as they are written on warrants. For example, if a warrant says ‘Warwick’ and another says ‘Warwick Castle’ for dates in the same time period, they will not be standardized. Latin notations in quotes are written exactly as they appear in the sources.

⁵ Ibid, p. 80.

ITINERARY

King's Location

PS Letters

Council/Events

1485

						Aug. 22	Bosworth Field	<i>GC</i> , p. 237
						Sept 3	Entry into London	<i>AH</i> , pp 4-5 ⁶
Sept.10, 13								
15, 18-25	City of London	PSO 2/1	Sept. 30	Guildford	C82/1			
Oct. 1-11	Guildford	PSO 2/1						
Oct. 12	Esher/Sheen	PSO 2/1				Oct 12	Truce with France	<i>FDA</i> , p. 277
Oct. 13-16	Sheen	PSO 2/1						
Oct. 16-27	City of London	PSO 2/1	Oct. 18, 23	City of London	E404/79			
Oct. 19, 20	Westminster	Mat 92; PSO 2/1						
Oct. 28, 29	Tower of London ⁷	PSO 2/1				Oct. 30	Coronation	<i>GC</i> , p. 240
Oct. 31	Westminster	PSO 2/1	Nov. 3	City of London	E404/79	Nov. 7	Parliament	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Nov 12	Westminster	YCA B. 2/4, f181r	Nov. 8, 13, 14, 18-20, 22, 24					
			25, 29	Westminster	E404/79			
			Dec. 3, 7, 9,					
Dec. 3	Westminster	YCA B. 2/4, f182v	10, 12, 14	Westminster	E404/79			
Dec. 4	Greenwich	C82/5	Dec 4	Westminster	C82/5/25, 27	Dec. 10	Parliament prorogued	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
			Dec 17	Greenwich	E404/79			
Dec 24	Westminster	C82/5/7b, 8b						

⁶ *AH*, pp. 4-5 says Henry entered the city on 3 September; *FC*, f 230r says 28 August; *GC*, p. 238 says 27 August. *ACMC*, pp. 290-1, says the Mercers company were discussing his entry on the 31 August. Based on this last and Vergil, I have adopted the above date.

⁷ Hereafter simply identified as 'Tower'.

Jan. 1-7, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21 24, 26, 28-31	Westminster	PSO 2/1 C82/6/30	Jan. 24, 28, 30	Westminster	E404/79	Jan 17	French Truce extended	<i>FDA</i> , p. 281
Feb. 1, 3-6 8-28	Westminster	PSO 2/1 C/82/7/1068, 9 PSO1/64/55	Feb. 4, 6, 15-17 24-26, 28	Westminster	E404/79	Jan. 18	Marriage to Elizabeth	<i>HBC</i> , p. 42
Mar. 5	St. John's near London	CJBxii, f8v	Mar. 3	Westminster	E404/79	Jan. 23	Parliament reconvened	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Mar. 23-29	Lincoln	CJBxii, f8v	Mar. 23	Lincoln	E404/79	Jan. 25, 31	Council	EL 2652, ff3v, 8r
Apr. 15, 16	Doncaster	CJBxii, f9r	Apr. 1-5	Lincoln	C82/9	Feb. 6, 8-10, 13, 15-18, 24	Council	Harl 305, f26r EL 2652, ff 1r-5v
Apr. 17-20	Pontefract	CJBxii, f9r	Apr. 10, 14	Nottingham Castle	C82/9	Mar. 4	Council	EL 2652, f 5r
Apr. 20-28	York	CJBxii, f10r; PSO 2/2	Apr. 20	Pontefract	C82/9/14	Mar. 16-18	Parliament dissolved	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572 EL 2652, f 1v ⁸
May 1	Doncaster	PSO 2/2	Apr. 22, 25 27-29	York	C82/9	Mar. 26	Lincoln/Easter	CJBxii, f8v
May 1-5	Nottingham Castle	PSO 2/2 ⁹	Apr. 30	Doncaster	C82/9	Apr. 4, 5	Council	Harl 305, f26r EL 2652, f 1v
May 7, 8	Lichfield	PSO 2/2	May 7	Lichfield	C82/10	Apr. 22-23	York/ St. George's Day	CJBxii, f12v
May 8	Birmingham	PSO 2/2						

⁸ Harl 305 f 26r says 27-28 March, but concurs with 4-5 April, and states "upon all which days (if my notes be true) the court did sitt without the Lord Chancellour or any other of the aforemade judges. But for these, see the booke it selfe".

⁹ Both the signet letters from 1 May, one at Doncaster, one at Nottingham Castle, bear the same clerk signature, so it is possible they reflect the travel from one place to the next, as certainly it is on a line with Winchester, to which location the court appears to have been moving. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England* (London, 1926), pp. 63-66, says when confronted with conflicting locations with similar dates on privy seals, to look for scribal error, either in year or month, or in adding or omitting an x or i. Sometimes place of issue is also confused, or if large numbers are produced in one day, some are written the day after they were authorized at a certain place. This notation can be taken as read for coincidental dating presented after this, unless otherwise indicated.

May 9-12, 13-15	Worcester	PSO 2/2; CJBxii, f17r	May 11	Worcester	E404/79/293	May 14	Worcester/ Whitsunday	CJBxii, f17r
May 15-19	Hereford	PSO 2/2; CJBxii, f17r-v	May 16	Hereford	C82/10			
May 19-22	Gloucester	PSO 2/2; CJBxii, f18r-v	May 20-22	Gloucester	C82/10			
May 22	Kingswood Abbey near Bristol	CJBxii, f18v						
May 23	Acton/Bristol Dinner w/Sir Robert Pointz	CJBxii, f18v	May 23, 25	Bristol	C82/10/39			
May 24, 25	Bristol	PSO 2/2 ¹⁰	May 27	Newbury	C82/10	May 25	Bristol/Corpus Christi	CJBxii, f20v
May 27	Newbury	PSO 2/2	May 30,31	Sheen	C82/10			Meeting with Mayor, Sheriff and Burgesses of Bristol
May 29-31	Sheen	PSO 2/2	June 1-2, 5-18	Westminster	E404/79	June 6	Meeting with Mayor/Brethren of London/ Scottish Embassy at Westminster	CJBxii, ff21r-v
June 1, 2, 4, June 5, 7-14 17, 18	Westminster	CJBxii, f21r PSO 2/2	21, 27-29	Westminster	C82/11	June 7-9, 12, 13, 15-18, 20, 23, 27, 29	Council	EL 2652, ff 1r-v, 3v- 4r, 8v; 2654, ff 1r-5v
July 1-3, 6-15, 17-20, 23-26 28, 30, 31	Westminster	PSO 2/2	July 1-4, 6, 7, 9-15, 18-20 23-26	Westminster	C82/12	July 10-12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 28	Council	EL 2652, ff 1r-v, 4r, 8r-9r; 2654, ff 6r-7v
Aug 5	Sheen	C82/13	Aug 1-3	Westminster	C82/13	July 3	Truce with Scotland	<i>FDA</i> , p. 316
Aug 12	Sheen	PL 804	Aug 4-6, 9, 12, 15-17	Sheen	C82/13; E404/79	July 19	Treaty w/Brittany	<i>FDA</i> , pp. 303-312
			Aug 18	Staines	E404/79			
			Aug 18-21	Guildford	C82/13; E404/79/300 ¹¹			
Aug 31	Winchester	E404/79/159	Sept. 1, 4, 6	Winchester	C82/16			
			Sept. 7	Salisbury	C82/16			
			Sept. 8	Winchester	E404/79/280			

¹⁰ May 24, Pilgrimage to St. Anne in the Woods/Bristol . CJBxii, f 20v.

¹¹ See above, n. 9.

			Sept. 14	Christchurch Abbey	C82/16				
			Sept. 17-18	21,			Sept. 19	Winchester/ Arthur's birth	<i>HBC</i> , p. 42
Sept. 28	Winchester	C82/18	25-27, 29	Winchester	C82/16		Sept. 24	Winchester/ Arthur's Christening	CJ Bxii, f21v
Oct. 1-10	Winchester	E101/412/19, f3r-v	Oct. 1, 2, 13, 16,		C82/16				
Oct. 11-14	Southampton	412/19, f3v ¹²	17, 22-24	Winchester	E404/79		Oct. 2, 16	Council	EL 2652, f1v
Oct. 15-25	Winchester	412/19, f4r-v							
Oct. 26	Farnham	412/19, ff4v, 29v							
Oct. 27, 28	Kingston	412/19, ff4v, 29v							
Oct. 29	Greenwich	412/19, f5r	Oct. 29, 31	Greenwich	C82/17; E404/79				
Oct. 30-		412/19, f5r;	Nov. 1	Greenwich	C82/18				
Nov. 1	Greenwich	PSO 2/2							
Nov. 2-30	Westminster/ Greenwich ¹³	412/19, ff5r-7r PSO 2/2	Nov. 4, 5, 8, 9, 11 16-18, 20	Westminster	C82/18; E404/79		Nov. 8-10, 18	Council	EL 2652, f9r; 2654, f8r
Dec. 1-31	Westminster/ Greenwich	412/19, ff7r-9v	Nov. 13, 16, 18, 21-28, 30 Dec. 1, 4, 6-8, 13 15, 16, 27	Greenwich	C82/18 E404/79				

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Jan. 1-16	Westminster/ Greenwich	412/19, ff9v-10v	Jan. 3-5, 7	Greenwich	C82/20; E404/79	Jan.	Edward IV's treaty with Maximilian extended	<i>FDA</i> , pp. 319-21
			Jan. 11	Stratford				

¹² A notation of reward to a man 'hosting' the king in Southampton on 12 October suggests the king went south with a smaller retinue for a few days, as the account books say "Winchester and Hampton", suggesting the main body of the court remained at Winchester.

¹³ It is difficult to be more definitive than this. The household account books contain this notation of Westminster/Greenwich, which suggests that the court was based at Greenwich, with perhaps the king and his immediate retinue at Westminster, as council records indicate his presence at what appears to be a 'privy' council meeting. This supposition is strengthened by PSO letters dated Nov 2-5 and 8-11 from Westminster, Nov. 12, 13, 16-26, 28 and 30 from Greenwich, two petitions with the sign manual dated November 18 and 20 at Westminster, and two petitions with the sign manual dated November 22 and 24 from Greenwich. These bear comparison with the times the council meets, on two occasions with the king definitely present, and the times when the privy seal is demonstrated to have been at either Greenwich or Westminster, as shown above. The odd coincidence of dates on a few of the privy seal letters can be explained as per note 9, above. This intermix of Westminster and Richmond, or Greenwich, occurs again during the reign.

Jan. 11-15	Greenwich	412/19, ff10r-v	Jan. 13-15	Greenwich	C82/20; E404/79/250			
Jan. 16	Brentford	412/19, f10v						
Jan. 17	Staines	412/19, ff10v, 29v						
Jan. 18	Bagshot	412/19, f10v						
Jan. 19	Farnham	412/19, f10v						
Jan. 20, 21	Windsor	412/19, ff10v-11r	Jan. 20-22	Windsor	C82/19; E404/79			
Jan. 22	Staines	412/19, f11r						
Jan. 23	Sheen	412/19, f11r	Jan. 25	Moor End	C82/19			
Jan. 24-31	Greenwich	412/19, ff11r-v	Jan. 26	Westminster	C82/19 ¹⁴			
			Jan. 27,					
			29, 30	Sheen	C82/20			
Feb. 1	Greenwich	412/19, f11v	Feb. 1, 3, 5-8, 12, 14-16, 19, 20			Feb. 2	Great Council at Sheen	CJ Bxii f25r
Feb. 2-28	Sheen	412/19, ff11v-13v; C82/2; E404/79/254	26, 28	Sheen	C82/21; E404/79	Feb. 6, 13	Council	EL 2652, ff 1v, 4r, 8r-v
Mar. 1-12	Sheen	412/19, ff13v-14v	Mar. 1-6,	Sheen	C82/22; E404/79/162			
Mar. 13, 14	Chertsey/Sheen	412/19, f14v	8-14					
Mar. 15-27	Sheen	412/19, ff14v-15v	Mar. 15, 16, 18, 20-23					
Mar. 27	Chertsey Abbey	E404/79 ¹⁵	25, 26	Chertsey	C82/22; E404/79/257			
Mar. 27	Fulham	412/19, f15v						
Mar. 28	Brentwood	412/19, f15v	Mar. 28	Fulham	C82/22; E404/79/259			
Mar. 29	Braintree	412/19, f15v	Mar.	Hedingham				
Mar. 30	Hedingham	412/19, f15v	30-31	Castle	C82/22			
Mar. 31	Colchester	412/19, f15v						
Apr. 1	Colchester	412/19, f16r; PSO 2/2	Apr. 1	Colchester Abbey	C82/23			
Apr. 2	Ipswich	412/19, f16r						
Apr. 3-8	Bury	412/19, ff16r-v, 29v; PSO 2/2	Apr. 4-8	Bury St. Edmunds Abbey	C82/23			

¹⁴ This privy seal letter is actually dated 'near Westminster', but does not get more specific.

¹⁵ E404/79 contains a signet letter with the sign manual, dated 27 March at Chertsey, which appears to have been where the privy seal was based during the king's stay at Sheen.

Apr. 9	Harling	412/19, f16v	Apr. 10	East Harling	C82/23			
Apr. 10-15	Norwich	412/19, ff16v-17r; PSO 2/2	Apr. 11-13, 15-16	Norwich	C82/23; E404/79/178	Apr. 15	Norwich/Easter	CJBxii, f25r
Apr. 16	Walsingham	412/19, f17r; PSO 2/2 CJBxii, f25v						
Apr. 17	Thetford	412/19, f17r; PSO 2/2	Apr. 17	Walsingham	C82/23			
			Apr. 18	Thetford	C82/23			
Apr. 18-20	Cambridge	412/19, f17r; PSO 2/2 ¹⁶	April 18-19	Cambridge	C82/23			
Apr. 21	Northampton	412/19, f17r						
Apr. 22-30	Coventry	412/19, ff17v-18r; PSO 2/2	Apr. 22-30	Coventry	C82/23; E404/79	Apr. 23	Coventry/ St. George's Day	CJBxii, f25v
May 1-6	Coventry	412/19, f18r; PSO 2/2	May 7	Coventry	E404/79/173	May 2	Council	EL 2652, f8r
May 7-20, 22-23, 25-26, 28, 31	Kenilworth	412/19, ff18v-19v; PSO 2/2	May 10-12, 14, 16-19, 25-26, 29, 31	Kenilworth	C82/24; E404/79/27			
May 22-25	Stony Stratford	412/19, f19v ¹⁷						
May 26-31	Kenilworth	412/19, f20r						
June 1-7	Kenilworth Castle	412/19, ff20r-v	June 1, 4	Kenilworth	C82/25			
June 8	Coventry	412/19, ff20v, 29v ¹⁸	June 8	Coventry	E404/79			
June 9, 10	Leicester	412/19, ff20v-21r						
June 11	Loughborough	412/19, ff21r, 29v						
June 12	Redhill/Bonley Rice	412/19, f21r, CJB xii, f27v						
June 13,14	Ruddington	412/19, f21r ¹⁹	June 14,28	Kenilworth	C82/25			

¹⁶ 412/19, f 29v. 'Richard Chyksande hospit Dni Rege apud Huntynghon 19 Aprilis'. These brief notations of reward to people sometimes do not match the set locations in the regular list of the household accounts, but are generally enroute from one location or the other, or nearby, so may be extra lodgings, or places where the king stopped on his travels.

¹⁷ 412/19 f 29v. 'Thome Hykling hospit Dni Re apud Stony Stratford xxii die Maii'. 'Agnete Axbridge hospit Dni Re apud Deventry xxiii die Maii'.

¹⁸ 412/19 f 29v. 'Thome Asshe hospit Dni Re apud Coventry viii die Junii'.

¹⁹ 412/19 f 29v. 'Hugh Creswell hospit Dni Re apud Alford xiii die Junii'. CJBxii, f 28r, says on 14 June the king, having settled his troops in camp, 'roode to a village iii myles a this side notingham on the highway syde wher In a gentil mannes place his grace logede'. There was certainly a village named Ruddington

June 15	Radcliffe/Newark	412/19, f21r ²⁰						
June 16	Newark	412/19, ff21r, 29v ²¹				June 16	Battle of Stoke	CJBxii, f28v
June 17, 18	Lincoln	412/19, f21v						
June 22	Grantham	412/19, f21v	June 22	Lincoln	C82/25			
June 23	Leicester	412/19, f21v						
June 24-27	Kenilworth	412/19, f22r	June 25	Kenilworth	E404/79/175			
June 28	Warwick	412/19, f22r						
June 29,30	Kenilworth	412/19, f22r						
July 1-7	Coventry	412/19, f22v; E404/79/210	July 4, 6, 10, 16, 19, 20, 23	Kenilworth	C82/26; E404/79	July 17	Council	Harg 6811, f2r
July 8-22	Kenilworth	412/19, ff23r-24r; 412/20/21				21, 26		
July 23, 24	Leicester	412/19, f24r	July 24	Leicester	E404/79/243			
July 25	Nottingham	412/19, 24r	July 25-26	Nottingham	C82/26			
July 26	Worksop	412/19, f24r						
July 27	Doncaster	412/19, f24r						
July 28, 29	Pontefract	412/19, ff24r-v						
July 30, 31	York	412/19, f24v	July 30-31	York	C82/26			
Aug. 1-5	York	412/19, ff24v-25r	Aug. 1-6	York	C82/27			
Aug. 6	Newburgh	412/19, f25r						
Aug. 7	Northalton	412/19, f25r						
Aug. 8	Croft	412/19, f25r	Aug. 9	Croft	C82/27			
Aug. 9-12	Durham	412/19, ff25r-v	Aug. 11	Durham	C82/27			
Aug. 13-18	Newcastle	412/19, f25v	Aug.	Newcastle	C82/27			
			14-18					
Aug. 19	Durham	412/19, f26r	Aug.	Durham	C82/27			
Aug. 20	Raby	412/19, f26r	19-20					

approximately that distance from Nottingham, according to *The Counties of Britain: A Tudor Atlas* by John Speed, intr. Nigel Nicolson (New York, 1989), pp. 142-3. There does not appear to be an Alford in that area, though there is a Wilford.

²⁰According to CJBxii, f 28v, 'on the Friday...the king with his hoste removed thodarwarde and logged that nyght beside a village callede ratcliffe ix miles oute of Newark.' June 15, 1487 fell on Friday. Cheney, C.R. and Jones, M. (eds.), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (Cambridge; Rev. ed. 2000), pp. 204-5.

²¹412/19 f 29v. 'Thome White hospit Dni Re apud Newark, xvi die Junii'.

Aug. 21	Richmond	412/19, f26r	Aug. 22	Richmond	C82/29		
Aug. 22	Jervaulx Abbey	412/19, f26r	Aug.	Ripon	C82/29; CJBxii, f29v		
Aug. 23-24	Ripon	412/19, f26r	23-24				
Aug. 25-26	Pontefract	412/19, ff26r-v	Aug.	Pontefract	C82/29		
			25-27				
Aug. 27	Chesterfield	412/19, f26v	Aug. 28	Chesterfield	C82/29		
Aug. 28	Tutbury	412/19, f26v					
Aug. 29	Coleshill	412/19, f26v	Aug. 31	Warwick Castle	E404/79		
Aug. 30, 31	Warwick	412/19, f26v	Sept. 1-3	Warwick	C82/30		
Sept. 1-6	Warwick	412/19, ff26v-27r PSO/2/3	Sept. 6, 7	Byrdesuet Lodge	412/20/22; C82/30		
Sept. 7	Byrdsuet Lodge	PSO/2/3	Sept. 8-10	Leicester Abbey	C82/30		
Sept. 8-10	Leicester Abbey	412/19, f27v; PSO/2/3	Sept. 11	Warwick	C82/30		
Sept. 11-15	Rockingham Castle	412/19, fo 27v PSO/2/3	Sept. 11-12	Rockingham Castle	C82/30		
Sept. 16-30	Warwick	412/19, ff27v-28v PSO/2/3	Sept. 17-20				
			22, 30	Warwick	C82/30		
Oct. 4, 5		E404/79/4; 412/20	Oct. 2-4, 7, 8, 13		C82/31		
19, 27	Warwick Castle	CJBxii, f34r	16, 22, 26	Warwick	E404/79/4		
Nov. 1, 2	St. Albans	CJBxii, f34r	Nov. 2	St. Albans	C82/32		
Nov. 2	Barnet	CJBxii, f34r	Nov. 4	City of London	C82/32		
Nov. 3	London/Bishops Palace	CJBxii, f34r	Nov. 6	Greenwich	C82/32		
			Nov. 12, 13, 15, 27	Westminster	E404/79/13	Nov. 8, 20	Council EL 2652, f9r; Harg 6811, f2r
			Nov. 15, 18, 20	Greenwich	C82/32; E404/79	Nov. 9	Westminster/ Parliament convened HBC, p. 572
Nov. 23	Tower	CJBxii, f35r	Nov. 23	Tower	C82/32	Nov. 25	Westminster Abbey/ Queen's coronation CJBxii, f30r
Nov. 26	Westminster	412/20					

Nov. 30	Westminster	C82/33	Nov. 24, 27 28, 29, 30 Westminster	C82/32; E404/79/135		
Dec. 4	Greenwich	412/20	Dec. 2 Westminster	C82/33		
			Dec. 1-5 Greenwich	C82/33		
			Dec. 10-18 Westminster	C82/33	Dec. 18	Westminster/ Parliament dissolved <i>HBC</i> , p. 572
			Dec. 19-22		Dec. 25	Greenwich/Christmas <i>CJBxii</i> , f45v
			25-31 Greenwich	C82/33		

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			Jan. 2 Greenwich	C82/34	Jan. 6	Twelfth night/ Crown-wearing	<i>CJBxii</i> , f46v
			Jan. 9-11 Esher Manor	C82/34			
Jan. 18	Greenwich	C82/34	Jan. 13-23 Greenwich	C82/34	Jan. 30, 31	Council	<i>EL</i> 2654, f 8r-v; <i>Harg</i> 216, f146v <i>Harl</i> 305, f27v
Jan. 25	Greenwich	412/20/16	Jan. 27, 29 30, 31 Westminster	C82/34			
			Feb. 1 Westminster	C82/35	Feb. 6, 7	Council	<i>EL</i> 2652, ff 1v, 9r
Feb. 17, 20, 23	Greenwich	412/20 C82/25	Feb. 2, 3, 5, 10-12, 15, 16				
Mar. 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 10-13, 15-17	Sheen	E101/412/15 PSO/2/3; E404/79 412/20/23	20-23, 26 Greenwich	C82/35; E404/79			
Mar. 18	Sittingbourne	PSO/2/3	Mar. 5, 6, 8, 10, 13 15-18 Sheen	C82/36			
Mar. 22	Sandwich	PSO/2/3	Mar. 20 Canterbury	C82/36			
			Mar. 21-22 Sandwich	C82/36			
Mar. 23-24	Dover	PSO/2/3	Mar. 23-24 Dover	C82/36			
Mar. 25	Canterbury	PSO/2/3	Mar. 26 Canterbury	C82/36			
Apr 1	Sheen	PSO/2/3					
Apr. 2, 6-9	Windsor	PSO/2/3 <i>CJBxii</i> , f48r	Apr. 2, 7 8, 9 Windsor	C82/37; E404/79	Apr. 6	Windsor/Easter	<i>CJBxii</i> , f48r
Apr. 12	Winchester	PSO/2/3	Apr. 12 Winchester	C82/37			

Apr. 14	Southampton	PSO/2/3	Apr. 14	Southampton	C82/37		
Apr. 15, 16, 18	Chichester	PSO/2/3	Apr. 15, 17-18	Chichester	C82/37		
Apr. 19, 20-23 25, 26, 28-29	Windsor	PSO/2/3 412/20	Apr. 20-29	Windsor	C82/37; E404/79	Apr. 27	Windsor/Feast of St. George Council CJBxii, f48v
May 3-12, 15-22	Westminster	C82/38 PSO/2/3	May 3-21	Westminster	C82/38	May 5, 7, 13, 17, 20	EL 2654, ff9r-10r; 2652, ff 1r, 6v, 9r Harl 305, f28r
May 23 ²² , 24, 26-28, 30, 31	Windsor	412/20 PSO/2/3					
May 24-31	Windsor	C82/38; E404/79/155 E404/79/130 YCR, f195r				May 25	Windsor/ Whitsunday CJBxii, f51r
June 2, 6, 7, 10, 15	Windsor	412/20 E404/79/12, 136 YCR, f195r	June 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 9 11, 12, 14, 18, 22 25, 26, 28	Windsor	C82/39; E404/79	June 3	Council Harg. 216, f146v
July 14	Windsor	E404/79	July 1-4, 6, 9, 11, 13-15	Windsor	C82/40; E404/79/9	June 11	Death of James III <i>CHR</i> , p. 279
			July 16	Abingdon Abbey	C82/40		
			July 18, 19	Woodstock	C82/40		
			July 23	Thame	C82/40		
			July 25, 27 29, 30	Windsor	C82/40; E404/79		
Aug. 1	Windsor	E404/79/147	Aug. 1-6 10, 13	Windsor	C82/41; E404/79/27		
Aug. 30		E404/80	Aug. 14, 16	Lewes Priory	E404/79/156		
Sept. 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13 15-17, 19, 22-24		PSO/2/3					

²² PSO/2/3 the signet letter appears to say 'xxiiith', so is presumably either missing a minim or the wrong ending was used. The signet letter is in English.

26-28,30	Windsor	E404/80	Sept. 3-6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22-24			
Oct. 1-31	Windsor	413/4, p. 9-13	26-29 Windsor	C82/44; E404/8		
		E404/80	Oct. 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24		Oct. 3, 11	Council
Nov. 1-4	Windsor	413/4, p. 14	25, 28-30 Windsor	C82/45; E404/80		EL 2652, ff6v, 9r; 2768, f3r
Nov. 5	Windsor/Westminster	413/4, p. 14	Nov. 1-2 Windsor	C82/46		
Nov. 6-21	Westminster	413/4, pp. 14-16	Nov. 7, 8,		Nov. 24	
Nov. 22-28	Bishop of London's Palace	413/4, pp. 16-17	10-30 Westminster	C82/46; E404/80/41	25-28	Council
Nov. 29, 30	Westminster	413/4, pp. 17-18				EL 2654, ff11r-v Harl 305, ff28r-29r
Dec. 1-22	Westminster	413/4, pp. 18-21	Dec. 1,3-5, 7,15,		Dec. 1, 2,	
		E404/80/17	16, 20-22 Westminster	C82/47; E404/80	4, 5, 8	Council
Dec. 23-31	Sheen	413/4, p. 21-22	Dec. 26, 28 Sheen	C82/47; E404/80		EL 2654, ff11r-v Harg 216, f147r
			30			

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Jan. 1-8	Sheen	413/4, pp. 22-23	Jan. 6 Sheen	C82/48		
		E404/80/24,164,243	Jan. 11, 14, 17,			
Jan. 9	Esher	413/4, p. 23	19-22, 26-28		Jan. 13	Westminster/ Parliament
Jan. 10-31	Westminster	413/4, pp. 23-26	30, 31 Westminster	C82/48; E404/80		<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
		E404/80/5			Feb. 10	Treaty of Redon
Feb. 1-28	Westminster	413/4, pp. 27-30	Feb. 1-9, 11-21		Feb. 5, 6, 9	Council
		E404/80/4, 66	23-27 Westminster	C82/49; E404/80		EL 2654, f12v Harl 305, ff29r-v
Mar. 4, 8-10	Westminster	E404/80/30, 242	Mar. 1-10 Westminster	C82/50; E404/80	Feb. 23	Westminster/ Parliament prorogued
			Mar. 4 Sheen	C82/50		<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Mar. 10-12	Sheen	413/4, p. 32	Mar. 11 Sheen	C82/50		
Mar. 13-16	Windsor	413/4, pp. 32-33	Mar. 14 Windsor	C82/50		
Mar. 17	Farnham	413/4, p. 33				
Mar. 18, 19	Farnham/Alresford	413/4, p. 33				
Mar. 20, 21	Portchester	413/4, p. 33				

Mar. 22-25	Windsor	413/4, p. 34	Mar. 24	Westminster	C82/50 ²³			
Mar. 26, 27, 28	Farnham	413/4, p. 34	Mar. 26,			Mar 27	Treaty of Medina del Campo	<i>FDA</i> , pp. 411-29
Mar. 29-31	Windsor	413/4, p. 35	28-31	Sheen	C82/50			
Apr. 1-5	Sheen	413/4, p. 35	Apr. 1,4,					
Apr. 6	Sheen	413/4, p. 36	8,12	Sheen	C82/51			
Apr. 7	Westminster	413/4, p. 36				April 19	Hertford/Easter Council	CJBxii, f53v EL 2652, f3v
Apr. 8	Waltham	413/4, p. 36 E404/80/390				April 21	Hertford/ St. George's Day Council	CJBxii, f53v Harg 216, f147v; Harl 305 f29v-30r
Apr. 9-30	Hertford	413/4, pp. 36-39 E404/80	Apr. 14-19, 25, 27 29, 30	Hertford	C82/51 E404/80	April 23		
May 1-11	Hertford	413/4, pp. 40-41 E404/80	May 7-11	Hertford	C82/52; E404/80	May 9		
May 12	Dunstable	413/4, p. 41 CJBxii, f54r	May 12,13	Dunstable	E404/80/388			
May 13	Stony Stratford	CJBxii, f54r 413/4, p. 41						
May 14	Northampton	413/4, p. 41 CJBxii, f54r						
May 15	Harborough	413/4, p. 41 CJBxii, f54v						
May 16	Leicester	CJBxii, f54v 413/4, p. 41						
May 17, 18	Nottingham	CJBxii, f55v 413/4, p. 42						
May 19	Worksop	413/4, p. 42 CJBxii, f55v						
May 20, 21	Pontefract	413/4, p. 42						
May 22-31	York	413/4, p. 42-44						

²³ The privy seal dates and locations for late March appear to reflect the privy seal based in or near London, perhaps having gone ahead of the king for purposes of council business. M.M. Condon, 'An Anachronism with Intent? Henry VII's Council Ordinance of 1491/2', in R. A. Griffith and J. Sherborne (eds.), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 237, suggests the Court of Requests preceded the king to London for this reason in 1500 at the end of the king's journey to Calais.

June 1-3	York	413/4, p. 44 CJBxii, f56r	May 29-31 York	C82/52		
June 4	Pontefract	413/4, p. 44	June 1-4 York	C82/53; E404/80/33		
June 5	Worksop	413/4, p. 44	June 4-6 Pontefract	C82/53; E404/80		
June 6-9	Nottingham	413/4, pp. 44-45 CJBxii f56v				
June 10	Leicester	413/4 p. 45	June 11 Leicester	C82/53		
June 11	Harborough/ Northampton	413/4, p. 45				
June 12	Aylesbury/Windsor	413/4, p. 45	June 12 Northampton	C82/53		
June 13-30	Windsor	413/4, pp. 45-48	June 17, 19-23, 26, 28, 29 Windsor	C82/53 E404/80		
July 1-16	Windsor	413/4, pp. 48-50 E404/80	July 2, 4-10, 13-17 Windsor	C82/54; E404/80/35	July 3, 10, 13	Council EL 2652, ff 1r, 8r Harg 216, f47v Harl 305, f30r
July 17	Watford	413/4, p. 50				
July 18, 19	Tittenhanger	413/4, pp. 50-51 ²⁴	July 19 Tittenhanger	C82/54	July 19	Feast of St. George CJBxii, f58r
July 20, 21	Barnet	413/4, p. 51				
July 22-31	Windsor	413/4, p. 51-53	July 24-26 Windsor	C82/54		
Aug. 1-2	Windsor	413/4, p. 52-53	Aug. 1, 6-8, 13, 14, 19, 20 22, 24, 31 Windsor	C82/55-56 ²⁵		
Aug. 3-8	Sunninghill	413/4, p. 53	Aug. 11 Isleworth	E404/80/178		
Aug. 16, 25	Windsor	E404/80/28	Aug. 13, 20 25 Windsor	E404/80		
Sept. 7	Windsor	E404/81	Sept. 4, 7, 8, 10, 11 21, 23, 28, 29 23, 28, 29 Windsor	E404/80, 81 C8/57	Oct. 12	Council EL 2652, f3v

²⁴ According to BL Cotton MS Julius Bxii, f 57v-58r "This yer the fest of Saint george was deferred unto the sixth day off July and thenne it was honnourably kept be the erle of Arundell...during this season the king went an hunting in envillechase'. Watford is between Enfield Chase and Windsor, and Barnet is on the edge of the chase. Tittenhanger is slightly north and west, near to Hatfield.

²⁵ There is also a privy seal letter dated August 4 at Sunninghall in C82/55.

Oct. 6, 13, 19, 21	Westminster	E404/80/201	Oct. 1, 3-5, 7, 8, 10, 12 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22-24 27, 29, 30 Westminster	C82/58; E404/80, 81	Oct. 14	Westminster/ Parliament reconvenes	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Nov. 4, 18	Westminster	E404/81	Nov. 3-10, 12, 15, 17-27, Westminster	C82/60; E404/80, 81	Nov. 18	Council	EL 2654 f 13r
Dec. 14	Westminster	E404/80/222	Dec. 1-6, 8, 10-12, 14 23, 24, 26 Westminster	C82/61; E404/81	Nov. 29	Princess Margaret born	CJ Bxii, f 61r
Dec. 21-31	Greenwich	CJ Bxii, f 64r	Dec. 29 Greenwich	E404/81	Nov 29/30	Arthur created Prince Princess Margaret's Christening	CJ Bxii, ff 61r-62r CL Bxii, ff 62r-63v
					Dec. 4	Westminster/ Parliament prorogued	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
					Dec. 7	Council	EL 2652, f 11r

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Jan. 1-6	Greenwich	CJ Bxii, ff 64r-65r	Jan. 15, 19, 22-24				
Jan. 7	Waltham	CJ Bxii, f 65r	26, 27, 31 Westminster	C82/62; E404/80, 81	Jan. 25	Westminster/Parliament reconvened	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Jan. 28	Westminster	E404/81	Feb. 4, 5, 7-10, 12, 13, 15-20	C82/63;	Feb. 19	Council	EL 2652, f 1v Harg 305, f 30r
Feb. 11, 19	Westminster	E404/81/167 E404/80	23-27 Westminster	E404/81	Feb. 27	Westminster/ Parliament dissolved	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Mar. 1-9	Westminster	C82/64; E404/80/228	Mar. 1-9 Westminster	C82/64; E404/80/228			
Mar. 19	Westminster	C82/64; E404/80/228	Mar. 19 Westminster	C82/64;			
Mar. 20, 21		C82/64;	Mar. 20, 21	C82/64;			
Mar. 24, 28	Sheen	E404/81, 80 ²⁶	24, 28 Sheen	E404/81, 80 ²⁶			
Mar. 28-31	Sheen	CJ Bxii, f 66v	Mar. 30, 31 Westminster	C82/64; E404/80			
Apr. 1-3	Sheen	CJ Bxii, f 66v	Apr. 1, 2 Westminster	C82/65; E404/81			
Apr. 4, 7	Sheen	E404/80	Apr. 6, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17 19, 27-29 Sheen	C82/65; E404/81, 80	Apr. 28	Council	Harg 6811, f 2r

²⁶ According to CJ Bxii, f 66v, the household "lay" at Sheen, and the king returned there at the end of March, after a series of meetings with Ambassadors from Maximilian, the pope and Brittany, among others, so perhaps some of these issues were dated at Sheen due to the king's travel between it and London.

May 7	Westminster	E404/80/270	May 3, 4, 8-10,13-17			
May 20	Sheen	E404/80/191	20, 21	Sheen	C82/66; E404/81,80	
			May 22,			
			25-29	Greenwich	C82/66; E404/81	
June 8, 12, 15,			June 1, 3, 8, 11, 14, 18			
17, 26	Greenwich	E404/80, 81	19, 26, 29	Greenwich	C82/67; E404/81	
July 26	Greenwich	E404/81	July 3, 4, 7, 12, 14-16, 20-22			
			26,27	Greenwich	C82/68; E404/80, 81	
Aug. 6	Wolmer Forest/ Farnham	<i>Mem</i> , p. 378	July 29	Windsor	C82/68	
			Aug. 5	Farnham	C82/69	
			Aug. 7, 11,			
			17,19	Eltham	C82/69; E404/81, 80	
			Aug. 24,28	Sheen	C82/71; E404/81	
Sept.3, 6-9, 12, 13		E404/80,81	Sept.6, 8,			
15,17,18, 23	Woking	PSO/2/3	15-17,20	Woking	C82/72; E404/80/80	
Sept. 19, 30	Ewelme	E404/80	Oct. 2,7,9,12,13, 18			
			20, 25, 28	Ewelme	C82/73	Oct. 15
			Nov. 3	Ewelme	C82/74	Council
			Nov. 15,16,18,19,			EL 2652, f3r
Nov. 22,	Windsor	PSO/2/3	22-28	Windsor	C82/74	
24-26			Dec. 5, 8	Leighton Buzzard(?)	C82/75	
			Dec 12,18-21			
			26	Windsor	C82/75; E404/80	

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Jan. 3, 4, 6, 7, 12						
21, 28	Windsor	C82/76	Jan. 31	Council	EL 2652, f9r	
Feb. 6, 8,10,12, 14, 16,17, 23			Feb. 10,	Council	EL 2654, f13v,	
24, 26-28	Westminster	C82/77; E404/80	15, 17, 18		Harl 305, ff30r-v	
Mar. 1, 5-8					Harg 216, ff47v-48r	
10-14	Westminster	C82/78; E404/80				

Mar. 24	Sheen	C82/78	Mar. 18, 21,				
Apr. 6	Sheen	PL 824	24, 29	Sheen	C82/78; E404/80		
			Apr. 1, 5, 7, 10,				
			12, 13	Sheen	C82/79; E404/80/87		
			Apr. 18-20	Greenwich	C82/79; E404/80/22	May 5, 7	Council EL 2652, f9r
			May 1, 2, 6, 10, 12-14, 17-21, 24, 27			May 7	Meeting with Merchant Adventurers <i>ACMC</i> , p. 214
May 12, 15	Greenwich	E404/80	28, 30, 31	Greenwich	C82/80; E404/80/94	May 18	Meeting with Merchant Adventurers <i>ACMC</i> , p. 215-6
			June 1, 3, 5-8, 10, 13, 14, 16, 18-21, 23			June 17, 27	Council EL 2652, f2v Harl.305, f30v
June 13	Greenwich	E404/80	25, 29, 30	Greenwich	C82/81; E404/80/29/91	June 28	Greenwich/ Prince Henry's birth <i>HBC</i> p. 42
			July 1-4, 6-8, 10-12			July 2, 11	Council EL 2652, ff 1r-v, 5r
			14, 15	Greenwich	C82/82; E404/80/76		
			July 18, 19	Hedingham Castle	C82/82		
			July 24	Bury St. Edmund's Abbey	C82/82		
Aug. 8	Huntingdon	PSO/2/3	Aug. 3	Newmarket	C82/83		
			Aug. 7, 8	Huntingdon Abbey	C82/83		
			Aug. 9	Drayton	C82/83		
Aug. 14	Harrowden Manor	C82/83	Aug. 19	Sudeley	C82/83		
			Aug. 23	Evesham Abbey	E404/81/3		
Sept. 1	Tewkesbury	C82/85; E404/81/3	Aug. 28	Evesham/ Tewkesbury	C82/84		
Sept. 2-6	Gloucester Abbey	C82/85	Sept 6	Gloucester Abbey	C82/85		
Sept. 8	Gloucester Abbey	C82/85					
Sept. 14	St Augustine Abbey by Bristol	PSO/2/3	Sept. 10-14	Bristol/St. Augustine Abbey	C82/85		
Sept. 15, 16	Bristol	C82/85; PSO/2/3					

Sept. 20, 21	Welles	PSO/2/3	Sept. 20-22	Welles	C82/85; E404/81/3		
Sept. 25	Glastonbury Abbey	PSO/2/3	Sept. 22,	Glastonbury	C82/85		
Oct. 3	Salisbury	PSO/2/3	25	Abbey	E404/81/3		
			Oct. 2, 3	Salisbury	C82/86		
			Oct. 7	Windsor	C82/86		
			Oct. 8, 9,				
Oct. 9	Greenwich	E404/81/3	11, 13	Greenwich	C82/86; E404/81/3	Oct. 17	Westminster/ Parliament convened <i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Oct. 21, 25,	Westminster	E404/81/3	Oct. 20-22, 24			Oct. 20, 24	Council <i>EL</i> 2652, ff 1v, 2v Lans 160, f307v
27		C82/87; PSO/2/3	25, 28-31	Westminster	C82/86; E404/81/3	Nov. 4	Westminster/ Parliament prorogued <i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Nov. 3, 5-7	Westminster	PSO/2/3	Nov. 1	Greenwich	C82/87		
Nov. 4, 12, 14			Nov. 5-7	Westminster	C82/87		
28, 30	Greenwich	E404/81/3	Nov. 10, 11, 14-18, 21-23,				
Dec. 1, 2, 5	Greenwich	PSO/2/3	25-30	Greenwich	C82/87; E404/81/3	Nov. 9, 11	Council <i>EL</i> 2652, ff 1r-v, 8v Lans 160, f307v
Dec. 7-9		E404/81/3	Dec. 1, 3-9	Greenwich	C82/88	17, 27	
			Dec. 10,	Guildford	C82/88; E404/81/3		
			11				
Dec. 20	Kingston	E404/81/3 ²⁷	Dec. 17, 18	Windsor	C82/88; E404/81/3		
Dec. 22	Westminster	E404/81	Dec. 22	London	E404/81/3		
Dec. 27, 30			Dec. 22-24, 26,				
31	Eltham	E404/81/3	28, 31	Eltham	C82/88; E404/81/3		

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Jan. 2, 3	Eltham	E404/81	Jan. 2, 3, 7	Eltham	C82/89
Jan. 10-16	Isleworth	E404/81	Jan. 9, 15	Isleworth	C82/89
		PSO/2/3			
Jan. 17	Windsor	E404/81			

²⁷ WAM 5474, a record of the Earl of Derby's expenses from 17 December 1491 to 12 March 1492, indicates that on the 17th December, Derby paid for boat hire for Richard Barber, presumably a servant, to carry a message to Sheen, which was near Kingston. Derby himself appears to have been at Westminster, as he hired a boat to carry goods from there to Greenwich on 23rd December, and a cart to carry it from Greenwich to Eltham on 24th December.

Jan. 23, 24	Sheen	E404/81	Jan. 23	Greenwich	C82/89	Jan. 26	Westminster	
			Jan. 25-28		C82/89		Parliament reconvened	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Jan. 26, 31	Westminster	E404/81	30	Westminster	E404/81	Jan. 30	Council	EL 2652, f8r
Feb. 3, 4, 6-8, 11-15, 17, 18, 20-23, 27-29	Westminster	E404/81 PSO/2/3	Feb. 2, 7, 8, 10, 13-15 18, 21	Westminster	C82/90	Feb. 14, 20	Council	EL 2652, f9r
Mar. 1-3, 5, 8, 9	Westminster	E404/81 PSO/2/3	Mar. 2, 6-10	Westminster	C82/91	Mar. 5	Westminster/ Parliament dissolved	<i>HBC</i> , p. 572
Mar. 14, 16, 22, 23	Sheen	E404/81 PSO/2/3	Mar. 13-16, 18	Sheen	C82/91			
Mar. 24, 26, 27, 29, 30	Greenwich	E404/81 PSO/2/3	Mar. 26, 28	Greenwich	C82/91			
Apr. 1-5, 7	Greenwich	C82/92; E404/81 PSO/2/3	Apr. 1, 2, 4-6	Greenwich	C82/92			
Apr. 13, 14	Sheen	E404/81	Apr. 8, 9, 11-13	Sheen	C82/92			
Apr. 17, 19 21, 24, 26	Sheen	E404/81 C82/92	Apr. 16 Apr. 19	Windsor Sheen	C82/92 C82/92			
			Apr. 23, 24 26	Sheen	C82/92			
			May 2, 4-6, 8-10, 16, 19, 23, 24, 26 28, 29, 31	Sheen	C82/93	May 30	Council	EL 2652, f1v
June 4, 6 8, 10, 12		C82/94; E404/81 PSO/1/71/65	June 4-7, 9, 10, 17, 21 23, 24, 26	Sheen	C82/94	May	Sheen/ Jousts/Celebrations	<i>GC</i> , p. 247
June 28	Westminster	PSO/2/3 E404/81 ²⁸	June 28	Westminster	C82/94			
July 4	Westminster	E404/81	July 5-7, 9, 11	Westminster	C82/95	July 11	Council	EL 2652, ff9r,10r

²⁸ This was dated 28 June 1493, but as the evidence points to the king enjoying an extended stay at Kenilworth, and the warrant fits into the previous year's dates, this is probably an example of misdating through the omission of a digit.

July 14-16	Sheen	PSO/2/3 E404/81	July 12-14, 16, 17	Sheen	C82/95		
			July 18, 20	Windsor	C82/95		
			July 22	Sheen	E404/81		
			July 24-26				
			28	Greenwich	C82/95		
Aug. 8	Canterbury	E404/81	Aug. 2,6-8	Canterbury	C82/96		
			Aug. 12	St. Augustine Abbey	C82/96		
			Aug. 12	Ospringe	C82/96		
			Aug. 13	Canterbury	C82/96		
			Aug. 15	Maidstone	C82/96		
			Aug. 18, 21		C82/96, 97 ²⁹		
			23, 26, 27	Greenwich	E404/81		
			Aug. 29, 31	Windsor	C82/97		
Sept. 1	Greenwich	E404/81	Sept. 2, 3	Greenwich	C82/98	Sept. 9	Greenwich/ Departure for France
			5, 6		E404/81		GC, p. 247
			Sept. 14	Canterbury	E404/81		
Sept. 15, 18	Canterbury	C82/98 E404/81	Sept. 15-19	Canterbury	C82/98		
			Sept. 21-23	Canterbury	C82/98		
Sept. 24	Canterbury	C82/98	Sept. 25, 27				
Sept. 27	Sandwich	C82/98	28	Sandwich	C82/98		
			Oct. 1	Sandwich	C82/99		
Oct. 6	Sandwich/Calais	GC, p. 247	Oct. 4, 12	Calais	C82/99		
Oct. 12	Calais	PSO 1/71/66					
Oct. 19	Saundeford(?)	<i>Chr of Cal</i> p 2					
Oct. 20	Morgison(?)	<i>Chr of Cal</i> p 2					
Oct. 21	Wymelle(?)	<i>Chr of Cal</i> p 2	Oct. 23,	"field byfore Boleyn"	C82/99 ³⁰	Oct. 23, 27	Council
Oct. 22	Boulogne	<i>Chr of Cal</i> p 2	30, 31			Nov 3	Treaty of Etaples
							EL 2652, ff 12r, 6v FDA, pp 497-504

²⁹ C82/97 contains a privy seal letter from Sandwich dated August 23rd, which is likely to have been misdated.

³⁰ C82/99 contains what appears to be a Latin version of the privy seal letter of 23 October at Bolougne, dated instead 24 Oct at Westminster. Bolman's signature as clerk is on the Westminster letter, while the one from Boulogne is done by Purde. Bolman was at Sandwich, and in Calais, as his inscription appears on a privy seal of the 14th November. Perhaps the Westminster letter is a later version of the original letter, with the supposed original date of the

			Nov. 3	“felde before Bulloigne”	C82/100		Nov. 6	Council	EL 2652, f12r; Harl 305, f33r
			Nov. 9	Calais	C82/100		Nov. 9	London/Guildhall	
			Nov. 11	Guisnes	C82/100			Letter read proclaiming peace with France	<i>FC</i> , p. 684 <i>GC</i> , p. 247
			Nov. 12	Westminster	C82/100		Nov		
			Nov. 13-16, 18, 20, 22		C82/100		25, 27	Council	EL 2652, f1v
			26-28, 30	Calais	C82/114				
Dec. 9-15	Calais	413/9, f8r	Dec 1, 7	Calais	C82/101				
Dec. 16, 17	Dover	413/9, f8v <i>GC</i> , p. 247							
Dec. 18	Canterbury	413/9, f8v							
Dec. 19	Rochester	413/9, f8v, 31r							
Dec. 20, 21	Greenwich/Eltham ³¹	413/9, f8v					Dec. 22	Blackheath/Reception by Mayor and Citizens of London	
Dec. 22	Westminster	413/9, f8v	Dec. 23	Westminster	C82/101			Offering at St. Paul's	<i>GC</i> , p. 247-8
Dec. 23-31	Eltham	413/9, f9r-v	Dec. 26, 27	Eltham	C82/101				

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Jan. 1-7	Eltham	413/9, ff9v-10r			
Jan 8	Brentford	413/9, ff10r, f31r ³²			
Jan. 9, 10	Stanwell/Colnbrook	413/9, f10r; 413/8, f12r ³³			
Jan. 11-20	Windsor	413/9, ff10r-11r; 413/8, ff12r-v	Jan. 13, 14, 18, 19	Windsor	C82/102

grant on it. Conversley, the one for November 12 may reflect rather an issue of council dealt with in the king's absence by council in London, suggested by the fact that the clerk signature on the bottom is someone who does not sign on any of the issues from Calais.

³¹*GC*, pp. 247-8, says the king went to Greenwich from Dover, and was escorted from Blackheath to London for Christmas at Westminster by the Mayor and a deputation from the city. The closeness of Greenwich and Eltham, may mean both were being used to house the king and court; Blackheath lies between the two. A further notation in the household account books of the court at Eltham from 23-31 December may perhaps indicate the king's return there after Christmas, as privy seals are sent from Westminster 23 December, and from Eltham 26 and 27 December.

³² 413/9, f 31r. 'Rico Broun hospit Dni Rege apud Branford viii die Januarii'.

³³ 413/9, f 31r. 'John Gregory hospit **familie** Dni Rege apud Colbrok x die Januarii'. This distinction is made, as well as 'hospit **dne Regine**' on a few dates.

Jan. 21-23	Isleworth	413/9, f11r ³⁴	Jan. 22	Eltham	C82/102 ³⁵			
Jan. 24-31	Westminster	413/9, ff11r-12r	Jan. 25,	Westminster	C82/102			
			27-31					
Feb. 2	Westminster		Feb. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 14-17,		E404/81	Feb. 16	Council	EL 2654, f14v
Feb. 3-20	Westminster	PSO/2/3	19-21	Westminster	C82/103			
	Greenwich	413/9, ff12r-13r						
Feb. 21	Westminster	PSO/2/3						
Feb. 21-28	Sheen	413/9, ff13r-v	Feb. 21,	Sheen	C82/103			
		PSO2/3	27, 28					
Mar. 1-31	Sheen	413/9, ff13v-16r	Mar. 3	Sheen	C82/104			
		413/8, ff15v-18r;	Mar. 7	London	C82/104 ³⁶			
		PSO2/3;	Mar. 16, 18, 19,					
		REQ 1/1, f 77r	26, 27, 30	Sheen	C82/104			
Apr. 1-10	Sheen	413/9, ff15v-16v;						
		REQ 1/1, f77v;	Apr. 2, 3, 6, 8-10,		E404/81			
		C82/105	14-16	Sheen	C82/105			
Apr. 11-14	Greenwich	413/9, ff16v-17r;						
		413/8, ff18v-19r						
		E404/81						
Apr. 15	Sheen	413/8, f19r						
		PSO/2/3						
Apr. 16-20	Windsor	413/9, f17r	Apr. 20	Windsor	C82/105			
		413/8, f19r						
		E404/81;413/11/12						

³⁴ 413/9, f 31r. 'John Symson hospit familie Dni Rege apud Istilworth xxiiii die Januarii'; this may be an extra digit, or a reflection of the king going ahead of the household to Westminster. According to the exhibits at the Richmond Museum, Henry VII established a new park in Isleworth for hunting.

³⁵ Presumably pre- or post-dated.

³⁶ Curiously, there are several letters in PSO/2/3 to the Lord Privy Seal dated this day from London, all having to do with business between the king, Bray and Empson, primarily; one acknowledging Empson's payment for the farm of Stene, one giving Bray and Empson stewardship of Paddington and Ascot in Oxford, one Giving Empson and Thomas Saunders custody of John Ingoldesby, and another giving Empson perpetual discharge for sales of wood from specific lands.

Apr. 21	Aylesbury	413/9, ff17v, 31r; ³⁷ 413/8, f19v	Apr. 21	Aylesbury	C82/105 ³⁸			
Apr. 22	Buckingham	413/9, ff17v, 31r 413/8, ff19v						
Apr. 24	Banbury	413/9, ff17v, 31r; 413/8, f19v	Apr. 25	Banbury	C82/105			
Apr. 26	Warwick Castle	E404/81						
Apr. 25-30	Warwick	413/9, ff17v-18r						
May 1-18	Warwick	413/8, ff20r-21r 413/9, ff18r-19r E404/81; PSO/2/3	May 2, 3, 5 9, 10, 13	Warwick	C82/106 E404/81	May 17	4 men executed for treason	<i>FC</i> , p. 684
May 19-31	Kenilworth	413/9, ff19v-20r 413/8, ff21v-22r E404/81; PSO/2/3	May 25, 28 31	Kenilworth	C82/106	May 28	Council	EL 2652, f6r
June 1-5	Kenilworth	413/9, ff20r-v; PSO 2/3 413/8, ff22r-v						
June 5-7	Coventry	413/9, ff20v, 31r ³⁹ 413/8, f22v						
June 7-30	Kenilworth	413/9, ff20v-22v 413/8, ff22v-24v PSO/2/3; E404/81	June 9, 10, 12, 19, 24-26	Kenilworth	E404/81 C82/107			
July 1-14	Kenilworth	413/9, ff22v-23v 413/8, ff24v-25v PS02/3; E404/81	July 3, 5-7, 10-15, 21 22, 24, 26	Kenilworth	C82/108 E404/81	July 8	Council	Lans 160, f307v
July 15-20	Coventry	413/9, ff23v, 31r ⁴⁰ 413/8, f25v						
July 20-28	Kenilworth	413/9, ff23v-24v 413/8, ff26r-v E404/81						

³⁷ 413/9, f 31r . 'Willmo Whyte hospit familie Dni Rege apud Ailusbury xxi die Aprilis'.

³⁸ *EH*, p. 94, 'at Rich Lees'.

³⁹ 413/9, f 31r . 'Willo Ketell hospit Dni Rege apud Coventry v die Junii'.

⁴⁰ 413/9, f 31r . 'John Whauley hospit Dni Rege apud Coventry xv die Julii'.

July 29, 30	Drayton	431/9, f24v 413/8, f26v			
July 31	Beaudesert	413/9, f24v 413/8, f26v			
Aug. 1, 2	Beaudesert Kenilworth	413/9, f24v 413/8, f26v			
Aug. 3-9	Lichfield	E404/81 ⁴¹ 413/9, ff24v-25r 413/8, ff26v-27r	Aug. 4, 6, 7	Lichfield	C82/109
Aug. 10, 11	Kenilworth	413/9, f25r 413/8, f27v			
Aug. 12-29	Warwick	413/9, ff25v-26v 413/8, ff27v-28v	Aug. 15, 19	Warwick	C82/109 ⁴² E404/81
Aug. 30	Southam	413/9, f26v ⁴³ 413/8, f28v	Aug. 28, 29	Warwick	C82/111
Aug. 31	Northampton	413/9, f26v 413/8, f28v			
Sept. 1-30		413/9, ff27r-29r REQ 1/1, ff79r-v E404/81/3	Sept. 5, 6, 8-10, 17, 19, 21, 26-30	Northampton More Castle	E404/81/3 C82/112 C82/112
Oct. 1	Northampton Pipwell Abbey/ Colyweston	413/13, p. 1			
Oct. 2-13		413/13, pp. 1-4 E404/81/3	Oct. 4, 9, 11, 13, 14	Colyweston	E404/81/3 C82/113
Oct. 14	Fotheringhay	413/13, p. 4			
Oct. 15	Colyweston/Pipwell	413/13, p. 4			

⁴¹ As well as a signet letter from Lichfield on 4 August, 413/9, f 31r has an entry of 'Wm Grene hospit **familie** Dni Rege apud Lichfield iii die Augusti'. Also E404/81 contains a warrant to the exchequer dated 8 August from Drayton Lodge, perhaps Drayton Basset on the border of Staffordshire and Warwickshire.

⁴² E404/81 contains a privy seal letter of warrant to the exchequer dated August 15 from Kenilworth. Again, this is presumably predated from the place approved.

⁴³ 413/9, f 31r. 'John Hikelton hospit Dni Rege apud Southam xxx die Augusti'.

Oct. 16	Northampton	413/13, p. 4					
Oct. 17-20		413/13, p. 4	Oct. 19	Moor End	E404/81/3		
	Moor End	E404/81/3					
Oct. 21	Aylesbury	413/13, p. 5 ⁴⁴					
Oct. 22-31	Windsor	E404/81/3, 413/13, pp. 5-6					
Nov. 1-8	Windsor	413/13, pp. 6-7					
Nov. 9-30		413/13, pp. 7-10					
		E404/81/3; PSO/2/3	Nov. 4, 7, 8, 10, 13-22,		C82/114	Nov. 10, 28	Council
	Westminster	E101/413/11	24-30	Westminster	E404/81		
Dec. 1-8		413/13, pp. 11-12	Dec 2-5		E404/81/3		EL 2768, f4r; 2652, f6r Harl 305, f30v
	Westminster	PSO/2/3	7-10	Westminster	C82/115		
Dec. 9-22		E404/81/3; PSO/2/3	Dec 13, 15,				
	Sheen	413/13, pp. 12-14	21	Sheen	C82/115		
Dec. 23	Westminster	413/13, p. 14					
Dec. 24-28	Westminster	413/13, p. 14					
		PSO/2/3					
Dec. 29-31	Sheen	413/13, p. 15; PSO/2/3					
		E404/81 ⁴⁵	Dec 30	Westminster	C82/115		

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Jan. 1-7	Westminster	413/13, pp. 15-16	Jan. 2, 4	Westminster	C82/116; E404/813
		E404/81/3; PSO/2/3	Jan. 6, 7	Westminster	C82/116
Jan. 7, 8	Isleworth	413/13, p. 16			
Jan. 9-14	Windsor	413/13, pp. 16-17	Jan. 12,		C82/116
Jan. 15		PSO/2/3	14, 15	Windsor	E404/81/3
		413/13, p. 17 ⁴⁶			
	Wycombe	E404/81/3			

⁴⁴ *EH*, p. 95 again says 'Ric Lees'. See n. 38.

⁴⁵ PSO/2/3, contains a signet letter for Dec 30 at Westminster.

⁴⁶ 413/13, f 59r. 'John Sheffield hospit Dni Rege apud Wycombe xv die Januarii'.

Jan. 16	Thame	413/13, p. 17 ⁴⁷				
Jan. 17	Woodstock	413/13, p. 17				
Jan. 18-19	Minster Lovell	413/13, p. 17				
Jan. 20-22	Woodstock	413/13, p. 18	Jan. 21	Minster Lovell	C82/116	
Jan. 23	Thame/Fowler's	413/13, p. 18 ⁴⁸				
Jan. 24, 25	Wycombe	413/13, p. 18 ⁴⁹	Jan. 26	Westminster	C82/116	
Jan. 26, 27	Chiswick	413/13, p. 19				
Jan. 28	Isleworth	413/13, p. 19				
Jan. 29-31	Westminster	413/13, p. 19	Jan. 29-31	Westminster	E404/81	
Feb. 1-9		413/13, pp. 19-21	Feb. 1-5, 7, 8, 13-15,			Feb. 7 Council EL 2652, f 10r
		413/11/22	20-22, 24	Westminster	C82/117; E404/81/3	
	Westminster	E404/81/3				
Feb. 16-28	Westminster	413/13, pp. 22-23	Feb. 24, 26	Sheen	E404/81/3; C82/117	
Mar. 1-14		413/13, pp. 23-25	Mar. 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 14		E40481/3	
	Sheen	REQ 1/1, ff81r-v	18, 25, 28	Sheen	C82/118 ⁵⁰	
Mar. 15	Sheen/Uxbridge	413/13, p. 25 ⁵¹				
Mar. 16-31		413/13, pp. 26-28	Mar. 17, 24-26,			
		C82/118; E404/81/3	30	Sheen	E40481/3	
	Sheen	REQ 1/1, ff81r-v				
Apr. 1-3		413/13, p. 28	Apr. 1, 3		C82/119	
	Sheen	E404/81/3		Sheen	E404/81/3	
Apr. 4	Greenwich	413/13, p. 28				
Apr. 5, 6	Dartford	E404/81/3				
		413/13, pp. 28-29 ⁵²				

⁴⁷ 413/13, f 59r. 'John Turnor hospit Dni Rege apud Thame xvi die Januarii'.

⁴⁸ 413/13, f 59r. 'Agnete Fowler hospit familie Dni Rege apud Thame xxiii die Januarii'.

⁴⁹ 413/13, f 59r. 'John Turnor hospit familie Dni Rege apud Wycombe xxiiii die Januarii'.

⁵⁰ E163/9/13 contains a privy seal dated March 9 from Hampton Court. In 1519, Richard Fox, then Bishop of Winchester, invited Wolsey to use Esher as 'a selle to Hampton Courte' as he said 'the kyng that deed is' used Hampton Court as a cell to Richmond, so it is not surprising to find the odd privy seal from here when the king and court were nearby at Sheen. P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.), *Letters of Richard Fox, 1486-152*, (Oxford, 1929), p. 122.

⁵¹ 413/13, f 59r. 'Thome Hoggyl hospit Dni Rege apud Oxbridge xv die Marcii'. 'John Clerk hospit Famil Dni Rege apud Oxbridge xv die Marcii'. It is hard to tell if this is an overnight visit or a stop on the day's travels, so I have listed both locations.

⁵² 413/13, f 59r. 'Cristopher Pierson hospit Famil Dni Rege apud Dartford vi die Aprilis'.

Apr. 7	Rochester	413/13, p. 29 ⁵³				
Apr. 8	Faversham	413/13, p. 29				
Apr. 9-14	Canterbury	413/13, pp. 29-30 REQ 1/1, f83r	Apr. 3, 22	St. Augustine Abbey/ Canterbury	C82/119	
Apr. 15-16	Sandwich	413/13, p. 30				
Apr. 17-19	Dover	413/13, p. 30	Apr. 18	Westminster	E404/81/3	
Apr. 20-21	Canterbury	413/13, p. 31 E404/81/3	Apr. 21	Westminster	C82/119	
Apr. 22	Canterbury	413/13, p. 31				Apr. 23 Windsor/ Feast of St. George 413/13, p. 31
Apr. 24-16	Sittingbourne	413/13, p. 31 ⁵⁴	Apr. 24	Canterbury/ Sittingbourne	E404/81/3	
Apr. 27	Dartford	413/13, p. 32 ⁵⁵				
Apr. 28	Greenwich	413/13, p. 32	Apr. 28	Dartford	C82/119	
Apr. 29, 30	Greenwich	413/13, p. 32	Apr. 29	Greenwich	E404/81/3	
May 1-5	Greenwich	413/13, pp. 32-33	May 4, 7	Tower	C82/120	
May 6-8	Tower	413/13, p. 33	May 5, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17		C82/120	May 5, Council EL 2652, ff 5v, 6r 6, 14 Harl 305, f 31r
May 9-21	Westminster	413/13, pp. 33-34 E404/81/3	28-30	Westminster	E404/81/3	
May 22-23	Sheen	413/13, p. 35	May 13, 14, 18, 23	Sheen	E404/81/3	
May 24-28	Westminster	413/13, pp. 35-36 E404/81/3				
May 29-31	Westminster	413/13, p. 36				
June 1-30	Sheen	413/13, pp. 36-41 REQ 1/1, ff 83r-84r C82/121; E404/81/3 413/11/67	June 2, 5, 6, 8-10, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22-24, 26 27, 29, 30	Sheen	C82/121; E404/81/3	June 2, 18 Council EL 2768, f 5v; 2652, f 3v Harl. 305, f 33v
July 1-9	Sheen	413/13, pp. 41-42 REQ 1/1, ff 84v-85r E404/81/3	July 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8	Sheen	C82/122; E404/81/3	July 1 Council EL 2652, f 10r

⁵³ 413/13, f 59r. 'W^o Myerok hospit Dni Rege apud Rochester vii die Aprilis'. 'Ric Norton hospit Famil Dni Rege apud Rochester vii die Aprilis'.

⁵⁴ 413/13, f 59r. 'W^o atMere hospit Famil Dni Rege apud Sittingborne xxiiii die Aprilis'. 'Th Meriot hospit Famil Dni Rege apud Sittingborne xxiiii die Aprilis'.

⁵⁵ 413/13, f 59r. 'Cristopher Pierson hospit Famil Dni Rege apud Dartford xxvii die Aprilis'.

July 10,11	Sheen/Hanworth	413/13, p. 42	July 10	Guildford	C82/122
July 12-27	Windsor	413/13, pp. 42-45 REQ 1/1, f85v; E404/81/3	July 15, 16, 22, 25	Windsor	C82/122; E404/81/3
July 28-30	Easthampstead	413/13, p. 45	July 29	Easthampstead	E404/81/3
July 31	Windsor	413/13, p. 45			
Aug 1	Hanworth	413/13, p. 45			
Aug 2-6	Sheen	413/13, p. 46; 413/11/36; REQ 1/1, f86r	Aug 4, 6 9, 10	Sheen	C82/123; E404/81/3
Aug 7	Sheen/Westminster	413/13, p. 46; REQ 1/1, f. 86v;			
Aug 8-13	Sheen	REQ 1/1, ff86v-87r; 413/13, pp. 46-47; E404/81/3	Aug 15	Westminster	C82/123 ⁵⁶
Aug 14-18	Windsor	413/13, pp. 47-48; REQ 1/1, ff87v-88r; E404/81/3	Aug 15, 18	Windsor	C82/123
Aug 19	Easthampstead	413/13, p. 48	Aug 20	Reading	C82/123
Aug 20	Reading/Ewelme Wallingford	413/13, p. 48 ⁵⁷			
Aug 21-24	Abingdon	413/13, p. 48	Aug 24	Abingdon	C82/125
Aug 25-31	Langley	413/13, p. 49; E404/81/4	Aug 28	Woodstock	C82/125
Sept.1-13	Langley	413/13, pp. 50-51; REQ 1/1, ff89r-v ⁵⁹	Sept. 7, 10	Langley	C82/126 ⁵⁸

⁵⁶ This suggests either postdating on the part of the privy seal, or predating on another, unless the clerk, Purde, whose signature appears on both of these, did one in the morning, and one in the evening after the trip to Windsor. This clerk does appear to be traveling with the court, as his name appears on the Reading privy seal, and the Abingdon one.

⁵⁷ Ewelme and Wallingford are very close together, and suggest that perhaps both were being used for the purpose of housing the court for the single evening.

⁵⁸ E404/81/3 contains a privy seal warrant dated 9 September at Westminster. It is possible this is a case of misdating. There is another misfiled warrant in this same file.

Sept. 14-30	Woodstock	413/13, pp. 52-54; REQ 1/1, ff90r-v; E404/81/4	Sept. 22, 27, 28	Woodstock	C82/126	
Oct. 1-10	Woodstock	414/3, pp. 9-11; REQ 1/1, ff91r-v	Oct. 7, 11	Woodstock	E404/81/4	
Oct. 11-14	Notley	414/3, pp. 11-12; E404/81/3				
Oct. 14	Wycombe	414/4, f5v				
Oct. 15	Windsor	414/3, p 12; 414/4, f5v				
Oct. 16	Windsor	414/3, p 12	Oct. 19	Westminster	E404/81/4	
Oct. 17-26	Sheen	414/3, pp. 12-14; E404/81/4	Oct. 25	Sheen	C82/127	
Oct. 27-31	Westminster	414/3, p. 14	Nov. 6, 10-14, 16-19, 21, 24-26			Nov. 1 Westminster/ Duke of York created
Nov. 1-17	Westminster	414/3, pp. 14-17; E404/81/4	28-30	Westminster	C82/128; E404/81/4	<i>L&P</i> , I, p. 388-404
Nov. 18-23	Sheen	414/3, pp. 17-18	Nov. 20-22, 24	Sheen	C82/128	Nov 6, 7, 10, 11 Council
Nov. 24-28	Westminster	414/3, p. 18				Harl 305, ff 31v-32r, EL 2652, f4r; 2654, f 15r, 2768, f4v
Nov. 29-30	Sheen	414/3, pp. 18-19				
Dec. 1-14	Sheen E404/81/4;	414/3, pp. 19-21; 11, 13 REQ 1/1, ff92r-v	Dec. 2, 7, 9, Dec. 2, 4, 12	Sheen	C82/129; E404/81/4	
Dec. 15-22	Tower	414/4, ff6r-v		Westminster	C82/129; E404/81/4 ⁶⁰	
			Dec. 16, 20-23	Tower	C82/129; E404/81/4	
Dec. 23-31	Greenwich	414/4, ff6v-7r	Dec. 29	Greenwich	C82/129	

⁵⁹ Colvin, *King's works*, iv, pt. II, p. 160, says Henry VII was "in the habit of spending a few days at Langley whenever the court was at Woodstock, only nine miles away."

⁶⁰ This overlap of dates is possible, if one surmises the king could be in residence at Sheen and the privy seal travelling to do business with him, or the king travelling to Westminster to do business there. This second assertion is strengthened by the patent to Fox of the Bishopric of Durham, in PRO Durh 3/60, which is dated 8 December, 1494 at Westminster by the king, while a second piece in the same file, dated 8 December from London is the appointment of Fox's Chancellor.

1495

Jan. 1-6	Greenwich	414/4, f7r-v	Jan. 1, 3	Greenwich	C82/130		
Jan. 7-10	Tower	414/4, f7v	Jan. 7-9, 13-15, 18, 20, 23-25				
Jan. 27	Tower	REQ 1/1, f93v	27, 28	Tower	C82/130; E404/81/4		
Feb. 10	Greenwich	C82/131	Feb. 3, 7, 9-11, 15, 22, 23			Feb. 6	Sir Wm Stanley arraigned GC, p. 257
			26, 27	Greenwich	C82/131	Feb. 16	Stanley executed GC, p. 258
			Feb. 4, 9,				
			11, 18	Westminster	C82/131; E404/81/4		
Mar. 4, 5	Sheen	C82/132;	Mar. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13,				
		REQ 1/1, f 94r	15, 16, 19-22,				
Mar. 23-26	Sheen	REQ 1/1, ff 94v-95v	27, 28, 30	Sheen	C82/132; E404/81/4 ⁶¹		
Apr. 12	Sheen	E404/81/3	Apr. 1, 2, 7, 10, 12-16, 18				
Apr. 14, 17, 18		REQ 1/1, ff39r-v;	21, 24, 27	Sheen	C82/133; E404/81/4		
21, 22, 25	Sheen	REQ 1/1, f99r;					
		REQ 1/1, ff101v-102r					
May 1, 4, 6,		REQ 1/1, ff39v-40r;	May 2	Sheen	C82/134		
11-19, 22-25		REQ 1/1, f96r;	May 8	Eltham	E404/81/4		
27, 28	Sheen	REQ 1/1, ff104r-109v;	May 8, 14			May 6, 12, 20, 22	Lans 160, f308r
		E404/81/3, 4	29	Westminster	C82/134; E404/81/3	23, 29, 30	Council Lans 639, f23v
			May 14, 20, 21, 26, 27			May 17	Windsor/ Feast of St. George E404/81/4
			29, 30	Sheen	C82/134; E404/81/3, 4		
June 1, 4, 6, 9, 10		E404/81/3,4	June 1, 3, 4, 6, 9,				
13, 15, 17	Sheen	REQ 1/1, ff110r-	13, 17, 18	Sheen	C82/135; E404/81/3,4		
						June 23, 25	Council EL 2652, f12r
		111r ⁶²	June 20	Wycombe	C82/135	26, 29	Lans 639, f23v Lans 160, f307v-308r
June 25, 27		E404/81/3	June 23, 24				
28	Woodstock	REQ 1/1, ff111v-113r	26, 29	Woodstock	C82/135		

⁶¹ Documents in PRO Durh 3/60 indicate Fox was at Sheen on 16 March, for the enrollment of agreements pertaining to the *Intercursus* between Henry VII and Archduke Philip.

⁶² C82/135 contains a privy seal letter dated June 2 at Woodstock. It has the sign manual on it, and therefore it appears likely to have been misdated, perhaps by the simple omission of a second digit, something Maxwell-Lyte points out as a somewhat common error.

July 1	Woodstock	REQ 1/1, ff113r-v	July 4	Evesham Abbey	C82/136	July 3	Council	Lans 639, f23v
July 6, 9	Worcester	REQ 1/1, f114r	July 4, 7	Worcester	C82/136			
July 15	Shrewsbury	E404/81/4 ⁶³	July 18	Holt Castle	C82/136			
			July 20, 21					
			24, 25	Chester	C82/136			
			Aug. 3	Latham	C82/137			
Aug. 17-20		E404/81/4	Aug. 12	Burton Abbey	C821/37			
22, 26	Nottingham	REQ 1/1, ff117v-118v, 120r-121r	Aug. 25	Nottingham Castle	C82/139			
Aug. 29, 31	Leicester	E404/81/4; REQ 1/1, f114v-115r	Aug. 29	Leicester Castle	C82/139			
			Aug. 31	Woodstock	C82/139			
Sept. 1	Leicester Castle	C82/140						
Sept. 5	Colyweston	REQ 1/1, f123v	Sept. 7	Colyweston	C82/140			
Sept. 9	Colyweston	C82/140	Sept. 14	Northampton	C82/140			
Sept. 15	Northampton	REQ 1/1, f124r	Sept. 15	Banbury	C82/140			
Sept. 23, 24	Woodstock	REQ 1/1, f127r						
Oct. 1, 2	Windsor	414/6, f2r				Oct 10	Council	Lans 160, f308r
Oct. 3-11		414/6, f2r	Oct. 7, 8,			Oct	Eltham/ Death of Princess	GC, p. 260
	Sheen	REQ 1/1, ff133r, 134r	10, 13	Sheen	C82/141	Oct. 14	Westminster / Parliament convened	HBC, p. 572
Oct. 12	Westminster	414/6, f3r						
Oct. 21, 23, 26			Oct. 20, 24					
27, 29, 30	Westminster	REQ 1/1, ff134v-	26, 31	Westminster	C82/141			
Nov. 2, 9, 11, 13		139r	Nov. 2, 4, 6, 16-20, 23-25			Nov. 16	Bp of Ely's palace/Serjeant's Feast King/Queen present	GC, p. 261
18, 27	Westminster	REQ 1/1, ff140r-150r; C82/143	28, 30	Westminster	C82/142; E404/81/4	Nov. 18, 28	Council	Lans 160, f307 ⁶⁴
Dec. 10, 11			Dec 4, 5, 9, 12, 15, 17			Dec. 21/22	Westminster/ Parliament dissolved	HBC, p. 572
14, 15	Westminster	REQ 1/1, ff154r-156v	18, 20-22	Westminster	C82/143			
			Dec 30, 31	Sheen	C82/143			

⁶³ E404/81/4 is a warrant with the sign manual dated July 15 in Chester. Again, it is possible the Chester privy seal is wrongly dated, and should be 25th July.

⁶⁴ According to the source, the Lord President sat alone on both these occasions.

1496

			Jan. 5	Tower	C82/144			
			Jan. 5, 6					
			9, 11	Sheen	C82/144			
Jan 20, 23,			Jan. 13-16, 18			Jan. 18	Council	Lans 639, f24r
26-28, 31	Tower	REQ 1/1, ff156v-157r	20, 23	Tower	C82/144			
Feb. 4	Tower	REQ 1/1, f160v	Feb. 2, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17-19			Feb.	<i>Magnus Intercursus</i> with Burgundy	<i>FDA</i> , xii, pp 578-591
Feb 26	Sheen	414/6, f. 20v	22, 25	Tower	C82/145			
Mar. 2	Sheen	REQ 1/1, f166r	Feb. 28	Sheen	C82/145			
Apr. 14	Windsor	414/6, f. 27v	Apr. 6, 11, 13,					
Apr. 16	Sheen	414/6, f. 27v	21, 22, 25	Sheen	C82/147			
Apr. 27	Westminster	414/6, f. 29r	Apr. 28, 29	Westminster	C82/147	Apr. 22, 23	Council	Lans 639, f24r EL 2654, f 15v Lans 160, f308v
May 10	Sheen	414/6, f 30r	May 2, 4-7			27, 28		
			10	Westminster	C82/148			
May 16	London	414/6, f31r	May 14,	Sheen	C82/148			
			15					
May 18	Sheen	414/6, f31r	May 17,	London	C82/148			
			18					
			May 20, 22			May 19,		
			23, 25	Sheen	C82/148	20	Council	Lans 639, f24r
June 6	Woking	414/6, f34r	June 3-5, 10, 12-14,					
June 9	Sheen	414/6, f34r	19-21	Sheen	C82/149			
June 21	Merton Abbey	414/6, f36r						
June 22	Chertsey Abbey	414/6, f36v	June 27, 29					
June 23	Guildford	414/6, f36v	30	Guildford	C82/149			
June 30	Faversham Abbey	414/6, f37r	July 1	Westminster	C82/150			
July 1	Aylesford	414/6, f37r	July 2	Aylesford	C82/150			
July 2	Waltham	414/6, f37r						
July 5	Portchester	414/6, f38r						

July 9	Southampton	414/6, f38r	July 13, 15	Southampton	C82/150		
July 15	Beaulieu	414/6, f38v					
July 17	Isle of Wight	414/6, f39r					
July 19	Beaulieu	414/6, f39r					
July 21	Christchurch	414/6, f39r					
July 22	Poole	414/6, f39r					
July 24	Corfe	414/6, f40r	July 28	Vale Royal Abbey	C82/150	July 6, 28	Council Lans 639, f24r Lans 160, f309r
Aug. 1	Fallesdon	414/6, f41r	July 30	Canford	C821/50		
Aug. 3	Salisbury	414/6, f41r	Aug. 6	Salisbury	C82/151		
Aug. 8	Heytesbury	414/6, f42r					
Aug. 9	Brook	414/6, f42r	Aug. 10	Brook	C82/151		
Aug. 11	Bath	414/6, f42v					
Aug. 13	Bristol	414/6, f42v	Aug. 17,				
Aug. 19	Acton	C82/151	19	Bristol	C82/151		
		416/6, f. 43v					
Aug. 20, 21	Malmesbury	414/6, ff43v-44r					
Aug. 23	Cirencester Abbey	414/6, f44r					
Aug. 24	Langley	414/6, f. 44r					
Aug. 28	Woodstock	414/6, f44v	Aug. 29	Woodstock	C82/153		
Sept. 6	Woodstock	REQ 1/1, f3r	Sept. 16	Woodstock	C82/154		
Sept. 9	Wycombe	414/6, f45v					
Sept. 10	Windsor	414/6, f45v	Sept. 11, 18				
Sept. 20	Windsor	C82/154	19, 27, 28	Windsor	C82/154		
			Oct. 1	Windsor	C82/155		
						Oct 19, 20	Council EL 2652, ff 1r, 11r Lans 639, f24v Lans 160, f309r
Oct. 4	Sheen	414/6, f49v	Oct. 12	Sheen	C82/155	26, 29	
			Oct. 21, 23			Oct. 24	Westminster/ Great Council convenes GC p 274
			30	Westminster	C82/155		
						Oct. 31	Cap and Sword arrive GC, p. 274
Nov. 9	Havering	414/6, f53r	Nov. 6, 7, 13, 18, 25,			Nov. 1	St. Pauls'/Ceremony for receipt of Cap and Sword GC, p. 274
			28-30	Westminster	C82/156		

Nov. 11 Westminster 414/6, f53r
 Nov. 15 Westminster 413/11/37
 Dec. 3 Sheen 414/6, f55r

Dec 31 Greenwich 413/11/64

Dec. 3 Westminster C82/157
 Dec. 6, 7 Sheen C82/157
 Dec. 13 Tower C82/157
 Dec. 14, Sheen C821/157
 20,
 Dec. 27, Greenwich C82/157
 28

Nov. 5 Great Council ends GC, p. 274
 Nov. 9, 11 EL 2652, f11r
 18 Council Lans 639, 24r-v

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Jan. 4 Greenwich 413/11/35
 Jan. 15 Westminster 414/6, f59v
 Jan. 30 Westminster 413/11/52
 Feb. 10 Westminster REQ 1/1, f12r
 22, 23, 26
 Mar. 2, 14, 16 Westminster 413/11/47, 49, 53
 Mar. 17 Sheen 414/6, f. 63v
 Mar. 21 Sheen C82/160;
 REQ 1/1, f19r
 Apr. 1 Westminster REQ 1/1, f4r
 Apr. 7 Sheen REQ 1/1, f21r
 Apr. 14 Sheen REQ 1/1, f23v
 April 17 London 414/6, f 68v
 April 19, 20 Tower of London REQ 1/1, ff23r, 24r⁶⁵
 Apr. 21 Greenwich 414/6, f68v
 Apr. 26 Greenwich REQ 1/1, f25r
 May 8 Greenwich REQ 1/1, f28r

Jan. 11, 12 Tower C82/158
 Jan. 15, 16, 23, 24,
 27, 30, 31 Westminster C82/158
 Feb. 1, 3, 6, 14, 17, 18, 20
 Westminster C82/159
 Mar. 1, 5, 8-11,
 15-17 Westminster C82/160
 Mar. 20, Sheen C82/160
 21
 Apr. 12, Sheen C82/161
 16
 Apr. 21, 25,
 28 Greenwich C82/161
 May 1, 3,
 7, 11 Greenwich C82/162

Jan. 16 Westminster/
 Parliament convened HBC, p. 572
 Feb. 14 Council Lans 639, f24v
 Mar. 13 Westminster/
 Parliament dissolved HBC, p. 572

⁶⁵ 413/11/48 is dated April 19 from the New Abbey beside the Tower, which coincides with the notation from L. M. Hill, ed., *The Ancient State Authorities, and Proceedings of the Court of Requests by Sir Julius Caesar* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 51, that the council was sometimes at Greenwich, sometimes in the new monastery next to the Tower of London, during this time period. Also, REQ 1/1, f 23r-24r says 'in Monastery near Tower of London' for 19 and 20 April.

May 11	Sheen	414/6, f 71r	May 13, 15-17		
May 17, 18,		C82/162;	27, 31	Sheen	C82/162
22, 24, 27,		413/11;			
29, 31	Sheen	REQ 1/1, ff 31r-33v			
June 5	Uxbridge	414/6, f 75r			
June 6	Haversham	414/6, f 75v			
June 7	Aylesbury	414/6, f 75v			
June 9	Buckingham	414/6, f 75v			
June 10	Banbury	414/6, f 75v			
June 11	Woodstock	414/6, f 76r			
June 12	Abingdon	414/6, f 76r			
June 13	Wallingford	414/6, f 76r			
June 14	Reading/Windsor	414/6, f 76r			
June 15	Kingston	414/6, f 76r			
June 16	St George's Field	414/6, f 76r			
June 17	Blackheath/London	414/6, f 76r			June 17
June 18	Tower	414/6, f 76r	June 23, 25		Blackheath rebellion
June 23	Tower	413/11/40	28, 29	Tower	<i>GC</i> , p. 276-7
June 24	Tower	<i>GC</i> , p 278	July 8-12, 14, 15		
July 1	Sheen	414/6, f 78v	17, 20	Sheen	July 18
			July 23	Tower	Spanish Marriage
			July 25	Windsor	Treaty ratified
					<i>FDA</i> , xii, pp. 658-66
July 24	Windsor	414/6, f 81r			
July 26	Wycombe	414/6, f 81r			
July 27	Notley	414/6, f 81v			
July 28	Woodstock	414/6, f 81v			
Aug 5	Woodstock	C66/580	Aug 6-8, 11,		
Aug 17	Combury	414/6, f 84r	16, 17	Woodstock	C82/165
Aug 19	Minster Lovell	414/6, f 84r			
Aug 20	Woodstock	413/11/55			
Aug 22	Woodstock	414/6, f 84v	Aug 25, 27		
Aug 28	Woodstock	<i>GC</i> p 281	31	Woodstock	C82/167
Aug 30	Woodstock	Durh 3/61	Sept. 13, 16,		
			22, 25	Woodstock	C82/168

Sept. 26	Burford	414/6, f90r					
Sept. 27	Chichester	414/6, f90v					
Sept. 28	Malmesbury	414/6, f90v					
Sept. 29	Bath	414/6, f90v					
Sept. 30	Wells	414/6, f90v					
Oct. 1	Wells	414/16, f1r					
Oct. 2	Glastonbury	414/16, f1r					
Oct. 3	Bridgewater	414/16, f1r					
Oct. 4/5	Taunton	414/16, f1r ⁶⁶	Oct. 5	Taunton	C82/169		
Oct. 6	Tiverton	414/16, f1v					
Oct. 7	Exeter	414/16, f1v	Oct. 8	Exeter	C82/169		
Oct. 16, 17	Exeter	Carew MS/469	Oct. 19, 22				
Oct. 27	Exeter	REQ 1/1, ff21r-v	26, 28	Exeter	C82/169	Oct 26	Council
Nov. 3	Ottery	414/16, f4v					Lans 160, f309r
Nov. 4	Newnham	414/16, f4v					
Nov. 6	Bridport	414/16, f4v					
Nov. 7	Dorchester	414/16, f4v					
Nov. 8	Blandford	414/16, f4v					
Nov. 9	Salisbury	414/16, f4v	Nov. 11	Salisbury	C82/170		
Nov. 13	Andover	414/16, f5v					
Nov. 14	Freefolk	414/16, f5v					
Nov. 15	Basingstoke	414/16, f5v					
Nov. 16	Easthampstead	414/16, f5v					
Nov. 17	Windsor	414/16, f5v					
Nov. 18,		414/16, f. 5v;					
19-21	Sheen	E101/414/14 ff8r-v					
Nov. 22	Westminster	GC, p. 283; 414/16, f. 6r					
Nov. 23-30	Westminster	414/14 ff8v-9r; PSO/2/3	Nov. 23, 28 29	Westminster	C82/170		

⁶⁶ E101/414/16, f. 1r, over the notation of 'Thursday' for 5 October, 1497, is written 'this day came Perkyn Werbek'.

Dec. 1-18	Westminster	414/14 ff9r-10v; 413/11/44, 65, 69; E101/412/15; REQ 1/1, f43r	Dec. 1, 2, 6-8, 10, 12 14, 17	Westminster	C82/171	Dec 5	Treaty of Ayton ratified by Henry	<i>FDA</i> , xii, pp 673-80
Dec. 19-31	Sheen	414/14 ff10v-11v ⁶⁷ 414/16, f9r	Dec. 19, 29	Sheen	C82/171	Dec. 22	Sheen fire	<i>GC</i> , p. 286

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Jan. 1-22	Sheen	414/14 ff11v-13r	Jan. 5	Westminster	C82/172	Jan. 23	Council	EL 2652, f11r
Jan. 23-31	Westminster	REQ 1/1, f46r; 414/16, f14r						
Feb. 1-14	Westminster	414/14, ff13r-v 414/14, ff13v-14v C82/173	Jan. 29	Westminster	C82/172	Feb. 7, 26	Council	Lans 160, f309r
Feb. 15, 16	Greenwich	414/14, f14v 414/16, f 17r	Feb. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16	Westminster	C82/173	Feb. 10	Treaty of Ayton ratified by James IV	<i>FDA</i> , xii, pp 673-80
Feb. 17-22	Sheen	414/14, ff14v-15r	Feb. 18, 20, 21	Sheen	C82/173			
Feb. 23-25	Greenwich	414/14, ff15r-v 414/16, f 17v	Feb. 25, 26	Greenwich	C82/173			
Feb. 26, 27	Eltham	414/14, f15v	Feb. 26	Eltham	C82/173			
Feb. 28	Greenwich	414/14, f15v	Feb. 27	Greenwich	C82/173			
Mar. 1-25	Greenwich	414/14, ff15v-17v REQ 1/1, f53v 413/11/38, 57	Mar. 6, 12, 13, 16, 18-20 22, 24	Greenwich	C82/174 ⁶⁸			
Mar. 26-31	Sheen	414/14, f17v						
Apr. 1-17	Greenwich	414/14, ff18r-19r	Apr. 2, 18 29	Greenwich	C82/175			
Apr. 18	Dartford	414/14, f19r;						

⁶⁷ REQ 1/1, f. 46v says on December 23 the Court of Requests met in Fulham. Perhaps the fire at Sheen made it difficult to accommodate them in the palace.

⁶⁸ C82/174 contains a privy seal letter dated March 19 from London.

		414/16, f 24r ⁶⁹			
Apr. 19	Maidstone	414/14, f 19r 414/16, f 24r			
April 20	Faversham Abbey	414/14, f 19r 414/16, f 24r			
Apr. 21-25	Canterbury	414/14, ff 19r-v; ⁷⁰ 412/15; 414/16, f 24r			
Apr. 26	Sittingbourne	414/14 f 19v 414/16, f 24v			
Apr. 27	Rochester	414/14 f 19v 414/16, f 24v			
Apr. 28	Dartford	414/14, f 19v 414/16, f 24v			
Apr. 29-31	Greenwich	414/14 f 20r			
May 1-7	Greenwich	414/14 ff 20r-v; REQ 1/1, ff 58v, 59v			
May 8-14	Tower	414/14, ff 20v-21v; 413/11/43; 414/16, f 26r REQ 1/1, f 60v	May 14, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31	Tower	C82/176
May 15	Elsing/ "Master Lovells"	414/16, f 26v ⁷¹			
May 16	Hertford	414/16, f 27r			
May 18	Hunsdon	414/16, f 27r			
May 19	Hertford	414/16, f 27r			
May 21	Master Lovell's	414/16, f 27r			

⁶⁹ 414/16, f. 24r says "at Pechis" on April 18, presumably Sir John Peche, who was a knight and Justice of the Peace in Kent. *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 645 for commissions.

⁷⁰ E101/414/14, f. 19v, contains a margin note next to 23 April, which says 'Die Sci Georgii ibm Reg & Regina exist'.

⁷¹ Colvin, *King's works*, iv, pt. II, pp. 86-7 states the late 15th and early 16th century kings had no personal house at Enfield Chase, but that Thomas Lovell owned Elsings, in that area, and it was here that Henry VII would stay. Thus, any notations of 'Master Lovell's', contingent with Enfield Chase, are presumably for this reason. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII*, ii., 892, says the manor of Elsing in Norfolk belonged to John Hastings, who "long before his death" in 1505, enfeoffed Thomas Lovell of the property.

May 22	Tower	414/16, f. 27r				
May 28	Tower	413/11/68				
May 30	Sheen	414/16, f. 28v				
May 31	Westminster	414/14, f. 22r				
June 1-18	Westminster	414/14, ff. 22r-23v REQ 1/1, ff. 64v-65r 414/16, f. 28v	June 5, 8, 12, 13, 19	Westminster	C82/177	
June 19-22	Sheen	414/16, f. 31v 414/14, f. 23v	June 21	Sheen	C82/177	
June 23-25	Windsor	414/14, f. 23v-24r 414/16, f. 31v				
June 26-27	Easthampstead	414/14, f. 24r 414/16, f. 32r				June 26 Council Lans 160, f. 309v
June 28-30	Windsor	414/14, f. 24r 414/16, f. 32r				
July 1	Sheen	414/16, f. 33r ⁷²				July 2 Council Lans 160, f. 309v
July 2-4	Westminster	414/16, f. 33r ⁷³	July 9, 12	Westminster	C82/178	
July 8, 9	Westminster	REQ 1/1, f. 67r 414/14, f. 25r				
July 12	Sheen	414/16, f. 34r	July 13-16	Sheen	C82/178	
July 17	Westminster	414/16, f. 34v	July 18, 21	Westminster	C82/178	
July 28, 31	Tower of London	413/11/26, 25	26			
July 31	Stratford	414/14, f. 26v 414/16, f. 36r	July 31	Tower	C82/178	
Aug. 1	Havering	414/16, f. 36v				

⁷² E101/414/14, f. 24v says 1 July Sheen/Westminster.

⁷³ *CSPS*, 202 records a sequence of events that matches this itinerary fairly precisely. De Puebla says the king came to Westminster from 'the country' on 4 July, specifically to see the Spanish ambassadors, and attend to business, and conducted meetings on the 5-7 at Westminster, then invited De Puebla to come to him at Sheen, where he expected to return in a few days. The court appears to have moved with him, as Queen Elizabeth and Margaret, Countess of Richmond were at Westminster as well. The privy seal locations seem to agree generally with what is implied for the king's location.

Aug 2	Havering/ Mr Tyrell's	414/16, f36v 414/14, f26v ⁷⁴ 413/11/30	
Aug 3	Mr Barvile's ⁷⁵ Chelmsford	414/16, f36v 414/14, f26v	
Aug 4, 5	Montgomery/ Ld Ommond's	414/16, f36v 414/14, ff26v-27r	
Aug 6-12	Hedingham	414/16, f37r 414/14, ff27r-v	Aug 7, 8 Hedingham C82/179 Castle
Aug 13	Lavenham	414/14, f27v 414/16, f. 37v	
Aug 14-17	Bury St. Edmunds	414/14, f27v 414/16, f37v	
Aug 18	Thetford	414/14, f27v 414/16, f37v	
Aug 19, 20	Buckenham Castle "Mr. Knyvetts" ⁷⁶	414/14, f28r 414/16, f37v	
Aug 21	Norwich	414/14, f28r 414/16, f37v	
Aug 22	Blickling/Aylsham "Mr. Boleings"	414/14, f28r 414/16, f37v ⁷⁷	
Aug 23	Walsingham	414/14, f28r	

⁷⁴ An Edward Tyrell owned property in Essex, *CIPM*, I, 1161. He was a king's ward from February 1495, aged at least 18. E101/414/16, f. 36v has 'Sir Th. Tyrell' written above the margin, so presumably this was the person acting as host.

⁷⁵ A John Barfield is on a commission of 1493 to inquire into the lands held by a lunatic in Norfolk, Essex and Hertfordshire. *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 434. E101/414/16, f. 36v says 'Bardefeld' above the notation Friday, 3 August. In the same place, 'at Montgomery' is written above the notation for Saturday, 4 August.

⁷⁶ Buckenham Castle was the name of a Norfolk manor held by William Knyvet. *CIPM*, I, 1139.

⁷⁷ 414/16 says Blickling for August 22, 'at M Boleins', while 414/14 says Aylsham. R. Somerville, *The History of the Duchy of Lancaster, Vol. 1, 1265-1603* (London, 1953), p. 340 indicates that Aylsham was part of the Duchy of Lancaster holdings in Norfolk, while R. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 8 states that Blickling was held by the Boleyn family from c. 1457. This difference between the two books may simply indicate the dispersal of the king's retinue between them.

Aug. 25-27	Lynn	414/16, f37v 414/14, ff28r-v 414/16, f37v
Aug. 28	Oxborough	414/14, f28v 414/16, f37v
Aug. 29	Brandon Ferry	414/14, f28v 414/16, f37v
Aug. 30	Master Cotton's ⁷⁸	414/16, f37v
Aug. 31	Ely	414/16, f37v
Sept. 1, 2	Cambridge	414/14, ff28v-29r 414/16, f37v
Sept. 3, 4	Huntingdon	414/14, f29r 414/16, f38v
Sept. 5, 6	Peterborough	414/14, f29r 414/16, f38v
Sept. 7-10	Colyweston	414/14, ff29r-v 414/16, f38v
Sept. 11	Lord Wiltshire's ⁷⁹ Drayton	414/16, f39v 414/14, f29v
Sept. 12	Harrowden/ "Mr Vaux's" ⁸⁰ Wellesborough	414/16, f39v 414/14, f29v
Sept. 13, 14	Northampton	414/14, f29v 414/16, f 39v
Sept. 15	Banbury	414/14, f29v

⁷⁸ 414/14, f. 28v says Newmarket for August 30-31. In the same area as Newmarket was the manor of Exning, which belonged to Thomas Cotton, who was sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1493. Presumably the household may have been based at Newmarket, while the king was at Cotton's manor. *CIPM*, II, 270.

⁷⁹ Though 414/16 says Lord Wiltshire's, and 414/14 says Drayton, it is presumably the same thing, as the Earl of Wiltshire's mother was the heir of Henry Green of Drayton, co. Northampton and this could indicate part of her inheritance.

⁸⁰ The Vaux family held the manor of Harrowden. G. Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden; a recusant family* (1953), pp. 3-37. Vaux was a knight of the body and sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1495 and 1501.

Sept. 16	Edgecote (Bray's)	414/16, f40v	Sept. 18	Edgecote	C82/182 ⁸¹			
Sept. 19	Banbury	414/16, f40v						
Sept. 20-30	Woodstock	414/16, f. 40v 414/14, ff30r-31r REQ 1/1, f72r	Sept. 23, 25 26, 30	Woodstock	C82/18			
Oct. 4	Langley	414/16, f43r	Oct. 1	Woodstock	C82/183			
Oct. 6	Woodstock	414/16, f43r	Oct. 7, 14, 18	Woodstock	C82/183			
Oct. 10	Woodstock	REQ 1/1, f74r						
Oct. 18	Woodstock	E404/83						
Oct. 22	Wycombe	414/16, f45r	Oct. 23	Windsor	E404/83			
Oct. 23	Windsor	414/16, f45r						
Oct. 25	Sheen	414/16, f45r						
Oct. 27	Westminster	414/16, f45r	Oct. 31	Westminster	C82/183	Oct. 30	Arthur into London	GC p 288
Oct. 30	Westminster	GC, p.288	Nov. 4-6, 8, 13-15, 17-24, 26-28	Westminster	C82/184; E404/83	Oct. 31	Arthur receives London embassy	GC p. 288-9
Nov. 3	Westminster	REQ 1/1, f75r	Dec 6, 9, 12, 15-19	Westminster	C82/186; E404/83	Nov. 6, 12 15		EL 2654, f16r; 2768, f6r
Nov. 12	Westminster	E404/83					Council	Harg 216, f149v
Dec. 13, 14	Westminster	E404/83						

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Jan. 5	Westminster	E404/83	Jan. 2	Greenwich	C82/186			
Jan. 7	'at my lord Bath'	414/16, f. 53r	Jan. 3, 5, 8	Westminster	C82/186; E404/83			
			Jan. 14	London	C82/186			
			Jan. 18	Westminster	C82/186; E404/83			
Jan. 19	Greenwich	414/16, f53v	Jan. 21, 22	Greenwich	C82/186	Feb 11	Council	EL 2655, f1v
Jan. 28	Sheen	414/16, f54v				Feb. 21/22	Greenwich/Prince Edmund's birth	HBC, p. 42
Feb. 1	Greenwich	414/16, f54v	Feb. 2-5, 8, 13, 15, 17-19 23, 25	Greenwich	C82/187; E404/83 ⁸²	Feb. 24	Greenwich/Prince Edmund's	
Feb. 13	Greenwich	E404/83						

⁸¹ These two entries suggest that the court was lodged at Banbury while the king himself was entertained by Bray at his manor of Edgecote.

⁸² PRO Durh 3/61, indicates that Fox was in Brancepeth on 2 February, and in Durham on 1 March.

Feb. 17	Greenwich	C82/187 ⁸³			Christening	GC, p. 289
Mar. 2	Greenwich	C82/188	Mar. 1-4, 6, 8, 9, 12-16, 19, 20, 23			
Mar. 8	Greenwich	E404/83	24, 26, 27	Greenwich	C82/188; E404/83	
Mar. 12	Greenwich	C82/188				
Mar. 15, 18, 23	Greenwich	E404/83	Apr. 3, 8, 9, 11-14, 16-21, 24,			
Apr. 10	Greenwich	C82/188	26-28, 30	Greenwich	C82/189; E404/83	
Apr. 13	Greenwich	E404/83				
Apr. 16	Greenwich	413/11/58				
Apr. 17	Greenwich	E404/83				
Apr. 22	Windsor	413/11/59				
Apr. 26	Greenwich	414/16, f61v				
Apr. 27	Greenwich	414/16, f61v				
May 1	Wanstead	E404/83	May 1	Greenwich	C82/190	
May 4	Tower	414/16, f62r ⁸⁴	May 4, 5, 7, 10, 12			
May 13-15	Tower	414/16, f62r	14, 15	Tower	C82/190	
May 15	Wanstead	413/11/41, 45, 63	May 21, 23, 25, 27			May 19
May 17	Greenwich	414/16, f63r	29, 31	Greenwich	C82/190	Proxy marriage of
June 1	Greenwich	414/16, f63r	June 5, 6	City of London	E404/83	Arthur and Katharine
June 6	Sheen	E404/83	June 7-11, 13, 15,			of Aragon
June 13	Sheen	414/16, f65r	18-20	Sheen	C82/191; E404/83	CSPS, 241
June 19	Windsor	E404/83	June 20, 21			
June 24	Windsor	414/16, f66v	25, 26	Windsor	C82/191	
June 26	Windsor	E404/83	June 29	Easthampstead	C82/191	
July 3	Ewelme	C82/191	July 1	Easthampstead	C82/192	
July 5	Woodstock	C82/192	July 7-10, 12, 19, 20			
July 15	Langley	412/15	22, 23	Woodstock	C82/192; E404/83	
July 23	Abingdon	414/16, f68r				
		414/16, f69r				

⁸³ This is the first of a continuing series of cancelled recognisances that appear in the warrants, consisting of either signed bills or signet letters cancelling the bonds.

⁸⁴ Colvin, *King's works*, iv, pt. II, p 282-3, says Henry purchased the manor from Sir Ralph Hastings, younger brother of William, Lord Hastings.

July 24	Donington	414/16, f69r			
July 26	Andover	414/16, f69r			
July 27	Winchester	414/16, f70r			
July 29	Hampton	414/16, f70r			
July 31	Tower of London	C821/192			
Aug. 1	Beaulieu	414/16, f70v			
Aug. 3	Isle of Wight	414/16, f71r			
Aug. 8	Carisbrooke/ Isle of Wight	412/15	Aug. 9	Isle of Wight	C82/193
Aug. 20	Isle of Wight	PL 1065	Aug. 22	Quarr Abbey	C82/195
Aug. 21	Quarr Abbey	414/16, f72r	Aug. 24, 26		
Aug. 22	Portchester	414/16, f72r	31	Portchester	C82/195
Sept. 2	Portchester/ Bishop's Waltham	413/11/46, 66 414/16, f73v			
Sept. 3	Winchester	414/16, f73v	Sept. 3, 7, 9, 14, 15, 23	Winchester	C82/196
Sept. 23	Freefolk	414/16, f75v			
Sept. 26	Basingstoke	414/16, f75v	Sept. 26	Basingstoke	C82/196
Sept. 27	Easthampstead	414/16, f75v			
Oct. 1-18	Windsor	415/2, ff.5r-6r 415/3, f1r	Oct. 11, 14	Windsor	C82/197 E404/83
Oct. 19-29	Sheen	415/2, ff.6r-7r	Oct. 21, 23	Sheen	C82/197; E404/83
Oct. 30, 31	Westminster	415/2, f7r	Oct. 30	Westminster	C82/197
Nov. 1-30	Westminster	415/2, ff.7r-9r	Nov. 2, 5, 7-15, 17-23 25-28, 30	Westminster	C82/198; E404/83
Dec. 1, 2	Westminster	415/2, f9v C82/199	Dec. 1-3	Westminster	C82/199; E404/83
Dec. 2-7	Wanstead	415/2, f9v	Dec. 4, 6	Wanstead	C82/199
Dec. 8	Mr. Lovell's ⁸⁵	415/2, ff.9v-10r	Dec. 7-9	Enfield	C82/199
Dec. 9	Hatfield	415/2, f10r	Dec. 12	Hatfield	E404/83 ⁸⁶
			Oct. 10	Council	EL 2652, f11r
			Nov. 12	Council	EL 2652, f12r; 2654, f16v

⁸⁵ See above, n. 71.

Dec. 10-14	Hatfield	415/2, f10r	Dec. 12	Westminster	E404/83
Dec. 15-16	Lovell's	415/2, f10v ⁸⁷			
Dec. 17-22	Tower of London	415/2, ff.10v-11r	Dec. 18,	Tower	C82/199; E404/83
Dec. 23-31	Greenwich	415/2, ff.11r-v	20		
			Dec. 28	Greenwich	C82/199

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Jan. 1-6	Greenwich	415/2, ff. 11v-12r	Jan. 3	Greenwich	C82/200
Jan. 7-15	Sheen	415/3, f. 9v; 415/2, ff. 12r-v	Jan. 10, 15	Sheen	C82/200
Jan. 16	London	415/3, f10r; 415/2, f12v			
Jan. 17-24	Greenwich	415/2, ff.12v-13r	Jan. 20, 22		
Jan. 25, 26	Baynard's Castle	415/2, ff.13r-v	24	London	C82/200; E404/83
Jan. 27	Baynard's Castle/ Sheen	415/2, f13v			
Jan. 28	Greenwich/Sheen	415/2, f13v	Jan. 29	Sheen	C82/200
Jan. 28-31	Sheen	415/2, f13v	Feb. 3, 4, 7		
Feb. 1-22	Greenwich	415/2, ff.13v-15r REQ 1/2, f94v	8	Greenwich	C82/201; E404/83
			Feb. 10	Westminster	C82/201
			Feb. 10, 16,		
Feb. 23-29	Baynard's Castle	415/2, f. 15v ⁸⁸ REQ 1/2, f95r	17, 19	Greenwich	C82/201
Mar. 1	Baynard's Castle/ Greenwich	415/2, f. 16r REQ 1/2, f99r	Feb. 24,		
			26-28	London	C82/201; E404/83

⁸⁶ Here the disparity in date and location may be explained by the fact that the last sentence on the privy seal letter from Hatfield is written slightly out of line with the rest as if added on later. The subsequent letter and itinerary locations would suggest that Fox, or whoever is in possession of the privy seal, had returned to London, while Henry continued his progress in Essex.

⁸⁷ See above, n. 71.

⁸⁸ E101/415/3, f 13r, says simply 'London' for 23 February.

Mar. 2-12	Greenwich	415/3, f13v 415/2, ff16r-v REQ 1/2, f95v	Mar. 2	London	E404/83			
Mar. 13-19	London/ Baynard's Castle	415/3, f14v 415/2, f16v-17r REQ 1/2, f96r	Mar. 5, 9, 10-12	Greenwich	C82/202			
Mar. 20-23	Sheen	415/3, f15r ⁸⁹ 415/2, ff17r-v REQ 1/2, f96v	Mar. 18	London	E404/83			
Mar. 24-27	Windsor	415/2, f17v 415/3, f15r	Mar. 20, 23 25, 30	Sheen	C82/202; E404/83			
Mar. 28-31	Sheen	415/2, ff17v-18r 415/3, f15r						
Apr. 1-6	Baynard's Castle	415/2, ff18r-v	Apr. 2, 4, 6	London	C82/203	Apr 21	Council	EL 2652, f8r
Apr. 7-26	Greenwich	415/3, f18r ⁹⁰ 415/2, ff18v-20r	Apr. 9, 11, 12, 15, 18, 21-24, 26	Greenwich	C82/203			
Apr. 27	Dartford	415/2, f20r						
Apr. 28	Lord Abergavenny's/ Malling	415/2, f20r						
Apr. 29	Sittingbourne	415/2, f20r						
Apr. 30	Canterbury	415/2, f20r				May 5	Convent of the Augustines/ ratifies treaty w/Spain	CSPS/261
May 1-5	Canterbury	415/2, ff20r-v REQ 1/2, f100r						
May 6, 7	Dover	415/2, f20v						
May 8-21	Calais	415/2, ff20v-21v <i>Chr of Cal</i> p4	May 13, 18 19	Calais	C82/204	May 22	Council	EL 2652, f11r Harl 305, ff34v-35r
May 21-23	Lord Chamberlain's	415/2, f 21v ⁹¹						

⁸⁹ E101/415/3, f 15r indicates 19 March at Sheen.

⁹⁰ E101/415/3, f. 18r indicates 6 March at Greenwich

⁹¹ Giles, Lord Daubeney, was Chamberlain of the Household and also Lieutenant of Calais, so presumably this indicates he was the king's host for these few days.

May 24-31	Calais	415/2, ff. 22r-v						
June 1-15	Calais	415/2, ff.22v-23v <i>Chr of Cal</i> p4 REQ 2/2/158; GC 294	June 3	Calais	C82/205	June 9	Calais/meeting with Archduke Hatfield/Death of Prince Edmund London/ Burial of Edmund	CSPS, 268 HBC, p. 42. GC, p. 255.
June 16-18	Dover	415/2, f.23v	June 15,	Canterbury	C82/205	June 22		
June 19-24	Canterbury	415/2, ff.23v-24r	28					
June 25-26	Sandwich	415/2, f.24r						
June 27-29	Canterbury	415/2, ff.24r-v						
June 30	Sittingbourne	415/2, f.24v						
July 1	Maidstone	415/2, f.24v	July 1	Sittingbourne	C82/206			
July 2	Dartford	415/2, f.24v						
July 3-21	Greenwich	415/2, ff. 24v-26r	July 8-10, 12, 14, 15, 17-19					
July 22-29	Sheen	415/2, ff. 26r-v E404/83	21, 24	Greenwich	C82/206; E404/83			
July 29-31	Windsor	415/3, f.25v 415/2, f.26v	July 27	Sheen	C82/206			
Aug. 1-17	Windsor	415/2, ff.26v-28r 415/3, f.25v	July 30, 31	Windsor	C82/206			
Aug. 7	Easthampstead	415/3, f.27v 415/2, f.27r	Aug. 3-5	Windsor	C82/207			
Aug. 18-21	Sunninghill	415/2, f.28r C82/208	Aug. 10-12, 14, 15, 17	Easthampstead	C82/207			
Aug. 22-25	Windsor	415/2, ff.28r-v C82/209	Aug. 21	Sunninghill	C82/207			
Aug. 26	Wycombe	415/2, f.28v 415/3, f.28v	Aug. 25, 26 28	Windsor	C82/209			
Aug. 27-31	Notley	415/2, ff.28v-29r	Aug. 26	Easthampstead	C82/209 ⁹²			

⁹² The variance in locations for privy seal letters could reflect a matter of the movements of the king and his attendant clerks: Samson wrote the ones from Windsor, Purde the one from Easthampstead. Chapter Three contains a discussion of Samson's apparent position as the clerk of council attendant.

		C82/209			
Sept.1-2	Notley	415/2, f.29r			
Sept. 3	'Rede's place' ⁹³	415/3, f.29v			
Sept. 3-4	Borstall	415/2, f.29r	Sept. 4	Borstall	C82/210
Sept. 5-28	Woodstock	415/3, f.29v	Sept. 6	Notley Abbey	C82/210
		415/2, ff.29r-31r	Sept. 6, 11, 13, 17		
Sept. 28-30	Notley	415/2, f.31r	20, 24	Woodstock	C82/210
		C82/210			
Oct. 1-5	Notley	415/4, ff.4r-v; 412/15	Oct. 3, 5,	Notley Abbey	C82/211
Oct. 6	Borstall	415/4, f.4v; 412/15	6		
	'Redes Place'	415/3, f.34r			
Oct. 7-22	Woodstock	415/4, f.4v-5v	Oct. 10, 11, 13, 14, 16-20		
		412/15	22, 23	Woodstock	C82/211
		415/3, f.34r			
Oct. 23	Combury	415/4, f.5v; 412/15			
Oct. 24-27	Langley	415/4, ff.5v-6r	Oct. 26	Langley	C822/211
Oct. 28-31	Woodstock	C82/211	Oct. 31	Woodstock	C82/211
		415/4, f.6r			
Nov. 1-30	Woodstock	415/4, ff.6v-8v ⁹⁴	Nov. 1-5, 7, 9-12, 14, 18-23,		
		C82/212	27, 28, 30	Woodstock	C82/212; E404/83
		E404/83			
Dec. 1-14	Woodstock	415/4, ff.8v-9v	Dec 1, 4, 7, 8,10		
		C82/213; C255/8/5/74	12, 13	Woodstock	C82/213; E404/83
Dec. 15	Ensham	415/4, f. 9v;			
		415/3, f. 39r			

⁹³ Sir Edmund Rede, who died in 1490, owned property in Borstall which appears to have passed to his grandson, William Rede. *CIPM*, ii., 237, 238.

⁹⁴ E101/415/3, f. 37r lists 'payments made at Westminster' from 5 November to 1 December, 1499, perhaps an example of Heron's stationary post at Westminster for the purpose of business. S. J. Gunn *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 146 comments that for convenience sake, Heron became stationary at Westminster later in the reign, though it appears from this entry and subsequent ones that it may have been for short periods. The payments include amounts for works at Sheen, fees for messengers, and payment to an arrasmaker 'upon a bille signed' apparently by the king, and an armourer for his wage. Again on f. 42v, 'payments made at London termino hillary anno xvi^{mo}'. They include wages to the same armourer, payment for 'a pair of trussing cofres', for delivery of 'a lode of stuff from Abendon to Westminster', money delivered to the cofferer, and the wages of a priest at Walsingham, as well as the cost of a taper burnt there. f. 43r contains 'payments made in the kinges journey towards warr and ageyn'.

Dec. 16-31	Abingdon	412/15 415/4, ff9v-10v 415/3, f39r	Dec 16, 20, 22, 26, 28 30, 31	Abingdon Abbey	C82/213
1501					
Jan. 1-6	Abingdon	415/4, ff10v-11r E404/83	Jan. 2, 3, 5 7, 9	Abingdon Abbey	C82/214; E404/83
Jan. 7	Ensham	415/4, f11r 412/15; 415/3, f 42r			
Jan. 8-11	Woodstock	415/4, ff11r-v 41/15; 415/3, f 42r	Jan. 11, 12	Woodstock	C82/214; E404/83
Jan. 12-14	Langley	415/4, f11v	Jan. 14	Langley	C82/214
Jan. 15	Chipping Norton	415/4, f11v, 412/15			
Jan. 16, 17	Banbury	415/4, ff11v-12r			
Jan. 18	Hodnel/ Southam	415/4, f12r, 412/15			
Jan. 19	Warwick	415/4, f12r, 412/15	Jan. 20, 24	Warwick Castle	C82/214; E404/83
Jan. 20-24	Warwick	415/4, ff12r-v C82/214	Jan. 26	Kenilworth Castle	C82/214
Jan. 25-27	Kenilworth	415/4, f12v, 412/15	Jan. 28	Coventry	C82/214 ⁹⁵
Jan. 28-31	Coventry	415/4, ff12v-13r, 412/15	Jan. 31	Coventry	E404/83
Feb. 1, 2	Warwick	412/15 415/4, f13r			
Feb. 3	Hodnel/ 'Spencer's Place' ⁹⁶	415/4, f13r, 412/15	Feb. 3	Warwick Castle	C82/215
Feb. 4	Banbury	415/4, f13r, 412/15			
Feb. 5-8	Woodstock	415/4, ff13r-v, 412/15	Feb. 7	Woodstock	C82/215

⁹⁵ Fox's signature is on this particular privy seal warrant.

⁹⁶ The Spencer family owned land near Hodnel, in Napton on the Hill. *CIPM*, ii., 245.

Feb. 9	'ThDaver's House ⁹⁷	415/4, f13v, 412/15			
Feb. 10	Ewelme	415/4, f13v; 412/15			
Feb. 11	Henley	415/4, f13v; 412/15			
Feb. 12-19	Windsor	415/4, ff13v-14r; 412/15	Feb. 13, 15-18 20	Windsor Castle	C82/215
Feb. 20-28	Richmond ⁹⁸	415/4, ff14r-15r	Feb. 22, 24, 25 27, 28	Richmond	C82/215; E404/83
Mar. 1-27	Richmond	415/4, ff15r-16v; 412/15; C82/216	Mar. 2-6, 8, 11, 13, 16-18, 20		E404/83
Mar. 28-30	Croydon	415/4, f17r; 412/15 415/3, f48r	23, 25-28	Richmond	C82/216
Mar. 31	Eltham	415/4, f17r; 412/15 415/3, f48r			
Apr. 1-15	Eltham	415/4, ff17r-18r E404/83 C82/217	Apr. 1-3, 5, 7 8, 10, 12	Eltham	C82/217; E404/83
Apr. 16	Greenwich	415/4, f18r; 412/15	Apr. 16, 20	Greenwich	C82/217; E404/83
Apr. 17-22	Tower	415/4, ff18r-v; 412/15 415/3, f.51r	Apr. 21-26	Tower	C82/217
Apr. 23	Windsor	415/4, f18v, 412/15			
Apr. 24-27	Windsor	415/4, f18v-19r			
Apr. 28-30	Wanstead	415/4, f19r	Apr. 29	Wanstead	C82/217
May 1	Wanstead	415/4, f19r	May 1	Wanstead	C82/218
May 2-15	Tower	415/4, ff19r-20r 412/15; C82/218	May 6, 7, 11, 12	Tower	C82/218
May 15-31	Wanstead	412/15; C82/218 ⁹⁹	May 18-20, 22		

⁹⁷ Thomas Danvers held lands in Oxford. *CIPM*, i., 689.

⁹⁸ 22 February is the first time "Richemount" is mentioned in a privy seal warrant. *GC*, p. 295 indicates this is about the time rebuilding was done, and the palace rechristened Richmond.

⁹⁹ Dates given in Flamank's letter in J. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, I (London, 1861), pp 231-240, suggest that either this stay at Wanstead, or the one later in July might have been the time when Henry was so ill his life was despaired of, and the court discussed the succession.

June 1-2	Wanstead	415/4, ff20r-21v	25-28	Wanstead	C82/218
June 3-7	Greenwich	415/4, f21v 412/15 415/4, ff21v-22r	June 2	Wanstead	C82/219
June 8-15	Westminster ¹⁰⁰	415/4, ff22r-v, 412/15 415/3, f. 55v ¹⁰¹	June 9-12, 15	Westminster	C82/219
June 16-30	Richmond	415/4, ff22v-23v 415/3, f. 56r	June 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28	Richmond	C82/219
July 1-4	Richmond	415/4, ff23v-24r C82/220	July 1-5	Richmond	C82/220; E404/83
July 5-8	Chertsey Abbey	412/15 ¹⁰² 415/4, f24r	July 7	Chertsey Abbey	C82/220
July 9	Richmond	412/15 415/4, f24r	July 8-10, 13, 15, 16, 20-22, 24, 27	Richmond	C82/220
July 10-12	Richmond	415/4, ff24r-v			
July 13-14	Hampton Court	415/4, f24v			
July 15-27	Richmond	412/15; C255/8/5/80 415/4, ff24v-25v C82/220			
July 28, 29	Tower	415/4, f25v; 412/15 415/3, f60v ¹⁰³			
July 30, 31	Wanstead	412/15 415/4, f25v	July 30	Wanstead	C82/220
Aug. 1-8	Wanstead	415/4, ff25v-26v	Aug. 1, 8	Wanstead	C82/221
Aug. 9, 10	Greenwich	412/15; 415/3, f. 62r 415/4, f26v	Aug. 10, 11	Greenwich	C82/221
Aug. 11, 12	Eltham	412/15 415/4, f26v	Aug. 12	Eltham	C82/221
Aug. 13-15	Greenwich	415/4, f26v, 412/15	Aug. 15, 16	Greenwich	C82/221

¹⁰⁰ WAM 33320 indicates that Henry dined with the Abbot of Westminster on 11 June.

¹⁰¹ E101/415/3, f. 55v, indicates Tuesday, 9 June, at Westminster, and 56r indicates Wednesday, 17 June, at Richmond.

¹⁰² E101/415/3, f. 59r, indicates Monday, 4 July, at Chertsey, and Friday, 8 July, at Richmond.

¹⁰³ E101/415/3, f. 60v, indicates Wednesday, 29 July at the Tower.

Aug 16	Richmond	415/3, f62r 412/15; 415/3, f. 62v 415/4, f27r				
Aug 17-22	Richmond	415/4, ff27r-v	Aug 18,	Richmond	C82/221	
Aug 23, 24	Marten Abbey	412/15 415/4, f27v	21			
Aug 25, 26	Croydon	412/15; 415/3, f. 64r 415/4, f27v	Aug 23	Richmond	C82/222	
Aug 27-31	Richmond	415/4, ff27v-28r, 412/15 E404/84; 415/3, f. 64r				
Sept. 1	Richmond	415/4, f28r	Sept. 1, 7, 9			
Sept. 2, 3	Baynard's Castle	412/15 415/4, f28r	11	Richmond	C82/223 ¹⁰⁴	
Sept. 4-30	Richmond	415/4, ff28r-30r 412/15; 415/3; f66r	Sept. 15	Chertsey Abbey	C82/223	
Oct. 5	Richmond	C82/224	Sept. 17, 19, 20, 23 25, 28	Richmond	82/223	
			Oct. 4, 6-9, 16 17, 21	Richmond	C82/224; E404/84	Oct. 2
			Oct. 23, 26, 27, 30	Greenwich	C82/224	Katharine of Aragon lands at Plymouth
			Oct. 31	Richmond	E404/84	GC, p. 296
Nov. 2	Richmond	C82/225	Nov. 3, 9	Richmond	C82/225	
Nov. 9-13	Baynard's Castle	GC, p. 312				Nov 9
						London/Arrival of Arthur and Katharine
						GC, p. 297
						Nov. 12
						London/ Marriage pageantry
						GC, pp. 297-309
Nov. 15	Westminster	415/3, f74r	Nov. 22, 23 26	Westminster	C82/225; E404/84	Nov. 18-25
Nov. 26	Richmond	GC, p. 316 415/3, f74v	Nov. 27, 28 30	Richmond	C82/225; E404/84	Westminster/Jousts and Marriage festivities
			Dec 1, 2, 4 5, 8, 9, 11	Richmond	C82/226; E404/84	GC, pp. 312-36
Dec. 7, 9	Richmond	C82/226 C255/8/5/72	Dec 13, 14, 17, 18	Greenwich	C82/226; E404/85	
Dec. 17	Richmond	C82/226				

¹⁰⁴ Fox's signature is on this privy seal letter.

Dec. 20	Tower	415/3, f77r	Dec 22	Richmond	C82/226
			Dec 22	Tower	C82/226
Dec. 23	Richmond	415/3, f77r	Dec 24, 31	Richmond	C82/226

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Jan. 10	Chertsey Abbey	C82/227	Jan. 2, 6, 7	Richmond	C82/227; E404/84	Jan. 24	Marriage Treaty with Scotland ratified	<i>FDA</i> , xii, pp. 787-92
			Jan. 14-16	Windsor	C82/227			
			Jan. 20, 24	Richmond	E404/84			
Jan. 28	Richmond	C82/227	Jan. 27	Richmond	C82/227	Jan. 25	London/Announcement of Scottish marriage	<i>GC</i> , p. 317
			Feb. 1, 4, 5, 7-9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20					
Mar. 8	Richmond	413/11/11	22-24, 27	Richmond	C82/228; E404/84			
			Mar. 2, 4-6, 8, 10	Richmond	C82/229; E404/84			
Mar. 16, 17, 21	Richmond	C82/229	Mar. 11, 12, 14-16	Richmond	C82/229; E404/84			
Mar. 26	Richmond	C82/229	Mar. 30	Richmond	C82/229-Bolman	Apr. 2	Ludlow/ Arthur's death	<i>HBC</i> p. 42
Apr. 8, 15	Greenwich	E404/84	Apr. 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20			Apr. 23	Windsor/ Feast of St. George	E404/84
			23, 25, 26	Greenwich	C82/230; E404/84			
			Apr. 27-30	Tower	C82/230			
			May 2	Tower	C82/231			
May 19	Croydon	415/3, f95v	May 7, 9, 17	Greenwich	C82/231; E404/84			
May 20	Richmond	415/3, f95v	May 12, 21-30	Richmond	C82/231; E404/84			
May 27	Richmond	C82/231	June 3, 4	Richmond	C82/232; E404/84			
June 10	Westminster	REQ 1/3, f2r	June 8-10	Westminster	C82/232; E404/84			
June 11	Westminster	E404/84	June 12-14	Richmond	C82/232			
June 14	Windsor	415/3, f98v	June 15, 16, 19, 20, 23-25, 29	Windsor	C82/232			
June 17	Windsor	REQ 1/3, f3r						

			July 1, 2, 4, 6-10, 12	Windsor	C82/233; E404/84
July 21	Woodstock	REQ 1/3 f 9r	July 23, 25,		
July 29	Woodstock	CCR2/142	29-31	Woodstock	C82/233
			Aug. 1, 2	Woodstock	C82/234
			Aug. 4	Langley	C82/234
Aug. 8	Langley	CCR2/142	Aug. 9	Northleache	C82/234
			Aug. 10	Cowbury(?)	C82/234
Aug. 12	Gloucester	REQ 1/3, f10v E404/84			
Aug. 13	Flaxley	REQ 1/3, f10v	Aug. 13	Troy	C82/234
Aug. 15	Troy	REQ 1/3, f10v			
Aug. 19	Raglan	REQ 1/3, f11r	Aug. 22, 23, 25	Raglan Castle	C82/235
Aug. 30	Berkeley Castle	C82/235 REQ 1/3, f11v			
Sept. 2	Berkeley Castle	REQ 1/3, f13r	Sept. 4	London	C82/236
Sept. 14	Fairford	REQ 1/3, f13v ¹⁰⁵			
Sept. 19	Woodstock	415/3, f103r ¹⁰⁶	Sept. 19, 20, 25		
Sept. 23	Langley	415/3, f103r REQ 1/3, f14r	26, 30	Langley	C82/236
Sept. 30	Langley	413/2/3. f3r ¹⁰⁷			
			Oct. 3, 6	Woodstock	C82/237 ¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ E101/415/3, f. 102v 'payments made by sex wekes', presumably the six weeks ending 16 September, the date in the margin, as margin dates in these books generally reflect the date of the last entry rather than the first. This would coincide with the meanderings of the king, ending back at Woodstock at this time, and may again reflect Heron remaining at Westminster during Henry's summer rambles. The f. 101r is headed 'primo die July anno xvii^{mo}' and appears to be another listing of general payments made, not on a day to day basis, as the last itemized page prior to that, f. 99v, ends 25 June, and the next itemized folio, 103r, is dated 23 September. Entries on f. 101r include payments for indentures, wages including the chaplain at Walsingham again, money to the cofferer, and to the Princess Katharine, probably monthly household expenses.

¹⁰⁶ The Court of Requests met at Langley on 19 September. PRO REQ 1/3, f 14.

¹⁰⁷ Heron's introductory note to his book of accounts dated from 1 October, 1502, states that the two books of his last accounts were 'made accompted & signed by the kinges grace at Langley the last day of September anno xviii^{mo} Re h. vii^{mo}'.

			Oct. 9	Abingdon	C82/237
			Oct. 10, 11	Ewelme	C82/237
Oct. 14	Easthampstead	REQ 1/3, f15r C82/237	Oct. 13, 14	Easthampstead	C82/237
Oct. 18	Windsor	REQ 1/3, f16v			
			Oct. 19, 22, 23 25, 30	Windsor	C82/237
Oct. 31	Westminster	C82/237	Nov. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10-14	Westminster	C82/238; E404/84
Nov. 9	Westminster	REQ 1/3, f19r			
Nov. 14	Greenwich	59899, f4r	Nov. 16,	Greenwich	E404/84
			18		
Nov. 20	Westminster	C82/238	Nov. 17		
Nov. 24, 25	London	E404/84 C82/238	21-26	London	C82/238; E404/84
			Nov.	Westminster	C82/238; E404/84
			26-30		
Nov. 30	Westminster	C255/8/5/89	Dec. 1, 4-7		
Dec. 10	Richmond	E404/84	9, 10	Westminster	C82/239; E404/84
Dec. 14	Tower	C82/239 ¹⁰⁹	Dec. 13, 17-20		
Dec. 19	Tower	REQ 1/3, f28v	22	Tower	C82239
Dec. 22	Tower	C82/239			
Dec. 22	Richmond	59899, f7v	Dec. 28	Richmond	C82/239

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Jan. 2-5 Richmond C82/240

¹⁰⁸ BL Add. MS 59899, f 1r says 'payments made at Westm by John Heron from the first day of October anno xviii mo unto the kinges comyng to Westmin die Jovis xxvii die Oct'. Additionally, according to PRO Requests 1/3, f 17r, the Court of Requests met at Westminster on 23 October, which suggests Requests moved ahead of the king, which M.M. Condon, 'An Anachronism with Intent? Henry VII's Council Ordinance of 1491/2', in R. A. Griffith and J. Sherborne, eds., *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 237, says occurred in 1500 at the end of the king's journey to Calais. This phenomenon occurs again; see below, ns. 117, 123, 131 for meetings while the king was away from London, as well as Requests meeting at Westminster when the king appears to be resident at Richmond.

¹⁰⁹ A signet letter asking the Bishop of London, keeper of the great seal, to affix it to letters given by Henry VII to Peter Warton which only have the sign manual on them.

Jan. 8	Hampton Court	59899, f10v	Jan. 10	Hampton Court	C82/240		
			Jan. 15, 18				
Jan. 20	Richmond	REQ 1/3, f29r	19	Richmond	C82/240; E404/84		
Jan. 26	Tower	59899, f11v					
Jan. 27	Tower	REQ 1/3, f30r	Jan. 28, 29	Tower	C82/240	Feb. 2	Tower/Princess Katharine's birth GC, p. 321
Feb. 4	City of London	E404/84	31	Tower	C82/240	Feb. 11	Tower/Queen Elizabeth's death GC, p. 321
		C82/241	Feb. 3, 5,	Tower	C82/241; E404/84	Feb. 22	Westminster Abbey/ Funeral of Elizabeth GC, p. 321
Feb. 15	Richmond	E404/84	7-11	Tower	C82/241; E404/84	Mar. 30	Baynard's Castle/meeting with Maximilian's ambassadors GC, p. 322
			Mar. 2, 4, 9, 11,				
			18-22, 27	Richmond	C82/242; E404/84		
			Apr. 6	London	C82/243		
Apr. 12, 18	Richmond	E404/84	Apr. 20,	Hampton			
24, 26			22, 27	Court	C8/243		
			Apr. 29	Esher Manor	C82/243		
Apr. 30	Woking	C82/243	May 4	Guildford	C82/244		
			May 8	Richmond	C82/244		
May 5	Westminster	REQ 1/3, ff52r	May 14-16, 18				
			20, 22	London	C82/244		
			May 16, 18, 24, 25, 27, 28				
May 25	Westminster	C82/244	30, 31	Westminster	C82/244; E404/84		
May 26	Westminster	413/2/3, f. 35v ¹¹⁰	June 1, 2	Westminster	C82/245; E404/84		
June 14	Richmond	413/11/54	June 4-8, 11-13, 18, 19,				
June 15	Richmond	REQ 1/3, f79 ¹¹¹	24-27	Richmond	C82/245; E404/84	June 20, 23	Richmond/Treaty for Spanish marriage CS/PS, 364, 365
June 29	Richmond	GC, p. 323	June 29	Westminster	C82/245		
			June 30	St. Albans	C82/245		

¹¹⁰ The Bishop of Durham 'made his accounts at Westminster' 26 May 1503, according to the chamber receipts.

¹¹¹ BL Add MS 59899, f 29r, says that from 24 June to 20 August 1503, Richard Trees was in charge of keeping the king's accounts. This folio page is simply lists of payments by week, no expenses outlined, but it does say the first week that payments are "by a boke signed by the kinges grace" and "likewise" for the second week, so probably the same for all eight weeks. Trees is identified as a servant of Heron's, and these payments discussed briefly in D. Grummitt, 'Henry VII, Chamber Finance and the 'New Monarchy': some new evidence', *Historical Research*, 179 (1999), pp. 235-6.

			July 2	Moor End Castle	C82/246		
July 3, 6	Colyweston	REQ 1/3, f67v	July 8	Colyweston	C82/246 E404/84		
			July 9	Nottingham Castle	C82/246		
July 12, 14	Fotheringhay Castle	C82/246	July 11, 12	Fotheringhay Castle	C82/246		
July 16	Colyweston	CR289	July 16, 17	Colyweston	C82/246		
July 20	Colyweston	REQ 1/3, f69r	July 21	Leicester Abbey	C82/246		
July 26	Leicester Abbey	C82/246					
July 29, 31	Nottingham	REQ 1/3, f69v E404/84	July 29	Nottingham Castle	C82/246		
Aug 1	Beskwood	REQ 1/3, f70r	Aug. 14, 18	Nottingham Castle	C8/247	Aug 8	Margaret married to James IV in Scotland FC, p. 688
Aug. 16, 20	Nottingham	REQ 1/3, f71r	Aug. 22	Sawley Abbey	C82/249		
Aug. 31	Tutbury	59899, f31r REQ 1/3, f73r	Aug. 28, 29 31	Tutbury Castle	C82/249; E404/84		
			Sept. 2	Warwick Castle	C82/250		
			Sept. 2	Burton Abbey	C82/250		
Sept. 4	Ashby	59899, f32r					
Sept. 6	Merevale Abbey	59899, f32r					
Sept. 7	Astley	59899, f32r					
Sept. 10, 11	Kenilworth	REQ 1/3, f75r C82/250 E404/84	Sept. 10-12	Kenilworth Castle	C82/250		
Sept. 13, 14	Warwick Castle	E404/84 REQ 1/3, f75v	Sept. 16, 18	Warwick Castle	C82/250		
Sept. 19	'at Spence place'	59899, f33r ¹¹²					
Sept. 20, 21	Banbury	59899, f33r					

¹¹² See above, n. 97, for comment on Spencer.

Sept. 22	'at Hornes'	REQ 1/3, f77r 59899, f33r	Sept.			
Sept. 23, 24	Langley	59899, f33r REQ 1/3, f78r	23-25	Langley	C82/250	
Oct. 1	Woodstock	415/12, f4r	Sept. 30	Woodstock	C82/250	
Oct. 2	Minster Lovell	59899, f35r 415/12, f4r				
Oct. 3-6	Abingdon	59899, f35r 415/12, f4r	Oct. 4, 6	Abingdon Abbey	C82/251	
Oct. 7-11	Ewelme	415/12, ff4r-v ¹¹³	Oct. 9	Ewelme	C82/251	
Oct. 12-13	Reading Abbey	415/12, f4v REQ 1/3, f79r	Oct. 12	Reading Abbey	C82/251	
Oct. 14-16	Easthampstead	415/12, f4v	Oct. 18, 20	Windsor	C82/251	
Oct. 17-20	Windsor	415/12, f5r	Oct. 24-26	Richmond	C82/251; E404/84	
Oct. 21-26	Richmond	415/12, f5r	Oct. 29, 31	Westminster	C82/251	
Oct. 27-31	Westminster	415/12, ff5r-v REQ 1/3, f79v				
Nov. 1-8	Westminster	415/12, ff5v-6v C82/252	Nov. 2, 3, 6-8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18-24, 27	Westminster	C82/252; E404/84	Nov. 13 Lambeth Palace/Serjeant's feast/King present <i>FC</i> , p. 688
Nov. 9	Greenwich	59899, f37r 415/12, f6v				Nov. 11, 20, 23, 24 Council EL 2654, f18r; 2655, ff2r-v Harg 216, f150v
Nov. 11-27	Westminster	59899, f37r 415/12, ff6v-8r E404/84				
Nov. 28-30	Baynard's Castle	415/12, f8r	Nov. 29, 30	London	C82/252	
Dec. 1-8	Baynard's Castle	415/12, ff8r-v	Dec. 1, 2 4-9	London	C82/253; E404/84	

¹¹³ BL Add. MS 59899, f35v, again contains short listings of sums per week for the king's expenses, from 6 October to 28 October, with the first list stating 'Itm paid by Ric a trees the furst weke by a bille signed, and second and third weeks by like bill'.

Dec. 9-13	Greenwich	415/12, ff8v-9r REQ 1/3, f93v	Dec. 10, 12-14, 18, 20, 21	Greenwich	C82/253; E404/84
Dec. 14-15	Stratford	415/12, f9r	Dec. 15	Stratford	C82/253
Dec. 16-21	Greenwich	415/12, ff9r-v		Abbey	
Dec. 22-31	Richmond	415/12, ff9v-10v 59899, f40r	Dec. 23, 26 27, 30	Richmond	C82/253

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Jan. 1-7	Richmond	415/12, ff10v-11r C82/254; REQ 1/3, f94v	Jan. 2	Richmond	C82/254	
Jan. 8-12	Hampton Court	415/12, f11r; E404/84	Jan. 6	Richmond	C82/254	
Jan. 13-21	Richmond	415/12, ff11r-12r REQ 1/3ff95r	Jan. 20	Westminster	C82/254	
Jan. 22-24	Westminster	415/12, f12r 59899, f45r REQ 1/3, f96r	Jan. 22	Richmond	C82/254	
Jan. 25-31	Westminster	415/12, ff12r-v	Jan. 23, 24, 27 29, 31	Westminster	C82/254; E404/84	Jan. 25
Feb. 1-2	Westminster	415/12, ff12r-v				Westminster/ Parliament convened
Feb. 3, 4	Fulham	415/12, ff12v-13r				415/12, f12r HBC, p. 572
Feb. 5-17	Westminster	415/12, ff13r-v E404/84	Feb. 2, 3, 5, 7-10, 12, 13, 15-17, 21-24, 28	Westminster	C82/255; E404/84	
Feb. 18-20	Baynard's	415/12, f14r	Feb. 19	Tower	C82/255	
Feb. 21-29	Westminster	415/12, ff14r-v				
Mar. 1-13	Westminster	415/12, ff15r-v PSO/2/3	Mar. 2, 4, 6-9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20-22 24-30	Westminster	C82/256; E404/84	
Mar. 14-16	Greenwich	415/12, f15v				
Mar. 17-30	Westminster	415/12, ff16r-17r				
Mar. 31	M Ba ^b Pal ^{ms} ?	415/12, f17r				
Apr. 1-2	M Ba ^b Pal ^{ms} ?	415/12, f17r				

Apr. 3-11	Richmond	415/12, ff17r-v	Apr. 1, 2, 3, 8	Westminster	C82/257	Apr. 1	Westminster/ Parliament dissolved	HBC, p. 572
Apr. 12	Esher	415/12, f17v	Apr. 9, 11 12	Richmond	C82/257			
Apr. 13-15	Woking	415/12, ff17v-18r	Apr. 15	Woking	C82/257			
Apr. 16, 17	Guildford	415/12, f18r						
Apr. 18	Woking	415/12, f18r						
Apr. 19	Chertsey	415/12, f18r						
Apr. 20	Hampton Court	415/12, f18r ¹¹⁴	Apr. 20	Chertsey Abbey	C82/257			
Apr. 21-26	Richmond	415/12, f18v REQ 1/3, ff116r,117r	Apr. 22, 23 26	Richmond	C82/257			
Apr. 27	Greenwich	415/12, f18v						
Apr. 29	Richmond	415/12, f19r						
Apr. 30	Greenwich	415/12, f19r						
May 1-6	Greenwich	415/12, f19r	May 1-4	Greenwich	C82/258			
May 7-10	Baynard's Castle/ Richmond	415/12, f19v	May 8, 9, 11			May 10	Council	EL 2652, f3v
May 11	Greenwich	415/12, f19v	13	London	C82/258			
May 13-22	Westminster	415/12, ff20r-v	May 14, 15, 19-21	Westminster	C82/258			
May 23, 24	Westminster	C82/258 415/12, f20v C82/258	May 23, 24	Westminster	C82/258			
May 25-31	Richmond	415/12, ff20v-21r	May 24, 28, 30	Richmond	C82/258			
June 1-7	Richmond	415/12, ff21r-v C82/260	June 3	Richmond	C82/259			
June 8	Chertsey/Windsor	415/12, ff21v						
June 9-11	Windsor	59899, f58r ¹¹⁵	June 11	Windsor	C82/259			

¹¹⁴ BL Add MS 59899, f 53v, again says that for the week ending 20 April, items 'payd this weke as aperith by a bille signed by the kinges grace xli li xiiii s v d ob'. In f 53r, the usual style of pages with listed expenses go up to 10 April, and the next notation is the one listed above, then the usual lists commence again with Sunday 21 April. This coincides nearly, judging by the itinerary days above, with Henry leaving Richmond and making his journey *sans* Heron, then coming back to Richmond, where Heron could rejoin the court and again take up the bookkeeping.

¹¹⁵ Also says 'Item payd this weke at Windesor as aperith by a bille signed'.

		REQ 1/3 f122r				June 12	Council	EL 2768, f8r
June 12	Sunninghill	415/12, f22r	June 13	Sunninghill	C82/259			
June 15	Windsor/Richmond	415/12, f22r	June 16-18	Windsor	C82/259			
June 16-26	Richmond	415/12, ff22v-23r; 59899, f58r ¹¹⁶	June 20, 24, 25 27, 29	Richmond	C82/259			
June 27-30	Westminster	415/12, ff23r-v	July 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10-12	Westminster	C82/260	July 9	Council	EL 2652, f12r; 2654, f18v Harl 305, f37r
July 1-12	Westminster	415/12, ff23v-24r	July 15-19					
July 13-26	Greenwich	415/12, ff24v-25r C82/260	25-28	Greenwich	C82/260			
July 27, 28	Dartford	415/12, ff25r-v ¹¹⁷	July 28	Dartford	C82/260			
July 29	Pirling	415/12, f25v	July 30	Pirling	C82/260			
July 30	Maidstone	415/12, f25v						
July 31	Sittingbourne	415/12, f25v	Aug 2, 3	Sheppey Isle	C82/261			
Aug 1	Queenborough/ Faversham	415/12, f25v						
Aug 2-4	Faversham	415/12, f25v	Aug 10,	Canterbury	C82/261			
Aug 7-11	Canterbury	415/12, ff26r-v	12					
Aug 12	Westenhanger	C82/261	Aug 13	Westenhanger	C82/261			
Aug 13	Ashford	415/12, f26v	Aug 15	Halden	C82/261			
Aug 14-16	Halden	415/12, f26v	Aug 19	Battle Abbey	C82/261			
Aug 17, 18	Battle	REQ 1/3, f133r	Aug 26	Westminster	C82/262			
Aug 19-21	Hurstmonceaux	415/12, ff26v-27r	Aug 26	Lewes Abbey	C82/262			
Aug 22-26	Lewes	415/12, f27r REQ 1/3, f133v						

¹¹⁶ PRO REQ 1/3, f 124r indicates the Court of Requests met at Westminster on 25 June.

¹¹⁷ BL Add MS 59899, f 63v, contains another set of sums recorded for 'payments made a xxviii die July usqr vii diem septembr' by Richard a Tres.

Aug. 27-30	Offington	415/12, f27v			
Aug. 31	Arundel	415/12, f27v			
Sept. 1, 2	Arundel	415/12, f28r	Sept. 2, 3	Arundel Castle	C82/263
Sept. 3	Cowdray	415/12, f28r			
Sept. 4	Midhurst	415/12, f28r	Sept. 4	Midhurst	C82/263
Sept. 5	Chichester	415/12, f28r	Sept. 6	Chichester	C82/26
Sept. 6	Havant	415/12, f28r			
Sept. 7-10	Portchester	415/12, ff28r-v C82/263 59899, f64r	Sept. 9, 10	Portchester	C82/263
Sept. 11	Bishop's Waltham	415/12, f28v			
Sept. 12-15	Southampton	415/12, ff28v-29r 59899, f64r.	Sept. 13, 14 16	Southampton	C82/263
Sept. 16-21	Winchester	59899, f64v 415/12, ff29r-v	Sept. 20, 21	Winchester	C82/263
Sept. 22	Hyde Abbey	415/12, f29v			
Sept. 23	Alresford	415/12, f29v 59899, f65r	Sept. 23	Norton	C82/263
Sept. 24, 25	Alton	415/12, f29v			
Sept. 26, 27	Farnham	415/12, f29v 59899, f65r C82/263			
Sept. 28-30	Guildford	415/12, ff29v-30r	Sept. 30	Guildford	C82/263
Oct. 1-4	Woking	416/1, f3v ¹¹⁸	Oct. 2	Woking	C82/264
Oct. 5, 6	Chertsey	416/1, ff3v-4r	Oct. 6	Richmond	C82/264
Oct. 7-30	Richmond	416/1, ff4r-5v 59899, f67r REQ 1/3, f134r	Oct. 12-15, 19, 20, 23-28, 30	Richmond	C82/264; E404/85/116
Oct. 31	Westminster	416/1, f5v			

¹¹⁸ The folios in this book are not numbered; these numbers have been given to the pages in their logical order.

Nov. 1-30	Westminster	416/1, ff5v-7v REQ 1/3, f136v C82/265	Nov. 3-10, 12-18, 20-22, 24-28, 30 Westminster	C82/265; E404/85/72,92	Nov 16, 19, 20, 22 23, 26, 28, 29 Council	EL. 2652, ff4r, 5r, 2r; 2654, ff19v-22r
Dec 1-3	Westminster	416/1, f8r C82/266	Dec 1, 3 Westminster	C82/266	Dec 2 Council	EL. 2654, f22r Harl 305, f38v
Dec. 4-12	Baynard's Castle	59899, f71r ¹¹⁹ C82/266 416/1, ff8r-v	Dec 4, 8 10-13 London	C82/266		
Dec 13-31	Greenwich	416/1, ff8v-10r	Dec 10, 15 Westminster Dec 15-19, 21-23 27, 28 Greenwich	E404/85/118, 119 C82/266; E404/85/122		

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Jan. 1-6	Greenwich	416/1, ff10r-v C82/267	Jan. 3-7 Greenwich	C82/267		
Jan. 7-9	Wanstead	59899, f75 416/1, f10v				
Jan. 10	Stratford	416/1, f10v				
Jan. 11	Greenwich	416/1, f10v	Jan. 14, 17-21, 23-26 28, 29 Greenwich	C82/267; E404/85/134		
Jan. 12-31	Greenwich	416/1, ff11r-12r C82/267; C255/8/9 REQ 1/3, f153v				
Feb. 1-28	Greenwich	416/1, ff12r-14r C255/8/9	Feb. 1, 6-8, 10, 13, 15-17, 19-22 24, 26-28 Greenwich	C82/268; E404/85/107, 131-133, 139 ¹²⁰		

¹¹⁹ C82/266 contains two signet letters with the sign manual, dated December 11 and 12 from London. One is the cancellation of a recognizance for Lord Willoughby, the other a decree from King and Council regarding the Merchant Staplers and Adventurers.

¹²⁰ A privy seal letter from C82/268 is dated from the Tower on 16 February.

Mar. 1-2	Baynard's Castle	416/1, ff14r-v	Mar. 3,5,		
Mar. 3-10	Greenwich	416/1, ff14v-15r	6, 8	London	C82/269
			Mar. 9-13,		
			15	Richmond	C82/269
Mar. 11-14	Richmond	416/1, f15r	Mar. 17-19, 21, 24, 28		
Mar. 15-31	Greenwich	416/1, f15r E404/85/77	29, 31	Greenwich	C82/269; E404/85/74
Apr. 1-6	Greenwich	416/1, ff15v-16r REQ 1/3, f178r	Apr. 3-5,		
			8	Greenwich	C82/270; E404/85/142
Apr. 7, 8	Richmond	416/1, f16r ¹²¹			
Apr. 9, 10	Greenwich	416/1, f16r ¹²²	Apr. 10	Richmond	C82/270
Apr. 11	Chertsey	59899, f84v 416/1, f16r			
Apr. 12	Woking	59899, f84v 416/1, f16r			
Apr. 13, 14	Greenwich	416/1, f16v	Apr. 14	Woking	C82/270
Apr. 15	Chertsey	59899, f84v 416/1, f16v			
Apr. 16	Richmond	59899, f84v 416/1, f16v	Apr. 16	Greenwich	E404/85/98
Apr. 17, 18	Greenwich	416/1, f16v	Apr. 18	Richmond	C82/270
Apr. 19-20	Tower	416/1, f16v	Apr. 21	Tower	C82/270
Apr. 21	Greenwich	416/1, f17r			
Apr. 22	Baynard's	416/1, f17r			
Apr. 23-28	Greenwich	416/1, ff17r-v C255/8/9 E404/85/103	Apr. 23, 24	London	C82/270
			Apr. 26, 27	Greenwich	E404/85/98/82
Apr. 29, 30	Greenwich	416/1, f17v			

¹²¹ For April 6-12, BL Add. MS 59899, f 84v contains another set of payments recorded by Richard Trees.

¹²² PRO REQ 1/3, f 178r, says Requests met at Richmond on 9 April.

May 1-6	Greenwich	416/1, ff17v-18r	May 1, 2, 4, 5,		May 5	Windsor/Feast	
May 7	Westminster	416/1, f18r	6, 8 Westminster	C8/271; E404/85/75		of St. George	E404/85/103
May 8-25	Richmond	416/1, ff18r-19v C255/8/9; PSO/2/3 E404/85/96	May 6, 9, 10, 14, 15, 19 24, 26, 27 Richmond	C82/271; E404/85/101/127			
May 26, 27	Chertsey	416/1, f19v					
May 28, 29	Woking	416/1, f19v ¹²³					
May 30	Chertsey	416/1, f19v					
May 31	Richmond	416/1, f19v	June 1, 2, 7, 9, 11, 13,				
June 1	Richmond	416/1, f20r	15, 16, 18 Richmond	C82/271/2; E404/85/99			
June 2,3	Hampton Court	416/1, f20r					
June 4-30	Richmond	416/1, ff20r-22r C255/8/9 C82/272; E404/85/94	June 23, 26-30 Richmond	C82/272			
July 1-3	Richmond	416/1, f22r E404/85/65	July 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14-16, 19		July 8	Council	EL 2768, f. 9v Harl 305, ff38v-39r
July 4, 5	Hampton Court Richmond	416/1, f22r C255/8/9	20, 22, 23 Richmond	C82/272			
July 6-22	Richmond	416/1, ff22r-23v C255/8/9	July 5 Hampton Court	E404/85/113			
July 23	Chertsey	416/1, f23v					
July 24-28	Woking	416/1, f23v	July 24 Chertsey Abbey	C82/273			
July 29	Guildford	416/1, f24r					
July 30, 31	Guildford	415/1, f24r	July 30 Guildford	C82/273			
Aug. 1	Guildford	416/1, f24r					
Aug. 2-4	Farnham	416/1, ff24r-v ¹²⁴	Aug. 2, 3 Guildford Aug. 4 Farnham Castle	C82/274 C82/274			
Aug. 5-12	Worldham/ Alton	REQ 2/8/20 416/1, f24v-25r ¹²⁵					

¹²³ PRO REQ 1/3, f 198r, says Requests met at Westminster 28 May.

¹²⁴ PRO REQ 1/3, f 207v says Requests met at Guildford on 3 August.

¹²⁵ Aug 8 and 9, the Court of Requests met at Alton, which is adjacent to East and West Worldham. REQ 1/3 f 207v; REQ 2/8/6. In addition, 416/1 states 'John Elton hospitant familia Domini Rege apud Alton xii Augusti'.

Aug 13	Alford	416/1, f25r	Aug. 13	Worldham	C82/274
Aug. 14, 15	Marwell	416/1, f25r			
Aug. 16, 17	Romsey	416/1, f25r-v C255/8/9	Aug. 17	Romsey	C82/274
Aug. 18-21	New Lodge	416/1, f25v			
Aug. 22	Ringwood	416/1, f25v			
Aug. 23-25	Wimborne	416/1, ff25v-26r C82/276	Aug. 25	Wimborne	C82/276
Aug. 26-31		416/1, ff26r-v E404/85/81	Aug. 27, 28	Corfe	C82/276
Sept. 1	Corfe	416/1, f26r-v			
Sept. 2	Poole	416/1, f26v			
Sept. 3-8	Canford	416/1, f26v-27r	Sept. 6, 8	Canford	C82/277
Sept. 9-14	Cranborne	416/1, f27r-v	Sept. 10, 13	Cranborne	C82/277
Sept. 15-19	Fallesdon	416/1, f27v	Sept. 16, 18 19	Fallesdon	C82/277
Sept. 20-26	Salisbury	416/1, ff27v-28r REQ 2/2/86	Sept. 23	Salisbury	C82/277
Sept. 27-30	Chrokelston(?)	416/1, ff28r-v REQ 1/3, f208r	Oct. 1, 2	Chrokelston	C82/278
Oct. 4	Chrokelston	REQ 1/3, f208v			
Oct. 5	Hurstbourne Priory	REQ 1/3, f208v	Oct. 5	Hurstbourne Priory	C82/278
			Oct. 10	Westminster	E404/85 ¹²⁶
Oct. 13-15	Reading Abbey	REQ 1/3, f 209r-v	Oct. 12, 15	Reading Abbey	C82/278
			Oct. 16, 17	Easthampstead	C82/278; E404/85/117
Oct. 17	Windsor	REQ 1/3, f210r	Oct. 18, 20	Windsor	C82/278; E404/85/77
Oct. 25	Richmond	REQ 1/3, f210v	Oct. 23-26	Richmond	C82/278

¹²⁶ This could either be misfiled, or reflect the work of council in London. The clerk whose signature is at the bottom is one of the privy seal clerks whose signature appeared on the privy seal letters of September at those locations which parallel the itinerary. But by October, Samson and Bolman were signing the privy seals from the varied locations, and this is the only one of Kylte's.

Oct. 28	Richmond	C82/278	Oct. 31	Richmond	C82/278
Oct. 29	Westminster	REQ 1/3, f211v ¹²⁷			
Nov. 2	Richmond	REQ 1/3, f211v	Nov. 3, 6, 8	Richmond	C82/279
Nov. 8, 12	Richmond	C82/279	Nov. 9, 11	Richmond	C82/279
Nov. 14	Richmond	E404/85/101	Nov. 16	Richmond	C82/27
Nov. 18	Richmond	C82/279			
		E404/85/119			
Nov. 19, 20	Richmond	C82/279	Nov. 19	Tower	C82/279
Nov. 22	Westminster	REQ 1/3 f215v			
			Nov. 20, 23, 25	Richmond	E404/85
Nov. 26	Richmond	C82/279	27-30	Richmond	C82/279
Nov. 29	Westminster	REQ 1/3 f215v	Dec. 1	Richmond	C82/279
Dec. 4, 6	Tower of London	C82/280	Dec. 6, 10		
Dec. 7	Richmond	C255/8/9	12	Tower	C82/280; E404/85
Dec. 12	Tower of London	C82/280	Dec. 13,		
			16	Greenwich	C82/280; E404/85
Dec. 17	Tower of London	C82/280	Dec. 18	Tower	C82/280
			Dec. 20,		
			21	Westminster	C82/280

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			Jan. 1, 4, 5, 7, 12, 15, 18,				
			20-22, 26	Richmond	C82/281	Jan. 6	Richmond/Fire in king's chamber GC, p. 330
Jan. 7	Richmond	E404/85/97	Jan. 9	Hampton Court	C82/281		
Jan. 21	Richmond	REQ 1/3, f. 218				Jan. 17	Philip, King of Castile lands at Melcombe MEM, p. 282
Jan. 24	Westminster	REQ 1/3, f. 220r					
Jan. 26	Richmond	REQ 1/3, f. 220r					
		PSO/2/3; C82/281					

¹²⁷ This could be the king at Westminster, or based on the earlier meeting at Westminster in June 1504 when the king was in Richmond, it could simply be Requests meeting at Westminster.

Jan. 28	Richmond	412/15					
Jan. 29	Richmond	C82/281	Jan. 29	Richmond	E404/85/85		
Jan. 30	Windsor	<i>MEM</i> , p. 283				Feb. 1-12	Windsor/Henry hosts Philip, King of Castile ¹²⁸ <i>MEM</i> , pp. 283-302
Feb. 1-12	Windsor	E404/85/113 <i>MEM</i> , pp. 286-302	Feb. 4, 16 18	Richmond	C82/282	Feb. 9	Treaty of Windsor <i>FDA</i> , xiii, pp. 126-7
Feb. 12	Richmond	<i>MEM</i> , p. 302					
Feb. 14-16	Richmond	C82/282; 412/15 REQ 1/3 f223v				Feb. 14-18	Richmond/Henry hosts Philip, King of Castile <i>MEM</i> , pp. 302-3
Feb. 19	Baynard's Castle	<i>MEM</i> , p. 303				Feb. 19-20	London/Henry hosts Philip, King of Castile <i>MEM</i> , p. 303
Feb. 20	Tower	<i>MEM</i> , p. 303	Feb. 20	London	C82/282		
Feb. 21	Westminster/ Richmond	<i>MEM</i> , p. 303 REQ 1/3, ff224r-225v	Feb. 26	Richmond	C82/282	Feb. 21	Richmond/Henry hosts Philip, King of Castile <i>MEM</i> , p. 303
Feb. 22-27	Richmond	REQ 1/3, ff224r-225v				Feb. 28	Windsor/Henry hosts Philip, King of Castile <i>MEM</i> , p. 303
Feb. 28	Windsor	C82/282				Mar. 2	Philip departs <i>MEM</i> , p. 303
Mar. 1, 2	Windsor	<i>MEM</i> , p. 303	Mar. 4	Richmond	C82/283		
Mar. 6	Richmond	C82/283	Mar. 12	Richmond	C82/283		
Mar. 17, 19 25, 26, 31	Richmond	412/15; C92/283 PSO/2/3 E404/85/114	Mar. 13, 16, 17, 19, 24, 26, 27, 29	Richmond	C82/283; E404/85/104		
Apr. 6	Richmond	C82/284	Apr. 4, 5	Richmond	C82/284		
Apr. 13, 14, 16	Greenwich	C82/284 E404/85/105	Apr. 8-11, 13-16	Greenwich	C82/284; E404/85/68		
			Apr. 17	Warstead	C82/284		
			Apr. 21	Berkway	C82/284		
Apr. 24	Cambridge	REQ 1/3, f227r	Apr. 22, 24				
April 27	Cambridge	C82/284	26, 27	Cambridge	C82/284; E404/85/94		
			Apr. 27	Landwade	C82/284		
Apr. 28	Landwade	REQ 1/3, f228r	Apr. 28	Brandon Ferry	C82/284		
Apr. 30	Castle Acre	REQ 1/3, f228v					

¹²⁸ *MEM*, pp. 300-1, Juana, Queen of Castile arrived at Windsor on 10 February.

May 3	Walsingham	C82/285	May 6, 9, 11	Bury St. Edmunds	C82/285
			May 7	Thetford	C82/285
			May 14	Hedingham	C82/285
			May 19	Westminster	C82/285; E404/85/93
			May 19, 20	Tower	C82/285
May 21, 24	Westminster	C82/285 C255/8/9			
May 26-28	Tower	C82/285; 412/15	May 24, 26, 28-30	Tower	C82/285; E404/85/88,76
June 2, 3	Richmond	REQ 1/3, f234r 412/15	June 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 29	Richmond	C82/286; E40485/86
June 12, 14, 16 18-21, 25, 30	Richmond	C82/286	June 14, 15, 17, 19 20, 27	Richmond	C82/286
July 1, 3, 9, 20-22	Richmond	C82/287; 412/15	July 1, 2, 4, 6-8, 11-14, 16, 18, 20, 22	Richmond	C82/287; E404/85/99
July 26-28	Greenwich	DL5/4, f100r C82/287	July 23, 25, 29-31	Greenwich	C82/287
Aug. 3	Warstead	C82/288	Aug. 5, 7	Havering	C82/288
			Aug. 9, 10 12, 13	Warstead	C82/288
Aug. 16, 18, 19, 21	Greenwich	C82/288 REQ 2/2/141	Aug. 18 Aug. 24, 25	Greenwich	C82/288 C82/290
Sept. 5, 6	Sunninghill	REQ 1/3, f245v PSO/2/3	Aug. 26 Sept. 1, 2, 4	Westminster Windsor	C82/290 C82/291
Sept. 8, 10	Woking	REQ 1/3, f245v PSO/2/3	Sept. 8, 10 11, 13	Woking	C82/291
Sept. 15, 16	Guildford	PSO/2/3	Sept. 15, 16 21, 22	Guildford	C82/277 C82/291
Sept. 27-29	Woking	PSO/2/3	Sept. 28-30	Woking	C82/291
Oct. 1	Woking	PSO/2/3	Oct. 1	Woking	C82/292

Oct. 7	Stanwell	REQ 1/3, f245v	Oct. 6, 8	Stanwell	C82/292		
			Oct. 10	Hampton Court	C82/292		
Oct. 13	Wallington	REQ 1/3, f245v	Oct. 13	Wallington	C82/292		
Oct. 17	Slyfield	REQ 1/3, f249r	Oct. 18, 19				
Oct. 18	Woking	REQ 1/3, f249v	22	Woking	C82/292		
			Oct. 24, 26, 28				
Oct. 26	Greenwich	REQ 1/3 f250v	29, 31	Greenwich	C82/292		
Nov. 2, 5-7, 9	Greenwich	C82/293	Nov. 2, 5, 6	Greenwich	C82/293		
Nov. 10, 11	Tower	C82/293	Nov. 10	Greenwich	C82/293		
Nov. 13	Greenwich	C255/8/9	Nov. 11-13	Tower	C82/293	Nov. 16, 20, 23	Council
Nov. 19, 20	Tower	C255/8/9	Nov. 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29	Tower	C82/293		
Nov. 28	Greenwich	C82/293	Dec. 2, 10	Greenwich	C82/294	Dec. 3	Council
Dec. 1, 3 8, 10	Greenwich	C82/294	Dec. 14, 15, 20 22, 23	Tower	C82/294		
Dec. 12	Tower of London	C82/294	Dec. 28, 29	Greenwich	C82/294		
							EL 2652, f8v; 2768, f10r Harl 305, f39v EL 2652, f12r; 2655, f6r; Harl 305, f40r

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Jan. 1	Richmond	C82/295	Jan. 8, 9	Westminster	C82/295		
Jan. 18 20, 28		REQ 1/3, f, 259v, 260r ¹²⁹	Jan. 11	Richmond	C82/295		
	Greenwich	C82/295	Jan. 19, 23	Greenwich	C82/295		
Jan. 30	Greenwich	C82/295	28				
			Jan. 30	Richmond	C82/295		
Feb. 1, 3, 4			Feb. 10, 11	Richmond	C82/296		

¹²⁹ PRO REQ 1/3, f 262r, says the Court of Requests met 28 January at Westminster.

8, 9, 12	Richmond	C82/296	Feb. 22		
			25-28	Richmond	C82/296
Mar 13	Richmond	C255/8/9	Mar. 4, 6, 10-12,		
			14, 16	Richmond	C82/297
Mar. 20	Greenwich	C82/321	Mar. 27	Hampton Court	C82/297
			Mar. 27	Richmond	C82/297
Mar. 28	Richmond	C82/297	Apr. 6, 7		
			9, 10	Richmond	C82/298
			Apr. 14	Windsor	C82/298
			Apr. 15	Chertsey Abbey	C82/298
Apr. 18-20	Woking	C82/298 ¹³⁰ E36/214, f75v			
Apr. 23-29	Richmond	C82/298 E36/214, f76r	Apr. 22, 24		
			28	Richmond	C82/298
			Apr. 30	Richmond	C82/298
May 1-13	Richmond	E36/214, ff77r-78v C82/299	May 1, 3,		
			7	Richmond	C82/298
			May 12,		
			14	Westminster	C82/299
			May 13	Tower	C82/299
May 16-20	Tower	E36/214, ff78v-79r C82/299	May 16	Greenwich	C82/299
			May 20	Greenwich	C82/299
May 21	Greenwich	C82/299	May 20,		
			21	Tower	C82/299
May 23-31	Greenwich	E36/214, ff79v-80v C82/299	May 24	Greenwich	C82/299
			May 28,		
			31	Greenwich	C82/299

¹³⁰ PRO REQ 1/3, f 282 says the Court of Requests met April 19 at Westminster.

June 1-30	Greenwich	E36/214, ff81r-85r C82/300	June 1, 2, 6, 10, 20, 23-25 27, 28	Greenwich	C82/300		
			June 29	Eltham	C82/300		
July 4-16	Greenwich	E36/214, ff86v-87v C255/8/9	July 4, 6, 7, 11, 13-15	Greenwich	C82/301	July 9	Council
			July 17	Wanstead	C82/301		Harg 216, f153r Harl 305, f40r
July 18-21	Enfield	E36/214, f88r	July 20	Enfield	C82/301		
			July 22	Standon	C82/301		
			July 23	Berkway	C82/301		
July 25-31	Cambridge	E36/214, ff88v-90r C82/301	July 28	Cambridge	C82/301		
			July 30, 31	Ely	C82/301		
Aug. 1-3	Wilburton	E36/214, f90v	Aug. 2	Wilburton	C82/302		
Aug. 8-12	Buckden	E36/214, f91v	Aug. 14, 15	Amphill	C82/302		
Aug. 15-17	Amphill	E36/214, f92r	Aug. 18	Moor End	C82/302		
Aug. 20	Eston	C255/8/9	Aug. 20, 21	Eston	C82/302		
Aug. 22-27	'at Emson's'	E36/214, f92v	Aug. 24, 25	Buckingham	C82/304		
Aug. 30	Woodstock	C82/304	Aug. 31	Woodstock	C82/304		
Aug. 29-31	Woodstock	E36/214, f93v					
Sept. 1-10	Woodstock	E36/214, ff93v-95r C82/305	Sept. 1	Woodstock	C82/305		
			Sept. 24	Barington	C82/305		
Sept. 12-28	Langley	C82/305 E36/214, ff95v-98r	Sept. 29	Hanworth	C82/305		
Oct. 3-7	Abingdon	E36/214, ff100r-v	Oct. 4	Abingdon	C82/306		
Oct. 6	Ewelme	PSO/2/3					
Oct. 10-14	Reading Abbey	E36/214, ff101r-v					
Oct. 14	Woking	C82/306					
Oct. 17-20	Horsley	E36/214, f102r	Oct. 21	Woking	C82/306		

Oct. 24-27	Hanworth	E36/214, f102v ¹³¹ REQ 1/3, f302v			
Oct. 28, 29	Richmond	C255/8/9			
Oct. 31	Richmond	E36/214, f103v			
Nov. 1-12	Richmond	E36/214, ff103v-105v	Nov. 4-6, 7, 9	Richmond	C82/307
Nov. 12	Westminster	C82/307	Nov. 12	Westminster	C82/307
Nov. 14-30	Westminster	E36/214, ff106r-107v C82/307 C255/8/9	Nov. 18, 19, 21, 22 26, 29	Westminster	C82/307
Dec. 1-7	Westminster	E36/214, ff107v-108v	Dec. 4-6 Dec. 10	Westminster Richmond	C82/308 C82/308
Dec. 15-25	Tower	E36/214, ff109v-112r	Dec. 14-16, 18		
Dec. 26-31	Richmond	E36/214, ff112r-v	20, 23	Tower	C82/308

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Jan. 2-8	Richmond	E36/214, ff115v-116r	Jan. 2	Richmond	C82/309
Jan. 9	Hampton Court	E36/214, f116r	Jan. 10	Hampton Court	C82/309
			Jan. 13	Hanworth	C82/309
			Jan. 14	Chertsey Abbey	C82/309
			Jan. 15	Woking	C82/309
Jan. 16	Woking	E36/214, f117r	Jan. 20-22, 25, 26 28, 30, 31	Richmond	C82/309 ¹³²
Jan. 23-31	Richmond	E36/214, ff117v-118r			

¹³¹ PRO REQ 1/3 ff 302v-303v says the Court of Requests met October 24 and 25 at Westminster, as well as this notation at Hanworth. The most likely possibility seems to be a midated entry.

¹³² PRO REQ 1/3, f 315 says the Court of Requests met January 22 at Westminster.

Feb. 1-29	Richmond	E36/214, ff118r-120v	Feb. 2-5, 10, 11, 13	Richmond	C82/310		
Mar. 1-13	Richmond	E36/214, ff120v-122r	Feb. 20, 27 Mar. 4, 5, 10	Richmond Richmond	C82/310 C82/311		
Mar. 19-31	Greenwich	E36/214, ff123r-124r REQ 1/3 f330v	Mar. 20, 26-28	Greenwich	C82/311		
Apr. 2-30	Greenwich	E36/214, ff125v-129r C82/312	Apr. 3, 15, 16, 28	Greenwich	C82/312		
May 1-13 21-29	Greenwich	C82/313 E36/214, ff129r-131r ¹³³	May 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 11-13, 19, 21, 25, 27, 29	Greenwich	C82/313		
June 4-30	Greenwich	E36/214, ff131v-134v	June 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21 25, 28 July 1 July 3, 4	Greenwich London Richmond	C82/314 C82/315 C82/315	June 3	Council EL 2768, f11r Harg 216, f153r
July 2-20	Richmond	E36/214, ff136r-138r	July 6	Richmond	C82/315		
July 17	Richmond	C82/315	July 16, 18	Richmond	C82/315		
July 20, 22	Greenwich	BL MS 19398; C82/315	July 23, 24, 27, 31	Greenwich	C82/315		
July 23-31	Greenwich	E36/214, ff138v-139r	Aug. 3, 4	Wanstead	C82/316		
Aug. 1	Greenwich	E36/214, f139r	Aug. 10	Hatfield	C82/316		
Aug. 6-11	Enfield	E36/214, f140v; C82/316	Aug. 11	Ponsbourne	C82/316		
Aug. 11	Ponsbourne Waltham Abbey	C82/316 C82/316	Aug. 12	Wanstead	C82/316		
Aug. 13-15	Wanstead	E36/214, f141r ¹³⁴	Aug. 23, 24	Belhouse	C82/318		
Aug. 20-23	Berwick (co. Essex)	BL 19398;					

¹³³ E36/214, f 130r says 'Sonday at Eltham'. This manor was within a few miles of Greenwich.

¹³⁴ On August 14 the king himself may have been in Havering, as per a signet letter with the sign manual in C82/316. Havering is close by Wanstead..

		C82/316; E36/214, f141v				
Aug. 27-31	Greenwich	E36/214, f142r	Aug. 28	Greenwich	C82/318	
Sept. 1-4	Greenwich	E36/214, ff142v-143r	Sept. 3, 5	Greenwich	C82/319	
Sept. 9, 10	Hanworth	E36/214, f143r	Sept. 10	Hanworth	C82/319	
Sept. 11	Chertsey Abbey	C82/319	Sept. 13	Sunninghill	C82/319	
			Sept. 15,			
Sept. 16-24	Woking	E36/214, ff144r-v	17, 18	Woking	C82/319	
			Sept. 21	Horsley	C82/319	
Oct. 1-11	Richmond	E36/214, ff146r-v; C82/320	Oct. 1, 4	Richmond	C82/320	Oct. 1
Oct. 11	Westminster	416/7	Oct. 13	Westminster	C82/320	Treaty of Marriage between Princess Mary and Archduke Charles ratified <i>FDA</i> , xiii, pp. 219-220
Oct. 15-23	Greenwich	E36/214, ff147v-148v 416/7	Oct. 23, 24	Greenwich	C82/320	
Oct. 25	Greenwich	416/7	Oct. 25			
Oct. 26	Tower	416/7	29, 30	Tower	C82/320	
Oct. 29-31	Tower	E36/214, f149r 416/7	Oct. 31	Greenwich	C82/320	
Nov. 5-24	Greenwich	E36/214, ff150v-151v C82/321	Nov. 3-6, 9, 12, 15-20, 22-25, 30	Greenwich	C82/321	
Nov. 25	Greenwich/ Wanstead	E101/517/15 f2 416/7				
Nov. 26-29	Wanstead	E36/214, f152r				
Dec. 1	Greenwich	416/7				
Dec. 3-13	Greenwich	E36/214, ff152v-153r C82/322; 416/7 ¹³⁵	Dec 8-13, 24, 27	Greenwich	C82/322	
Dec. 17-19	Richmond	E36/214, f153v				
Dec. 24-31	Greenwich	E36/214, ff155v-156r				

¹³⁵ E36/214, f 153r, says on December 12 "Master Carow's". Richard Carew did hold land in Croydon, which was within several miles of Greenwich.

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Jan. 2-8	Greenwich	E36/214, ff157v-158r	Jan. 1-6, 9	Greenwich	C82/323		
Jan. 9	Lambeth	416/7					
Jan. 14-31	Hanworth	C82/323; 416/7	Jan. 15-17, 20-23				
		E36/214, ff.158v-159r	26, 27	Hanworth	C82/323		
Feb. 1-27	Hanworth	E36/214, ff.160r-162r	Feb. 1	Chertsey Abbey	C82/324		
		416/7					
			Feb. 5	Hanworth	C82/324		
			Feb. 8, 10, 12, 17, 19-21, 23, 24, 26	Hanworth	C82/324		
Mar. 4-31	Richmond	E36/214, ff.162v-164r	Mar. 2-6, 8, 16, 17, 20, 29	Richmond	C82/325		
		416/7					
Apr. 1-21	Richmond	E36/214, ff.165r-167r	Apr. 10, 21	Richmond	C82/326	Apr. 21	Richmond/ Henry's death
							GC, p. 336.

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C 65 Chancery, Parliament Rolls
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C 254 Chancery, Dedimus Potestatem Files
C 255 Chancery, Tower and Rolls Chapel Series, Miscellaneous Files and Writs
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DL 42 Duchy of Lancaster, Cartularies, Enrolments, Surveys and other Miscellaneous Books
Durh 3 Palatinate Records, Cursitor's Records
E 30 Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Diplomatic Documents
E 36 Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Miscellaneous Books

E 101	Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Accounts Various
E 159	Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Memoranda Rolls
E 404	Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt, Writs and Warrants for Issue
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