

The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors

THE break-down and disorder of the central administrative machinery of the kingdom during the troubles of the Wars of the Roses was as marked in the region of finance as in other directions, and it fell to Henry VII as almost his first task to restore to the Crown an ample revenue collected by efficient agents and guarded by a satisfactory system of account and audit. Henry had been compelled by his early vicissitudes to gather round him a group of devoted personal adherents of minor rank, who had learned in the hard school of necessity to manage their slender financial resources with care; many of them, like Bray, Conway, Guldeford, and Cutt, had had a sound training in the management of the revenues of the countess of Richmond and the old Lancastrian estates, and the new king's earliest steps after Bosworth were to place them in positions of control in the exchequer of receipt and other responsible financial offices.¹ The treasurership of England had lost much of its importance as a financial office with the rapid succession of treasurers who had filled it under Henry VI and Edward IV; the effectual control had fallen into the hands of the professional under-treasurers, and one of Richard III's attempts at financial reform had been marked by his promotion of Edward IV's under-treasurer, Sir John Wood, to be treasurer of England.² Henry VII appointed to the exercise of the functions of the treasurership the old Lancastrian Sir John Dynham, Lord de Dynham, though he did not grant him the office by patent until after the lapse of some months,³ and it is at least doubtful whether Dynham

¹ Reginald Bray is mentioned as under-treasurer of England in an indenture of 16 October 1485 (W. Campbell, *Materials illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII*, i. 89), though his appointment has not been found. He was made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster on 13 September 1485 (C. i. 26).

² Wood is mentioned as keeper of the mint, 8 Edw. IV (*List of Enrolled Accounts*, p. 105); under-treasurer, 22 Edw. IV (Lansdowne MS. 171, f. 343); treasurer of England, 17 May, 1 Edw. V (Cotton MS., Titus, B. iv, f. 32). Nichols (*Grants, etc., from the Crown*, p. 13, Camden Society, 1854) says 16 May.

³ Pat. 1 Hen. VII, p. 4, m. 11 (14). For the exercise of the functions by simple command of the king, see Signed Bill no. 240, Campbell, i. 495.

had much real financial control, for the king's most trusted personal servant, Sir Reginald Bray, exercised the office of under-treasurer along with Alfred (or Avery) Cornburgh, who had carried out financial duties under the treasurership of Sir John Wood.⁴

In December 1485 a privy seal⁵ was issued to the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer directing them to pay out of the treasure in their keeping in the receipt money for the costs incurred by the central government. The working of the old financial system was thus regularized after the change of monarch, and by the warrant the treasurer and chamberlains were directed to pay from time to time such sums of money

out of our treasure or make thereof assignations to our household, keeper of our jewels within our chamber, clerk of our great wardrobe, and clerk of our works that now be, and that for the time shall be, and to evereche of them, as shall be unto your wisdom thought behoveful for the costs and expenses of their said offices during the time that they shall be in their said offices; . . . and also for the costs and expenses of our commission or commissions, or otherwise to require for us, or for our profit in any wise; and also for the rewards of our customers, comptrollers, receivers, surveyors, searchers and approvers in our ports of England, or any of our lyvelodes or possessions, or other profits due unto us that hath been and for the time shall be, ye do pay rewards after your sage discretions; and for our profit pay ye also . . . to the treasurer of Calais for the wages of soldiers there, and in the marches or thereabouts; pay ye also of our said treasure to the clerk of our ships for the time being for all things necessary for his office. . . . And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

An examination of the financial records of the reign suffices to show that the system described in the warrant for the discharge of expenses by payment out of the general treasure kept in the ancient exchequer of receipt, or by assignations of revenues that should be paid thereto, corresponded only in a small degree with that in force from 1487 onwards, and that it was a very different system that provided Henry VII with the wealth for which he was famed among his contemporaries and that gave to his kingdom a stable financial order such as had long been lacking. Henry in his reconstruction designedly turned away from the old machinery of collecting revenue through the exchequer of receipt, and fixed upon an expansion of the methods of finance of the king's chamber as those most fitted for his purposes and for establishing and making permanent the régime that was destined to bring to England lasting peace after the anarchy of the dynastic war. The system that he established endured throughout his own reign and those of his son and grandson,

⁴ Campbell, i. 368, 565, &c.

⁵ December 14, 1485: Campbell, i. 217-19.

and when in the reign of Mary the exchequer was again set up as the supreme financial machine of the realm, it was an exchequer that differed much from the exchequer of an earlier time. The old titles were used and the traditional methods of accounting were in part restored, but they were employed in different ways and infused with a new spirit, derived not from the practice of the ancient exchequer court, but from the methods of the simpler financial machinery of the *Camera Regis*, which, though allowed to sink into obscurity from time to time, had never entirely fallen into disuse, but was set to work in full vigour whenever it could further the purposes of strong personal rule.

The period during which these modifications in the financial system of the country were being worked out was that falling between the suppression of Lambert Simnel's rebellion in 1487 and the absorption of Henry VIII's court of augmentations into the reformed exchequer in 1553, and it is divided naturally into two portions by the great financial measures of Henry VIII in 1529. We are here concerned with the machinery employed in the earlier portion of the period before the differentiation of functions that was marked by the establishment of Henry VIII's revenue courts; the problems of procedure in the later period become more complex, though they appear to be modifications and amplifications of the chamber practice of Henry VII, and this must be studied as the first stage in their solution.

The king's chamber as a financial and administrative machine has been little studied until the recent work of Professor Tout⁶ showed what an important part it filled in the national economy in the fourteenth century, when it was revived and worked to the full to secure the absolute control of finance for Edward II's personal adherents. Under his son the system was again revived during a period of active personal government by the king, but after about 1355 the chamber became a shadow of its former self and little more than a subsidiary department of the household. Its history throughout the fifteenth century is still veiled in obscurity, though the occasional mention of it is sufficient to show that its financial machinery was still used for important purposes. Statements have been made as to the large revenues dealt with by the chamber under Edward IV, and it has been remarked⁷ how little information is afforded by the account rolls of the exchequer as to the income and expenditure of the Crown during the reign.

While the chamber had little importance as a financial department, the personal capacity of the treasurer of the chamber was not of prime importance; the office was combined with that

⁶ *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914).

⁷ Sir J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. 458, 464, 467.

of keeper of the jewels and was held by one of the household clerks.⁸ The holder of the office after 1465, however, was a person of far more capacity and devotion than the ordinary household official. This was Thomas Vaughan, one of Edward IV's most trusted personal followers. Vaughan had great influence as an agent of the king, and an examination of his career makes it probable that during his tenure of the office the treasurer of the chamber was far more important than in the immediately precedent period. After his execution in 1483 his offices of treasurer of the chamber and clerk of the hanaper of the chancery were bestowed upon Edmund Chaderton, a clerk of the household, who had received his financial training as one of the clerks of the compting house or board of green cloth. His appointment to the office of treasurer of the chamber cannot be exactly dated, for the appointment lay directly in the king's gift by word of mouth and was not granted by letters patent, though the grant to Vaughan by patent in 1465 forms an exception to this rule. Chaderton had no time to leave a mark on the development of his office, for his tenure of it came to an end with the death of his master, but he was retained in household employ as one of Henry VII's chaplains,⁹ and in later years his services were on occasion utilized by the king for responsible missions.¹⁰

Richard III had little opportunity during his short reign to undertake those reforms of the financial system that every one saw were essential before a proper provision for the sustenance of the Crown could be ensured. That his plans included the abandonment of the exceedingly unpopular and extortionate expedients of his brother and a reform of the chaos in the exchequer there are certain indications. The celebrated statute against the exaction of benevolences¹¹ is the best known of these, but the appointment to the treasurership of England of a trained official in the person of Sir John Wood, who had acted as under-treasurer and working head of the exchequer, points in the same direction, and other evidence is to be found in the extant financial documents in the pocket-book of his chancellor, Bishop Russell.¹² The most important of these is a memorandum of the year

⁸ John Merston, treasurer of the chamber and keeper of the jewels to Henry VI, 1445-8: Rymer, xi. 76, 195. See also *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV*, in *Household Ordinances*, printed by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790, p. 42: 'The Office of Jewel House hath an architectour called clerk of the King's, or keeper of the King's jewels, or treasurer of the chamber. This officer taketh by indenture, betwixt him and the King, all that he finds in his office of gold, silver, precious stones and the marks of every thing. Also he receiveth the yearly gifts by record of the chamberlain.'

⁹ 3 August 1486: Campbell, i. 571.

¹⁰ e.g. 23 August 1489: Campbell, ii. 501.

¹¹ 1 Ric. III, c. 2, *Statutes of the Realm*, ii. 478; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* iii. 278.

¹² MS. Harl. 433, f. 271, portions of which are printed in Gairdner's *Letters of Richard III*, i. 81-5. The spelling is modernized in our quotations.

1484 concerning the revenue and the exchequer, which is directed to ensuring a prompt collection of the king's revenues and the more satisfactory audit of the accounts in the upper exchequer, no official of which is to have or occupy any office in the receipt. The most interesting part of those paragraphs of the memorandum that relate to the exchequer is the suggestion that yearly declarations of revenues and issues shall be made :

It is thought that the auditors of the said exchequer should yearly make a book of all the revenues, issues and profits growing of all sheriffs, escheators, collectors of customs and subsidies, treasurer of Calais and Guisnes, collectors of dismes, bailiffs of cities, boroughs and ports, and of all other manner officers accomptable of the same exchequer with the reprises and deductions thereof, and the same book to declare afore such persons as the king's good grace shall like to assign to hear and to see it ; whereupon his grace may yearly see the profits of the said court.

Also that the Treasurer of England for the time being yearly should make a declaration of all such money as is received or assigned within his office, be it in the Receipt or be it otherwise for that year afore the said year.

Also that the said Court of Exchequer be clearly dismissed and discharged with any meddling with any foreign lyvelode in taking of accompts, as Wales, duchies of Cornwall, York, Norfolk, earldoms of Chester, March, Warwick, Sarum, and of all other lands being in the king's hands by reason of forfeiture ; which is thought most behoveful and profitable to be assigned to other foreign auditors for divers causes ensuing etc., that is to say :—First, for more hasty levy of money. Also for more ease and less cost of the officers of such lyvelode. Also for cause that the lordships may be yearly surveyed by the stewards, auditors and receivers in the times of accompts of officers of the same for reparations, wood-sales, and for other directions to be had among the tenants, with many more causes necessary.

Thus all these revenues were entirely withdrawn from exchequer control either for receipt or audit, and the barons only retained the duty of receiving the books of accounts after they had been properly declared before the appointed auditors.

A detailed examination of the accounts of the reign of Richard III would be necessary for us to determine whether the memorandum describes a system already in operation or merely a projected reform, but in all probability it embodies in large part a survey of the existing system, and that any innovations proposed were designed to tighten up and regulate those parts of the machinery that, through the negligence and incapacity of those who ran it, were yielding an unsatisfactory financial return to the Crown. There is nowhere in the document any mention of the treasurer of the chamber or of any receiver-general to whom the resulting revenues were to be paid, but the necessary existence of such an official or officials is clearly implied,

and the system of collection and audit that is set forth in outline is so precisely similar to what we find in full operation at the end of the reign of Henry VII, that it seems that we have here in 1484 an earlier form of the system of chamber finance that is set forth in developed detail in the acts concerning the king's general surveyors¹³ that we shall consider below.

During the period 1485-1529 the office of treasurer of the chamber was filled in succession by four men—Thomas Lovell, John Heron, Henry Wyatt, and Brian Tuke, each of whom was in his time a person of importance and filled many offices in the state. Thomas Lovell, whose political career is familiar to students of the period, became an esquire of the body to the king immediately on his accession, and in all probability had been attendant on him during his exile in France and Brittany. We cannot date accurately his assumption of the office of treasurer of the chamber, for, as was said above, appointments to it were made merely by the king's verbal command, and the office was held without record and only during pleasure. Lovell was appointed to the comparatively minor office of chancellor in the exchequer for life on 12 October 1485,¹⁴ and is mentioned as treasurer of the queen's chamber late in the year;¹⁵ he probably took up the office in September under the general supervision of Reginald Bray, who we know was entrusted with the most important share in the conduct of the king's financial business. From the first Lovell was one of Henry's most trusted servants, as we may judge by his appointment to the speakership of the first parliament of the reign. There are continual references throughout 1486 and 1487 to moneys paid over to him from the receipt 'to the lord king into his chamber by the hands of Thomas Lovell, treasurer of his chamber', and though at first he was overshadowed by Reginald Bray, by 1490 he had attained the position ascribed to him by the Milanese envoy as Henry's chief financial agent.¹⁶ He seems from the very

¹³ 6 Hen. VIII, c. 24 ; 7 Hen. VIII, c. 7 ; 14 & 15 Hen. VIII, c. 15.

¹⁴ Pat. 1 Hen. VII, p. 1, m. 18 (8). The chancellor of the exchequer was by origin the clerk of the chancellor, and therefore naturally took rank immediately below the lowest or cursitor baron of the exchequer. His functions were confined to the upper exchequer and he had no duties in the exchequer of receipt. The great modern importance of the chancellorship of the exchequer was not attained until the reign of James I, when, the office being held conjointly with that of under-treasurer of the exchequer, Sir Julius Caesar after Salisbury's death became the working member of the first commission for exercising the office of lord high treasurer. He and his successor Sir Richard Weston were the first two really important chancellors and under-treasurers of the exchequer.

¹⁵ Campbell, i. 239. The treasurership of the chamber was now separated for a time from the keepership of the jewels, which office was filled by Sir William Tyler.

¹⁶ Raimondo de Soncino to Sforza: 'After the departure of Dr. Ruthal for France, Master Lovell, the king's chief financier, crossed to Calais and returned with a good sum of crowns paid by the French king' (*Cal. of State Papers, Venice*, 13 July

beginning to have kept accounts which he submitted periodically for the king's inspection, for in his first extant account, of the year 1487, we find mention of an earlier book that has not been preserved. The book bears the heading,

Memorandum that hereafter ensueth the Receipts of money which Sir Thomas Lovell, Knight and Treasurer of the King's Chamber, hath received to the behoof of our sovereign lord King Harry the vijth from the iiiijth day of July in the second year of his reign since the accompt ended and determined betwixt our said sovereign lord and the aforesaid Sir Thomas Lovell as well of all the receipts as of payments of money aforetime received and issued out by the said Sir Thomas Lovell as appeareth by a book thereupon remaining.

The account-book¹⁷ that commences thus is a thin quarto book bound in parchment, whose contents are discussed below ; but we may here note that it is written throughout in the hand of John Heron, Lovell's successor. From the character of the accounts it is obvious that they were made up regularly at the time, and this leads to the conclusion that from July 1487 onwards, Lovell was assisted in his financial work by Heron, a deduction that appears the more likely when we find that Lovell was often entrusted with delicate missions that would carry him far from court and even over sea, while Heron was always either in the precincts of the court or at Westminster.¹⁸ Though with Heron's work as a capable financier the whole of the financial history of nearly forty years is bound up, his work has fallen into an obscurity that it never deserved, for he was regarded by his contemporaries as a model accountant, and his methods certainly exercised an influence after his death. Brian Tuke writes to Thomas Cromwell in 1534,

I heard say how lately report was made upon a contention between Richard Trice and young Heron that there had been an appearance of oversight or untruth in certain parcels in Sir John Heron's time whereunto I think no man now living can now sufficiently answer but myself, who, having Mr. Heron's books in my custody, which I often peruse for the better knowledge of the king's debts and other things appertaining to my

1499). The order of influence of individuals in the government can be estimated by the demand of the rebels in 1497. Trevisan to the Doge : ' The rebels have made a demand for the surrender to them of five individuals, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Master Bray, Master Lovell, and the Privy Seal ' (*Cal. of State Papers, Venice*, 14 July 1497).

¹⁷ Public Record Office, Exchequer Accounts, Various, 413/2 (the first book in the bundle).

¹⁸ Sir Thomas Vaughan while treasurer of the chamber had been granted jointly with the prince of Wales the house of the chamberlain of the abbey of Westminster (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1474, p. 455), and Heron held it and did business there under Henry VIII. Micklowe also kept the king's coffers at Westminster, and this house may have served regularly as the office of the treasurer.

office, by chance found such things in those books as may be an ample testimony of Mr. Heron's truth and security therein.¹⁹

Since Heron was treasurer of the chamber throughout the period of its greatest activity it is necessary to trace out something of his career, especially since we have to distinguish between more than one John Heron who were serving Henry VII in various capacities at the same time.²⁰ In October 1485 the future treasurer of the chamber was granted, with John Fogge in survivorship, the keepership of the rolls and writs in the common pleas in return, as the patent says, for the services he had rendered to the king and the dangers he had incurred therein.²¹ This would seem to indicate that he had been a follower of Henry in exile, and we know that the Foggés were old Lancastrians. As has already been said, Heron began to keep the accounts of the chamber for Lovell in July 1487, and thenceforward until 1521, just before his death, we have a series of account-books in his handwriting that is almost complete and must be nearly a unique monument of the work of a public servant.²² The month of July 1487, when this series begins, marks a distinct epoch in the reign of Henry VII, for it was upon June 16 that the dangerous rebellion of the earl of Lincoln and his puppet, Lambert Simnel, was crushed with the defeat of Irish kerns and German mercenaries at Stoke.²³ The fines that were exacted and the obligations and recognizances into which the rebels on submission were compelled to enter were exacted under Henry's personal supervision, and it was necessary for him to have at hand a machinery of account. This was provided by Thomas Lovell and his assistant Heron, and we find accordingly that the first account-book of the new sort is the 'King's Book of his Receipts',²⁴ which is filled with the records of these fines.

From 1487 onwards Heron regularly managed this financial machinery, and he rose to be treasurer of the chamber about August 1492, when Lovell was promoted to the more honourable but almost sinecure office of treasurer of the household, the lineal successor of the old keeper or treasurer of the wardrobe.²⁵ He was rewarded for his services to the king with a grant of the manor of Rye in Gloucestershire²⁶ and with various small sinecure

¹⁹ Sir Brian Tuke to Cromwell, 1534 [February]: Cotton, Titus, B. iv, f. 110, extracted by Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII*, vii, no. 254.

²⁰ See note below, pp. 371 f.

²¹ Campbell, i. 69; Pat. 1 Hen. VII, p. 4, m. 7 (18).

²² See below, pp. 359 ff.

²³ W. Busch, *England under the Tudors*, i. 37.

²⁴ Fines and compositions at an earlier date had been recorded in the tellers' books of the exchequer, certain of which have been extracted by Campbell, i. 398, 565, &c. From Mich. 3 Hen. VII onwards there are no further records of such receipts by the tellers (Campbell, ii. 222, &c.).

²⁵ The actual financial officer in the household was the cofferer.

²⁶ 1487, December 11: Campbell, ii. 210, 552.

appointments, but his principal office was by no means a sinecure, and we find his name as a party to almost every obligation entered into with the king. He ceased after a time to accompany Henry on his progresses, and remained in charge of his office and clerks at Westminster. The full measure of the growth of the treasurership of the chamber under Henry VII from an office of merely court importance into the general receivership of the king's revenues is marked in the act of parliament concerning Heron and his financial duties that was passed among the first enactments of Henry VIII's first parliament.²⁷ The act recites that the king intends that divers revenues

shall be paid to his trusty servant John Heron, his General Receiver, and to other persons . . . hereafter in like office to be deputed and assigned as in the time of the late King . . . Henry the vijth. hath been used,

and it enacts that

all acquittances and bills of receipt heretofore made by the said John Heron [and to be made by his successors] of any his revenues or duties whatsoever they be, be a sufficient discharge to every such person against the King . . . as well in the King's Exchequer as in any other of the King's Courts without any other warrant, taylor or private seal thereof to be had, obtained or shewed.

The officers of the exchequer are directed to accept 'the said acquittances and bills for a sufficient discharge of the said payments', but Heron and every other person holding the said or like office of receipt is to be held chargeable to all persons interested, and shall be liable to actions on non-payment.

We may mark in this act how the general receiver has taken over functions that at an earlier date would have been discharged by the officials of the exchequer of receipt, and how he is guarded against action on their part. The financial machinery of the exchequer was in fact gradually falling into one of those periods of decline that have been recurrent throughout its history, but from which it has always sooner or later recovered.²⁸ The treasurership of England had become, if not under Dynham, at any rate on the appointment of the earl of Surrey, a purely honorific office like that of the earl marshal or lord great chamberlain. The duties of the office were executed by the under-treasurer and the chamberlains, and it is important to note that while one chamberlainship was filled by a noble, Gilbert, earl of Shrewsbury, acting through a deputy, the other was occupied by John Heron

²⁷ 1 Hen. VIII, c. 3, *Statutes*, iii. 2.

²⁸ This is illustrated by the defective state of the exchequer records. A single tellers' roll (no. 62) covers the whole period 14-24 Hen. VII; issue rolls are entirely wanting; receipt rolls are wanting in very many years. See the manuscript list in the Public Record Office.

himself, and other of the offices in the receipt were filled by men whom we know to have been serving as Heron's assistants in the chamber. Not merely did Heron hold one of the most powerful offices in the receipt: he seems also to have held, in almost every department that dealt with the collection or custody of the king's treasure, some office that gave him the right of entry or control. He was supervisor of customs in the port of London, being assisted in the oversight of the collection of this most important part of the revenue by one of his regular coadjutors, John Shurley, the cofferer of the household.²⁹ He was clerk of the jewel house,³⁰ where much of the treasure in gold and precious stones was kept, and clerk of the hanaper of the chancery,³¹ through whom the profits of the chancery and the Great Seal were gathered. He collected the profits of the common pleas as keeper of the king's writs, and when Wolsey became the chief minister of Henry VIII, it was almost always he, Lovell, and Heron who were the king's sureties for loans either from his subjects or from the Italian financiers.

From about 1496 onwards Heron served Henry VII in his inner council, and he was entrusted with a large share in the execution of his will and the payment of his legacies.³² He had a good deal to do, too, with the execution of the will of Henry VIII's grandmother, the countess of Richmond, and we constantly find him mentioned as taking part in the deliberations of that small body of personal counsellors in the king's privy chamber which in the first period of Henry VIII's reign had so important a part in the government. To trace out in detail the whole of his activities would demand more space than can here be spared, but the cursory survey that is all we can afford is sufficient to prove that Heron's functions were of infinitely more importance than those entrusted to earlier treasurers of the chamber. A few words may be added to illustrate the latter part of his career. In 1516 he received a licence to found and endow a fraternity of four wardens to be called the Guild of St. Michael, Crookyd Lane, London, to pray for him and his wife Margaret,³³ and he was well able to do so, for he was possessed of lands at Cressy in Lincolnshire, at Canfield, Wanstead, Walthamstow, and other places in Essex, and of the estate of Shacklewel in the parish of Hackney, together with houses at Richmond and in London. He accompanied the king to his meeting with Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and also to Guisnes to meet the emperor

²⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, i. 159, 1509, July 12 and 15.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 3422.

³¹ *Ibid.*, i. 4218 and ii. 2986. His accounts are in Exchequer Accounts, Various 220 (13) and (14).

³² *Letters and Papers*, i. 5735-8, 5779.

³³ *Ibid.*, ii. 1611, Pat. 7 Hen. VIII, p. 3, m. 15.

in 1520. The last entries in his hand in the accounts occur in February 1521, and he died on 10 June 1522, leaving his lands to his eldest son Giles Heron,³⁴ a minor, whose wardship was granted to Sir Thomas More, the under-treasurer.³⁵ Giles afterwards married his guardian's daughter, Cicely More, but left no issue. His youngest son, John Heron, who at an early age had received an annuity out of the exchequer as cutter of tallies for his father's chamberlainship, afterwards became a physician, and from him was descended Sir Edward Heron, baron of the exchequer in the time of James I, and the family of the Herons of Cressy.³⁶ Sir John Heron was buried in the choir of the church of the White Friars in the ward of Farringdon Without, as we learn from Stow, before whose time, however, the church had been destroyed and its site built over.³⁷

The functions of the treasurership of the chamber were carried on after Heron's death under Wolsey's direction by John Micklowe, who had long been one of the principal assistants in the office, but apparently never received the formal appointment.³⁸ Micklowe died in May 1523, and the functions were then discharged until the following January by Edmund Pekham, another official trained up under Heron. He had before been charged with financial work, and continued to serve the Crown in important offices until the reign of Mary, receiving the honour of knighthood and other rewards. Sir Henry Wyatt, father of the poet, who had been keeper of the jewels to both Henry VII and Henry VIII, became treasurer of the chamber in January 1524, and we have account-books of his time in Heron's form. His tenure of the office was not marked by any notable developments, and Sir John Daunce seems to have performed most of the financial duties. On 23 April 1528 Brian Tuke, the well-known secretary, was appointed and held the office till his death on 25 October 1545, when he was succeeded by Sir Anthony Rous, master of the jewel house, who was treasurer only from 25 November 1545 to 19 February 1546. The last to hold the office while it retained some importance was Sir William Cavendish, who was appointed on 19 February 1546, and acted until the arrangements concerning the treasurership were modified on the absorption of the revenue courts in the exchequer that

³⁴ Will in Prerogative Court of Canterbury; Inquisitions post mortem, Chancery Series, vol. xl, nos. 72 and 113.

³⁵ *Letters and Papers*, iii. 2900.

³⁶ Morant's *Essex*, ii. 345; Betham's *Baronetage*, iv. 32; Harl. Soc., *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*. The identification of the cutter of the tallies with Heron's youngest legitimate son is doubtful. It appears from his will as though he had also a natural son, John Heron, of adult age in 1521, to whom he left his house at Richmond. If this were so the cutter of the tallies should certainly be identified with him.

³⁷ Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, ii. 47.

³⁸ *Letters and Papers*, iii. 1826.

was planned in the reign of Edward VI, but carried out under Mary in 1553.³⁹

The functions performed by the treasurer of the chamber during the time between 1485 and 1529 may be studied in two classes of documents, the revenue acts of parliament of Henry VIII, and the accounts kept by the treasurers. The fine series of account-books of John Heron comprises two sets of books, 'the King's Books of his Receipts' and 'the King's Books of his Payments', together with various miscellaneous books and papers incidental to the business of the office. As we saw in the passage from Brian Tuke's letter quoted above,⁴⁰ the books were passed on from one treasurer to his successor, and Heron's accounts were often consulted for guidance as to the practice of the office. It is difficult to trace exactly the history of the books, but it appears that on the carrying out of the exchequer reforms under Mary they were taken into the exchequer of receipt, and there the greater number of them remained with the records in the augmentation office. In 1839 the records of the augmentation office were amalgamated by Joseph Hunter with those of the ancient office of the king's remembrancer in the upper exchequer, and a number of Heron's books are now listed under Exchequer Accounts, Various. A single book of receipts and payments has remained among the miscellaneous books of the augmentation office, apparently a residuum from Hunter's clearing up.⁴¹ The whole of the books, however, did not get into the augmentation office, but some were stored with the records of the receipt, and are now to be found among the miscellanea of the treasury of receipt. The books are such beautiful examples of account-keeping and contain so many signatures of Henry VII and Henry VIII, that they exerted a strong temptation on the antiquary, and in consequence certain of them disappeared from the exchequer, and after passing through many hands some have found a place in the British Museum.⁴²

³⁹ For the foregoing dates see *Letters and Papers*, and *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. i.

⁴⁰ Above, p. 354.

⁴¹ Augmentation Office, *Miscellaneous Books*, vol. 439.

⁴² I desire to convey my acknowledgements to Miss E. Jeffries Davis, who first drew my attention to the books and kindly supplied me with particulars concerning the vicissitudes of one of them upon which the following note is based. The book of payments by Heron which is now Add. MS. 21480 in the British Museum was purchased in 1856 at the sale of the library of H. B. Ray, of Pymmes, Edmonton. Ray had bought it in 1830 at the sale of Craven Ord, late secondary in the office of the king's remembrancer in the exchequer. Ord was keenly interested in exchequer antiquities, and tried to keep note of all such exchequer books as were in the possession of private individuals, and he obtained this volume, Add. MS. 21480, from Astle, the antiquary, by exchange. Astle had purchased it about the middle of the eighteenth century from Thomas Martin of Palgrave, who had married the widow of Peter Le Neve, Norroy king of arms, and one of the deputy chamberlains in the exchequer. Le Neve was a voracious collector, who took a keen interest in exchequer-curiosities ;

Extracts from Heron's accounts have frequently been printed and they are repeatedly quoted by writers on the reign of Henry VII. The original books, however, have been very rarely referred to, and in almost every case the extracts quoted have been derived from a single source. During Craven Ord's service in the exchequer he made selections from the payments of Henry VII and Henry VIII in an indiscriminating manner, and recorded them in two small note-books under the title of 'Various articles of expenses of Henry VII'. The volumes were purchased at Ord's sale in 1829 and are now in the British Museum.⁴³ The extracts are written in Ord's hand throughout, and he has made very obvious explanatory comments opposite many of the items. The roman numerals of the original have been converted into arabic numerals, and the spelling is not exactly reproduced. Before 1790 a few extracts from Ord's selections were made by Thomas Astle for Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain*, and there published in an appendix.⁴⁴ After the volumes had reached the Museum selections were made from the first of them, and these were printed by Samuel Bentley in his *Excerpta Historica* in 1831,⁴⁵ again with explanatory comments and occasional defects in copying. References to the accounts are almost always made to these pages of Bentley, considerably removed though they are from the original.

Before 1487 the comparatively small amount of money in Henry VII's chamber was replenished by payments from the exchequer of receipt, either into the king's own hands or through the queen or the treasurer of the chamber. We find in the rough accounts of the tellers such items as the following :

Mich. term, 1 Hen. VII	l.	s.	d.
To the lord the king in his chamber	2050.	0.	0.
To the same lord the king in his chamber by the hands of Elizabeth, queen of England. ⁴⁶	133.	6.	8.

we know from his signature that he possessed another of Heron's books (now Add. MS. 21481), and it may have been he who, having the opportunity as deputy chamberlain in charge of the records, abstracted the books from their right place. This would account for the perfect condition of the books, in which they differ from an account-book of Brian Tuke (now Add. MS. 20030) which was purchased by chance by Sir Orlando Bridgeman in 1634. This book before it was bound in the seventeenth century had been badly damaged, and had lost many of its leaves at the beginning and end. Two books of receipts and payments of Sir William Cavendish under Edward VI came at some early date into the Trevelyan Collection. Extracts from them were printed among the *Trevelyan Papers* by the Camden Society, and the volumes were afterwards presented by Sir W. C. Trevelyan to the Public Record Office.

⁴³ Add. MSS. 7099 (for the reign of Henry VII) and 7100 (for the reign of Henry VIII).

⁴⁴ *Hist. of Great Britain*, 6th ed., 1824, xii. 467-9 (in first 4to edition, appendix to vol. vi).

⁴⁵ *Privy Purses Expenses of Henry VII*, printed in *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 85-133.

⁴⁶ Campbell, i. 926.

Easter term, 1 Hen. VII.

l. s. d.

To the lord king in his chamber by the hands of Thomas Lovell, the treasurer of the queen's chamber.	666. 13. 4
1485, Nov. 28. To Reginald Bray, Kt., under-treasurer of England, by the hands of William Smyth, keeper of the hanaper of the king's Chancery, 100 <i>l.</i> to the lord king in chamber. ⁴⁷	

Money, as in this last entry, was often paid into the chamber by accomptants on the king's command either by word of mouth or by signed bill, that would in the ordinary course have been accounted for in the receipt; allowance had then to be made in the exchequer by tally. This appears clearly in another example, where we find a signet bill addressed to the exchequer on 26 February 1485/6, ordering that a tally shall be delivered to William Smyth, keeper of the hanaper, in payment of 100*l.* which he has paid by special command of the king to Thomas Lovell, treasurer of the king's chamber.⁴⁸ After July 1487, however, we find in the tellers' books practically no such entries, and it is evident that the treasure in the chamber is being replenished from other sources. What one of those sources was we can perceive when we note that before this date the teller records under the heading of 'Receipts' many sums like the following: ⁴⁹

Kent. From John Alfegh, received as well of all the lordships, manors, farms and fee-farms being in the hands of the king by reason of the Crown as otherwise in the county of Kent, of the issues of the lordships of Milton and Merden. 100*s.*

From July 1487, the teller records no such receipts, but on turning to Lovell's accounts we find repeated entries of this sort:

[1487.] July 15. From William Malbone, receiver of the Earl of
Essex' lands 40*l.*

The receivers of lands have begun to pay their profits direct into the chamber instead of the receipt, and we have the rudiments of the system that is described in its fully developed form in the act of parliament of 1514 for general surveyors.⁵⁰

From the preamble of this act we learn that in the time of Henry VII his receivers of lands and lordships, for a more speedy payment of his revenues than could have been ensured after the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 240.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 316.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 398.

⁵⁰ The act, 6 Hen. VIII, c. 24, did not come into effect, for it was re-enacted with slight modifications of detail by another act of the same parliament, 7 Hen. VIII, c. 7, which took effect on 1 January, 1514/15. This was amended by 14-15 Hen. VIII, c. 15.

course of the exchequer, paid the sums due upon the determination of their accounts 'unto the king in his chamber either to his own hands or to some other person or persons to his use, as it may appear by bills or books signed with his sign manual, or to the hands of his trusty servant, John Heron'. But when the close personal supervision of the business-like Henry VII was removed, the officials of the exchequer, who had found that the system of chamber accounting had brought about a serious diminution in their fees, saw their opportunity to recover control and summoned the accomptants 'to appear in the Exchequer there to render their accounts anew for the premises and be compelled to make new payments for the same in the king's receipt of the said Exchequer, as if they never had accompted nor had made payment of their said duties'. It was obvious that such a course was 'against all right and good conscience', and it was resolved by Henry VIII and his advisers to place the chamber revenue system on a more formal basis by sanctioning with the authority of an act of parliament the arrangements that Henry VII had developed out of the old traditional chamber by the exercise of his personal power. The act explicitly states that it is enacted in order that a like order of accompt might continue as had been used under Henry VII, and it thus provides us with a survey of the methods he adopted. The principal innovation is that two executors of the act are appointed, who practically exercise the functions that Henry VII had performed for himself with the assistance of Sir Reginald Bray and Sir Robert Southwell, whom he had chosen for these special duties of supervision by verbal command and without legal enactment. Henry VII's central machinery for the receipt and payment of money was in no way interfered with; its functions were merely safeguarded and strengthened. The balances found by the chief auditors to be due from every receiver are to be paid to the king or to the treasurer of the chamber within a definite time,⁵¹ and the act goes on to provide that

the king's aforementioned trusty servant, John Heron, be from henceforward Treasurer of the king's chamber . . . and that he and every other person whom the king shall hereafter name and appoint to the said room and office of the treasurer of his chamber be not accomptable in Exchequer for any such his or their receipt or any part or parcel of the premisses as before is exposed, but to the King's Highness or his heirs, or before such as his Grace shall thereunto limit and appoint.⁵²

In this provision we can mark the lowest stage in the decline of exchequer control; an important part of the revenues of the

⁵¹ 6 Hen. VIII, c. 24, § 17; 7 Hen. VIII, c. 7, § 22.

⁵² 6 Hen. VIII, c. 24, § 19; 7 Hen. VIII, c. 7, § 24.

Crown is removed from its purview for receipt or for audit, and is placed in the hands of the king's personal servants, who can be appointed or removed without formality, and who, being untrammelled by an ancient system of checks and precedents, can adapt themselves readily to any circumstances that may arise. Dangers of a serious kind lurked in the new system, it is true, but down to 1529 they had not become manifest, and need not here concern us.

When we come to examine the schedule of the act, where the allotted revenues are set out, we cannot fail to be struck by its comprehensiveness. The system of chamber lands is revived in more than its pristine vigour under Edward II. The list includes lands of every kind; from the old possessions of the Crown we have the profits of the chamberlains of North and South Wales and of the palatinate of Chester, the receiver of all the king's lands in Wales and the marches of Wales, and the receiver of the duchy of Cornwall. From the estates of the house of York we have the receiver of Warwick's, Salisbury's, and Spencer's lands, the receiver of the duchy of York, and the receiver of the earldom of March. From the old Lancastrian estates there is the receiver of the lands late of the duchess of Somerset. The merchants of the staple are to pay to the treasurer of the chamber their customs and subsidies on wools and wool-fells; the new custom on malmsey wine is to be computed in the exchequer, but the proceeds are to be paid into the hands of the treasurer of the chamber. The butlerage, the profits of all lands forfeited by treason, attainder, and felony, the profits of the mints and the exchanges, and of the hanaper of the chancery are all to be paid to the chamber, while the profits of lands and minors are first to be computed in the exchequer, and the moneys then to be paid to the treasurer of the chamber. The act provides, as was always the case, for a separate treatment of the duchy of Lancaster.

Each of the sources of revenue that have so far been enumerated might be expected to yield an annual return, but when we come to extraordinary sources of revenue, the act is silent, and for our information we must turn to the book of account. Subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths granted by parliament or convocation appear as a rule in the reign of Henry VII to have been paid into the exchequer; but the practice was not invariable, and in Lovell's and Heron's accounts we find several receipts from these sources. Before 1487 commissioners, usually court officials, who were sent forth into the counties with warrants under the sign manual, exacted fines and compositions that were paid into the receipt,⁵³ but after that year these sums were

⁵³ For illustrations of this see Campbell, i. 565 and 99.

invariably paid into the chamber, and they were a source that yielded to Henry VII a very material part of his wealth. Every page of his books of receipts shows large sums derived from fines imposed either by the king or his council for various offences, from implication in rebellion to neglect of feudal duties, and the traditional stories of Henry's rapacity can be shown by the entries to be no idle fictions. Loans, too, are accounted for by Heron, and a mere glance at his accounts will show how many dealings both Henry VII and his son had with the Italian financiers like the Bardi, the Frescobaldi, Cavalcanti, and others, and how Heron to facilitate these financial operations had factors in every money market in western Europe. The following totals will suffice to illustrate the magnitude of the sums dealt with :

<i>Sir Thomas Lovell, treasurer of the chamber.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Receipts 9 July, 2 Hen. VII to 12 Sept., 5 Hen. VII	.	36,191.	13.	1.
Sum remaining in his hands on 30 Sept., 5 Hen. VII after				
allowing all payments	.	5,739.	17.	2.
Receipts 30 Sept., 5 Hen. VII to 1 Oct., 11 Hen. VII	.	12,646.	18.	5½.

<i>John Heron, treasurer of the chamber.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Receipts from 1 Oct., 18 Hen. VII to 1 Oct., 21 Hen. VII		361,469.	8.	9.
Sums paid out between the same dates	.	338,340.	7.	9.
Amount remaining in the hands of John Heron on 1 Oct.,				
21 Hen. VII	.	22,329.	1.	0.

All these sums are authenticated by the attachment of the king's rubric.

A system that could handle and account for such sums as these, and they were greater under Henry VIII, was no mere subsidiary department of the court, but an organization of first-rate national importance, or, as Brian Tuke wrote in 1534, ' a charge that far surmounteth any in England, . . . forasmuch as in a month or in a week . . . the things be so great in receipts and payments as far exceed any mean man's charge to bear '.⁵⁴

Turning now to the payments that were made by the treasurer of the chamber, we find ourselves without the definite guidance that we had for the receipts in the acts for general surveyors, but with a bewildering abundance of material in the accounts which are nearly perfect for the whole of Heron's service. Our comments must therefore be confined to generalizations and to an attempt to separate the items into a few classes according to their nature. Under the conditions prevailing about the middle of the fifteenth century the treasurer of the chamber or master of the king's jewels⁵⁵ was entrusted with the payment of the rewards and

⁵⁴ Cotton, Titus, R iv, f. 112 (only extracted very briefly by Brewer).

⁵⁵ The offices were at this period combined ; see above, pp. 350 f.

largesse bestowed by the king, and with the discharge of the greater part of the alms and oblations bestowed in the king's religious observances. These functions were retained by the treasurer, and continued to be discharged until the abolition of his office in the reign of George III. It is important to remember that in the fifteenth century, as at an earlier date, the household, the great wardrobe, and the chamber were entirely distinct and parallel departments of the court, each having its own revenues, each charged with its own payments and each with its own staff of clerks to keep the accounts. The financial department of the household, the lineal descendant of the medieval wardrobe, was the compting house under the general control of the treasurer of the household, but with the cofferer as its real executive officer. The funds for its maintenance were provided under Edward IV and Henry VII from the exchequer by tallies of assignment. One of the earliest acts of parliament⁵⁶ in the latter reign rearranged these assignments and allocated by schedule definite items of revenue to provide by assignments on exchequer revenues a fixed sum of about £14,000 for the maintenance of the household. With the collection of these sums the treasurer of the chamber had, at first, nothing to do, and it was directed that they should be paid to the cofferer of the household. But the exchequer was a cumbrous instrument for revenue collection, and the cofferer found it very difficult to get his assignments paid promptly; besides, the expenditure frequently exceeded the sum fixed. Under these circumstances he was compelled to borrow upon his tallies from the treasurer of the chamber, and the king had to make up the recurring deficits from his coffers by signed bills or verbal commands to the treasurer. We find, therefore, payments to the cofferer, and for a similar reason to the great wardrobe, among the items in the chamber accounts. On the accession of Henry VIII the assignments to the household were increased by act of parliament⁵⁷ to 19,394*l.* 16*s.* 3½*d.* per annum, and to the great wardrobe to 2,015*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*;⁵⁸ but even these sums were insufficient to meet the expenditure. The old difficulties of collection remained, payments still had to be made in aid from the chamber, and in 1523 a further act⁵⁹ transferred the collection and receipt of the assignments to the now efficient chamber machinery, and the treasurer was placed in full charge. This act, however, did not remain long in force; in 1531 it was repealed⁶⁰ and payments were once more made direct to the cofferer.

These facts account for a considerable number of the items

⁵⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, vi. 298, no. 31.

⁵⁷ 1 Hen. VIII, c. 17.

⁵⁸ 22 Hen. VIII, c. 19.

⁵⁹ 1 Hen. VIII, c. 16.

⁶⁰ 14-15 Hen. VIII, c. 19.

in the chamber books, but we must carefully distinguish them from another sort of payments that might seem to be made to the household, but which really have a different history behind them. In the Black Book of the Household of Edward IV we find it ordered that certain servants of the court, such as yeomen of the Crown, yeomen of the chamber, and messengers, are to have their wages paid in the compting house by the 'chekkyr' roll; but if 'any of them be sent out of Court by the king's chamberlain, then he taketh his wages of the jewel house and *vacat* in the chequer roll till he be seen in Court again',⁶¹ and it was likewise provided that the expenses of his mission should be paid from the jewel house. If the king's servants spent the greater part of their time within the verge, the provision stated would be of small importance, but when Henry VII, or perhaps Edward IV, began systematically to use the household clerks and yeomen on revenue-collecting commissions up and down the country, and when in pursuance of an active foreign policy the king's chaplains and his knights of the body were often dispatched on missions to foreign courts, payments from the chamber, now separated once more from the jewel house, became really important. This enables us to explain a further set of items in the accounts which became more frequent as time went on, for it became customary to pay the expenses of all ambassadors out of the chamber, even though they might not under ordinary circumstances be persons receiving wages on the chequer roll. Payments to foreign ambassadors are to be accounted for under the heading of rewards, while payments for jewels, in which Henry VII invested a large part of his hoarded wealth, came naturally out of the chamber as the financial side of the jewel house. It is more difficult to give a reason for the payments out of the chamber for stuffs and furniture, which should technically have been paid for from the great wardrobe; but Mr. Tout has shown that the great wardrobe grew out of the chamber, and the reason therefore is based upon historical development. The great wardrobe under Henry VII was a poor department and one that was not closely in touch with the king, while the treasurer of the chamber or one of his assistants was always at his elbow to pay for the caprices of the moment. We should do well, too, not to think of any of the court departments as being bound by inflexible rules. Custom was strong, but the word of a king like Henry VII in his own court was stronger, and the responsibility of the treasurer of the chamber for a payment was ended when he had received the king's verbal command, or when, in more important cases or if he was at a distance, he had an order authenticated by the sign manual or the court seal, the signet.

⁶¹ *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV*, in *Household Ordinances*, p. 38.

The payments we have so far considered have been payments actually connected in some way with the court, but many, perhaps the majority, of the large payments in Heron's accounts could not in any modern sense be classed as court payments at all. Only when we go back almost to the undifferentiated *Curia Regis* and to the wardrobe and chamber accounts of the Edwards, can we find precedents for payments by a court official involving scores of thousands of pounds for ships and archers, ordnance and fortifications, harness, victualling, and so on. Even a brief analysis of these payments and the machinery by which they were managed by the treasurer of the chamber would demand many pages, and must of necessity here be omitted, but we can fortunately present a summary of the treasurer's duties in these respects that is actually contemporary and, though it is unsigned, may have been written by Wolsey himself. The paper⁶² is a memorandum of directions for a regular stock-taking of the revenues and possessions of Henry VIII, and its contents are illustrated by the following extracts which bear upon the duties entrusted to Sir John Heron :

A Remembrance of such things as the King's Grace will have to be done and hath given in commandment to his Cardinal to put the same in effectual execution.

First the King's pleasure is to have yearly from henceforth brought and delivered to his own proper hands by John Heron, Treasurer of his Chamber, of such sums of money as he shall receive from time to time to the King's use, for certain his Grace's extraordinary expenses to the sum of X*m* *li.*, the same to be divided quarterly by even portions. . . .

Item, the King's Grace hath appointed every year towards his buildings till the same shall be perfected, as well at Bridewell as at New Hall and other places, after such platts as his Grace intendeth to devise, the sum of v*m* *li.*, the same to be paid by the hands of Sir John Heron over and above the said X*m* *li.*

Item, the King's Grace hath also appointed that all rewards for Ambassadors, and wages for posts and other necessary expenses, as well for fortifications of the king's frontiers and other the king's outward causes shall be paid by the hands of Sir John Heron of such the king's treasure as shall come to his hands from time to time.

In this last paragraph we have as wide a definition of the functions of the treasurer as is necessary to cover any of the payments by him that are to be found in profusion scattered through the columns of Henry VIII's letters and papers. They may all be summed up as payments for 'the king's outward causes'; almost anything that had to be paid for by reason of England's relations with foreign powers, either for war or for peace, fell to be managed by the treasurer of the chamber. The

⁶² Cotton, Titus, B. i. f. 180 (entered by Brewer but not extracted).

discharge and punctual repayment of loans from foreign financiers, the building and rigging of the king's ships, the making of Portsmouth dockyard, the arming and equipping of archers for the Scottish wars, the purchase of artillery, a large part of the expenses for the war in France and in Spain, most of the expenses of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and numberless other payments that to-day would be discharged out of the national treasury, all these were dealt with and arranged for by the treasurer of the chamber.⁶³

Having said something as to the purposes for which payments were made by the treasurer of the chamber, our attention must lastly be directed to the way in which the payments were ordered and to the methods employed for auditing the treasurer's accounts. While Lovell held the post and was in close and daily intercourse with his master, practically all payments seem to have been made on the king's verbal command, and the only check adopted was Henry VII's daily or weekly inspection of the books in which all receipts and payments were recorded. The early books are remarkable for the care the king took in their perusal. Every item and every total is authenticated by the attachment of his elaborate rubric at the side; while an occasional comment here and there shows that the investigation was not merely perfunctory, but was a real proving of the books. As time went on and the business of the treasurer of the chamber became greater, orders for payment had to be sent to him in writing, and this was invariably done by sign manual or signet bill, the latter form being the less usual. The orders were not yet formalized, but were of the nature of informal directions for the dispatch of the king's personal business, authenticated by his signature as would be the orders of any private person, while if an order were authenticated by the use of a seal, that seal would be the intimate court seal, the signet.

But under Henry VIII directions for payments by the treasurer of the chamber became far more formal; the king no longer

⁶³ A typical instance of each of these classes of payments from the *Letters and Papers* may be given in illustration:—

1517, Feb. 22. Sir John Heron stands bound with Wolsey, the Lord Chancellor, for a loan to Henry VIII by the Frescobaldi of Florence: ii. 2953, also 3141.

1519, May 12. With Sir John Daunce the treasurer of the chamber pays over 8,700*l.* for the building of the ship *Henri Grace de Dieu*: iii. 219.

1513, Oct. Sir John Heron pays money to Miles Gerrard, treasurer of the Scottish war, by virtue of a warrant to discharge the expenses of the war: i. 4535, also 5250.

1515, Mar. 20. Release to Sir Sampson Norton, master of the ordnance, for moneys received from Sir John Heron for payment of arms: ii. 254.

1516, July 2. Release to Sir John Cutte of London for 43,000*l.* received by him from John Heron, treasurer of the chamber, for artillery in the French and Scottish wars: ii. 2123.

1520, Dec. 10. Sir John Heron pays expenses for the Field of the Cloth of Gold: iii. 1093.

paid that minute attention to current business that his father had done, but chose to entrust to Wolsey a larger discretion and power of government than has ever been exercised by any other English minister. Payments were still made by the treasurer of the chamber on the king's verbal command, but payments on signed warrants became more frequent, and during the king's absence from England Queen Katherine was authorized to issue warrants to Heron.⁶⁴ We also find him making payments on orders received from Wolsey, and these became very usual, for the enormous growth of the business of the chamber as time went on made it essential that some system of verification of the king's orders should be adopted. The payments were no longer confined to those having the character of personal actions on the king's part, but were largely concerned with matters of state. While Wolsey was the sole interpreter of the king's will things were in the hands of a man whose capacity for business was almost unlimited, and his personal supervision might be depended upon to control the governmental system in the way that Henry VII had done; but when the great minister was removed, the pressure of business proved too great to be coped with by lesser men, things began to fall into arrear and disorder, and Brian Tuke, treasurer of the chamber, writes in 1534 to Wolsey's less efficient successor, Cromwell, in an attempt to secure good government in his office:⁶⁵

My most humble pursuit is that for things ordinary I may have for payments an ordinary warrant, and that for things extraordinary I may always have special warrant or else some such way as I, dealing truly, may be truly discharged. For if I should make payments by commandment and afterwards sue, myself, for particular warrant, I might be undone in a day, lacking any warrant when I sue for it. And there should be no day but I should molest the king's highness to sign my warrants, and I should enter into a common suit for every man's money.

We have already stated that under Henry VII the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber were subject to no other audit than the personal examination of the king. This was conducted according to the usual form customary in the household of any great lord of the time;⁶⁶ the items in the accounts were written in English with figures after the Roman fashion, and the books were intelligible at a glance, for receipts and payments were kept separate, and there was an entire absence of

⁶⁴ In June 1513. By Pat. 5 Hen. VIII, p. 1, m. 9, Queen Katherine was authorized to issue warrants under her sign manual to Heron for payments during her regency while the king is in France: *Letters and Papers*, i. 4179. See also no. 4202.

⁶⁵ Cotton, Titus, B. iv, f. 112.

⁶⁶ Compare the accounts of the duke of Buckingham, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 508.

the technicalities that made an exchequer account so obscure to a layman. By the act for general surveyors⁶⁷ the treasurer was not accomptable in the exchequer for any of his receipts or payments, but only to the king or such as he should appoint for the purpose. As Tuke tells us, 'This accompt before the king's highness hath both in Sir Thomas Lovell's time, Sir John Heron's time and other been made by books of their receipts and payments daily entered and made, and sometimes weekly, sometimes quarterly or monthly signed with the king's hand without any other accompt or reckoning'. Henry VII almost always examined the accounts weekly, and was very liberal with his signatures; Henry VIII was much less regular, and signed his accounts as a rule only at the bottom of the page, writing his name in full and not merely using a rubric. In 1519 a regular period for the presentation of the treasurer's account was prescribed:

Item the king's pleasure is that from henceforth Sir John Heron, treasurer of his chamber, shall monthly declare in his Grace's own presence as well the specialities of his receipts as of his payments.⁶⁸

This use of the term 'declare' is interesting, for it clearly differentiates the chamber audit from one according to the course of the exchequer. Henry VII had caused all receivers and accomptants who paid money into the chamber to accompt *by mouth* before Sir Reginald Bray and Sir Robert Southwell; and this was in reality merely a continuance of the method of accompt that had prevailed in each lordship before it fell to the Crown, but permitting the king, who now held all the lordships, to give the discharge by deputy. The system was extended and regularized under the general surveyors, but the chief receiver-general, the treasurer of the chamber, still declared his account before the king in person. When Sir Henry Wyatt left the office, however, he sued forth a commission from the king to have his books proved and cast up before Sir John Daunce, the general surveyor, and this reckoning or 'declaration', as Tuke calls it, was actually carried out, thus setting a new precedent for the treasurer of the chamber.

The declaration took place at the end of the period we have taken for our survey; and as it really marks the change to the period of wider activity when the court of augmentations and the other revenue courts were established, it is unnecessary to enter into details concerning it. Attention has been drawn to the matter as indicating that the origin of the 'Declared Account', which in the next age became the usual form in which receivers

⁶⁷ 6 Hen. VIII, c. 24, § 19.

⁶⁸ Cotton, Titus, B. i, f. 180.

secured their discharge, is to be sought not in the practice of the remodelled exchequer of Elizabeth's reign,⁶⁹ but in that of the chamber of the early Tudors.

ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON.

NOTE.

The Herons of Ford Castle in Northumberland were one of the best known of the border families and a very prolific stock, from which sprang four or five families of note in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As in most northern families it was the custom for the younger sons to come south to find their fortune in the wars or in commerce. At some time during the reign of Henry VI two such cadets of the Ford Castle stock came south and engaged in mercantile enterprise in the city of London. Richard Heron, having emerged with profit from his speculations as a merchant and having been of service to Edward IV in the victualling of his forces, was in 1474 appointed master of the king's mints in Ireland,⁷⁰ and in 1476 captain and victualler of the fort of Carrickfergus.⁷¹ He did not relinquish his trading interests, for in 1478 we find him engaged in a lawsuit over commercial affairs with the merchants of the staple in Calais, from which he was ordered by parliament to desist.⁷² It is possible that this Richard Heron was the father of the John Heron who, as a merchant of London in 1490, was granted a licence to import 200 tuns of Gascony wine from Bordeaux in two Spanish ships.⁷³ If this be so, we can account through his connexion with the Irish Yorkists for the share he took in furthering the schemes of Perkin Warbeck.⁷⁴ For this he was attainted by the act 11 Hen. VII, c. 64, but after a time he succeeded in making his peace with the king, and by 19 Hen. VII, c. 38 the attainder was removed and he was enabled to enter into and inherit his estates without suing livery. From this time onwards he served the king faithfully, and under Henry VIII we find him engaged as a mercer in the wool trade, acting as surveyor of customs and overseer of the petty customs on wool in the port of London, and entering into many transactions for the provisioning of the king's armies in France, while in 1515 he was paid for providing the ships for the journey of the king's sister Mary to France for her marriage with Louis XII.⁷⁵ He had made a sufficient fortune by his merchandise to purchase an estate at Addiscombe near Croydon, where he died in 1515. In his long and interesting will he tells us of his friendship with Sir John Cutt, Henry VIII's under-treasurer and Sir John Daunce the general surveyor, and by his inquisition he was shown to possess lands in St. Dunstan's in the East,

⁶⁹ See the article by Mrs. Eric George on the Origin of the Declared Account, *ante*, xxxi. 41, January 1916.

⁷⁰ *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 20 August 1474, p. 468.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 11 April and 14 October 1476, pp. 583 and 596.

⁷² 26 February 1478: *Rot. Parl.*, vi. 182, and *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, p. 67.

⁷³ *Campbell*, ii. 525.

⁷⁴ Gairdner, *Richard III*, p. 328, says that Heron was a bankrupt London merchant who had fled the city for debt, but he does not give his authority.

⁷⁵ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii. 68.

near the Customs House, at Sandwich, at Croydon, and also in Northumberland.⁷⁶ From him was descended the family of the Herons of Addiscombe.

William Heron, who, like Richard, came to London from Ford Castle in the middle of the fifteenth century and traded as a haberdasher, married Joan, the widow of Thomas Packer, a mercer of Wiltshire,⁷⁷ and we find occasional mention of him in the latter part of the reign of Edward IV; he does not appear to have filled any government appointment, but towards the end of his life he purchased lands in Lincolnshire, and these passed to his descendants. His son was John Heron, the treasurer of the chamber.⁷⁸

From about 1470 onwards we find frequent references to a John Heron or Herne in connexion with the county of Somerset; he was a man of wealth, who had a sufficient supply of capital to be able to lend money on his neighbours' lands, and he served the Crown in many capacities within the limits of his county; in 1473 and again in 1492 he was a member of commissions for concealed Crown debts in Somerset, in 1477 and subsequent years a justice of the peace, in 1488 a collector of the subsidy, in 1494 on a commission for escheats, and so on. His inquisition post mortem is dated in 1511, and he was therein shown to be seised of lands only in the county of Somerset. He is thus clearly distinguished from the others of his name to whom he apparently bore no relationship. We need not concern ourselves with the bearers of the name of John Heron in the north of England, and among them the well-known Bastard Heron of Flodden, for their activities were confined to the border counties, and no confusion is likely to occur between their activities and those of the financier.

⁷⁶ *Wills in Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, i. 269; Inq. p. m., 8 Hen. VIII, County of Surrey, Chancery series, vol. 31, no. 86.

⁷⁷ He was a benefactor to the parish of St. Dunstan's in the East, and was buried near the high altar in the church.

⁷⁸ *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 21 April 1469, p. 141. See also p. 76; Morant's *Essex*, ii. 345; *Lincolnshire Pedigrees* (Harl. Soc.); Betham's *Baronetage*, iv. 32.