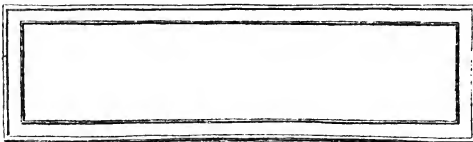
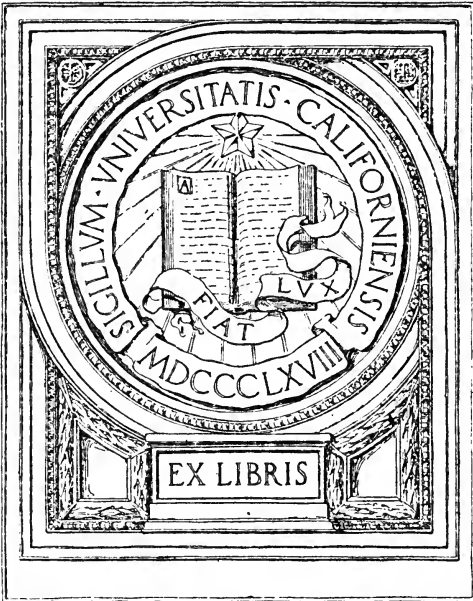


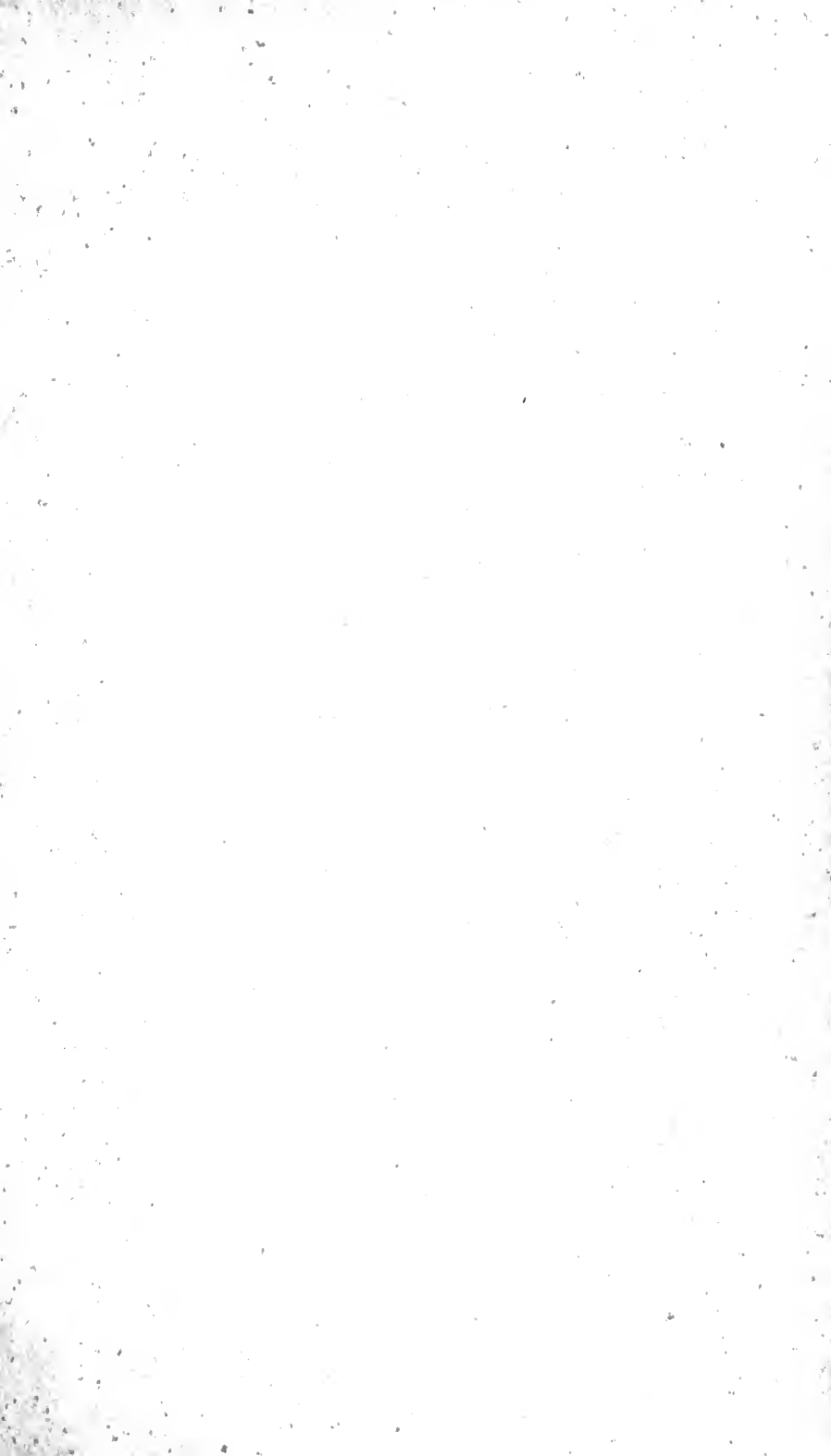


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FINANCES  
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VOL. III, No. 2

JANUARY, 1918

# Smith College Studies in History

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JOHN SPENCER BASSETT  
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY

*Editors*

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## FINANCES OF EDWARD VI AND MARY

*By* FREDERICK CHARLES DIETZ

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NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

Published Quarterly by the  
Department of History of Smith College

Entered as second class matter December 14, 1915, at the postoffice at  
Northampton, Mass., under the act of August 24, 1912.

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# SMITH COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT  
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY  
EDITORS

THE SMITH COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY is published quarterly, in October, January, April and July, by the Department of History of Smith College. The subscription price is one dollar and a half for the year. Separate numbers may be had for fifty cents (or one dollar for double numbers). Subscriptions and requests for exchanges should be addressed to Professor SIDNEY B. FAY, Northampton, Mass.

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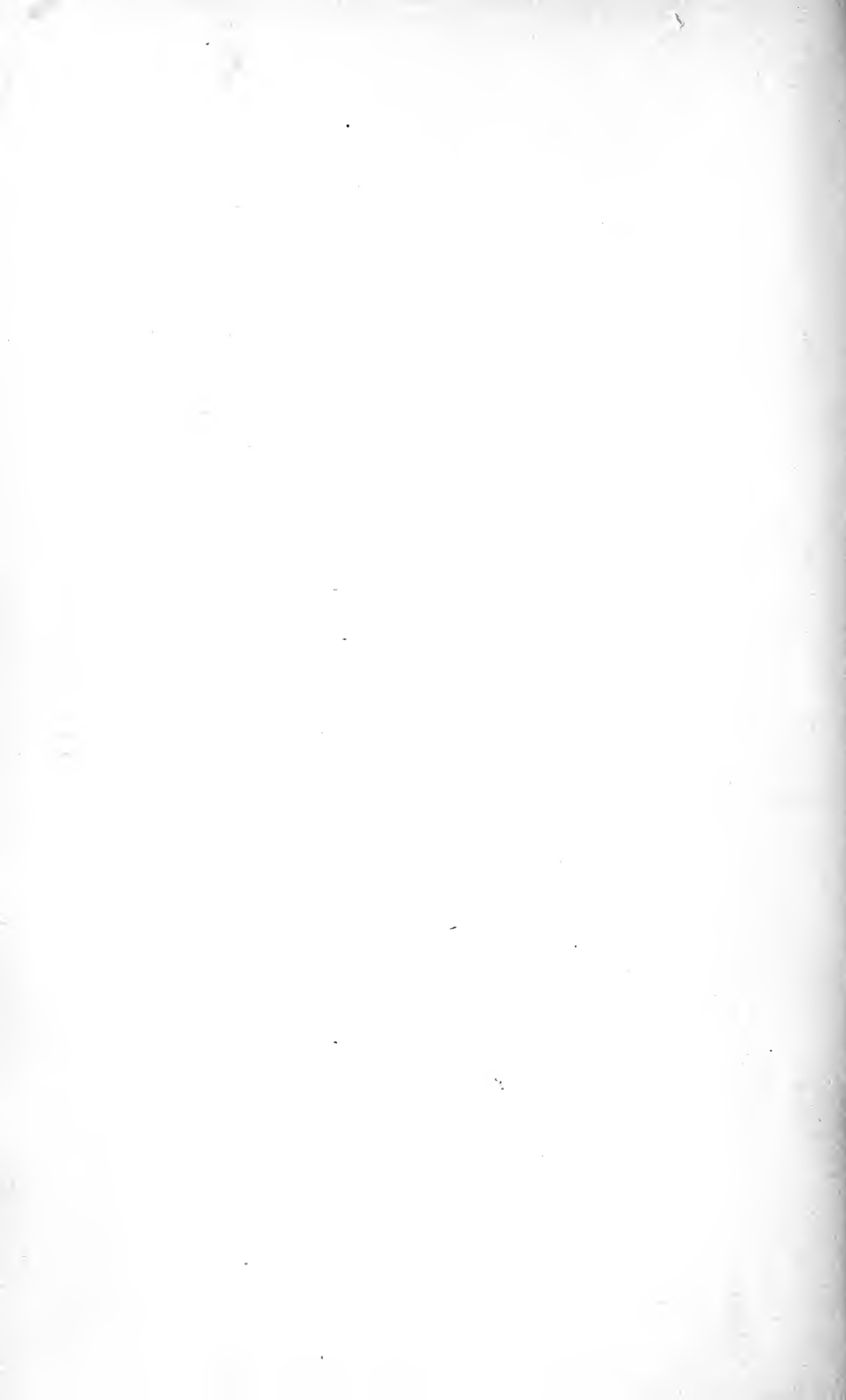
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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

For information about the history of Tudor finances students go to Stephen Dowell's elaborate general work, "A History of Taxes and Taxation in England" (4 volumes, London, 2nd Edition, 1888). In the chapters dealing with the Tudor period Mr. Dowell's hypotheses are incorrect, and his facts very incomplete. Above all he is interested in the "how" of things, and pays little attention to the "why." Some general observations supplementary to Dowell are made by W. Cunningham in "The Growth of English Industry and Commerce" (3 volumes, Cambridge, 5th Edition, 1910).

A few special phases of the subject have received detailed study. George Schanz treats the commercial policy of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and incidentally the history of the customs revenues of their reigns in his masterly "Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters" (2 volumes, Leipsic, 1881). A valuable contribution is N. S. B. Gras's little article, "Tudor 'Books of Rates': a Chapter in the History of the English Customs," (Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XXVI [1912-13], pp. 766-775). Like the customs, the coinage has been specially investigated. The best account dealing with the period covered by this essay is Professor C. W. C. Oman's "The Tudors and the Currency" (Translations of the Royal Historical Society, New Series, Vol. IX).

On the organization of the English revenue system in the Middle Ages much has been written, but little attention has been paid so far to the revolutionary changes made in that organization under the Tudors. "The Ancient Exchequer of England," by F. S. Thomas (London, 1848), embodies a shrewd suspicion of the character of these changes; but Mr. Thomas had at his disposal only a few of the documents which have since been made accessible. Very recently there seems to have arisen in England a new interest in the organization of the revenue system in Tudor times. In 1916 appeared Mrs. Eric George's "Note on

the Origin of the Declared Account" (*English Historical Review*, Vol. 31, pp. 41-58), and more recently A. P. Newton published his "The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors" (*English Historical Review*, Vol. 32, pp. 348-372). Mrs. George's article is deficient in that she has not gone back far enough, nor far enough afield to discover the real nature or the origin of the declared account, which are to be found in the most unsuspected classes of records. Mr. Newton is familiar with all the important records, especially the account books of the Treasurer of the Chamber; but he has not analyzed closely enough their entries.

In the nature of things, then, the materials from which this essay on the finances of Edward VI and Mary is built must be almost exclusively documentary. Of the printed documents, by far the most valuable are the "Acts of the Privy Council," owing to the very important part played by the council in the government of the country and the formulation of policies during the two reigns. Upon important matters, however, in which it is certain that the council acted, the registers are provokingly silent. It is annoying, too, to find mention made of minutes and letters which have disappeared. Of almost equal worth for the reign of Edward VI's latter years, is "Edward VI's Journal" (*Clarendon Historical Society Reprints*, 1884), and those other papers which he drew up with his own hand, published, together with his journal, as the "Literary Remains of Edward VI" (2 volumes, *Roxburghe Club*, 1857). As each new financial measure was explained to the king, it was noted in his journal. In the last year of his life, when the financial situation was very bad, he drew up papers of suggested remedies.

The "Statutes of the Realm" are of course very valuable. The preambles of acts, especially of the subsidy act of 1553, must however be used with great caution. The "Journal of the House of Commons" occasionally hints at opposition to royal measures, but the nature of the debates is never indicated. The "Journal of the House of Lords," more unsatisfactory still, gives most of its space to the long lists of the peers present at each session, with a bare table of the bills taken up.

The great collections of manuscripts and documents calendared in the "Historical Manuscripts Commission's Reports" are very disappointing, yielding almost nothing for the purposes of this paper. The contemporary chronicles, like the "Greyfriars' Chronicle" and "Wriothesley's Chronicle," published by the Camden Society, are almost equally valueless. The "Calendar of State Papers—Domestic," covering Edward's and Mary's reigns is not more than a finding list: the original documents in the Record Office in London must be used in all cases.

The most important sources of this paper are unprinted documents. These are, first, the state papers in the Record Office, together with the manuscripts in the British Museum gathered in the Lansdowne, Cottonian, Harleian and other collections. These consist of letters exchanged by the great government officials on the business of the state, their private memoranda, of minutes of the work of committees of the Privy Council, of accounts which have strayed from their proper places, and of transcripts of accounts, made in the time of James I, the originals of which are now lost.

The second class of unprinted documents consists of the great series of accounts of the financial system. To understand them, a brief description of the organization of the financial system in the middle Tudor period is essential. By the development of the changes initiated by Henry VII, the revenue system consisted in Edward VI's reign of a number of treasuries and courts of audit, independent of each other. These were the Exchequer, the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Treasury of the Chamber, the Court of Augmentations and Revenue, the Court of First Fruits and Tenths, and the Court of Wards and Liveries. At the head of the system was the king, or in his place the council by delegation of crown powers in Henry VIII's time. To the crown in council each court was responsible for the accounts of all receipts and disbursements of its revenues. These accounts were rendered to the council in the form of the declaration of accounts of the chief officers of the several courts. In the Exchequer this declaration was made in Henry VII's,

Henry VIII's and Edward VI's reigns by the chancellor of the Exchequer, in the form of the "Declaration of the State of the Treasury," beautifully written on vellum. One volume only remains for Edward VI's time, for the year, Michaelmas, 1550-1551 (Record Office, Exchequer of Receipt, Declarations of the State of the Treasury, Vol. 27). When the disbursements of the exchequer became more diversified after 1544, a supplementary paper was drawn up by the clerk of the chancellor, the auditor of the receipt, showing the disbursements especially upon warrants of the council, which were not included in the vellum declarations. A volume of these auditor's declarations of issues is preserved for the years 1544 to 1560 (R. O., Exch. of Rec., Misc., 259), and is the only source for the most important Exchequer disbursements in these years. In Mary's time the vellum declaration of the chancellor was replaced by a smaller paper declaration of the clerk of the pells, showing receipts only. The volume containing the receipts of the years 1556, 1557 and of Hilary term, 1558, is preserved. (R. O., Exch. of Rec., Declaration Books, Pells, Vol. 1.) There may have been a parallel declaration of receipts made by the chancellor's clerk, the auditor of the receipt, since there is preserved a series of such declarations for Elizabeth's reign. The chief source for Exchequer receipts in our period is a very much condensed Jacobean copy of Exchequer receipts from Easter, 1547, to Michaelmas, 1555, preserved in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS., Vol. 156, ff. 168).

The declaration of the receiver-general of the Duchy of Lancaster, showing his total receipts and expenditures for the year, and the natures of these, was a thin book of large vellum sheets, entitled *Comptus*. Except for the year 1549-1550, the series is complete for the two reigns, with two small paper duplicates. (R. O., Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts Various, Bundle VIII, 13 volumes.)

The Treasurer of the Chamber lost his former importance with the merger of the Court of General Surveyors, of which he was treasurer, with the Court of Augmentations on January 1,



1547. He remained treasurer only of the revenue of the Hanaper of Chancery. To enable him to meet his payments to the king's servants and officials additional sums were issued to him from the Exchequer and other courts. One of his account books for the year 1547-1548 is published in the Trevelyan Papers, Volume 67, of the Camden Society Publications, pp. 191ff. No declaration of his exists in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, or in Edward VI's time, but there is an account for the years 1557 to 1579. (R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 541.)

The treasurer of the Court of Augmentations prepared for the council a *Compotus* of the receipts and issues of his office. Owing to the immense amount of business noted, the *Compoti* of the Augmentations Court are great unwieldy volumes of large leaves fastened at the top. The series is complete to the dissolution of the court in 1554, and its amalgamation with the exchequer. (R. O., Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Rolls of Accounts, numbers 4-10 inclusive.)

The accounts of the treasurer of the Court of First Fruits and Tenths are elusive. There is in the British Museum a Jacobean copy of the declaration of the treasurer for the year Christmas, 1547, to Christmas, 1548 (Lansdowne MSS., Vol. 156, f. 164). In 1554 the court was amalgamated with the Exchequer. Remembrancers of First Fruits and Tenths conducted the former business of the court: their account for Mary's reign is preserved. (R. O., Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, Accounts 520/28.)

The general accounts of the Court of Wards and Liveries were delivered to the council in the form of the *Compotus* of the receiver-general of the court. For the two reigns the *compoti* are collected in several volumes; and bound with them in the same volumes are the rough entry books of the receiver-general's clerk. (R. O., Court of Wards, Misc. Books, Vols. 363, 364, 365, 366, 367.)

Before the crown in council were compelled to appear also the officials entrusted with the expenditures of royal money for special purposes, like the treasurers of war and the surveyors of

victuals, the special agents of the government abroad who managed the foreign loans and purchased supplies, and the treasurer of the mint. Their accounts were examined and audited in Edward VI's reign by the two auditors of the prebends who were then attached to the Court of Augmentations; in Mary's time by specially appointed auditors. The accounts, drawn up in a very special form, in triplicate, and in English, were known as "Declarations of the Account," and differed essentially in form and simplicity from the old Latin *Compti* of the Exchequer. When approved by the auditors they were formally passed by commissioners of the council appointed from time to time, or on specific occasions for this purpose, and signed or even sealed by them. The most important series of accounts of this kind are those of Sir Edmund Pekham, High Treasurer of the Mint. He accounted for not only all the profits of the debasement of the coinage, but for forced loans, and for money coming from the sale of lands. He disbursed very large sums for many special purposes for which the ordinary treasurers could not provide. (R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2077, 2079, 2080.) Of great value too are the accounts of Sir Thomas Gresham, and other agents, showing their loan transactions in Flanders. (R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 14, 17, 18, 23, 26, 43.) For the study of the foreign loans these accounts are supplemented by the original cancelled bonds and sureties given by the crown and the City of London to the Flemish creditors. (R. O., Treasury of Receipt, Letters Patent for Loans, Bundle 4.) Other declarations of accounts are those of the various treasurers of war. (R. O., Declared Accounts, Audit Office, Bundle 283.)

From time to time the council ordered special statements of the revenues of the whole kingdom, or special reports, to be presented to itself. Such are the "Brief declaration of the whole military and naval expenses incurred by Henry VIII and Edward VI during their wars with France and Scotland" (State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol. XV, No. 11), the register of all gifts, exchanges and purchases of crown lands in every year of King Edward VI (State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol.

XIX), the report on the state of all the revenues for the year 1550-1551 prepared by a spécial committee of the council (British Museum, Additional MSS., 30,198; Harl. MSS., 7883, No. 1); and the list of all the fees and charges of the government in Edward's reign (British Museum, Stow MSS., 571, No. 1). To these may be added possibly the account of arrears of first fruits and tenths due from the incumbents of various benefices drawn up by the Treasurer of First Fruits and Tenths in 1552 (State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol. XVI), and the valors of crown lands in the several counties dating from Mary's reign (R. O., Augmentation Office, Misc. Books, 167).

The several courts and treasuries kept varied series of account books and rolls of their own. For the purposes of this essay the most important of these are the rolls of the Exchequer of Account. The Pipe Roll is continued through the period; but as only the formal feudal revenues were entered in it, it is of little value. In Edward III's time accounts foreign to the sheriff's jurisdiction, which had previously been placed at the end of the accounts in the Pipe Roll, were enrolled on the Roll of Foreign Accounts. In Henry VII's time many of the accounts previously entered in the Foreign Roll were transferred elsewhere; through Edward VI's reign the foreign roll affords nothing. But in the directions and regulations which Mary provided for the amalgamation of the Augmentations and Exchequer courts, she directed that accounts passed by the commissioners of the council should be enrolled in the Foreign Roll. Only a few such accounts were so enrolled; but a number of accounts, like those of the clerk of the Hanaper of Chancery, of the chief butler, and of the mayor and constable of the Society of the Staple reappear. (R. O., Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Foreign Roll, No. 120). The customs dues and subsidies were enrolled in the customs rolls (R. O., Exchequer, L. T. R., Enrolled Accounts, Customs), the subsidies and fifteenths and tenths granted by parliament in the subsidy rolls (R. O., Exchequer, L. T. R., Enrolled Accounts, Subsidies, No. 44), and the accounts of the expenditures in the royal household and wardrobe in the wardrobe

and household rolls. The roll covering the period is misplaced; instead of being roll No. 11 in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's office enrollments of household and wardrobe accounts, it is found among the declared accounts in the Pipe Office (R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, No. 1795). This roll contains the complete household accounts from 1547 to 1601, but only a few wardrobe accounts. The original wardrobe *compoti* not enrolled are preserved among the declared accounts (R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, No. 3027-3032).

# Finances of Edward VI and Mary

## CHAPTER I

### THE SCOTCH AND FRENCH WARS, 1547-1550

The complicated nature of the finances of the English government during the Tudor period is not yet understood, nor is the importance of their bearing upon the general history of the times recognized. The reign of Henry VII and the early part of Henry VIII's reign saw the erection of a new revenue system, adequate for a moment to the needs of the government. Between 1542 and 1553 this new system was disintegrated and its adequacy destroyed. This nullification of the work of Henry VII and of Cromwell, as it was completed in the reign of Edward VI, and the first attempts to rehabilitate the remaining resources of the state in Mary's reign are the subjects of this essay. The events of these years have a wider interest, in that they serve as a basis for understanding the parsimony of Elizabeth, and the difficulties of James I.

In his admirable volume in the "Political History of England" series, Mr. A. F. Pollard thus summarizes financial conditions at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign: "The financial situation was deplorable. Royal expenditure, which was about £56,000 a year at the end of Henry VIII's reign, had risen to to £65,000 before the end of Edward VI's, and during Mary's had grown to £138,000 in 1554-55, £213,000 in 1555-56, £216,000 in 1556-57 and £345,000 in 1557-58. In the last financial half-year of Mary's reign, from Easter to Michaelmas, 1558, she had spent £267,000, or at the rate of £534,000 a year, and she left a debt of nearly a quarter of a million. To meet this unprecedented outlay, parliament in 1558 had granted one subsidy,<sup>1</sup> one-tenth,

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<sup>1</sup> The subsidy was a tax of two, three or four shillings in the pound of the value of income from land, payable in two, three or four years, together with a tax of two shillings and four pence in the pound of the value of personal property, payable in two years. Individuals paid according to their greatest worth either in lands or goods, on either their lands or goods, but not on both.

and one-fifteenth.<sup>2</sup> The old tenth and fifteenth had through the power of resistance possessed by the shires and towns on which it was levied been reduced to a fixed sum of about £32,000,<sup>3</sup> which far from increasing with the wealth of the country, rapidly decreased in value with the rise in prices and decline in purchasing power of gold and silver owing to the influx of precious metals from the New World. The subsidy designed to meet this growing deficiency produced at first about £120,000; but, in spite of its assessment upon the weaker individual, and of its collection by royal officials instead of by the nominees of members of parliament, the subsidy tended to diminish in productivity. Paget in 1544 calculated that a subsidy would yield £100,000; probably it yielded less in 1558, and at the end of Elizabeth's reign produced only £80,000. The clergy at the same time granted eight shillings in the pound, which may have amounted to some £35,000. The parliamentary grants of 1558 would thus have realized about £160,000, and it is little wonder that Philip complained of their inadequacy. The forced loan yielded £109,000, the ordinary feudal dues were worth perhaps £50,000 a year; and the customs duties even after the increases imposed by Mary, were farmed at only £24,000. These would bring the revenue in 1558 up to about £345,000; but the deficit, even when reduced by the profits of jurisdiction and by fines for renewal obtained through the revocation of all grants and patents from the crown, cannot have been much less than £150,000; and Mary's expenditure during her last year must have exceeded her revenue by nearly 40 per cent. Her predecessors, Henry VIII and Edward VI, had made a fraudulent profit of something like a million by the debasement of the coinage; but that source of revenue was exhausted, and in 1558 Mary was

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<sup>2</sup> The fifteenth and tenth was originally a tax of the fifteenth part of the value of movable goods of those persons living in the shires, and of the tenth part of such value of persons living in cities or on the ancient demesne lands.

<sup>3</sup> The yield of a fifteenth and tenth was actually only £29,000. See appendix.

with difficulty raising loans at the ruinous rate of 14 per cent, dispensing for that purpose with the usury laws."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Pollard's summary, which represents the best modern scholarship is incorrect in detail and in essence. He shares with other scholars the fundamental misconception of the importance of direct taxes, the parliamentary fifteenth and tenth, and subsidy, during the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> This misconception goes back to the discussion of the powers of parliament in the early days of the Long Parliament, when to exalt these powers by a challenge of precedents, the importance of direct taxes and the effect of parliamentary control over direct taxation was unduly magnified. Direct taxes of parliamentary grant were not important parts of the normal governmental income in the sixteenth century. As in Lancastrian times they were regarded as extraordinary revenues granted by parliament only in times of extraordinary expenditure to help meet the costs of war. Direct taxes were war taxes, and were not counted upon to meet the normal costs of government.

The Tudor revenue system had an entirely different basis. In the last analysis governmental revenue systems are efforts to turn the chief forms of wealth of the country most efficiently to the support of the state, with due regard for the prevailing political idea or theory. Their nature varies with and corresponds, sometimes tardily, to the changing economic development and organization of the country. In the Middle Ages, when communication was poor, the country economically disunited, and the state in general weak, feudal aids and incidents, the profits of jurisdictions and the farm of the demesne lands of the king by the sheriffs were the most effective means of diverting the wealth

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<sup>4</sup> A. F. Pollard, "History of England from the accession of Edward VI to the death of Elizabeth," 186-187.

<sup>5</sup> A bald statement of the importance of these direct taxes is to be found in his "England under the Protector Somerset," 48-49. "The ordinary royal income was still derived from the ancient taxes, tenths, fifteenths and subsidies. There was also the right of purveyance but \* \* \* the value of this right had been greatly reduced." See also E. Lipson, "The Economic History of England," 518ff., and W. Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," 295ff., 547ff.

of the country, in its form of land, to the support of the government. But toward the close of the fifteenth century, communication improved, money economy had developed rapidly, England became more economically unified, London became the economic, as well as the political, capital of most of England. The extension of the domestic system in the fifteenth century and its national regulation by the truck act of 1465, the regulation of the corn trade by the government, the parliamentary recognition of craft guilds, the protection of native artisans, and the complete adoption by the Tudors of a mercantilist policy foreshadowed in the legislation of Richard II, are special phases of the expansion of the economic unit, and the nationalization of the economic life of the country. This larger unification made possible a more effective means of turning land—at the outset of the Tudor period, still the chief form of wealth—to the support of the state. It was now possible for the crown to manage directly from London, and to receive in money payments, the rents and issues of vast estates owned by the crown in the several counties. These lands and manors owned by the crown, in which the demesnes were let on leases for money rents, and the peasant holdings were under the direction of royal bailiffs and stewards, the whole overseen by crown surveyors controlled directly from London, became the basis for the Tudor revenue system. The beginnings of this new system, which supplanted the feudal revenue system, reach back into the early fifteenth century or before. The duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall foreshadowed the new; the confiscations of Edward IV were a groping toward it. Richard III definitely outlined a comprehensive plan for the accumulation of crown lands; Henry VII, favored by the political circumstances attending his accession, immediately put this or a similar plan into practice. By the great confiscations of the reign; by renewed insistence on feudal dues, not merely with a view to the small casual revenue which these yielded, but to establish the legal claim of the crown to eventual forfeiture or escheat; by the resumptions and confiscations of the early part of Henry VIII's reign, and by the annexation of the monastic lands and estates



and the first fruits and tenths of the clergy to the crown, the royal domain had been built up. At the time of Cromwell's fall it was so great as to provide a revenue free from parliamentary interference, directly under the control of the king, sufficient, with the addition of the customs dues and other older revenues to meet the normal expenditures of the English government.

In his recent brilliant synthesis of English history, Mr. G. K. Chesterton makes the point that the dissolution of the monasteries was in fact the robbery of the church by the rich. If Mr. Chesterton had thought it worth while to acquaint himself intimately with the facts, he would have known that the dissolution was merely a phase of the policy, continuously followed since 1485, of making landed estates the basis for the crown revenue system. At its origin the policy had involved an attack upon the rich, with their humiliation and reduction to poverty and impotence. The rich of the fifteenth century, the old baronage, had ceased to exist as powers in the state. The new class, which Henry VII and Henry VIII called to their aid, included the highly trained and skilled officials, the unscrupulous intellectuals, the *legistes*, like Empson and Dudley, Cromwell, Paget, and Wriothesley. Though the ability of such men alone enabled Henry VIII to break with Rome and carry through the tremendous work of the dissolution, their first rewards were very modest. As the monastic estates had been confiscated to provide increased revenue for the crown, it is natural to find that only a very small portion of them was alienated from the crown before 1540, or 1542, when new circumstances arose.<sup>6</sup>

The new revenues were not managed or accounted in the Exchequer, where the medieval tradition and vested rights were too strong for improvement. New courts were created from time to time, the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Court of General Surveyors, the Court of Wards and Liveries, the

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<sup>6</sup> The extent and nature of the early grants of the newly acquired monastic lands to crown favorites is studied at some length in my "Finances of Henry VII and Henry VIII," (Harvard University Theses, 1916).—F. C. D.

Court of First Fruits and Tenths, and the Court of Augmentations. Each had its own treasury and accounts, independent of the others. All their several records must be examined to study the financial history of the Tudors. They show that the normal crown income which had been £32,000 from all sources in 1485 was increased to somewhat more than £200,000 a year in 1540.<sup>7</sup> To meet the ordinary expenses of the state, the charges of the royal household and wardrobe, the salaries of the officials of the revenue courts, of the officers and ministers of justice and of the secretaries of the king, the charges of the admiralty, ordnance department, armory and mint, the wages of the guards and yeomen of the crown and chamber and of the soldiers of the garrisons, £145,000 a year was required in 1540. The surplus income was paid into the king's own coffers. Such are the figures of the normal income and outgo.

But the ordinary receipts and expenditures of the English government were the least important part of the national budget during the last five years of Henry VIII's reign. In 1542 war was declared between Scotland and England, and in 1543 between France and England. To the last day of Henry VIII's reign, the Scotch war had cost £350,263; the French war, for the siege of Boulogne £586,718, for the keeping of Boulogne £426,306, for the extraordinary expenditures at Calais and Guisnes (besides the charges of the peace establishment there), £276,764, for the navy £265,024, for the new forts and garrisons in England, required against the threat of invasion, £203,205. In all, the Scotch and French wars had taken £2,108,282 in the last years of Henry VIII's reign. Part of this money was provided out

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<sup>7</sup> Ordinary income for the average year in the decade 1536-1546: Revenues in the Exchequer, from customs dues and subsidies, and from the old feudal revenues managed by the sheriffs, £32,000. In the Court of the General Surveyors, from the non-monastic crown lands acquired by Henry VII and Henry VIII, £38,000. In the Duchy of Lancaster, £13,000. In the Wards and Liveries Court, £8,500. In the court of First Fruits and Tenths, from first fruits and annual tenths, £52,200; from clerical subsidies (each year after 1540), £21,000. In the Court of Augmentations, rents of monastic lands, £61,300. Total average yearly income £185,000, with £21,000 additional in each year after 1540 for clerical subsidies.

of the surplus funds which the king had heaped up in his own coffers since 1535.<sup>8</sup> Part was provided by the subsidies, and fifteenths and tenths granted by parliament.<sup>9</sup> The benevolences and forced loans of 1542, 1543, 1545 and 1546 returned several hundred thousand pounds,<sup>10</sup> while some money was borrowed of the Fuggers and other bankers in Flanders. But the chief additions to the royal income during these years came from the profits of the debasement of the coinage,<sup>11</sup> and from the sales of the monastic lands. Without question the intention of the king and of Cromwell at the time of the confiscation of the monasteries was that they should remain in the crown possession for the most part, as permanent "endowments" and sources of revenue. But with the war the period of the great alienations of these newly acquired lands began, not as free grants and gifts to royal favorites, but by sales at good prices, generally twenty times the yearly value, to provide money to enable the wars to be carried on.<sup>12</sup>

The debasement of the coinage and the sale of monastic lands were unsound financial expedients. The alienation of monastic estates and the reduction of lands in crown possession seriously reduced not only the immediate revenue from the crown lands, but their future potentiality, and really began the defeat

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<sup>8</sup> British Museum, Lansdowne Rolls, No. 14, account of Edmund Denny, keeper of the palace of Westminster from April 22, 1542 to 1548.

<sup>9</sup> The subsidy granted in 1540, payable in 1541 and 1542, yielded £94,460; four fifteenths and tenths of 1540 payable in 1541, 1542, 1543 and 1544, £117,497; the subsidy of 1543, payable in 1544, 1545 and 1546, £183,271; the first payment of the subsidy, of 1545, payable in 1546, £105,766; the first fifteenth and tenth of 1545, payable in 1546, £29,539.

<sup>10</sup> The forced loan of 1542, £112,229; the "Devotion Money" of 1543, £1903; the benevolence of 1545, £119,581; the "Contribution" of 1546, no record.

<sup>11</sup> The debasement of the coinage profited the crown £363,000 from May 1, 1544, to the end of Henry VIII's reign. Record office, Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2077.

<sup>12</sup> Between Michaelmas, 1542, and Michaelmas, 1547, £518,000 was received from the sales of monastic lands.

of Henry VII's great plan.<sup>13</sup> The debasement of the coinage aided in enhancing the price of all commodities which the government was buying in great quantities to supply its armies. Prices were already rising in England before the debasement began, as a result of the price revolution,<sup>14</sup> but the upward tendency was greatly accelerated by the debasement. The effects of the price revolution and of the debasement are so inextricably connected in Edward VI's and Mary's reigns that it does not seem possible to disentangle them. But the general rise in prices due to the two causes was serious for the government. Inasmuch as the crown lands were rented on long term leases, it was not possible for the government to increase its rentals at once to correspond with the lower value of money. Similarly for the other revenues. There was a kind of poetic justice in the situation. The crown cheated the people to get immediate funds; it had to take back the poor money in payment of its revenues at its face value; it had to pay at increased rates for all its supplies; the real value of the revenue expressed in terms of purchasing power was seriously reduced.

The wars of Henry VIII with France and Scotland had seriously strained the government's resources when Edward VI became king of England. Besides the permanent reduction of the revenue by the great alienations of crown lands, and the increased expenditures induced by the rise in prices, there was a debt of £80,000 owing in Flanders; Boulogne was a heavy burden on the state; the costs of the upkeep of the fleet, the garrisons, and the fortifications at Calais, Berwick and other places were large.<sup>15</sup> But the wars did more. By them the business of the

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<sup>13</sup> In the years between 1540 and 1544, both inclusive, the average rental of monastic lands alone had been about £44,000. In 1545 it fell to £32,739; in 1547-48, the first year of Edward VI's reign, the entire rental of all crown lands, monastic and non-monastic, was only £51,058. R. O., Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Rolls of Accounts, Nos. 1-4.

<sup>14</sup> The working of the price revolution began to be noticeable in the expenditures of the English government about 1538, when there is a sudden upward movement in the expenses of the royal household.

<sup>15</sup> R. O., Exch. of Rec., Misc. Books, 259, Teller's declarations of issues in the Exchequer, 1544-1560.

state was so tremendously increased, that even if the king had not been growing old, it would have been a physical impossibility for him to guide and direct all its manifold activities himself. As it was, the state was turned over to the official class, who as members of the council assumed more and more completely the management of affairs. Creatures of Henry VIII, as long as he lived they stood in fear of him, but the accession of a child king left them in absolute control of the state. They had been rewarded by Henry VIII, adequately at first, more richly in the latter years. They were rich, but not yet so rich as they were to make themselves. It must not be supposed that they crudely stole government money from the treasury. They solemnly and in all legal form conveyed to themselves the basic resources of the state, the crown lands, as fitting rewards of the grateful boy king to themselves for their toils endured in the onerous business of government. Before Henry VIII was dead a week Paget produced a list of promotions and grants intended, as he alleged, by Henry. From year to year huge blocks of land were thus voted by the council to themselves and their retainers; throughout the reign of Edward VI lands to the annual value of £27,000 were thus disposed of as free gifts.<sup>16</sup> These lands, greater in extent than the land sold during the reign, were permanently lost to the crown for practically no return at all, and the revenues reduced. This was all the more serious for the future, for as rents and values rose these lands would have brought an ever increasing revenue. Another serious evil was the promiscuous granting of annuities and pensions and lands for life to royal favorites. Edward VI's government was following a practice of Henry VIII's and earlier reigns in this; many of the pensions and annuities paid in Edward VI's time had been granted by his

<sup>16</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, vol. XIX. In the first year of the reign gifts were made of lands to the annual value of £5721-13-8; in the second year £3358-13-9; in the third year £1257-6-2; in the fourth year £8804-19-10; in the fifth year £3991-10-8; in the sixth year £3442-13-10; in the seventh year £4099-17-11. Rents to the value of £3619 were reserved.

father. To provide for such payments, more than £32,000 of the royal revenue was required in 1551.<sup>17</sup>

But the picture of graft and corruption must not be overdrawn. Certain very important reservations must be kept in mind. There was no disintegration of the financial system, no general break-down of all restraints in a universal plunder of the state. It was only to the masters of the state, the council and its friends, that robbery was permitted, and then only in legal form. In its dealings with the governmental agents and officials who supervised the revenue and expenditures, the council insisted upon a high standard of honesty and exactness. From the very beginning of the reign of Edward the council devoted a very considerable amount of its time to a consideration of finances, as the acts of the privy council show. Careful accounts of the great treasurers were frequently ordered to be prepared and laid before the council, or committees of the council were appointed to investigate the state of the revenues. Individual members of the council sat as commissioners for the auditing and passing of the accounts of the very large number of persons who had royal money in the charge during the wars with Scotland and France.<sup>18</sup> These accounts seem to be carefully and accurately drawn. It is possible of course, that the crown was overcharged, that goods provided were inferior in quality, or that supplies intended for the government were diverted to private uses. But charges of this kind brought to the attention of the council are negligible.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand there were some notorious cases of the embezzlement of government funds by important financial officials. Sir William Sharrington, master of the mint at Bristol,

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<sup>17</sup> B. M., Additional MSS., 30198, report on the revenues for the year 1550-1551. Annuities and pensions, £20,000; grants of land for life, £12,000.

<sup>18</sup> For orders to the treasurers to lay their accounts before the council, see "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., III, 29, 130, 133, 228, 236, 314; IV, 12, 44, 62, 164, 183. For investigations of the revenue by committees of the council, see B. M. Add. MSS., 30198; R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI., vol. II, Nos. 9, 30, 31. For the audit and passing of accounts by commissioners see the preambles of the declarations of accounts of this reign, e. g., R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 43, 17, 14.

<sup>19</sup> "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., II, 492; III, 127.

one of the Lord Admiral's adherents, withheld certain sums from his books in every month and burnt the originals from which the indentures had been made up. He did not know how much he had stolen, but admitted that it was over £4,000.<sup>20</sup> Lord Arundel, the Lord Chamberlain, was charged with peculation at the time of Somerset's fall, which he confessed, and in punishment of which he was sentenced to forego his office and pay a fine of £12,000, "by £1,000 by the year."<sup>21</sup> In 1551, Sir Martin Bowes was contented to give unto his highness by name of a fine, £10,000 to be clear of all demands.<sup>22</sup> In the summer of 1552 some of the most able of Somerset's adherents were brought to book. Whalley, the receiver of the crown revenues in Yorkshire, confessed that he had lent the king's money upon gain and lucre, that he had paid one year's revenues with the arrearages of the last and had bought the king's land with the king's own money.<sup>23</sup> The system of book-keeping in vogue made Whalley's practice easy for a dishonest man. It seldom happened that all the rents and revenues due in a district for the year were collected. Yet when the formal declaration of the account was made, the issues and rents due for the year were set down in full on the debit side of the account. On the credit side were entered the payments of money to the crown's use, including all the actual receipts of the year. What had not been collected was then entered on the credit side of the account as "arrearage" for the year, to balance the two sides of the account. The arrearage of the year was added to the arrearages of past years, which formed an ever-increasing sum, in which little interest seems to have been taken when the accountant presented his account in the following year. Some arrears of rent were paid every year, but inasmuch as the records of the details of the arrearages were scattered in many books, it was easily possible for the accountant to conceal such

<sup>20</sup> "Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Hatfield MSS.," I 64-70.

<sup>21</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., II, 398.

<sup>22</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., III, 188.

<sup>23</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 71.

payments and use them, as Whalley did, for his own purposes. Similar operations on a far greater scale than Whalley's were conducted by John Beaumont, receiver-general of the Court of Wards and Liveries. He concealed in his arrearages receipts of £9,763 in money, and £11,822 in obligations, more than £21,000 in all. These sums he had lent, or used to purchase the king's own land from him. He was further guilty of taking bribes as a judge in chancery.<sup>24</sup> Lord Paget was also found guilty at this time of great malfeasance in his office of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, for which he was sentenced to a fine of £8,000,<sup>25</sup> and in the same summer Sir John Williams, treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, spent some time in the Fleet prison. From his accounts it appears that he had kept back £28,445 received in his own time and in the time of his predecessor from the sale of lands.<sup>26</sup>

Punishment for illegal fraud was of the nature of political vengeance; there is therefore reason to suspect that the number of offenders included many who never lost favor, and went unpunished. And yet, when the most has been made of the corruption of public life in Edward VI's reign, Froude's picture of "all but universal fraud," of the "infinite" "expenses of universal speculation" in which "all classes of persons in public employment were contending with each other in the race for plunder and extravagance," is much overdrawn. It rests upon such false assumptions as an increase in the expenditures in the royal household from £19,000 a year in 1532 to over £100,000 a year in Edward's time; the disappearance of the chantry lands into private hands "with small advantage to the public exchequer"; and upon the hysterical overstatements of the popular revivalists, Lever and Latimer.<sup>27</sup> Public corruption height-

<sup>24</sup> "Journal of Edward VI." p. 70. R. O., Court of Wards, Misc. No. 365 ff., 166-236. This is the account in which the concealment is admitted.

<sup>25</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 71, 86. R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol. XV., No. 58.

<sup>26</sup> R. O., Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Roll of Accounts, No. 8.

<sup>27</sup> J. A. Froude, "History of England," V, chapters 26, 27.



ened, but did not cause the serious financial difficulties of the reign. The frauds were cumulative, for even the effects of the plunder of the crown estates by the councillors did not show to the full until the last year of the reign, but the financial difficulties began almost at once. Of these the most obvious explanation is the renewal of the Scotch and French wars, and their aftermath.

The wars demanded great sums of money, at once available. During the first five years of the reign of Edward, his government was called upon to find a total of £1,356,687 in addition to the normal governmental expenditures, for war purposes, for the fleet, the armies in Scotland and France, the garrisons at home and in Boulogne and Calais, and for new fortifications.<sup>28</sup> There was a marked increase in the wealth and resources of the nations of Europe in the latter fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. War, absorbing as its just due, the greatest available resources of the nations, was waged on an increasingly larger and more expensive scale. The costs and wastes of the wars of England of the middle period of the sixteenth century, great as they were, did not bankrupt the English nation, nor stop its development and destroy its prosperity. But the situation was quite different with the government. The idea was not yet current that all the costs of war should be met by the nation; the identity of the government and the nation was not yet complete enough for that. It was a crown concern to raise the necessary funds, to which it was the duty of the nation to contribute in aid of the crown, in the form of fifteenths and tenths and subsidies. But the forms and machinery of taxation were rigid and inelastic; and, fashioned in the days of the Plantagenets<sup>29</sup> and of Henry VII<sup>30</sup> to meet the demands of an age when warfare was cheaper, parliamentary taxes were not adequate contributions in aid. The normal crown revenues were

<sup>28</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, XV, No. 11.

<sup>29</sup> The fifteenth and tenth assumed a fixed form in 1334.

<sup>30</sup> The subsidy began to assume its form in Henry VII's reign; Henry VIII had modified it and made it more productive from time to time.

likewise inelastic. Henry VII and Henry VIII had tried to solve the difficulty of war finance by accumulating large surplus funds, saved from the annual revenues.<sup>31</sup> The first French war of Henry VIII, 1511-1514, was successfully financed in this way; the third war with France, 1543-1546, was begun with a great reserve fund in hand. But so strained had been the resources of the state on Henry VIII's death, and so short the period of peace that no new surplus could be gathered. The situation on the renewal of the war in 1547 was similar to that in 1522-1525, during the second of Henry VIII's French wars, when there was likewise no accumulated treasure. At that time when Wolsey failed to get money by means of loans and subsidies, he had been compelled to advise his king to make peace. But since that time Henry VIII had discovered means of raising money quickly by the sale of lands, and the coinage of debased money. In this way entered into by Henry VIII in his last years, the Edwardian government followed on to procure the ready money needed "to go on with."

With the first rumors of a renewal of war with France, and the beginning of war with Scotland, the confiscation of the accumulated wealth of the worn-out institutions of the church was consummated. In 1545 Henry VIII had received the power to visit and suppress colleges, hospitals, free chapels, chantries and other corporations of similar nature. Many chantries had been suppressed during Henry VIII's lifetime. The act lapsed at his death. In December, 1547, parliament renewed the statute in favor of Edward VI, resting all the property of colleges and chantries in the king after the next Easter.<sup>32</sup> The council viewed the grant as made "specially for the relief of the king's majesty's charges and expenses which do daily grow and in-

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<sup>31</sup> Henry VII left to his son an accumulated surplus of about £1,000,000, which Henry VIII spent in the first French war of his reign. In the decade 1530-1540 Henry VIII gathered a second surplus from the excess revenues of these years, from the heavy fines levied on the clergy for *praemunire*, from the first fruits and tenths, and from the rents and sales of monastic lands. See above, p. 74.

<sup>32</sup> "Statutes," 1 Edward VI, c. 4.

crease by reason of diverse and sundry fortifications, garrisons, levying of men and soldiers which at this present is so chargeable and costly that without great help and aid of money his majesty should not be able to sustain the charges thereof." In April, 1548, when the approach of war with France made it necessary that his majesty should "have in readiness all that should be for defence of his majesty's realm," and the council noted that "nothing [is] so much lacking as money to maintain the costs and charges thereof, without the which no defence can be had," it was decided, since there was at this present "none other means without great difficulty, danger and grudge to make such a mass [of money] as might serve for this present necessity," to authorize the sale of chantry lands to the annual value of £5,000.<sup>33</sup> Before the Michaelmas accounts of 1548 were made up, £110,486 had been received by the commissioners of the sales, and paid into the treasury of the Augmentations Court.<sup>34</sup> The sales not only provided the government with available funds for a time, but assured the support of the war by the wealthy merchants of London. The government's need furnished them further opportunity to purchase the land which

<sup>33</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., II, 184-185. Mr. Pollard, in his "England under the Protector Somerset," page 125, is at some pains to insist that the commissioners were to sell lands only "to the value of £5,000, not annual value, but market price for the freehold," that is, they were to sell a very small amount of land to raise £5,000 for the government. The sum of £5,000 was insignificant in comparison with the government's need; the wording of the commission in the acts of the privy council distinctly states "to the sum of five thousand pounds by year," and the money received from the sales shows that this much land, nearly half the total chantry possessions, was at once sold.

<sup>34</sup> R. O., Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Roll of Accounts, No. 4. In 1549 there was received from the sale of lands £92,695; in 1550, £47,286; and in 1551, £7856. R. O., Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Rolls of Accounts, Nos. 5, 6, 7. Sales after 1551 are treated below. The receipt by the state of these sums effectively replies to Mr. Froude's assertion that "the chantry lands, which if alienated from religious purposes, should have been sold for public debts, were disappearing into private hands with small advantage to the public exchequer." (History of England, Vol. V, 154.) As a rule the state received twenty years' purchase, or twenty times the annual value, a good price.

was still the safest investment for surplus capital and the necessary basis for social distinction.

As was known "for certain by divers motions in the late parliament made," the king's loving subjects "were induced the rather and franklier to grant" the chantries and other religious corporations to the king "that they might thereby be relieved of the continual charge of taxes, contributions, loans and subsidies the which by reason of wars they were constrained in the late king of famous memory his majesty's father's reign to abide."<sup>35</sup> But the freedom from taxation which parliament had sought to achieve by the transfer of the chantries to the king was short-lived. The expenditures for war purposes were so great that a new appeal to parliament was necessary in 1548. The tax measure which followed was a curious one. Instead of a direct tax on land, it provided an indirect tax on sheep and wool to the raising and production of which land was being more and more devoted. For the inadequate subsidy, it offered a substitute which promised to yield £106,000 to £156,000 a year. This estimate was based upon a calculation of the number of sheep in England in Edward III's reign, arrived at from the wool customs of that time.<sup>36</sup> In the measure is to be seen also something of Somerset's spirit of agrarian reform, a design to check conversion of arable to pasture land by indirect taxation. With the new taxes on sheep, wool, and woollen cloth, were combined some of the older subsidy features of a tax on personalty and a poll tax on certain aliens.<sup>37</sup> At the same time the clergy made a grant of a sub-

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<sup>35</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., II, 184.

<sup>36</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, II, No. 13. This is a paper book endorsed "Customs for Wools," addressed to my Lord Protector's grace. It sets forth the project in several forms. See also *ibid.*, V, No. 20.

<sup>37</sup> "Statutes," 2 and 3 Edward VI, c. 36. The tax, known as the Relief, was taken at the rate of 1 shilling in the pound of the value of personalty yearly for three years. Aliens were assessed at double rates; those of them not paying the personalty tax paid a poll tax of 8 pence. For every ewe sheep kept in pasture was taken 3 pence; every wether 2 pence; every shear sheep on commons 1½ pence, or in lots of more than 10, 1 penny yearly for three years. Each piece of woollen cloth made was taxed 8 pence in the pound of its value.

sidy of six shillings in the pound of the yearly value of all their livings, payable in three years.<sup>38</sup> The relief was not nearly so productive as the later subsidies of Henry VIII's reign. The first payment, in 1549, brought in slightly less than £54,000; the second payment, in 1550, only £47,500. But before the second payment had been collected, Kets' rebellion had broken out, and Somerset had been deprived of his protectorship. In the parliament of November, 1549, Somerset's agrarian policy was reversed; with the repeal of the Tudor agrarian legislation and the reënactment of the Statute of Merton, there was also the repeal, on the initiative of the commons themselves, of the final payment of the tax on sheep, wool, and cloth.<sup>39</sup> As a compensation the subsidy of a shilling in the pound of the value of goods was extended for another year.<sup>40</sup> On the whole, but little aid was got from taxes of parliamentary grant in Edward VI's reign. Their total yield, including £120,000 granted in Henry VIII's time and paid in April and June, 1547, was only £299,000. For the purposes of the wars with Scotland and France the grant of 1548 was of especially little consequence.

The chief reliance of the government, for its war finances, was placed upon the mint, and the profits of coining debased money. In the two first years of the reign, Henry VIII's standard of fineness, eight parts of alloy, and four parts of silver, and his dies, continued to be used. The coins of these years are identical with those of the last years of Henry VIII's reign. In 1549 a change was made. The gold sovereign was coined 22 carats fine instead of 20; but the new coin was lighter, containing 170 instead of 192 grains of metal, and only 156 grains of pure gold as opposed to 160 grains in the older coin. In the silver coins the silver content was raised to six parts.

<sup>38</sup> "Statutes," 2 and 3 Edward VI, c. 35.

<sup>39</sup> "Commons Journal," I, 11, On Monday, November 18, 1549, it was ordered that the speakers and others of the house should be suitors to know the king's pleasure by his council, if upon their humble suit they might treat of the last relief for cloths and sheep. On the 20th the king's pleasure was announced that the house might treat for the act of relief "having in respect the cause of the granting thereof."

<sup>40</sup> "Statutes," 3 and 4 Edward VI, c. 23.

with six parts of alloy; but as the new coins were only two-thirds the size of the older coins which they replaced, they contained exactly the same number of grains of pure silver.<sup>41</sup> There was great difficulty in securing bullion due to the prohibition of the export of bullion from Flanders, where large quantities were purchased by loans.<sup>42</sup> Yet, with all the difficulties, the profits of the government were very great. Between the first day of Edward's reign, and the first of January, 1551, covering approximately the war period, £537,000 was realized on the debasement of the currency.<sup>43</sup>

The confiscation of the chantries, the sale of their lands and goods, the new taxes, and the debasement of the currency provided notable sums, but not enough to meet the war bills. Further shift was made by using funds intended for normal charges, so that at the end of the war the various governmental departments were deeply in debt.<sup>44</sup> Finally heavy loans were made in Flanders, of the Fuggers, the Tuchers, the Sheetz and other bankers in Antwerp. At times to repay one loan another was made; or the original loan was extended on disadvantageous terms, generally involving the purchase of fustians, jewels or other goods by the king.<sup>45</sup> In this device of foreign loans,

<sup>41</sup> C. W. C. Oman, "The Tudors and the Currency."

<sup>42</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, VIII, No. 38.

<sup>43</sup> R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2077, Declaration of the account of Sir Edmund Pekham, high treasurer of the mints, to January 1, 1551.

<sup>44</sup> B. M., Lansdowne MSS., II, f. 125. A paper noted in Cecil's hand, drawn up before November, 1552. The Household owed £28,000; the Chamber £20,000; the Wardrobe £8333; the Stables £1000; the Admiralty £5000; the Ordnance £3134; the Surveyor of the Works £3200; the Treasurer of Calais £15,000; the Treasurer of Berwick £6000; the Master of the Revels £1,000; the Treasurer of Ireland £13,128, and the paymasters at Scilly, Alderney, Plymouth and the Isle of Wight, £2,000.

<sup>45</sup> One bargain made March 23, 1551, between the council and Christopher Haunsell for and in the name of Anthony Fugger and his nephews provides: For the sale of one jewel containing four rubies marvellous big, as the boy king described it in his Journal, one orient, and one great diamond and one great pearl for £33,333-6s.-8d. Flemish to be paid in Antwerp without interest in eleven months. For the sale of twelve thousand marks weight of fine silver bullion at 50s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. the mark, to be delivered at Antwerp by the last of August next. A clause protects the Fug-

as in all others, the Edwardian councillors were simply following, and perhaps bettering the examples of Henry VIII. They paid the same interest, 14 per cent, they renewed and prolonged as he had done. But their operations were on a larger scale and they created a heavier incubus of debt to burden the post-war period.

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gers in case of lawful impediment to the delivery. For the sale to the king of so many bales of fustians as shall amount to £14,000 Flemish, to be paid in Antwerp without interest April 30, 1552. All fustians will be sold in England and not conveyed beyond sea again. Provision is also made that where the king owes Erasmus Sheetz and Sons £42,090 Flemish, payable May 15, 1551, the Fugger shall pay the Sheetz this sum of £42,090, and the king shall repay one year later, with interest at 8 per cent. Finally where the king owes the Fuggers £38,976 Flemish, payable August 15, 1551, the sum is respited for a year at 12 per cent. R. O., Treasury of Receipt, Letters Patent, Bundle 4, No. 15/37. A letter of the council dated April 9, 1550, to Damosell agent in Flanders urges him to do the best he can for prolongation of a debt due in May, 1550, for a year longer. He is to accept an offer to prolong, purchasing 2400 kintalls of powder at 50s. a kintall, to be paid at the end of the year also. "Acts of the privy council," n. s., II, 426. In his Journal Edward notes, "debt of 30,000*l.* and odd money put over for a year, and there was bought 2500 quintals of powder." Journal, 18.

Other loans abroad during the war were, 13 October, 1547, of Anthony Fugger, 129,650 florins to be repaid March 31, 1548; April, 1548, of Lazarus Tucker 167,218 florins; 11 September, 1549, of Anthony Fugger 328,800 florins to be repaid August 15, 1550; 5 May, 1550, of Erasmus Sheetz, 107,520 florins to be repaid May 15, 1551. R. O., Treasury of Receipt, Letters Patent, Bundle 4; State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, IV, No. 5.

## CHAPTER II

### NORTHUMBERLAND'S FAILURE, 1550-1553

Peace was made between France and England in 1550. Among the terms of the treaty was a provision for the restoration of Boulogne, of which the capture, fortification, and keeping had cost the English state £1,342,550 in five and one-half years. Its surrender for nothing would have been a great financial relief to the English government; Henry II of France generously paid 400,000 crowns (£133,333) for its recovery. For months after the peace was signed the garrisons at Calais and in the north were continued at their full war strength, because "these wanted money to dispatch them," that is pay them their arrears of wages and discharge them. Although there seems to have been an intention of keeping the 400,000 crowns as ready money available in emergencies—the first payment was ordered laid up in the Tower "for all purposes"—it was at last necessary to order payments to be made from it to discharge the soldiers, and meet other charges.<sup>1</sup> Despite the discharge of the soldiers from Calais and in the north, there remained a large war establishment, which could not be, or was not at once, disbanded. At Calais the ordinary garrison had long cost £5,000 a year more than the rents of the town and the wool customs collected by the merchants of the Staple, while the cost of work on the fortifications and the wages of the extra-

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<sup>1</sup>"Acts of the privy council," n. s., III, 93. Of the first (half) payment £10,000 were sent to Calais; £9500 to Ireland; £15,166 to the north; £2000 were assigned to the ordnance department; £1000 to Alderney, and £1000 to the Admiralty. Of the second payment of 200,000 crowns, £8000 were at once to Calais; £5000 to the north and £10,000 "was appointed to be occupied to win money to pay the next year, pay the outward pays; and it was promised that the money should double every month." Journal of Edward VI, 26. The scheme by which the money thus invested was to double every month is described by Froude, "History of England," V, 265.



ordinary crew continued at over £19,000 a year in addition.<sup>2</sup> There were heavy charges for works and garrisons at Berwick, and on the Scotch marches, and in the various block houses or forts on the English coast;<sup>3</sup> there were the charges of the admiralty and ordnance offices, and the expenditures in Ireland above the Irish revenues. The Irish revenues, after the costs of the civil government there had been paid were about £4,700 sterling a year. During the first years of Edward's reign the island had been aflame with insurrection; large sums had to be sent to Ireland for military purposes which the Irish revenues did not meet. In 1550, however, it was resolved that Ireland should no longer be a drain on the English treasury; the situation was to be reversed, and Ireland was to contribute to the royal resources. To carry out the new policy, Anthony St. Leger returned as deputy.<sup>4</sup> He was as little successful in making Ireland "pay" as Henry VIII had been in a similar scheme; the charges of the necessary military establishment increased by leaps and bounds. Whereas in 1547 the charges of Ireland were £15,500, in 1551 and 1552 they rose to £42,000 and more. The Irish revenue did not increase; the deficit had to be made good from London.<sup>5</sup>

Not directly due to the war, but certainly induced in part by causes connected with the war were the serious increases in the costs of the royal household. In the first years of the reign the household had required about the same amount of money as in the last years of Henry VIII's reign, about £38,000 a year. In 1550, and 1551 the expenditures increased to £50,000

<sup>2</sup> B. M., Additional MSS. No. 30,198, a statement of the revenues for the year 1550-1551; R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2079, account of Sir Edward Pekham. In the year February, 1551, to March, 1552, Pekham paid out £25,500 for Calais causes.

<sup>3</sup> These required £9733-17-7 for the year 1550-'51. B. M., Additional MSS., No. 30,198.

<sup>4</sup> Froude, "History of England," V, 392.

<sup>5</sup> B. M., Additional MSS., No. 4767, f. 99; f. 160. The yearly charge in Ireland is given in the latter paper:—a<sup>o</sup>. 1, Edward VI, £15,958; a<sup>o</sup>. 2, £21,024; a<sup>o</sup>. 3, £27,113; a<sup>o</sup>. 4, £20,566; a<sup>o</sup>. 5, £42,968; a<sup>o</sup>. 6, £42,609. All sums are in sterling money.

and £56,000.<sup>6</sup> This was in part due to increased luxury at the court, in part in all probability to peculation by officials, but in greatest part to the rise in prices. A similar increase, on a much smaller scale, is to be noted in the wardrobe expenditures. And while the government was endeavoring to meet all these great payments and increases, in addition to the normal state expenditures, it was constantly reminded of the unpaid debts in the household, wardrobe and chamber, and of the great loans raised abroad at 14 per cent interest, which somehow had to be paid.

Governmental finances were studied by the council between 1550 and 1553 with a zeal which shows how clearly the seriousness of the problem was realized. One investigation, carried out by Thomas Lord Darcy, Lord Chamberlain, Thomas, Bishop of Norwich, Sir Richard Cotton, Controller of the Household, Sir John Gates, Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Robert Bowes, Master of the Rolls, and Sir Walter Mildmay, one of the General Surveyors of the Court of Augmentations, for the year Michaelmas, 1550, to Michaelmas, 1551, showed that the clear normal income from all sources, deducting fixed charges, grants and annuities, was £168,150. The fees of the royal officials, ministers, and servants, the ordinary household and wardrobe assignments,<sup>7</sup> the expenses of the audit courts, the charges for decays and reparations, and the charges for certain garrisons, that is to say, the normal government payments, were £131,600. There was available thus a balance of £36,550. From this sum

<sup>6</sup> R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 1795. Household expenditures for the year:

1547-48, £38,804- 6s.-6d.

1548-49, £41,359- 3s.-4d.

1549-50, £50,778-16s.-4d.

1550-51, £56,806-13s.-8d.

1551-52, £55,791-15s.-9d.

1552-53, £51,903-10s.-2d.

The increase is not however nearly so great as has been alleged.

<sup>7</sup> From time to time each court was ordered to set aside and pay regularly a certain sum for the household. These sums, amounting in all to £41,864 in 1551-2 were the household assignment. The expenditures in the household exceeded the assignment in every year in Edward's reign. See above.

the committee reported, there had to be met the charges of the admiralty, of the ordnance, of the king's privy purse, the New Year's gifts, the charges at Calais and in Ireland above the revenues there, and the extra charges in the household above the assignment. The various military establishments alone—Calais, Ireland, the navy, the north and Berwick, the ordnance and so forth—took more than £112,000 from February, 1551, to Michaelmas, 1552, or at the rate of £80,000 a year.<sup>8</sup> The extra charges in the household in the year 1551 were £15,000 more than the assignment. Even with the addition of the subsidy of £43,260 paid in April, 1551, there was not enough money available from the revenues to meet the current charges. Then some way must be found to pay off the war debts of £250,000 owing in England and Flanders.<sup>9</sup> It was further deemed desirable to "get £50,000 of treasure money for all events," that is, accumulate a new surplus,<sup>10</sup> and finally money had to be found for the new standing army, the bands of horsemen attached to Northumberland's most devoted partisans, organized in December, 1551.<sup>11</sup>

In the expedients which were used to remedy this alarming deficiency, resort was had to all the old devices, betraying a sterility of ideas and a failure to grasp the cause of the situation. Solemnly the council determined upon a policy of retrenchment. The garrisons at little blockhouses like Portland and Pendivis were reduced from two to four men each, and several small forts were discontinued,<sup>12</sup> with a saving of £583-12s.-6d. a year.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2079; account of Sir Edmund Pekham, high treasurer of the mints.

<sup>9</sup> The amount of the debt is variously stated. An entry in Edward's Journal (p. 66) puts the sum at £251,000 at the least in May, 1552; a paper of Cecil's, before November, 1552, puts it at £241,179, B. M., Lansdowne MSS. II, f. 125; another paper of 1552 gives it at £235,700 and still another at £219,686, R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol. XV, No. 13, No. 14. At least £132,372 was due to the money lenders in Flanders, and £108,800 owed in England.

<sup>10</sup> Literary Remains of Edward VI, II, 543, note in the king's own hand.

<sup>11</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., III, 399; IV, 4, 15, 132.

<sup>12</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, XIII, Nos. 10, 11, 12, "Acts of the privy council," n. s., IV, 130.

<sup>13</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., IV, 139.

The tables of the "young lords" and others in the household were discontinued, auditorships were abolished to save fees, and workmen discharged.<sup>14</sup> As early as 1551 attention was directed to the superfluous charges of the large number of revenue courts, with too many officers and too little business.<sup>15</sup> They escaped pruning for the moment because an office in a revenue court was a vested interest, a property right, which could be abolished by the state only in return for the compensation of a life pension.<sup>16</sup> In the spring of 1552 the reduction of the fleet was ordered, and it was even suggested that some of the king's old ships be let for rent, and hulks of no more value be sold.<sup>17</sup> There was, however, no mention of retrenchment or restriction in the plunder of the crown by the council in the form of grants of land to the councillors themselves, though it is true that the grants of the fifth, sixth and seventh years did not equal in extent those of the fourth year of the reign.

In all the revenue courts there were great arrears of overdue rents and revenues owing to the crown through many years. "My debts owing me" after this sort were estimated by Edward to be £100,000.<sup>18</sup> In times of stringency in the middle period of Henry VIII's reign it was a much used practice "to call in the debts." So at this time. In February of 1551, the treasurer and chancellor of the Augmentations were commanded to bring in with all diligence a book of all such debts and arrearages as are due to the king's majesty in that court, and it may be that similar commands were sent to the other treasurers.<sup>19</sup> Late

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<sup>14</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 79; "Acts of the privy council," n. s., III, 316, IV, 102, 115, 160, 260. See also "Journal of Edward VI," 65, 83 for retrenchment in the mint and Ireland.

<sup>15</sup> "Literary Remains of Edward VI," Vol. II, 500, 543.

<sup>16</sup> When the Court of General Surveyors was amalgamated with the Court of Augmentations, January 1, 1547, the officials of the older court for whom no place could be found were given pensions or annuities of more than £3000 a year. See Appendix, Disbursements of the Court of Augmentations.

<sup>17</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., IV, 46. R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, XIII, Nos. 10, 11, 12.

<sup>18</sup> "Literary Remains," II, 550.

<sup>19</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., III, 228.

in the same year and in 1552 commissioners were appointed to call in the debts.<sup>20</sup> They succeeded in collecting £16,667 before Michaelmas, 1552.<sup>21</sup> Something, too, was expected from the familiar device of Empson and Dudley. For in March, 1552, a committee of the council was appointed to examine the penal laws and put certain of them into execution.<sup>22</sup> It seems to have been decided to enforce those touching horses and plows, riots, the planting and grafting of trees, the cutting of wood and billets and forestalling and regrating.<sup>23</sup> The sale of the king's gunpowder, fustians, and copper, which he had been compelled to take as "fee penny" for the prolongation of the Flanders loans, and the sale of "certain jewels," bell-metal and lead, part of the past spoil of the church, were tried.<sup>24</sup> Next, the completion of the confiscation of the church plate, and the sale of church goods and ornaments was ordered and carried through. In 1549 commissioners had taken inventories of ornaments, plate, jewels, bells, and vestments in all churches, forbidding the sale or embezzlement of any part of them.<sup>25</sup> On February 26, 1551, it was decreed in the council that "forasmuch as the king's majesty had need presently of a mass of money, therefore commissions should be addressed into all shires of England to take into the king's hands such church plate as remaineth to be employed unto his highness' use." The first commissioners for the plate and goods were sent out in the spring of 1552;<sup>26</sup> they

<sup>20</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 56, 58; "Literary Remains," II, 500.

<sup>21</sup> R. O., Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Roll of Accounts, No. 10. All debts were ordered paid to Peter Osborne, who was to act as a special treasurer, keeping the money to the king's use.

<sup>22</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 62.

<sup>23</sup> "Literary Remains," II, 543. Memorandum in the king's own hand, entitled, "Matters for the council, October 3, 1552. How a mass of money may be gotten to discharge the sum of £300,000 both for discharge of the debts, and also to get £50,000 of treasure money for all events."

<sup>24</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., IV, 108; "Literary Remains," II, 543. £49,113 was received from the sale of such goods, 1552-1553; R. O., Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Roll of Accounts No. 8.

<sup>25</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, VI, No. 25.

<sup>26</sup> "Acts of the privy council, n. s., III, 228, 233, 467, 536. Journal of Edward VI, 65.

were followed by others, who, still busy in the spring of 1553, were urged by the council to greater speed.<sup>27</sup> From "church plate superfluous," being coined, it was estimated that £20,000 would be realized and from the sale of church goods £10,772 was received.<sup>28</sup> Other developments however returned some of the plate to the churches in Mary's reign. Finally, in their quest for money, the council turned to the mint.

For many years the mint had been the great "sheet-anchor" of the government in times of storm and stress. The evils of the debasement of the coinage, the exportation of all the good money, especially the gold of the country, and the adverse foreign exchange, together with the effect of the debasement on prices, were clearly recognized by writers, merchants, and the popular preachers.<sup>29</sup> Even the council was convinced of the necessity of restoring the standard of fineness of the coins. The first necessary step in doing this, as Lane, the London merchant, had pointed out to Cecil, was the "calling down" of the value of the testoun, groat and penny to their intrinsic silver-content value. This was first considered in the council in April, 1551. But fatuously enough, it was decided that there should be one last orgy of debasement before the proclamations for calling down were issued, "to get gains of £160,000 clear by which the debt of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt, and *the coin amended.*" And so, "for the dis-

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 219, 265, 270. For volumes of the reports of the commissioners detailing their activities, and sometimes excusing themselves for not being able to do more for the king's advantage and other interesting comments, see B. M., Stowe MSS., Vols. 147, 827. The bulk of the reports is in the Record office; those of certain counties have been published. The best general account is in Dixon, "History of the Church of England," III, 448ff.

<sup>28</sup> "Literary Remains," II, 550, Edward's memorandum. R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, XV, No. 42, a paper by Cecil. R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2080.

<sup>29</sup> B. M., Cotton MSS. Vespasian D. 18, papers of William Thomas, clerk of the council. R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, XIII, No. 3, a letter of William Lane, merchant of London, to William Cecil, January 18, 1551. The letter is printed by Froude, "History of England," V, 266. Latimer, "Sermons," (Parker Society), 68, 95, 136, 137. John Hales, "A Discourse of the Commonweal of this realm of England," (Edition of 1893), 104.

charge of debts and to get some treasure to be able to alter all," that is meet the expenses of altering and bettering the standard, twenty thousand pounds weight of bullion was ordered to be coined three ounces of silver and nine ounces of alloy.<sup>30</sup> But before two months were out, the misgivings of the council were such that it was decided not to proceed after £80,000 of money of the standard of three ounces fine together with ten thousand marks weight of four ounces fine had been coined. But because of the changes in the fortifications at Calais and Berwick, it was agreed three weeks later to issue another £40,000 of a standard of three ounces fine while five thousand pounds weight of silver should be coined seven ounces fine at the least.<sup>31</sup> Thus the council vacillated between regard for the opinion of the people, and need for money. In July the mints were ordered to stop coining;<sup>32</sup> not however until £114,500 had been taken from the people of England in the profits of the recent debasement.<sup>33</sup> In September, 1551, the council directed the mints to begin the coinage of good money of the standard of eleven ounces and one pennyweight of silver and nineteen pennyweights of alloy. A month later when the new coinage was actually being issued, the council ordered the lord chancellor "to haste forth the proclamation of the coin for the satisfaction of the people." This last clause probably carries the explanation of why the council did not dare to issue any more debased money, although in the spring of 1552 the project was reconsidered.<sup>34</sup>

From all these sources large sums were received, but practically everything that came in from them was used for cur-

<sup>30</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 33, April 10, 1551.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 35, May 30; 37, June 18, 1551.

<sup>32</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., III, 316. July 17, 1551.

<sup>33</sup> R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2079, account of Sir Edmund Pekham, high treasurer of the mint.

<sup>34</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol. XIII, No. 47, directions for the new standard, Sept. 25, 1551. Between October and December, 1551, 6543 pounds weight of silver worth more than £21,000 were coined—R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2079. See also "Acts of the privy council," n. s., III, 400; IV, 57, 102.

rent charges in Ireland, at Berwick and Calais, and for the fleet and ordnance. But little was available for the payment of the bonds held in Flanders by the Fuggers and the Sheetz. In April, 1551, the Fuggers renewed a bond for £60,000 at ten per cent, provided that the king purchase bullion and jewels.<sup>35</sup> When the time for the payment of the extended loan came, Sir Philip Hobbey took £53,500 Flemish in French crowns over sea with him—probably the last remaining portion of the Boulogne ransom money,—but had to borrow £10,000 Flemish of Lazarus Tucker at seven per cent for six months to make up the pay. At the end of April, 1552, £14,000 additional was due the Fuggers, which was paid possibly by a new loan.<sup>36</sup> In May a debt of £6,180 Flemish due Jasper Sheetz was paid out of the money that came of the king's old debts.<sup>37</sup> But regarding another bond of £45,000 due to the Fuggers in May, 1552, "a letter was sent to the Foulcare," writes the king in his journal, "that I have paid £63,000 Flemish in February, and £14,000 in April, which came to £77,000 Flemish, which was a fair sum of money to be paid in one year, chiefly in this busy world, whereas it is most necessary to be had for princes. Besides this, that it was thought money should not now do him so much pleasure as at another time peradventure. Upon these considerations they had advised me to pay but £5,000 of the £45,500 I now owe and so put over the rest according to the old interest 14 per cent with which I desired him to take patience."<sup>38</sup> In August a bond for £56,000 fell due. Gresham, the government agent in Flanders, had no money to meet the payment; he secured an agreement for prolongation on the usual terms that the government purchase certain fustians and diamonds of the lenders. The council in Northumberland's absence refused the conditions. The king, Gresham was informed, would pay as soon as he could; until he did so the bankers must wait. Gres-

<sup>35</sup> See above, p. 86 note. See also, "Journal of Edward VI," 33.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66. "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., IV, 27.

<sup>37</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 68. "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., IV, 58.

<sup>38</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 66.



ham insisted that the loan must not be defaulted, or the country would be brought to shame.

In the early summer months of 1552 the council register shows that the treasuries were often actually empty; in August payments by the government were actually suspended, "for that his highness is presently in Progress and resolved not to be troubled with payments until his return."<sup>39</sup> The acme of the crisis had come. It brought with it the failure of Northumberland's plan to seize the government. For at Michaelmas, 1552, the gens d'armes, the mercenary army which Northumberland had gathered in December, 1551, had to be disbanded for lack of money. Against money and metal, the weight of guns and mercenaries, Mary and her followers could not have raised up their heads. But without money, and hence without the mercenary soldiers, Northumberland had no chance against the divinity that doth hedge about a king, and the magic of the Tudor name. With the discharge of the mercenaries Northumberland disarmed himself, and all possibilities of his success were gone.

In the summer of 1552 Northumberland probably expected a longer reprieve than he was to have before the test. The government was bankrupt, but if there was time enough all might still be mended. Rather bravely Northumberland attempted to retrieve the situation by the use of heroic measures. The management of the finances he turned over to William Cecil, who in later years was to become the greatest master of governmental finances of the sixteenth century.<sup>40</sup> The mayor and aldermen of the City of London endorsed new loans in Flanders;<sup>41</sup> the merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers advanced

<sup>39</sup> "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., IV, 109, August 8, 1552.

<sup>40</sup> A note book of June and July, 1552, in Cecil's hand (R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, XIV, No. 53), shows him very much interested in all government business, especially disbursements of money. In the following months there are many memoranda from his hand, showing the debts, with fruitful suggestions for amending the situation. R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol. XV, Nos. 13, 17, 42.

<sup>41</sup> "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., IV, 29, 129, April and September, 1552.

money to the government to meet its obligations, and took over the payment of loans as they fell due.<sup>42</sup> In these days, too, the accounts of Northumberland's political opponents who had held important financial offices were investigated, and Beaumont, Whalley, and Paget compelled to disgorge great sums. Northumberland contemplated going much further in these investigations, to discover whether the crown had been justly answered of the plate, lead, and iron that belonged to the abbeys, the profit of alum, copper, and fustians appoined to be sold, and such land as Henry VIII had sold. He was minded to examine the accounts of the treasurers and receivers of the various revenue courts, and finally "to call on every one who had received money in behalf of the crown since the year 1532 to produce his books and submit them to an audit."<sup>43</sup>

The sale of crown lands, which had almost ceased since the making of peace with France, possibly out of the realization that sales and gifts could not proceed concurrently without ultimate disaster, was renewed on a larger scale than ever before in the reign. In May, July, and October new commissions of sales were issued for the sale of chantry and other crown estates, together with rectories, parsonages, advowsons and other spirit-

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<sup>42</sup> In July the merchants of the Staple were desired by the council to advance by way of prest or loan some good portion of money besides the sums as should be due for the wool custom at this shipping. In October, in anticipation of the "pay" of £48,000 to be made in December "beyond seas," the Merchant Adventurers agreed to lend the king £40,000 repayable in March, 1553. The sum was assessed by the merchants upon themselves at the rate of 20s. for each cloth exported. It was estimated that at this shipping they would carry 40,000 broad cloths. The grant was confirmed by a "company" assembled of 300 Merchant Adventurers, October 4, 1552. A month later the Staplers agreed to take over a loan of £21,000 due to the Fuggers on February 15, 1553, paying £10,000 before the day, and the balance "on prorogation"—"for which they must pay the interest." In the spring of 1553 the Staplers and the Adventurers assumed responsibility for the payment of £43,771 due to the Fuggers, the Sheetz, the Rellingers and Francis van Hall. "Journal of Edward VI," 80; "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., IV, 169, 267. Repayment was made to the merchants out of money from the land sales.

<sup>43</sup> "Journal of Edward VI," 84. Froude, "History of England," V, 425.

ualities.<sup>44</sup> Sir Edmund Pekham was appointed special treasurer to receive the money coming of the sales. In the year from Michaelmas, 1552, to Michaelmas, 1553, he received £153,479 in purchase money, while £16,623 was paid into the Court of Augmentations.<sup>45</sup>

These ways and means proving less effective than had been expected, the council began, in December, 1552, to plan for a parliamentary grant. Northumberland approved the action, "necessarily considering that there is none other remedy to bring his majesty out of the great debts wherein for one great part he was left by his highness father . . . , and augmented by the wilful government of the late Duke of Somerset, who took upon him the Protectorship and government of his own authority. His highness, by the prudence of his father, left in peace with all princes, suddenly, by that man's unskillful protectorship and less expert in government was plunged into wars whereby his majesty's charges was suddenly increased unto the point of six or seven score thousand pounds a year over and above the charges for the keeping of Boulogne. . . . These things being now so onerous and weighty to the king's majesty, and having all this while been put off by the best means we have been able to devise, although but slender shifts in comparison, the same is grown to such an extremity as without it speedily be helpen by your (the council's) wise heads both dishonour and peril may likely follow. And seeing there is none other honorable means to reduce these evils grown by the occasion afore rehearsed, I think there be no man that beareth his obedient duty to his sovereign lord and country but must of consequence conform himself to think this way (of a subsidy) most honorable; for the sale of lands you have proved, the seeking of every man's doings in office you mind to try, and yet you perceive all this cannot help to salve the sore." In the last

<sup>44</sup> "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., IV, 46, 143; B. M., Additional MSS., 5498, f. 39; "Journal of Edward VI," 66.

<sup>45</sup> R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2080; Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Roll of Accounts, No. 8.

sentence of the letter Northumberland refers to the "danger of murmuring or grudging that you (the council) mind to avoid."<sup>46</sup> The difficulty of the situation which made the council fear "murmuring and grudging" was that it was designed to ask a tax, which was preëminently a war measure, in a time of peace. The cloak of loyalty and patriotism could not be used to quiet opposition. The interests of the crown and the people, the unity of which was the foundation of the Tudor commonwealth, were not identical here and embarrassing questions might be asked concerning the new-gotten wealth of the chief ministers. One of the council busied himself with a book of "arguments and collections," apparently refuting all possible arguments against the new taxes, especially arguments based on references to the gifts of land by the council to themselves. Northumberland did not understand the new spirit of inquiry and liberalism which was in the air. He returned the book with part of his simple mind scribbled upon the margin. "There is no need to be so ceremonious as to imagine the objects of every forward person, but rather to burden their minds and hearts with the king's extreme debts and necessity grown and risen by such occasions and means as cannot be denied by no man, and that we need not to seem to make a count to the commons of his majesty's liberality and bountifulness in augmenting or advancing of his nobles or of his benevolence showed to any his good servants lest you might thereby make them wanton and give them occasion to take hold of your own arguments. But as it shall become no subject to argue the matter sofar, so if any should be so far out of reason, the matter will always answer itself with honor and reason to their confuting and shame."<sup>47</sup> The grant demanded was the usual subsidy and two fifteenths and tenths; there was nothing "vast" about it. Yet such was the public temper, that even in the parliament of 1553, rather an assembly of notables than a representative body, the measure was de-

<sup>46</sup> R. O., State Paper, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol. XV, No. 73, December 28, 1552.

<sup>47</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, January 14, 1553.

bated; the commons' journal notes "arguments" on two days, and a "consultation in the Star Chamber."<sup>48</sup> Some further indication of the unpopularity of the tax may be gleaned from the rejoicing with which Mary's remission of the subsidy as one of her first acts was greeted. "There was a marvellous noise of rejoicing and giving the queen thanks in Chepeside by the people for the same."<sup>49</sup> That the people of England in parliament gained control of the government by virtue of parliamentary control of taxation is often stated. But it must not be overlooked that control of the government by the people was possible of accomplishment only as the people recognized the government as belonging to them, and were willing to assume the burdens of the finances of the state. This was not yet true in the sixteenth century.

There was for Northumberland one salvation, not fifteenths and tenths and subsidies, but the last remaining endowments of the church, the bishops' estates. The last possible phase of the policy begun by Cromwell had in fact already been entered. In 1550 the newly founded bishopric of Westminster was dissolved and united to the see of London, which was forced to neutralize any advantages of the union by the surrender of various manors to the crown. In 1551, Ponet on his translation to Winchester alienated the whole of the patrimony of the see to the crown for a fixed stipend of two thousand marks. In 1552 the see of Gloucester was dissolved, its estates annexed to the crown and its diocese to that of Worcester. True, the crown had profited little: most of the land acquired from bishops' estates had been at once regranted to courtiers. The great attack was begun in the parliament of 1553. A bill was passed for the division of the great diocese of Durham, with the spoliation of its lands for the benefit of the crown and Northumber-

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<sup>48</sup> "Commons' Journal," I, March 6-11, 1553. The clergy also made a grant of six shillings in the pound of the value of their livings, payable in three years. "Statutes," 7 Edward VI, c. 12, 13.

<sup>49</sup> "The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary," Camden Society Publications, V, 48.

land.<sup>50</sup> But before the Revolution could recoup itself by further development in the way of the Henrician and Cromwellian tradition of the increase of the crown estates at the expense of the church, and rearm itself against the reaction, the boy king died. His death came a little too soon for the success of Northumberland's plans.

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<sup>50</sup> Dixon, "History of the Church of England," III, 197-8, 274, 471, 511.

### CHAPTER III

#### RECONSTRUCTION UNDER MARY, 1553-1558

"Sterility," writes Pollard, "was the conclusive note of Mary's reign." It was a "palpable failure." Yet one exception must be taken to Mr. Pollard's sweeping condemnation. In the matter of government finances there was a real and important advance, without which the work of Elizabeth could not have begun so auspiciously. Like a spendthrift wasting his capital funds the late Henrician and the Edwardian government had reduced and alienated crown possessions and resources to tide over financial crises. What was left was now so carefully husbanded that it was made to serve the requirements of the state for another half century. This was the constructive work of Mary's government. The religious reaction which Mary personified made it impossible to go forward to those new developments of the Tudor policy which Northumberland was planning, and had already begun, the increase of the crown lands by the annexation of the estates of the bishops. The queen's intense devotion to the old church even led to the surrender of certain resources already in hand. But the sale of lands practically ceased, and for the sources of supply which remained, conservation and intensive cultivation to effect the utmost productivity were the keynotes.

Mary enjoyed initial advantages which her brother did not have when he began to rule. The kingdom was at peace, and not threatened with war. Boulogne with its great charges had fortunately been lost. The crown was not surrounded by a group of grasping councillors bent on enriching themselves at the expense of the state. At the beginning of the reign stern retrenchment was the order. "It must also be considered," runs a memorandum of things to be done for the good of the reign, drawn up August 4, 1553, "that the expenses of the queen be so moderated as the crown be able to bear it and have wherewith also to resist the enemy. And for this cause, all such

superfluous new charges as have of late crept in are to be taken away and the state of the household, the admiralty, ordnance, mint, Ireland, Calais, Berwick and other places reduced near the same charges that they were in the latter end of King Henry VIII."<sup>1</sup> The reduction of the extraordinary numbers in the armies and garrisons in Ireland, at Calais and Berwick and the various forts in England was recommended and carried out. Shortly after, a special committee of the council was appointed to take general oversight of the advances for Calais, Berwick and Ireland, the North, Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight and "the Islands."<sup>2</sup> In Ireland alone, the yearly charge which had been £42,609 in the last year of Edward's reign was reduced to £17,796 in the third year of Queen Mary.<sup>3</sup> It was recommended too that the charges in the household be reduced, after a study of the charges of the latter part of Henry VIII's reign with "reasonable additions thereto." But a great reduction in the household charges was not effected. During the two first years of the reign they were greater than they had been in Edward VI's time, though after that they were considerably reduced.<sup>4</sup> The expenses of the wardrobe continued very large, but were declared by a committee of the council to be satisfactory and not excessive.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, I, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> R. O., "State Papers, Domestic," Mary, I, No. 3; III, No. 31.

<sup>3</sup> B. M., Additional MSS., 4767, f. 160. Yearly charges, a<sup>o</sup>. 1 Mary £37,916; a<sup>o</sup>. 2 Mary £38,524; a<sup>o</sup>. 3 Mary £17,796. The charges rose slightly later, to £20,375 for the army and £1,735 for fees and annuities in 1559. Additional MSS. 4767, ff. 116, 126, 129.

<sup>4</sup> R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 1795. The charges for the year 1551-1552 were £55,791 (Edward)

1552-1553 51,903 (Edward and Mary)

1553-1554 62,640 (Mary)

1554-1555 59,353 (Mary)

1555-1556 52,866 (Mary)

1556-1557 54,111 (Mary)

1557-1558 36,208 (Mary)

1558-1559 44,824 (Mary and Elizabeth)

<sup>5</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary VI, No. 21. The expenses of the wardrobe for 1552-1553 were £ 5,373

1553-1554 12,307 (coronation charges included)

1554-1555 6,121



As a retrenchment measure the union of the various revenue courts had been considered in Edward VI's reign, and authorized by parliament.<sup>6</sup> Mary's government at once turned its attention to the "new erected courts" and their "superfluous charges." Parliament passed a second empowering act, and on January 24, 1554, letters patent of the queen abolished the Court of Augmentations and the Court of First Fruits and Tenths, and united them with the Exchequer. The measure might have been very reactionary in its effects, inasmuch as it aimed to restore completely the ancient course of the Exchequer, even to the use of the sheriffs as stewards of the crown lands. But there were permissive clauses in the letters patent which made it possible for the more modern system of the Augmentations court to be continued for the administration of the crown lands in the Augmentations office of the Exchequer.

Another great economy was worked in the matter of annuities and pensions. They were taken under consideration at the very beginning of the reign; it was found that annuities of £1,597 to Englishmen and £2,590 to strangers were granted during pleasure and might be stopped at once, while of the annuities paid from the monastic lands it was suspected that some were corruptly granted.<sup>7</sup> The council advised in January, 1554, that no new grants of annuities or pensions be made; and although some new grants were made, notably to those who helped the queen at Fremlingham and to the officers of the dissolved Courts of Augmentations and First Fruits, the total payments for pensions and annuities decreased markedly. From Easter,

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1555-1556	6,029
1557-1558	6,220
1558-1559	9,220 (coronation charges included)

R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 1795, 3027-3032, inclusive. The household and wardrobe took all the clear revenues of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, and of the Court of Wards and Liveries in Mary's reign. What was still lacking to meet their charges was paid from the Exchequer.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 92. "Statutes," 7 Edward VI, c. 2.

<sup>7</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, I, No. 22.

1557, to Easter, 1558, they were only £5,078, as compared with £20,000 a year in Edward's day.<sup>8</sup>

Yet the problem that confronted Mary's government could not be solved by economies and curtailments alone. The rise in prices, the advance in the standard of living, and the higher level of salaries led necessarily to an increase in the household and wardrobe charges and in the cost of the permanent military and naval establishments. With all the economies possible, the total government disbursements in normal years of peace were considerably greater than they had been in 1540, and constantly tended to rise. It was essential that the government's revenues be increased. The time was not yet ripe to use taxation to supply new funds regularly. Nor could the depleted estates of the crown be augmented on a grand scale as in the past. Northumberland's attainder and execution restored some of the lands which he had so unjustly gathered into his hands. As a possible means of recovering more of the fraudulently alienated estates, an investigation was proposed of all exchanges or gifts of land granted since the death of Henry VIII,<sup>9</sup> but nothing was done. Despite all the alienations of the past two decades, the crown estates were still absolutely very large, and if they could not be increased in extent, they could be made much more productive of revenue. That rise in prices which so increased the costs of running the state increased also the potential value of the royal lands. Rents responded to the advance in prices of agricultural products, though the crown did not immediately or automatically profit by the rise in rents. In 1555 the committee of the council appointed for lands and possessions thought it good that a survey be made of all the queen's possessions in every shire and hundred as the first step toward increasing her majesty's income; but on the next points the sub-committees entirely disagreed. One party favored the letting of all lands, possessions and manors to farm for twenty-one years, as in that way the

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<sup>8</sup> R. O., Exchequer of Receipt, Misc. Books, 259, Exchequer issues. See appendix of disbursements of the Court of Exchequer.

<sup>9</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, I, No. 5.

revenue would be made more certain, and the expenses of stewards, bailiffs, auditors, surveyors and receivers much reduced.<sup>10</sup> "Farming" the revenues was beginning to find the favor of the experts; it was concurrently urged for the customs, where the "example of other kingdoms and dominions" showed how advantageous it was. The farming of the lands and manors was not, however, adopted. More careful attention was paid to the making of new leases, which were to be drawn up only by the officers of the courts; fines for entry seem to have been increased, and rents raised. At any rate the land revenues steadily increased throughout Mary's reign, and this increase continued without interruption in Elizabeth's time. The clear yield of the crown lands in the Court of Augmentations was £26,883 in the year 1552-1553, the last year of Edward VI, and the first of Mary; in the year 1556-1557 the yield of lands in the Augmentations office of the Exchequer was £47,723, and in the first year of Elizabeth £69,460.<sup>11</sup> In the Duchy of Lancaster the issues of crown lands show a similar, but smaller increase, from £6,628 in the year 1552-1553, to £7,808 in the year 1558-1559.<sup>12</sup> The land revenues thus incremented again became the most important in the state.

But though land was the chief source of wealth in early Tudor times, investments were also taking other forms. Commercial wealth, especially the riches derived from foreign commerce, had for a long time been rising to a more exalted place in the national economy. The appearance of Edward I's customs, the old customs of 1276 and the new customs of 1302, is an evidence of the recognition of this. The growing importance and power of commercial wealth was amply illustrated by the aid which the Hanseatic League gave to Edward IV, and the renewed concessions which the league was able to extort from

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<sup>10</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, VI, No. 22; B. M., Additional MSS., 12504, ff. 164, 166; Titus, B. IV, f. 135.

<sup>11</sup> R. O., Augmentations Office, Treasurer's Roll of Accounts, No. 8; R. O., Exchequer of Receipt, Declaration Books, Pells, I; B. M. Lansdowne MSS., 4, f. 182.

<sup>12</sup> R. O., Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts Various, bundle VIII.

him in the treaty of Utrecht. It was also in this reign that the merchants of the Staple at Calais assumed the responsibility for the maintenance of the English garrison there, using for this purpose the wool customs which they paid. The importance of the wealth of foreign commerce was recognized by Henry VII, and he aimed to increase it. He could not endure, said Bacon, to see trade sick. The commercial treaty of Medino del Campo of 1489 with Spain, securing reciprocal freedom for English and Spanish merchants in Spain and in England; the treaties with Florence and Norway, and the *Intercursus Magnus*; and the aid which he gave to merchants in the form of loans<sup>13</sup> show his zeal for stimulating foreign trade. His motives were not exclusively the altruism of the paternal despot. First in his mind was the increase of the customs duties in the ports. Some of the loans to merchants specifically provided for the import of a certain amount of goods within a certain time. Henry designed to use the increasingly important commercial wealth as the subsidiary basis of a revenue system resting chiefly on land. Inasmuch as commerce was a very delicate organism, perhaps easily injured by increases in duties, Henry VII made only unimportant alterations in the existing scales. He provided easy conditions for the growth of commerce, satisfying himself with the augmented revenues coming from a larger bulk of transactions. He also tried to abolish the exemptions and privileges of foreign merchants in England, including the Hanseatic League, and to secure more faithful fulfillment of their duties by the custom house officials. At first the value of goods upon which the duty was paid was that declared by the merchant on his oath, but in 1507 an official Book of Rates showing the value

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<sup>13</sup> The surplus which Henry VII accumulated in the course of his reign was not withdrawn from circulation and laid up in solid gold and silver money in great chests, as is generally believed. (Cf. Cunningham, *Growth*, I, 545, and also I, 487). It was advanced to merchants in London Italian, Flemish and English, on certain easy conditions, for the advancement of trade. R. O., Treasury of Receipt, Misc. Books, 214, Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber.

officially fixed was issued for London.<sup>14</sup> This local book was made the basis for a national Book of Rates in 1536, applying to the whole kingdom. The customs revenue steadily increased throughout the reign of Henry VII. This healthy growth continued for much of the period of Henry VIII, but in his latter years the returns from customs fluctuated, and in the time of Edward VI they declined.<sup>15</sup> The prosperity of the trading classes was shown by their ability to purchase land in great quantities. The prestige of English merchants abroad was so great that the credit of London merchants would secure loans in Flanders for which the credit of the king was not sufficient; their resources were again indicated by the ability of the Merchant Adventurers and the merchants of the Staple to advance great sums to the king by way of loans. By the time of Edward VI the influence of the London merchants had become so great as to secure the revocation of the privileges of the Steelyard and to undertake the beginnings of the Muscovy Company in the voyage of Willoughby and Chancellor in 1553. These are all indications of a vigorous and increasing foreign trade in the middle of the sixteenth century. The decline in Edward's customs revenues meant not a decline in English trade, but a maladjustment of the revenue system. For this there were several causes. There was laxness and dishonesty in the custom houses and dues were not truly paid.<sup>16</sup> More important than this, all dues were collected on the valuations of the national books of

<sup>14</sup> N. S. B. Gras, "Tudor Books of Rates," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXVI, 766ff.

<sup>15</sup> The average receipts 1538-1539 to 1546-1547 were £40,120 a year; Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, II, p. 12. The receipts in the year 1550-1551 were £23,386 in the ports in England and £2,511 at Calais. The Calais customs were, however, unusually small this year. In 1548-1549 they had been £6,752 and in 1549-1550 £4,164. B. M., Additional MSS., 30,198.

<sup>16</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, XIII, Nos. 49, 50, charges of loss to the queen through fraudulent weighing of wools. "Historical MSS. Commission, Hatfield MSS.," I, 148, complaint of great frauds in the custom house by the customers and controllers, who are often in business themselves. Cf. Dowell, "History of Taxes," I, 180; Cunningham, "Growth," I, 549.

rates of 1536 and 1545, which were themselves the valuations fixed in 1507. With the rise in prices, these valuations no longer corresponded to the actual market prices of goods in the middle of the century. In the third place articles like wool, on which the customs revenue was formerly very great, were exported in smaller quantities, while the existing duty on commodities like cloth, beer, and wine, in the increased exchange of which the growth of commerce consisted, was too low. As far as the official valuations were concerned the situation was clearly recognized by a royal commission in Edward VI's reign. Pointing out the discrepancy between the market price and the rated value, the commission declared it meet to take measures for the profit of this custom, and that additional returns from new rates or valuations were very necessary.<sup>17</sup> A committee of the council studied the matter in Mary's reign, and reported: "It seems necessary that goods of all sorts are imported and exported and shall be specified in a book with their true modern value, and that customs and subsidies [of tonnage and poundage] shall be paid according to the true value and quality of the same goods at these times."<sup>18</sup> On May 28, 1558, the new Book of Rates with modern valuations, based on recent inquiry was issued. It raised the older rates by approximately seventy-five per cent, on the average. The privy seal prefaced to the book of rates remedied the decrease in the customs caused by the falling off in the export of wool. Because "much less wool is shipped . . . and much more wool made into cloth within our Realm and carried out of the same in cloth by way of merchandise, . . . and because the custom and subsidy of wool carried out of this realm in wool doth far exceed the custom and subsidy of so much wool after the rate clothed. . . . We therefore minding in reasonable sort to maintain our customs as the most ancient and certain revenue of our crown . . . have assessed upon cloths to be carried forth by way of merchandise

<sup>17</sup> Gras, "Tudor Books of Rates," 774; B. M., Additional MSS., 30198.

<sup>18</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, VI, No. 22; B. M., Titus, B. IV, f. 35.

[new] rates for the customs and subsidy.”<sup>19</sup> By the new impost which took the place of the older customs and subsidy, the cloth trade was made to contribute a fairer share to the necessities of the state. A few weeks before the issue of the new book of rates, and the impost on cloth, the council had laid similar imposts on the wines of France and French dry wares imported, and on beer exported.<sup>20</sup> The increase brought by the new valuations, the new duties and the greater strictness in the custom houses which the council enjoined was immediate. From £25,900 in 1550-1551, and £29,315 in the fourth year of Mary’s reign, the customs revenues rose to £82,797 in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, divided as follows,—old customs £25,797; for the rate of wares newly appointed £20,000; custom of the Staple £4,000; new increase upon cloth £26,000; new increase upon wines £4,000; the custom of beer £3,000.<sup>21</sup> The new Book of Rates and the new duties or imposts were the second great contribution of Mary to a rehabilitation of the finances. As in the case of the lands, Elizabeth reaped the advantages of Mary’s innovations. Elizabeth’s councillors extended the new imposts to all wines, and reissued the Book of Rates at various times. The customs became of almost equal importance with the land revenues as the basis for national finance, just as commercial wealth was tending to greater equality with landed wealth.

But it must not be supposed that all was smooth sailing in the financial history of Mary’s reign. The constructive policies were slow in their development. Throughout the reign the government needed money, for the support of the increased establishments, and, in the last year, for the war with France, which was fortunately quick and decisive. But crown lands were not sold, and the coinage of debased money was not resumed. The government depended chiefly on loans and taxes, to meet its exigent demands. The debts beyond seas had been decreased in

<sup>19</sup> B. M., Lansdowne MSS., 3, f. 143.

<sup>20</sup> “Acts of the Privy Council,” n. s., VI, 305, April 17, 1558.

<sup>21</sup> B. M., Lansdowne MSS., 4, f. 182; an estimate or report on the revenues for the year 1559-1560 prepared for Cecil, and annotated in his hand.

the last months of Northumberland's administration to £61,000 by midsummer, 1553. This reduction was made by allowing the payments in the various government departments to fall very much further into arrears.<sup>22</sup> Northumberland was anxious to pay the debts of the realm abroad, the Flanders loans; Mary's council seems to have decided that it was better to pay the charges and expenditures of the state promptly, and to accept frankly, as necessary aids in doing this, further foreign loans, even at twelve and fourteen per cent, which the future could redeem. As in the latter part of Edward VI's reign, Sir Thomas Gresham was the general agent in Flanders for the loans. Between March 21, 1554, and July 31, 1557, he repaid forty-nine bonds, with interest and brokerage charges of foreign bankers, together with certain sums due to the Staplers and Merchant Adventurers to the amount of £312,084-5s.-9d. He negotiated new loans, many of them prolongations of former loans to the value of £234,733-4s.-4d. The total interest and prolongation charges for the period were £31,224, which is possibly only a small part of the saving realized by the state by the prompt payment of its officers, servants, purveyors and other like creditors. For certain money, 300,750 ducats, raised by bills in Antwerp, he had to go to Spain. The money was delivered to him by the bankers of Medina de Rioseca and Medina del Campo at Seville; from Seville he had to carry it to the seaside packed in great boxes, some of which broke with a loss of 231 ducats,—which the commissioners refused to allow when his account was made before them. In his dealings, such was "his wisdom," as his declaration of account modestly phrases it, that he raised the value of English money in exchange to be of more value than the money of Flanders, two shillings in the pound in March and April, 1554, one shilling in May, 1557, and six pence in August, 1555.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, I, No. 14. The foreign debt is put at £72,000 at about the same time in another paper, IV, No. 6.

<sup>23</sup> R. O., Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, No. 18. The accounts of Gresham's transactions are continued in Nos. 23, 26.



Though most of the loans were raised in Flanders, the queen occasionally called upon the City of London for advances. On the first Sunday of September, 1553, she demanded £20,000 of the City of London. The sum of £10,000 was actually advanced, and repaid within the month.<sup>24</sup> In August, 1556, the City of London advanced £6,000.<sup>25</sup> In March, 1558, after the loss of Calais the queen demanded a loan of 100,000 marks (£66,666-13s.-4d.) of the city, which was reduced to £20,150-12s.-1d. when it was paid. The queen pledged lands worth £1,007-10s.-7¼d. a year for repayment, and paid interest at twelve per cent, for the taking of which, contrary to the usury laws, the queen had to issue special licenses to the London aldermen.<sup>26</sup> The Merchant Adventurers were so "forward" and liberal at this time that the queen wrote them a special letter of thanks, promising them her special favor in any reasonable suits.<sup>27</sup>

The taxes of parliamentary grant used to eke out the crown resources were the ordinary subsidies and fifteenths and tenths of the laity, and the subsidies of the clergy. In her first parliament the queen remitted the last subsidy granted to Edward, unpaid at his death. In 1555 a subsidy payable in 1556 and 1557 was granted by the laity, and a subsidy of six shillings in the pound by the clergy. Parliament was willing at this time to make a further grant of two fifteenths and tenths which the queen was graciously contented to refuse with her thanks.<sup>28</sup> In January, 1558, as a war measure, a subsidy and one fifteenth and tenth were granted, besides a clerical subsidy of eight shillings in the pound. Of interest in connection with the subsidies is not the frequency with which they were asked, nor their yield,<sup>29</sup> but the stiffening resistance of parliament to the taxes,

<sup>23</sup> For the value of the Marian taxes, see Appendix.

<sup>24</sup> Wriothesley's Chronicle, II, 100 (Camden Society Publications, n. s., Vol. 20); "Acts of the privy council," n. s., IV, 343,353.

<sup>25</sup> "Acts of the privy council," n. s., V, 321.

<sup>26</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, XIV, No. 83.

<sup>27</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, XII, No. 66.

<sup>28</sup> "Commons' Journal," I, 28, 31.

and the insistence of the government on more exact and complete payment, with the punishment of those who sought to evade the taxes.<sup>30</sup>

Near the end of the reign too, the century-old device of the forced loan, half arbitrary tax, and half loan, was revamped. In 1556 the richest subjects of the kingdom were called upon to lend the queen £100 apiece, to be repaid within a month of All Saints (November 1), 1557.<sup>31</sup> In September, 1557, to raise the money to repay the levy of the past year, and to supply other needed sums, a more elaborate loan was practiced. Commissioners sat in each district, as in the case of a subsidy, and rated each man's value with the assistance of the subsidy books, and the testimony of neighbors. Having made the assessments, the commissioners were to collect the money, taking not under £10, nor more than 100 marks (£66-13s.-4d.). Those who firmly refused to pay without cause were to be cited before the council, as many persons indeed were. Certain counties, Derby, Chester, Lancaster, York, and Nottingham were exempted from the loan, because of the service which they had "done us in the war amongst our enemies the Scots." The loan realized £109,-267-0s.-4d.; of this £42,100 was used to repay the loan of 1556, and the rest was apparently used for the general purposes of the state, since the recovery of Calais was not immediately attempted.<sup>32</sup> Though privy seals were given as receipts to those who had contributed, no promise of repayment was made as in the previous year, and no repayment seems ever to have been made.

Note must be taken finally of the retrogressive steps in the financial history of Mary's time. These are closely and intimately connected with the political and especially the religious

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<sup>30</sup> The Commons' Journal notes "arguments" on the necessity of summoning members of the house before the queen in connection with all the taxes of the reign. For insistence on more complete and speedier payment see "Acts of the Privy Council," n. s., V, VI.

<sup>31</sup> B. M., Cleopatra, F. VI, f. 299, a privy seal for the loan.

<sup>32</sup> R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Mary, XI, Nos. 44, 45, 46; XVI, No. 49; XIII, No. 36. The last is the account of Richard Wilbraham, receiver-general of the loan.

situation; they proceeded partly from Mary's sense of loyalty and gratitude to the church, partly from her sense of stern honor and exact justice. The confiscations and forfeits accruing to the crown by the ruin of her enemies, Mary balanced by restoration to name and lands of persons attainted by her father and brother.<sup>33</sup> She reërected the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, she restored the abbey of Westminster, and returned the monastic lands in Ireland to their original uses. She was even resolved to restore all the monastic lands in crown possession to the church, and actually ordered perfect declarations of all her revenues made and presented to this end. "She preferred the salvation of her soul to the maintenance of her imperial dignity, if it could not be furnished without such assistance." But the councillors would not take the necessary steps; their passive resistance defeated her purpose.<sup>34</sup> She was however able to accomplish the surrender of the first fruits and tenths of the clergy and the alienation of the rectories, parsonages, glebes, benefices impropriate and other spiritual livings in the hands of the crown, though the bill was bitterly opposed in parliament.<sup>35</sup> The surrender was made as a gift to the church, to be placed at the disposition of the Cardinal Pole, for the augmentation of the poor livings of priests.<sup>36</sup> The surrender of the first fruits and tenths alone, would have been a dead loss to the royal revenues of something less than £25,000 a year. But the alienation was not so immediately serious as Mary's enemies in Elizabeth's reign and since have alleged. For the gift to the church carried with it the payment of pensions and corrodies of the late monks, nuns and chantry priests to a very great sum. The pensions of the chantry priests alone were £11,147 a year;<sup>37</sup> the entire payments of this nature were £44,861-8s.-9d. in the year 1550-

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<sup>33</sup> A paper in State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, I, No. 64, gives the value of lands returned to such persons £9,796.

<sup>34</sup> Dixon, "History of the Church of England," IV, 359.

<sup>35</sup> See Dixon, "History," IV, 449, note, for extracts from the Commons' and Lords' Journals, noting the debates and arguments.

<sup>36</sup> "Statutes," 2 and 3, Philip and Mary, c. 4.

<sup>37</sup> "Historical MSS. Commission," Hatfield MSS., Vol. I, 75.

1551.<sup>38</sup> In time these pensions would cease, and then there would be at the disposal of the church a goodly sum for the benefit of its most poorly paid priests, but it was eighteen months after the passage of the act of surrender before the fund sufficed to do more than pay the pensions besides the remission of the tenths of the smallest livings. The net loss to the crown was not very great; before the pensions became markedly smaller than the gross value of the "gift," it was resumed. The greatest and practically the only change which Elizabeth made in the financial policy of her sister and her sister's government was the revocation of the various restorations which Mary had made to the church; especially the repeal of the act of 1555, and the resumption by the crown of the first fruits and tenths, and the spiritual livings.

In the history of the finances of the Tudor sovereigns, the critical years are those of Edward VI and Mary. Under the first, the system built up by Henry VII, Henry VIII and Cromwell nearly broke down, through the misgovernment of the times and the continuance of war drains. Had it done so, there must have come great constitutional changes in connection with the organization of a new system. But Mary's government was strong and capable enough to gather together the remaining resources of the old system, and so conserve, husband and increase their productivity, that, with the careful parsimony of Elizabeth it worked for another half century. The question of a new organization was put off until the seventeenth century; when it forced itself upon the Stuarts, they were too weak and incompetent to deal with it. The example of Holland, and the Long Parliament were necessary before the new system could be set up, and with it, the promise of the *Confirmatio Cartarum* be realized.

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<sup>38</sup> B. M., Additional MSS., 30198.

## APPENDIX

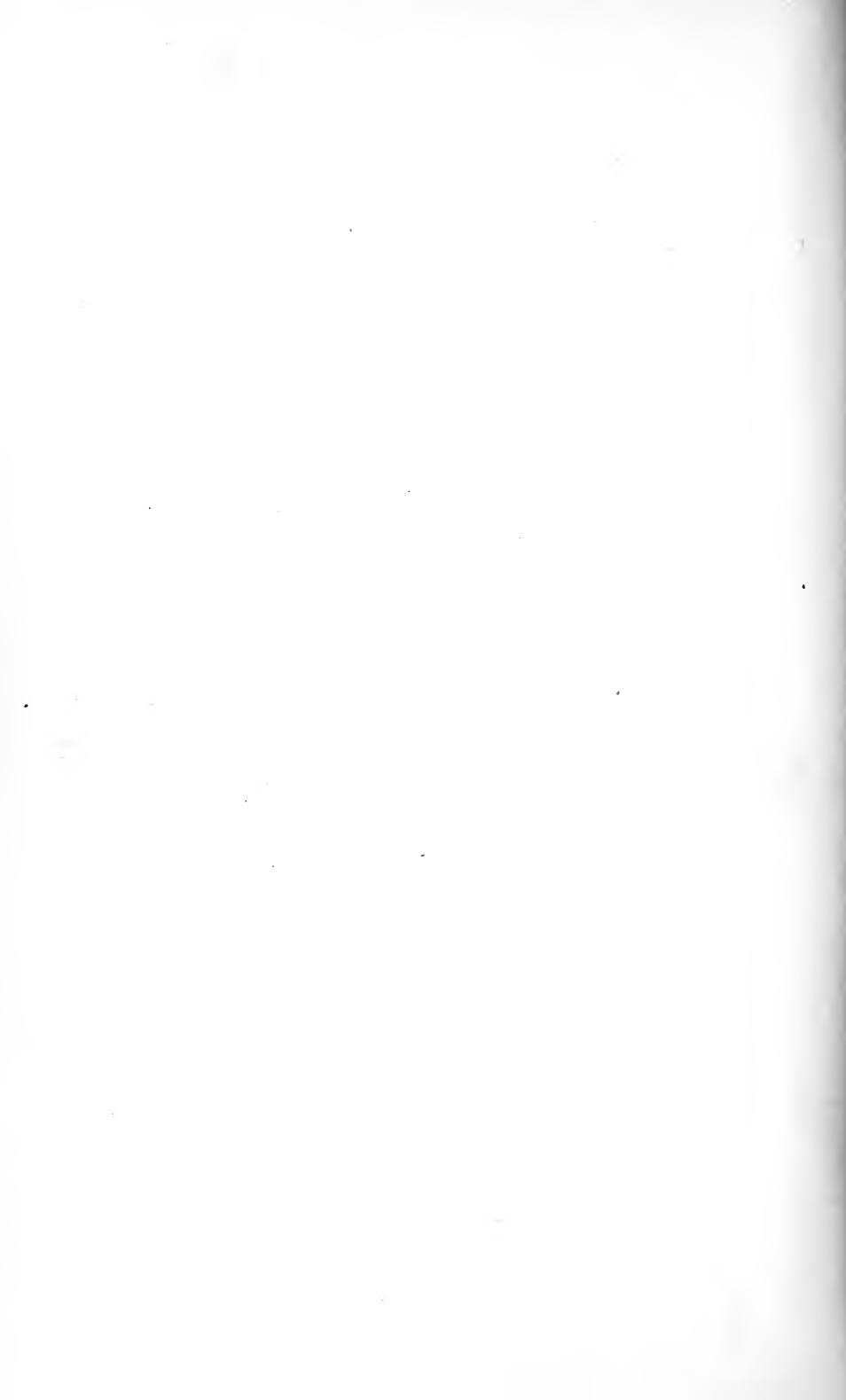


TABLE I—THE EXCHEQUER—PART I  
RECEIPTS

(A blank indicates no receipt; an asterisk (\*) indicates that the record is wanting.)

For the year ending at Michaelmas, except as otherwise noted	Revenues of the Crown (Old Feudal Revenues— the firma comitatus)		Customs		Revenue from lands in the Augmentations Office (Reign of Mary)		Lay Subsidies		Fifteenth and Tenths		Money due to the Crown by obligations for un- paid subsidies, etc.		First Fruits (Reign of Mary)	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Easter, 1547, to Michaelmas, 1547...								*	*	*				
1548.....	*		*					*	*	*				
1549.....	*		*											
1550.....	*		*					47,073-18-11						
1551.....	*		*					41,963-6-2						
1552.....	*		*					59,611-1-3						
Michaelmas, 1552, to July 6, 1553.....	*		*					46,425-7-7						
July 6, 1553, to Easter, 1554.....	*		*					2,012-14-11	14,328-19-7					
Easter, 1554, to Michaelmas, 1554.....	*		*					4,177-0-10	11,237-0-1					243-11-7
1555.....	*		*					22,510-4-5	1,800-8-10					3,219-15-8
1556.....	*		*					75,000-0-0	5,514-5-11					11,829-3-5
1557.....	14,787-14-8		12,762-13-11					65,546-18-2	10,384-2-2					11,604-6-11
Hilary term, 1558....	11,884-15-0		13,114-16-2					73,153-17-6	549-1-1					4,195-1-7
	3,159-10-1		6,733-7-10					3,408-5-10						950-0-0





TABLE II—THE EXCHEQUER—PART I  
DISBURSEMENTS

The entries in this table are not a complete record of Exchequer disbursements. When given, the payments represent the complete expenditures in the Exchequer for any particular purpose, but a blank does not denote absence of payment.

For the Year ending at Michaelmas	ORDINARY CHARGES										Total	Jewels	Buildings and Fortifications	Marine Causes (Navy)		
	Fees, wages and annuities payable to the Exchequer	Annuities out of late Augmentations of Court (Reign of Mary)	Ordinary Household Payments	Ordinary Wardrobe Payments	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.					£.	s.
1547.....	13,617-14-4		11,197-15-9	300-0-0	300-0-0	27,572-11-4	9,758-1-10	2,000-0-0	11,400-0-0							
1548.....	11,032-16-4		16,328-0-0	150-0-0	150-0-0	18,773-6-3		3,200-0-0	7,648-7-9							
1549.....	10,257-1-4		8,143-0-11	300-0-0	300-0-0	28,023-4-1										
1550.....	12,954-3-4		14,588-0-9	300-0-0	300-0-0											
1551.....				300-0-0	300-0-0											
1552.....	13,446-17-0			300-0-0	300-0-0	15,763-9-7										
1553.....	19,710-4-8			300-0-0	300-0-0	25,419-16-4										
1554.....	20,443-0-7	8,733-1-9		300-0-0	300-0-0	31,342-16-4										
1555.....	30,036-1-5	25,246-4-6		300-0-0	300-0-0	56,874-14-3										
1556.....	30,125-7-0	8,972-17-2	13,689-14-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	53,528-6-3										
1557.....	31,000-0-0	5,000-0-0		300-0-0	300-0-0	36,913-17-8										
1558.....	30,882-13-1	4,495-2-1	20,001-17-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	55,700-0-0										
1559.....				300-0-0	300-0-0	35,244-3-0										

TABLE II—THE EXCHEQUER—PART II  
DISBURSEMENTS

The entries in this table are not a complete record of Exchequer disbursements. When given, the payments represent the complete expenditures in the Exchequer for any particular purpose, but a blank does not denote absence of payment.

For the Year ending at Michaelmas	Ordnance Department	Charges at Boulogne	Charges at Calais	Charges at Berwick	The Army in the North	Ireland	Extra Charges in the Wardrobe	Miscellaneous War Purposes
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1547.....	4,221- 8- 1	9,500- 0- 0	3,320- 0- 0		4,000- 0- 0		11,000- 0- 0	
1548.....			3,000- 0- 0				3,000- 0- 0	
1549.....		6,000- 0- 0	1,750- 0- 0		20,865- 4- 8			6,528- 5- 5
1550.....		6,500- 0- 0	1,000- 0- 0					1,200- 0- 0
1551.....								
1552.....								
1553.....								
1554.....								
1555.....								
1556.....				20,500- 0- 0		7,496- 5- 6		
1557.....	9,300- 0- 0		20,500- 0- 0	1,000- - 0	24,080- 0- 0			
1558.....							1,000- 0- 0	
1559.....							5,240- 0- 0	

TABLE II—THE EXCHEQUER—PART III  
DISBURSEMENTS

The entries in this table are not a complete record of Exchequer disbursements. When given, the payments represent the complete expenditures in the Exchequer for any particular purpose, but a blank does not denote absence of payment.

For the Year Ending at Michaelmas	Debts of Henry VIII	Money Paid to Sir Edmund Pekham, Treasurer, Ex- traordinary in Mary's Reign	Money Paid to Thomas Gresham, Agent in Flanders	Money Paid to the Staplers (Return of Money Loaned)	Charges of the Mint	Charges of the Kings Chamber	Extra Charges in the Household	Total
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1547.....	20,000-0-0							105,655-19-2
1548.....						3,000-0-0		78,980-15-4
1549.....							9,000-0-0	80,444-5-8
1550.....		6,000-0-0				2,614-13-4		61,810-12-10
1551.....								86,058-14-3
1552.....								66,541-1-0
1553.....								43,820-14-0
1554.....								90,331-8-2
1555.....		92,477-0-10						151,100-13-3
1556.....		7,600-0-0	60,612-5-10	13,428-11-3	13,500-0-0	5,456-5-7	2,000-0-0	246,274-5-5
1557.....		11,000-0-0	60,000-0-0	9,000-0-0	9,000-0-0			293,152-12-9
1558.....							278,000	334,340-1-6
1559.....							195,000	230,975-10-5
		Paid by warrants of the Council for war and other purposes .....						
		Paid by warrants of the Council for war expenses and other purposes .....						

TABLE III—THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER  
RECEIPTS

(A blank indicates no disbursements; an asterisk (\*) indicates that the record is wanting.)

The Year Ending Michaelmas	Arrears of the Revenue of Past Years Received		Issues of the Lands of the Duchy		Arrears of the Revenue of Past Years of Monastic Lands in the Jurisdiction of the Duchy		Issues of Monastic Lands Cum Ripon, in the Juris- diction of the Duchy		Miscellaneous		Total	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
1547.....	751-10-1		7,443-19-10		100-1-2		1,191-19-7				9,487-10-10	
1548.....	557-0-0		7,054-13-0		185-7-0		1,315-10-10				9,112-10-11	
1549.....	895-10-3		6,517-0-5		120-16-3		1,218-18-3				8,753-1-6	
1550.....	*		*		*		*				*	
1551.....	1,201-8-0		7,151-11-4		259-5-7		1,208-9-0				9,820-14-1	
1552.....	1,764-9-5		7,475-1-2		497-18-11		1,086-8-1				10,993-11-1	
1553.....	1,197-11-5		6,286-14-7		423-3-6		1,127-16-0				9,056-16-2	
1554.....	1,173-0-2		6,628-4-8		143-13-1		1,438-16-11				9,448-3-5	
1555.....	1,441-1-5		7,469-18-2		134-9-0		1,420-10-4				10,499-8-5	
1556.....	1,153-5-7		7,743-1-7		251-0-9		1,482-19-1				10,636-13-1	
1557.....	1,031-19-5		7,362-1-6		115-7-8		1,123-12-0				9,661-19-5	
1558.....	1,317-5-2		7,335-16-4		89-10-4		1,388-8-3				12,208-13-8	
1559.....	1,607-5-9		7,808-1-7		453-6-11		1,284-15-4				12,871-2-11	

TABLE IV—THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER  
DISBURSEMENTS

(A blank indicates no disbursements; an asterisk (\*) indicates that the record is wanting.)

For the Year Ending Michaelmas	Fees, Wages, Allowances in the Court			"PAYMENTS TO THE KING'S USE"												Total	Balance in Hands of the Receiver-General of the Duchy		
	£.	s.	d.	Household	King's Chamber	Payments for Services	Miscellaneous	Total	Total	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.
1547				5,000-0-0	2,000-0-0				7,000-0-0							7,661-6-0	1,685-8-11		
1548	989-	5-10		3,000-0-0	3,328-18-11	911-10-0			7,240-8-11							8,229-14-9	2,924-2-9		
1549	800-	5-9	*	6,000-0-0	2,375-4-0	2,365-18-11			10,741-2-11							11,541-8-8	0-0-0	*	
1550																			
1551	1,132-	4-7		6,000-0-0	1,400-0-0	1,444-9-8			8,844-9-8							9,977-14-3	2,011-10-5		
1552	803-	3-8		6,000-0-0	2,531-0-11	1,939-16-11			10,471-17-10							11,275-1-6	1,940-13-11		
1553	1,103-	13-0		4,014-13-4	4,256-16-6				8,271-9-10							9,375-4-10	1,855-14-0		
1554	2,640-	9-9 <sup>1</sup>		6,000-0-0			753-11-6		6,753-11-6							9,394-1-3	1,904-10-4		
1555	679-	13-2		6,000-0-0	471-0-0				6,471-0-0							7,150-13-2	5,201-2-11		
1556	678-	4-1		14,788-1-0			183-4-8		14,971-5-8							15,649-9-9	49-19-10		
1557	691-	12-10		8,356-11-8			27-15-0		8,356-11-8							9,048-4-6	1,138-7-7		
1558	728-	5-10							27-15-0							756-0-10	9,602-17-9		
1559	1,094-	7-8		12,643-8-5	3,156-16-11	323-6-8	5,000-0-0 <sup>2</sup>		21,123-12-0							22,217-19-8	3,167-11-9		

<sup>1</sup> Of this £1,940-13-11 was allowed for fall in the value of coin in the hands of the receiver-general in consequence of the proclamations of July and August, 1551.

<sup>2</sup> For charges at Berwick.

TABLE V—THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES  
RECEIPTS  
(A BLANK INDICATES NO RECEIPT)

Year Ending Michaelmas	Arrears of the Revenue of Past Years Received £. s. d.	Issues of Wards' Lands in the King's Hand £. s. d.	Sale of Wardships and Marriages £. s. d.	Mean Rates £. s. d.	Fines for Livery of Lands £. s. d.	Fines for Contempt of the Court £. s. d.	Licenses for Widows to Marry £. s. d.	Fines for New Leases £. s. d.	Total £. s. d.
1547.....	1,361-6-7	5,914-8-4	1,116-13-10	30-18-8	1,893-4-11				10,316-12-5
1548.....	99-6-5	4,761-13-6	816-1-0	9-19-11	2,264-1-0				7,951-1-11
1549.....	2,385-8-2	5,583-15-0	1,880-13-8	100-0-2	2,931-16-2				12,881-13-4
1550.....	5,932-0-4	6,512-7-10	4,243-16-0	181-4-1	3,923-3-9				20,792-12-2
1551.....	2,768-18-4	6,328-17-4	3,950-14-4	216-9-10	3,099-12-5	23-6-8			16,387-16-4
1552.....	1,373-12-0	6,325-16-9	3,691-19-10	132-2-4	4,813-8-2	97-15-6			16,434-14-7
1553.....	762-11-1	5,320-14-10	3,311-10-0	234-3-11	5,233-17-1				14,933-19-3
1554.....	928-15-1	7,888-0-4	2,700-18-4	209-13-7	3,355-17-3				15,147-17-3
1555.....	986-2-9	8,255-5-7	3,110-18-7	115-4-7	3,793-19-9				16,332-10-3
1556.....	1,428-4-9	10,007-2-11	4,860-18-5	233-7-5	5,049-0-10				21,744-16-8
1557.....	971-11-4	6,964-6-6	4,299-3-4	160-12-0	4,970-1-10				17,703-3-11
1558.....	1,154-10-6	6,199-13-10	4,245-10-0	360-17-4	4,700-5-4				16,788-19-4
1559.....	840-10-1	10,124-12-5	5,003-10-0	624-16-11	5,700-13-11		18-0-0	350-12-2	22,837-19-2

# TABLE VI—THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIVORIES—PART I

## DISBURSEMENTS

(A BLANK INDICATES NO DISBURSEMENT)

Year Ending Michaelmas	Fees and Wages of the Court			Annuities Going Forth of Lands			Exhibitions of Wards			Jointures and Dowers			Paid by Warrants or Decree of the Court			Necessary Expenses of the Court and Reparations			MONEY PAID UPON THE WARRANTS OF THE COUNCIL							
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
1547	670-12	-8		95-8	-9		696-17	-8		99-1	-5		11-3	-5		2,000-0	-0									
1548	715-12	-10		66-6	-8		298-7	-9		46-13	-4		6-6	-11		2,000-0	-0									
1549	673-18	-4		158-0	-0		240-15	-4		22-16	-8		320-4	-2		2,722-11	-0									
1550	708-6	-2		314-2	-6		388-7	-3		133-3	-11		116-14	-5		5,612-7	-7									
1551	411-10	-0		119-6	-8		366-7	-9		20-0	-0		364-7	-0		2,829-13	-4									
1552	465-15	-0		314-6	-8		678-12	-0		20-0	-0		429-2	-7		3,610-0	-0									
1553	475-15	-0		226-13	-4		659-10	-0		5-6	-8		625-19	-7		950-0	-0									
1554	511-5	-0		285-10	-0		390-0	-0		224-2	-6		312-9	-3		500-5	-9									
1555	628-6	-8		163-6	-8		508-11	-7		15-16	-10		269-2	-11		1,554-13	-0									
1556	473-0	-0		148-10	-0		461-11	-8		40-10	-4		452-2	-1												
1557	807-5	-4		121-3	-4		360-0	-0		10-15	-0		113-16	-7												
1558	824-5	-4		107-16	-8		362-10	-7		40-15	-0		57-5	-2												
1559	803-5	-4		138-9	-4		791-13	-1		185-16	-1		161-5	-2		881-8	-0		1,000-0	-0						

New Years Gifts and Plate  
1,290-17-0  
1,514-15-0  
1,214-11-10  
1,859-8-2

Household  
9,050-0-0  
20,000-0-0  
13,275-0-0  
9,625-15-5  
15,000-0-0

Wardrobe  
1,087-2-6  
2,895-5-0  
1,641-11-11  
1,554-13-0

Military and Naval Purposes  
2,000-0-0  
2,000-0-0  
2,722-11-0  
5,612-7-7  
2,829-13-4  
3,610-0-0  
950-0-0  
500-5-9

Necessary Expenses of the Court and Reparations  
11-3-5  
6-6-11  
320-4-2  
116-14-5  
364-7-0  
429-2-7  
625-19-7  
312-9-3  
269-2-11  
452-2-1

Paid by Warrants or Decree of the Court  
99-1-5  
46-13-4  
133-3-11  
22-16-8  
5-6-8  
224-2-6  
15-16-10  
40-10-4  
10-15-0  
40-15-0  
185-16-1

Jointures and Dowers  
20-0-0  
20-0-0  
20-0-0  
20-0-0  
93-6-8  
86-13-4  
86-13-4  
20-0-0  
31-11-1

Exhibitions of Wards  
696-17-8  
298-7-9  
240-15-4  
388-7-3  
366-7-9  
678-12-0  
659-10-0  
390-0-0  
508-11-7  
461-11-8  
360-0-0  
362-10-7  
791-13-1

Annuities Going Forth of Lands  
95-8-9  
66-6-8  
158-0-0  
314-2-6  
119-6-8  
314-6-8  
226-13-4  
285-10-0  
163-6-8  
148-10-0  
121-3-4  
107-16-8  
138-9-4

Fees and Wages of the Court  
670-12-8  
715-12-10  
673-18-4  
708-6-2  
411-10-0  
465-15-0  
475-15-0  
511-5-0  
628-6-8  
473-0-0  
807-5-4  
824-5-4  
803-5-4

TABLE VI—THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES—PART II  
DISBURSEMENTS  
(A BLANK INDICATES NO DISBURSEMENT)

Year Ending Michaelmas	MONEY PAID UPON THE WARRANTS OF THE COUNCIL					Obligations (Bonds) Cancelled	LIVERY OF MONEY TO		Total
	To the King's or Queen's Own Hands or Use	To Edmund Peckham, Treasurer of the Mints	Parks, Works, and Buildings	Wages and Fees in the Treasury of the Chamber	Total Upon Warrants of the Council		Specified Individuals	Treasurer of the Chamber	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1547.....			200-0-0		4,200-0-0			5,000-0-0	10,854-6-9
1548.....					2,962-1-2			1,000-0-0	5,049-8-3
1549.....					5,533-15-1			53-0-0	6,979-12-11
1550.....					7,606-9-3			250-0-0	11,027-13-0
1551.....	4,823-19-4	2,000-0-0			14,945-11-0	524-0-0		27-16-4	16,387-16-4
1552.....	2,274-14-4	218-13-2	642-10-0		12,932-12-8	1,442-9-4		163-6-8	14,878-10-7
1553.....		4,377-16-1	500-0-0		9,544-13-7	3,320-12-5			16,469-1-8
1554.....		9,073-4-11			13,209-14-6				14,953-11-4
1555.....	500-0-0	1,100-0-0			14,591-4-4				16,269-15-8
1556.....					20,066-13-4	131-3-1			21,729-0-9
1557.....	600-0-0				16,120-5-6				17,619-19-1
1558.....					14,940-7-4				16,353-0-1
1559.....					16,865-9-0				18,977-9-3



TABLE VII—THE COURT OF AUGMENTATIONS AND REVENUES RECEIPTS

For the Year Ending at Michaelmas	Arrears of rents, of sale mon- ey and other debts due to the Court, and money in the hands of the Treasur- er at beginning of year			Revenues and Rents of Lands and Possessions			"Gratum onus"			Money received from the sale of lead, charnels, structures of gilds, chan- tries, bells and ornaments			Money Received from the Sale of Lands			Fines of Leases			Money paid into the Court for various purposes, es- pecially money returned by treasurers of wars, etc.			Total Receipts of the Year		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1547 .....	*			48,308-	0-	0	*			392-	0-	0	12,284-	0-	0	313-	0-	0	4,890-	0-	0			*
1548 .....	123,694-	17-	8	51,058-	3-	6	547-	18-	10	3,107-	14-	10	112,969-	18-	0	374-	5-	8	4,481-	16-	3	162,739-	16-	1
1549 .....	109,672-	17-	8	41,319-	9-	5	607-	6-	10	1,010-	0-	8	92,695-	14-	0	256-	12-	6	1,391-	2-	8	137,280-	7-	1
1550 .....	113,024-	18-	5	32,082-	11-	8	120-	0-	0	4,891-	16-	3	47,286-	9-	3	1,411-	6-	9	542-	0-	9	93,455-	16-	6
1551 .....	93,905-	8-	0	47,163-	4-	5	2,131-	12-	4	1,454-	10-	5	7,856-	0-	4	1,968-	13-	8	902-	8-	11	54,140-	18-	5
1552 .....	90,145-	10-	3 <sup>1</sup>	47,499-	1-	7	1,329-	0-	4	4,456-	3-	5	5,104-	9-	3	585-	5-	2	1,464-	0-	11	60,438-	0-	8
Michaelmas, 1552, to January 23, 1554. . . . .				26,883-	9-	10	188-	0-	0	49,113-	15-	0	16,623-	19-	11	156-	2-	8	271-	0-	0	121,682-	1-	4
													28,445-	13-	11 <sup>2</sup>									

<sup>1</sup> Reduced from £104,569-15-5 by allowances of the council.  
<sup>2</sup> In the year 1553 was received from sale of lands by virtue of special commissions, omitted in accounts of divers preceding years £28,445-13-11. Of this £1,864-11-0 was "in the time of Edward North" and £26,581-2-11 "in the time of John Williams," successive treasurers of the court.

TABLE VIII—COURT OF AUGMENTATIONS AND REVENUES—PART I  
DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ending at Michaelmas	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
January 27, 1547, to Michaelmas, 1547....	*								
1548.....	2,529-8-4	9,013-2-6	3,407-0-0	73-8-6	0-0-0	151-15-6	3,489-12-6	509-0-8	*
1549.....	2,457-15-0	8,420-4-0	3,536-16-8	73-8-6	98-10-9	86-0-0	1,627-2-6	893-9-8	
1550.....	2,544-8-4	8,203-4-2	3,364-10-0	144-17-4	264-17-8	99-6-8	3,932-18-6	698-10-11	
1551.....	2,397-9-2	5,536-7-0	2,939-3-4	128-16-9	115-9-8	114-13-4	3,912-2-2	548-2-6	
1552.....	4,838-0-0	15,097-17-9	5,400-13-4	238-8-10	783-11-4	419-6-8	6,074-10-1	136-6-2	
Michaelmas, 1552, to January 23, 1554....								772-16-1	
	Fees and Wages of Officers and Servants of the Court	Annuities payable by the Court	Pensions to Monks	"Annual" and Perpetual Pay- ments	Messenger Charges of the Court	Necessary Expenses of the Court for Purchase of Supplies	Compositions of Officers (pensions paid to the offi- cers of the former court of general surveyors for sur- render of their offices)	Payments by Decees of the Court	

TABLE VIII—COURT OF AUGMENTATIONS AND REVENUES—PART II  
DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ending at Michaelmas	PAYMENTS OR PRESTS BY COUNCIL, OR OF WARRANTS OF THE KING									
	Payments by Warrants of the Court on the Chan- cellor of the Court	Miscellaneous Payments	Marine Causes	General Military Pur- poses— Wages of Sol- diers, etc.	Ordnance	Boulogne	Calais and the Pale in France	Berwick, and the Army in the North	Ireland	
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
January 27, 1547, to Michaelmas, 1547...	*	*	7,055-0-0	462-0-0	1,422-17-4	7,573-0-0			200-0-0	
1548.....	4,060-5-0		30,380-19-8	6,561-10-5	3,268-3-11	19,125-10-10		70,440-0-0		
1549.....	3,844-11-1		11,877-8-11	17,469-13-6	8,702-16-8	10,866-13-4		14,318-1-8		
1550.....	5,356-18-10	6,747-19-11 <sup>1</sup>	4,508-3-0	800-0-0	198-9-6			4,033-6-8		
1551.....	2,840-1-9	1,460-0-0 <sup>2</sup>	1,622-17-4	2,473-0-0	100-0-0			666-13-4		
1552.....	3,327-18-5	18,388-18-6 <sup>2</sup>	1,519-13-4	2,773-17-0	238-19-4			810-14-3		
Michaelmas, 1552, to January 23 1554....	1,018-5-4	9,409-10-5 <sup>3</sup>	500-0-0	0-0-0	285-12-2			598-0-0		
								498-18-4	880-0-0	
								1,044-2-8	600-0-0	
								576-7-10	1,916-7-0	

<sup>1</sup> Payment of pensions to "those wounded at Boulogne."

<sup>2</sup> Allowances of arrears of rents.

<sup>3</sup> Allowances made to various persons for the sale of lands, and of lead, and for the delivery of money to the king's own hands.



TABLE VIII—COURT OF AUGMENTATIONS AND REVENUES—PART IV  
DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ending at Michaelmas	PAYMENTS OR PRESTS BY COUNCIL OR OF WARRANTS OF THE KING							Grand Total				
	Payments to the Duke of Northumberland	The Duke of Somer- set's diets	To the Master of the Revels	Treasurer of the Cham- ber	Fees of ambassadors, posting charges, fees for special services, and rewards	Buildings and fortifica- tions	Diets of prisoners in the Tower		Total payments on war- rants of the king or council			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
January 27, 1547, to Michaelmas, 1547...				3,000-0-0	510-16-8			3,303-0-7		29,926-14-7		
1548.....				3,950-0-0	9,174-3-0			2,903-10-6	100-0-0	162,155-9-8		184,475-3-9
1549.....				8,229-0-4	858-13-4			914-15-11	666-13-4	99,531-14-8		133,721-11-9
1550.....				1,276-10-9	8,154-2-4			3,070-16-4	800-0-0	81,821-8-9		112,579-1-1
1551.....				808-9-2	9,087-6-4			5,261-17-0		33,191-1-9		53,183-7-7
1552.....	2,000-0-0	2,305-7-5	1,136-0-0	1,116-13-4	9,575-6-8			1,552-8-0	740-0-0	54,052-13-11		130,935-10-0
Michaelmas, 1552, to January 23, 1554...				152-10-0	4,285-16-9			1,046-9-8	614-12-8	24,152-1-6		

TABLE IX

## THE COURT OF FIRST FRUITS AND TENTHS

(In Mary's reign, the office of the First Fruits and Tenths in the Exchequer)

Christmas, 1547, to Christmas, 1548:

	£.	s.	d.
Arrearages charged upon the Treasurer.....	37,457-	3-	8
Compositions for First Fruits.....	5,208-	15-	4
Tenths of the Clergy.....	14,203-	8-	9
Fees of officers of the Court.....	428-	1-	3
Paid to the Judges, and the Lady Anne of Cleves.....	2,542-	4-	1
Paid on Warrants of the Council.....	1,479-	2-	3
Necessary payments .....	396-	1-	8
For discharge of Issues and Arrearages upon Certificates of Bishops as well by decrees of this court as other- wise .....	1,125-	14-	5
Rewards .....	497-	9-	4
Money imprested by virtue of letters from the Council....	14,969-	10-	11
Arrearages, carried over .....	35,431-	3-	9

Christmas, 1553, to December 31, 1557:

Issues of First Fruits, by reason of the first fruits of all incubancies for which the incumbents made composition with their Majesties from Christmas, 1553, to January 1, 1555 .....	28,367-	13-	1
Same, year 1555.....	5,793-	9-	0
Same, year 1556 .....	1,119-	18-	11
Same, year 1557.....	1,243-	7-	1
Clerical Subsidy, 1 Mary.....	1,399-	1-	0
Clerical Subsidy, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary.....	1,302-	1-	4
Clerical Subsidy, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary.....	1,164-	3-	0
Foreign Receipts .....	36-	5-	10
Total Receipts .....	67,335-	16-	1
Exonerations of First Fruits both by writ of the King and Queen under Privy Seal, as by decision of the Barons of the Exchequer.....	14,704-	14-	11
Money delivered into the Exchequer.....	40,230-	1-	5
Arrearages, carried over .....	12,401-	0-	7
Total credits .....	67,335-	16-	1

TABLE X

## SUBSIDIES AND FIFTEENTHS AND TENTHS

The subsidy granted 1545:

The second payment, due in April, 1547, .....	£ 91,244
The second fifteenth and tenth granted in 1545, due in June, 1547	29,156
The Relief granted to Edward VI in 1548:	
The first payment, due May, 1549.....	53,899
The second payment, due April, 1550.....	47,449
The third payment, due April, 1551.....	39,855
The fourth payment, due April, 1552.....	43,261
Two fifteenths and tenths granted to Edward VI in 1553, and paid in Mary's reign.....	58,000
The subsidy granted to Edward VI in 1553 was remitted by Mary.	
The subsidy granted to Mary in 1555:	
The first payment, due March, 1556.....	67,983
The second payment, due May, 1557.....	76,795
The subsidy granted to Mary in 1558, to be paid in June, 1558....	134,445
The fifteenth and tenth granted to Mary in 1558, to be paid in November, 1558.....	29,000

## CLERICAL SUBSIDIES.

A subsidy of six shillings in the pound of the value of their benefices granted by the Clergy in 1548, to Edward VI.....	*
A subsidy of six shillings in the pound of the value of their benefices granted by the Clergy in 1555 to Mary:	*
A subsidy of six shillings in the pound of the value of their benefices granted by the Clergy in 555 to Mary:	
The first payment due in October, 1556.....	£ 14,078
The second payment due in October, 1557.....	13,145
The third payment due in October, 1558 (estimated).....	14,000
A subsidy of eight shillings in the pound of the value of their benefices granted by the Clergy in 1558 to Mary.	
Estimated yield, in four payments due in March, 1558, 1559, 1560 and 1561.....	56,000

NOTE: An asterisk indicates that the record is wanting.











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