

# Anthony Viscount Montague's



## Book of Orders and Rules

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Edited, mapped, and modernized from "A Book of Orders and Rules", by Sir Sibbald David Scott, in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. vii, London (1854). The original is—or was in 1854—at Easebourne Priory, Sussex.

<http://books.google.com/books?id=tkYJAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA173&lpg=PA173&dq>

### Introduction

Lord Anthony Maria Browne, 2nd Viscount Montague (also rendered *Montacute*) wrote this document in 1595, when he was just 21/22, and in it he sounds somewhat defensive. His father had died before his grandfather, so young Anthony inherited at the age of 18 a household that had long been under the hand of one man who had gotten old and sick in Her Majesty's service. It appears as though the staff had gotten used to doing things without much supervision or accountability, and may have gotten very lax in performance. He mentions several times, for example, that the woods and meadows both need looking into.

The senior staff in particular may have developed a little attitude problem about what "perks" of office were theirs of right and ancient custom, as opposed to the generous hand of their master. At the time of writing, they are likely still thinking of their new viscount as "the boy", who doesn't understand how we do things around here. In the end we see his lordship taking back *all* privileges to remind them that they come from him, not from some inalienable right. And he'll choose to restore them one at a time, maybe, if he sees fit to do so.

You can see his defensiveness but also his serious determination in his consistent use of the possessive in referring to his servants. These people are *my* steward, *my* grooms, the clerke of *my* kitchen. When he states clearly what is his will with every sentence, he means that he's in charge and no two ways about it. In fact, the phrase "I will" appears more than 180 times!

One curious thing. In the course of establishing himself as the source of all their contentment and reward, this young Catholic peer, in a religious and troublesome age, never mentions God at all and the Queen only once—when acknowledging "the degree of that place and calling wherein by Her Majesty's favor I now live." Perhaps he felt it best, or was so advised, to keep the focus on the immediate issues of house and home, where he alone is lord, and leave religion out of it.

## A note on the editing process

His lordship had no more sense of the paragraph than other writers of his day. He often seems to write until he runs out of breath, as if afraid of being interrupted. We're not in that much of a hurry.

Within each job description, I have made a break at almost every sentence, or at least every place he states "I will..." I have also used paragraphs to break up long sentences with too much matter in them, in some cases employing bullets where they seemed especially useful. This way you can see the particular elements, charges, or duties they contain before your eyes cross. However, I've largely retained the original punctuation (all those semi-colons are his lordship's) so you can put a whole sentence back together as he wrote it, if you really want to.

Spelling has been updated and some vocabulary silently modernized for clarity (accounts for accompts, and so on). And I have occasionally removed or inserted a word or two for clarity. See the [Glossary](#) for further help.

My source is the 1854 printing transcribed from the original hand-written document, set in type from hand-written copy. Some errors are bound to have crept in. I've tried to be open to seeing and adjusting them, without assuming too much, and without introducing too many more.

Words in brackets are either:

- [plain text]: an insertion to clarify meaning, or
- *[italic]*: a definition or interpretation of the preceding word or phrase.

The job descriptions have been broken and "mapped" with side-captions to make the document easier to study. While this echoes a period practice of indexing in the margins, it was not used in the original.

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## *Being desirous to live orderly. . .*

A book of Orders and Rules established by  
me Anthony Viscount Montague for the  
better direction and government  
of my household and family,  
together with the several  
duties and charges  
appertaining to  
mine officers  
and other  
servants.

Whereunto I have prefixed a preface declaring my  
purpose and intention in that behalf, with  
a brief view of the several matters  
which are herein handled an-  
swering to the particular  
treatises as they are  
placed in the  
Book.  
Anno domini 1595

### **The Preface**

**F**or as much as neither public weal nor private family can continue or long endure without laws, ordinances, and statutes to guide and direct it, nor without prudent and experienced ministers to execute the same,

I therefore, being desirous to live orderly and quietly within my limit, and to maintain the estate of my honour and calling, according to my degree, have esteemed it meet for the accomplishment thereof to set down and declare in this book of orders mine own opinion, judgment, and resolution touching the manner and order of the government of my private house and family, including

- what officers and other servants I shall be occasioned to use, and what number of them,
- what different authority and place every of them shall have in their degrees,
- together with a distinction of their several charge, office, and duty, whereunto they shall be particularly deputed and assigned

All which I have thoroughly considered of, with the most mature and deliberate advice, that either myself or others whom I have thought in these affairs best experienced, were any ways able to afford.

I dare boldly affirm that they are both honourable and profitable to myself, and very easy to all my servants, which be the especial respects that I did propose unto myself in the very beginning when I first intended to set down orders, and which I have sithence [*since*] carefully observed in the penning of them.

The first whereof I have affected for mine own behalf and contentment; the other, for the behalf of my servants upon whom I would not willingly impose that service, which they shall not be able, even with great facility and quiet to themselves, to perform.

Which being so done on my part, I am likewise to expect—and so do vehemently both expect and require of them—that they do carefully and diligently employ themselves to perform their duties unto me in their service, after such manner as I have here prescribed.

Which, if they fail to do, they are in reason to conceive that according to the quality of their contempt, they shall incur my like discontent with them. And that much more than if they had been tied to more hard and unequal conditions.

But if I shall perceive that they shall duly and commendably dispose themselves to the performance of their several parts and duties, they shall be well assured to have at my hands that countenance, credit, and advancement which shall be meet for them to receive, and for me to yield unto them.

### *[Designating senior officers, regular meetings, team responsibilities]*

Now, for the better execution of mine orders and constitutions hereafter following, I will that my Steward of Household—or, in his absence, my Comptroller—being assisted with all mine other chief officers ([those being] my high Steward of Courts, mine Auditor, my Receiver General, my Solicitor, and such other as I shall think good to call to consultation and advice, or else with such of them as shall be present) do at his discretion repair into a place for that purpose appointed, which I think good to call mine accountant's house or Officers' Chamber.

And that they do there:

- confer of the state of mine house and how all the particular expenses of the same may be continued and maintained;
- take notice of such disorders as they shall either find of themselves or by the information of others learn to have been committed in my house;
- either reform the offenders by their modest and grave admonition or otherwise measure unto them due punishment, according to the nature of their offence, wherein they may freely use their own choice and election.

I will that they have special care for the preservation of my woods, and that coppicing be in any sort used in such places as to them shall seem convenient.

Briefly, I will that they have a general care of all mine affairs whatsoever for the better performance thereof;

- ➔ And [so] that such things as they shall appoint to be done may be executed with the more care and diligence of them to whom they shall be committed, I give unto them full power and authority to deal in the causes whereof they shall have the managing, as though that I myself were present at the doing thereof,
- ➔ And thereunto consenting (which notwithstanding) I have no doubt but they in their own discretion and from the discharge of their duties towards me will (if they find any matters meet for me to be acquainted with) bring the same unto me, and therein have mine own conceit and opinion before they proceed to determine of them.

As I have nominated my Steward or Comptroller to be the chief of such a meeting, so my mind is that if neither of them be at home, or through fault of health not able to come to the accustomed place (which at Cowdray shall be the lower bay window room on the right hand side of the great gate, at other houses, some other convenient room) then no such meeting shall be held at all;

because I neither will have any other than my said Steward or Comptroller to set as principal but by my special appointment, neither the usual place to be changed but likewise by mine own appointment.

Moreover I have thought good to ordain that one of the discreetest of my yeomen and such as can write a fair hand be by them chosen, and by me approved, to have the keeping of this my said officers' chamber, and there to perform for them such service as doth in his particular office appear.

These be the things which I have thought good to speak of in this place because the same could not be conveniently inserted into any particular title of this my book.

It only now resteth [*remains*] that I exhort, admonish, and require all my people, of what sort soever, that they studiously embrace unity, peace, and good agreement among themselves, as the only means whereby they shall procure quiet and commendation to themselves, and much honor and comfort to me;

- ➔ and that they forbear to be the revengers of their own wrongs (if any be offered) referring themselves and their cause to my Steward or other officers appointed in that behalf who,
- ➔ if they [the officers] shall not yield unto them [*my people*] such satisfaction as shall be in reason meet, they may boldly repair to myself, who desire no longer to be Governor of a family than I shall use such justice and equity, [so] that
- ➔ not my best-affected officer or dearest child shall be able to abuse the meanest in the house, but shall be by me reprov'd for the same to the full contentment of the party injured.

Herein, although I have sincerely delivered mine own intendment whereby my servants may be better encouraged to perform their duties and may stand in more security from suffering any wrong—yet my mind is not that any quarrelsome person shall take more advantage of my words than they do truly import, which promise no satisfaction but upon any injury first offered.

And thus much may suffice for my preface.

Given at Cowdray the first of this present November A.D.1595

*Anthony Montague*

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## i. My Steward of Household

A declaration of the Office and Authority of my Steward of Household and what I intend shall be his charge, as well in my foreign affairs and outward provisions as in domestical matters and civil government of my family. Whereunto I have added sundry notes or instructions for his better readiness in that behalf.

### *And first, of his office, duty, and authority In matters foreign and without my house*

*Imprimis.*

*Gross provisions* I will that he make or cause to be made all kind of gross provisions in their convenient times and seasons for necessary expense of my household (*Videlt*) beef, mutton, grain, wines, salt store of sorts, hops, spices, and fruits of sorts, liveries, badges, wood, and coals, necessaries, carriages, utensils for every office, and wild fowl.

*Repairs* I will also that he make or cause to be made all manner of reparations [*repairs*] of my houses, both within and without, that be in mine own lands; and likewise of the pales, rails, hedges, walls of marshes, bays of ponds, and all other fences of the grounds that be reserved to mine own use.

*Paying the servants* I will that he pay my servants' wages quarterly, board-wages, equitations, and all foreign rewards [*vails*], and likewise [pay those who do the] garden work [and] husbandry;

and that he provide some extraordinaries [such] as nets, sows of lead, cases of glass, etc. [i.e., *Make sure staff who need supplies get what they need.*]

*Disbursement* I will that he deliver money

- to the [Clark of my Kitchen](#) for provision of fresh acates:
- to my purveyors [*suppliers*] of beeves and muttons for the buying of them;
- to the [Gentleman](#) or [Yeoman](#) of my horse for provender, furniture, and necessaries for my stable;
- to my [Granator](#) for providing wheat or malt if any be wanting;

and that he do cause them all to bring their several defrayments and reckonings [*receipts*] to his examination and insert them among his accounts

at the time of my audit, thereby to avoid confusion of accounts.

*Parks & grounds*

I will also that he do often ride into my parks, pastures, marshes, and other grounds to see that they be not abused or disordered by my bailiffs or keepers of them.

*Husbandry*

Item, I will that he assist my [Bailiff of Husbandry](#) to perform and execute those orders that by me are set down to him.

I will that he:

- make sale of the hides of oxen slaughtered
- and of the felles [*skins*] and wool of the muttuns;
- and order and dispose of the tallow: some for lights to serve my house, some for sale, and the rest for kitchen stuff.

*Livery book*

I will that he subscribe and set his hand unto my book of livery money, or to the book of such as I shall authorize in that behalf, for perfect acknowledgement of all and every such sums as he shall receive of me or by mine appointment towards the discharge of household affairs,

- expressing the day, year, and place, when, where, and of whom he received the same;
- and that he do enter and charge accordingly every such sum so received in his monthly book,
- that it may monthly appear to me upon view thereof, and to my Auditor at the year's end.

*Accountability for other officers*

And the like I wish that he require of the Clark of my Kitchen, of the Gentleman of my Horse, and of the rest, for his own discharge and security, all such sums of money as he shall deliver unto them for supply of their offices;

- and that he take bills of my Gardener, Bailiff of husbandry, and others of like sort, in acknowledgement of such money as they do receive of him for work done within their charge,
- and the same to be filed together,
- and exhibited to my Auditor at the time of audit, for full satisfaction of the Auditor and better declaration of his own accounts.



*Of my said Steward's office, duty, and authority  
In matters domestical and government of my family.*

*First my will is that he*

- take upon him the carriage and port of my chief officer,
- and assist me with sound advice in matters of most importance and greatest deliberation,
- and therein faithfully keep all my secrets.

*Authority*

I will that he hold a superiority over all my domestical officers, servants, and attendants,

- and in modest manner design, appoint, and commend them for advancement in my service;
- and that he be by them obeyed in all things whatsoever and how inconvenient soever they deem it to be (except it be dishonest in itself or undutiful to the Prince or State, or directly to the manifest hurt of me, my wife, etc.)

*If he exceeds his office*

Yea and albeit he exceeds the bounds of his office. For if he so do, it shall lie in no servant's or child's power to control him.

But I who am his master will have my ears open to hear any pregnant matter that shall be brought against him, and by my masterly authority will correct such matter as shall be mis-done to myself or any other by abuse of my authority.

But my foresight and care in my choice of an officer in so high authority shall be such that I will make small doubt of his commendable carriage of himself in his place according to the great trust that I repose in him.

*Household meetings*

My will is that he convene my mean [*lesser*] officers and domestical servants (as occasion shall serve) and exhort them to diligent attendance and regard of their particular duties as well for their own credit and avail as for my honour and quiet.

*Household discipline*

I will that in civil sort [*manner*] he do reprehend and correct the negligent and disordered persons, and reform them by his grave admonition and vigilant eye over them:

- the riotous, contentious, and querulous persons of any degree, the revengers of their own injuries, the privy mutineers,
- the frequenters of tabling, carding, and dicing in corners and at untimely hours and seasons,
- the conveyors of meat and other matter out of my house,
- the haunters of alehouses or suspicious places by day or by night;
- the absenters from their charge and lodging abroad without leave,
- and they that have leave of absence that do not return home at their time limit without lawful let [*without a good reason*].

Such and their like (be they gentlemen or yeomen) I will he do convene apart and after some admonition at his discretion upon due proof restrain and forbid their attendance upon me, until myself shall otherwise determine thereof.

Nevertheless according to the quality of their offense, and as he shall find them ready to be reformed, he may of himself restore them to their former attendance.

*Escalating issues*

But the incorrigible persons and willful maintainers of their outrageous misgovernment and insufferable disorders (if any such be found) whom neither his persuasions, reason itself, nor authority can contain within the limit of their duty—of them I will that he give me information and leave them and their cause to mine own consideration,

- not minding that the authority which I give unto him shall extend to bear him to receive any into my service,
- or absolutely to remove any out,
- or to appoint any where or in what place or sort to serve,

without my privity and allowance; who must give them their entertainment and reward them at my discretion as they shall by their faithful service endeavor to deserve.

*Communications*

I will that he do acquaint me with the occasions of his longer absence, that I may appoint who shall supply his place until his return,

because he ought not, for many respects [*reasons*], to depute any in his own room [*position*] wherein I mean only for his ordering of the hall, and the like,

not touching his books and defrayments, which I leave to his own design, because he is to answer for it upon his account.

*Place at meals*

I will that he do customarily dine and sup in the Hall,

*Mode of dress*

and that always in a gown, unless he be booted, for honour and order's sake, if want of health do not forbid (and not in chambers, pantry, or private place) and that there he keep his usual state and room, and do not give place to any.

*Making assignments*

I will that if he have occasion to send on foreign message or errand any groom of my great chamber or wardrobe, or any groom of my table, that he first acquaint the [Gentleman Usher](#), or [Gentleman of my Horse](#), with it to the end [that] the place by them may be supplied.

Much more I will that he give me foreknowledge and have my leave before he send any of my own chamber in foreign message whatsoever the occasion be.

*Distributing gratuities*

I will that he dispose and distribute in his discretion to the inferior officers (yeomen and [grooms](#) of the great chamber excepted) the rewards given by noblemen, gentlemen, and others repairing to my house.

Yet my meaning is that if the box be but meanly beneficial to them, that he shall consider the yeoman and grooms of the great chamber at his discretion.

*Inventories: Wardrobe*

I will that he take inventory of all wardrobe stuff whatsoever within all my houses and make counterparts thereof in all points agreeable to his inventories, under his hand, and deliver one to myself and another to my Gentleman Usher, and charge him with the same.

*Silver*

I will likewise that he take a perfect inventory of all the plate and silver vessels in my house, with the weight and poise of the same, and note of the letter of goldsmith's mark and year;

and that it be indented tripartite whereof one part to be delivered to me, another to remain with himself, and the third subscribed to him to remain with the [yeoman of the cellar](#), and that they be renewed as new plate shall be provided.

*Kitchen*

I will also that he do weekly, or every fortnight at farthest, examine and subscribe the [Clark of the Kitchen](#)'s book and

that he exhibit unto me at every month's end his own book of particular receipts and disbursements, to the end I may the better understand my

domestical affairs and household charges.

*Pewter* I will that he cause the Clark of my Kitchen to take and deliver into his hand a perfect inventory of all the pewter vessels, brass, and other implements, as well of the kitchen

as of all the other inferiour offices (to wit) cellar, buttery, pantry, bakehouse, laundry, scullery, larders, porter's lodge, and brewhouse, because he is to renew it being decayed.

*Personnel records* I will that he have always in readiness a perfect checkroll both

- of all my persons and number domestical,
- and of all my retainers that are entertained and allowed by me <sup>1</sup>

to the end [that] he may accordingly and with a more certainty make the proportion of liveries and badges for them.

*Table service* It is my will, when the waiters do come forth to dinner and supper, that he in seemly and decent sort do present himself in the place of my diet accompanied with the gentlemen and strangers of better account that sat at his table and there give attendance until the gentlemen waiters do return.

I will that in time of state and extraordinary action, he with my [Comptroller](#) do go before the first and second courses through the Hall into the place of my diet.

*When travelling* I will that in journeying with me on horseback he, with the rest of my principal officers, do ride next before me if my brethren, children, uncles, etc. be not in place.

*Demeanor* Moreover it is his part and shall well become him at all times and places to use himself towards my wife and (in some sorts) to my children, submissively and with all reverence,

as well to declare his own duty as to give example to others, what in their degrees they ought to do,

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<sup>1</sup> The law limited the number of liveried retainers, in order to prevent the build up of private armies.

*Knock first* and not to presume to enter into mine or my wife's bedchambers, or private place, until he first knock at the doors, or give some other signification by his voice or message of his being there, and desire to come in.

*First week on the job* Finally, I will at his first entrance into his office, before he begin to execute, that he take a perfect remain of all the fresh acates and household provisions remaining in any office at his entrance, and then charge my Clark of the Kitchen with them, that I may be duly answered the expense of the same.

### *Remembrances or Instructions for my said Steward of Household*

*Summer Beef* That the summer beeves for expense of household ([*such*] as steers, heifers, and small oxen or runts) be provided at fairs, and of farmers near hand, in the spring and prime of the year.

*Oxen in winter* That the oxen for winter expense, stall, and sale (especially if I lie at Cowdray) be provided of large bone, and well coming either at Coventry Fair on Corpus Christi day, or at Uxbridge on St Margaret's day.

*Mutton in spring* That muttons needful to be bought for slaughter of my house be provided of reasonable bone and out of hard leare [?] and choice pastures, either of the Sheep Masters from the downs or at faires held near hand in the spring.

That return of them that shall not be slaughtered be made, as in discretion shall be thought meet.

That there be 40 or 50 ewes yearly provided and placed in the market at such convenient time as their lambs may serve to be expended at Easter.

*Stock health* That I esteem it both more commendable and profitable to kill beeves and mutton of good and reasonable bone and thoroughly fed, than otherwise.

*Same bread for everyone* That I esteem it to be more honorable and saving in any nobleman's house to have the usual bread and beer—both for yeomen, grooms, and laborers—of one sort than of different. {*See the Compendium, [Of Bread & Wine](#)*}

<i>Timber</i>	That it shall be expedient for all events to have certain tons of timber, boards of sorts and seasonable quarters at a readiness at the Priory <sup>2</sup> , and under the charge of my <a href="#">Bailiff of Husbandry</a> .
<i>Rents paid in kind</i>	That my farmers which by their leases do pay rent [in] provisions, as muttuns, beeves, grain, or poultry, be required to bring in their provisions, and to pay it duly at their days.
<i>Herring and wines</i>	That herring and wines are best provided in respect of choice, price and carriage for my expense, when I lie at Cowdray, at Chichester, Southampton, or other ports upon the seacoasts.
<i>Have a care with coals</i>	That the wood and coal provided for expense of my house at Cowdray be carefully husbanded, for that wood is much wasted of late and waxeth scant about Cowdray.
<i>New furniture</i>	That when any utensils or furniture is new bought, care be taken that it be written and inserted presently into the inventories.
<i>Little economies</i>	That a less proportion of salt store, hops, and spices be taken when they be scant and dear, and a more large when they be plentiful and better cheap.
<i>Carriage of wood</i>	That it be considered whether it be better to take the help of my tenants and neighbors adjoining for carriage of wood to my house at Cowdray in summer, as in former time hath been accustomed, or to have more times set up and maintained with increase of husbandmen as of latter days it hath been used.
<i>Don't let me see anyone out of uniform!</i>	And lastly that my retainers be commanded not to resort to me without their liveries.

## 2. My Comptroller and his Office

A Comptroller is a principal officer belonging unto me, as I am a Viscount, whom in that respect (lest I should seem to prejudice myself) I am to take notice of, though, as Comptroller I shall not necessarily have cause daily to employ him.

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<sup>2</sup> Easebourne Priory, at the upper end of Cowdray Park. The last prioress gave up the lands to the King's commissioners in 1535. A year later, it was granted to Sir William FitzWilliam, earl of Southampton, half-brother to the original Sir Anthony Browne, our viscount's great-grandfather.

But I may, as I shall think convenient, bestow that title on some discrete person of special desert, either retainer or household servant for his better credit and countenance in my service.

He is to give unto me faithful and sound advice in all my chief actions of importance, wherein he ought to be able readily to do it.

*Mode of dress* In my house he must always go in a gown (unless he be booted to ride) for so the gravity of his place and person will require.

*Formal occasions* He shall at times of special service accompany my [Steward](#) in the attendance upon my dinner and supper, at which time he shall not fail to bear his white staff in his hand.

*Place at meals* He shall have his diet at my Steward's table, and in his absence (being my next chief officer) shall of course supply his room.

Note that my meaning is only in matter of honour as, namely in giving entertainment and commanding of such things as he in discretion shall think to be necessary (and not otherwise) but if my Steward be present, my Comptroller shall sit on the form side right-over against him, and not yield that place to any whatsoever.

*Officer's chamber* If there shall be cause either upon disorder, or for matter of advice, to call any of my servants into some place not so public as the open hall and less private than my Steward's chamber, which may be called the accounting house or officers' chamber, then my Comptroller shall sit at a table to assist my Steward principally;

*Second in command* And after that my said Steward shall have delivered his mind to such purpose as for that the time may seem most fit and convenient, my Comptroller in any sort that he may not seem but to be well assisted with the very inward mind and consent of such as shall be present with him, as with their personal presence, shall use some speech to the like effect making relation to my said Steward's speech in some modest manner as the matter shall bear.

*If the Steward be from home* If the Steward be from home, or but out of the way, and he shall see any disorder worthy [of] reprehension amongst my servants:

*Dealing with staff* I will that he do in discrete sort take notice thereof and admonish them seriously of it,

And if he shall seem to be set at naught by such as he shall so admonish, or by their adherents [then]

I will that he shall in any sort advertise my Steward thereof, who shall both severely prosecute the former fault, and also very sharply reprehend them for their such contempt of my Comptroller, he being then present,

and afterwards shall cause them to reconcile themselves in orderly manner to my said Comptroller,

Which if they refuse to do, I will have my Steward to bring the matter to me, who will not leave it until he be fully satisfied.

*Team spirit*

To conclude, I will not that my Comptroller shall conceive any discontentment at my Steward as thinking that more of the Steward's office should belong to him (for it is not so convenient),

neither will I that the Steward shall esteem his office to be in any sort impaired by the Comptroller (for so it is not) as it may appear most evidently.

Briefly I will that my Steward and Comptroller shall for my sake, and for the better advancement of my service,

- agree the one with the other,
- affect the one the other,
- and seek the credit the one of the other

without jealousies or suspicions, as if they were brothers. And this for my Comptroller.

### 3. My High Steward of Courts and his Office

*Courts*

I will that he do yearly keep all my courts, as well Leets and Court Barons [*baronial courts*] at their accustomed places within a month of Michaelmas, and at Easter, or at such accustomed times as hath been used, or thought meet and convenient;

*Coordination*

And against the time of keeping of my courts that he do send forth his precept to every particular bailiff, reeve, or beadle of each several manor to summon the courts with reasonable warning therein contained for their appearance in each several court

and after his charge given to the inquests concerning such matters as are to



be enquired of and presented by them

and after their return and verdict [are] agreed upon,

whatsoever articles or things shall be presented, certified, or declared at any court by them be faithfully and truly entered into a court book for that purpose;

*Assessing fines*

And that he with the rest of mine officers there present do faithfully, truly, and carefully assess fines for admissions, alienations, forfeitures, and all other perquisites of courts any way arising, according to the custom,

*Court book*

And to install the sums of money assessed, in giving days of payment, as hath been before this time used and accustomed in the like cases, and all these assessments and perquisites of court to enter in every court book;

*Court roles*

And in convenient time afterwards to engross every particular article in parchment in the manner of Court Roles, having a special regard to the preservation of all liberties, royalties, and privileges;

*Bills*

And that he do truly make the extreates [*extracts*] and send them forth to the bailiffs and other officers of every manor for the more speedy levying of all such forfeitures, penalties, and amerciaments as shall be due unto me against my audit next ensuing,

*Audits*

And that he do exhibit by court roles in manner aforesaid engrossed to mine auditor at the time of my audit to be by him examined, and that done, to be placed amongst mine evidences as a record to remain with me.

*Place at meals*

He shall take his place next to my Comptroller, and dine and sup in the hall at my Steward's stable.

## 4. Mine Auditor and his Office

*Collect senior officers' accounts*

I will that mine Auditor at the time appointed for mine audit do repair to the place and house of my then abode

and so take the accounts of my [Steward of Household](#), [Clark of the Kitchen](#), and all other my inferiour officers domestical, of all manner of provisions, receipts, and disbursements by them made, and any way incident or belonging to their several charges,

- Doing the books* and faithfully and diligently do peruse and examine the books, tallies, stores, and bills of everyone of them;
- And do cast, gather, sum up, and divide the same into their proper and peculiar titles.
- Lesser officers' accounts* That done, I will that he call unto account my receiver general, wood wards, clarkes of iron works, and all other my mean collectors and accountants
- to render their reckonings of all such several sums of money as they or any of them may justly be charged withal either by extreates, court roles, or otherwise, as well for arrearages, rents, revenues, fines, perquisite of courts and wood sales,
- as also of all other profits for that year in any sort or by any means accruing and growing due unto me.
- Annual report: Submit* And when he hath with mature and ripe judgment duly and thoroughly examined and summed every several charge and digested them orderly and severally into fair and perfect books, my will is that he in distinct and ample sort declare the same unto me in the presence of my [Steward of Household](#) and the rest of my principal officers;
- Make copies* And this done, that afterward he do engross into parchment every of the said particular accounts of every particular manor, of intent that the several charges of every such accountant may severally and particularly appear;
- File* And deliver the same unto me, with all the rest of the accounts in convenient time after mine audit ended, to the end that they may be placed and remain amongst mine evidences always ready to be produced upon any just occasions offered.
- Place at meals* I will that he take his diet at my Steward's table, and place next to my High Steward of Courts, saving that during mine audit he shall sit at the board's end betwixt my Steward and Comptroller.

## 5. My Receiver General and his Office

- Teamwork* I will that my Receiver General do associate [with] the Steward of my courts in the keeping of them, and [with] my other chief officers likewise in all mine outward and foreign affairs,

*Accounts receivable* and that he do receive all the revenues of my living, perquisites of court, and other casualties, and therewithal do discharge all annuities, tenths, other fees, &c. by me due to be paid,

which done I will that he deliver the remain thereof to myself or to such as I shall authorize to receive the same, whose quittance [*recompense*] shall be a sufficient discharge to the auditor to allow the same at his next account.

*Place at meals* He shall take his place next to my Auditor and his meals at my Steward's table.

## 6. My Solicitor and his Office

*A man of law* I will that my Solicitor do take upon him the following and managing of all my causes at law, either moved by me against others or commenced by others against me;

*Communication* And that he do inform my learned counsel with the true state of the matters called into question,

and lay open to them such witnesses, proofs, records, and evidences as may with most certainty and greatest facility induce them to the right understanding of the causes in controversy;

*Secrecy* And to that end deliver unto them perfect instructions or brevvyats [*briefs*] collected and gathered out of the same,

foreseeing always that the secrecy of my letters patent, court roles, and ancient evidences be not needlessly disclosed or discovered in open court to my prejudice or impairment of mine inheritance.

*End-of-term report* And my will is also at the end of every [term](#), that he exhibit unto me in writing a brief of every several suit that hath been handled at the same, declaring how far forth they have been proceeded in, and what remaineth further to be done.

*Place at meals* He shall take his place after my general Receiver, and his diet at my Steward's table.

## 7. The rest of my principal officers

- A kind of privy council* I will that such other officers also as for their gravity and experience I shall think good to call and use in matters of importance be always ready to yield me their faithful and sound advice whensoever they shall be by me thereunto required:
- And that they be in like sort assisting to my Steward of household or Comptroller;
- Senior staff meetings* When for causes either domestical or foreign, they shall be occasioned to meet in mine officers' chamber there to consult and deliberate (together with the rest) of such matters as shall then and there be ministered unto them, wherein according to their knowledge and judgment, they may give their censures and opinions:
- For which consideration they are to have the more estimation and credit among the rest of my servants.
- Place at meals* I will that they take their diet at my Steward's table, and place next to mine other chief officers, according to their seniority in my service.

## 8. My Secretary and his Office

- I will that my Secretary give always diligent attendance upon me in respect that I shall often times have cause to employ him
- as well in receiving into his custody such letters of weight as shall come into my hands, which he must safely keep filed up together in good order
- as also in writing answers to such letters for mine own better easement
- Typing and filing* And such as are of importance he must transcribe into a book, in the beginning whereof there must be an alphabetical table, containing the names of such as I shall have written unto, against which names there must be set figures showing in what pages or leaves letters to such persons shall be found.
- Notes of remembrance* I will also that he do receive notes of remembrance of such things as shall concern myself or any other from whom I am to deal, the which he shall receive of those persons from whom in that behalf I shall be informed;

<i>Petitions</i>	He shall also receive such petitions as shall be offered unto me by any [of] my tenants, or the like; and shall put me in mind of their suits at such time as I shall be best able to determine them.
<i>Suitors</i>	And if any such suitors shall desire to speak with me, he shall help them unto me, so as I may be least troubled: but always sooner or later with a respect of the importance and haste of the matter, which I refer to his discretion.
<i>Mode of dress</i>	He shall not, but at very special times, wear his livery, and that at my special appointment. His upper garment in the house I wish to be a comely black cloak.
<i>Demeanor</i>	This is the sum of his office whereby it may appear that he ought to be a man of good, grave discretion and especially very secret, which I expect him to be.
<i>Place at meals</i>	He shall have his diet at my Steward's table, after my principal officers; but if himself be one of them, he shall have place next to my Receiver.

## 9. My Gentleman Usher and his Office

<i>Mode of dress</i>	<p>I will that my Gentleman Usher (I being a Viscount) shall use me or my wife in all places convenient (Videlt) through cities, towns, &amp;c bare-headed as well on horseback as on foot, saving that in the presence of an Earl or upwards he shall forebear to do so;</p> <p>Neither shall he ride bare before us within the precincts of the Prince's palace, but on foot he may go bare to the great chamber door within the Court and no further.</p>
<i>Responsibilities</i>	And for so much as concerns the ordering of my house:
<i>Wardrobe inventories</i>	<p>First, I will that he take charge of all the inventories of the wardrobe stuff of my several houses, the which he shall receive at the hands of my <a href="#">Steward</a> of household,</p> <p>either of them interchangeably subscribing unto the other's inventories,</p> <p>having first gone through every room in the presence of three or four sufficient witnesses, and found them to agree with all the particular things therein mentioned.</p>
<i>Checks and balances</i>	I will also that he deliver to the <a href="#">Yeoman of my Wardrobe</a> an inventory of the house at my present abode, it being conferred with the particulars as when

he received it of my [Steward](#);

But at my removal to another house, I will that he resume it from the Yeoman of my Wardrobe in the presence of my housekeeper<sup>3</sup> in such manner as it was delivered him, and then deliver it and the charge thereof to my said housekeeper.

*Furnishings*

He shall oversee the continual furnishing and cleanly keeping of all lodgings, galleries, great chambers, dining rooms, parlours, &c;

*...except*

saving that he shall not have to do with mine own lodgings, after that they shall be upon my removal to any place, once furnished according as by the inventory of them may appear;

saving also that he shall have nothing to do within my hall, buttery, pantry, cellar, kitchen, larder, spicery, bakehouse, laundry, porter's lodge, &c.

*Who sleeps where*

He shall at his discretion appoint all servants' chambers and who shall lie in them; allowing thereto convenient bedding and such like furniture to it, so as two go to a bed, always provided that a gentleman be matched with a gentleman, and a yeoman with a yeoman, unless the contrary by me be especially appointed.

*Authority*

He shall have authority in civil and kind manner to command any gentleman or yeoman to do any service that shall be for mine honour,

and who shall in such case disobey him shall not serve me but upon his especial suit made unto me in his behalf.

*Carver and Sewer*

He shall at his discretion appoint the [Carver](#) and [Sewer](#) [*Server*] having special regard that in times of greatest service and state he choose always the most sufficient and best able for that service.

*Yeomen of the wardrobe and great chamber*

He shall have especial authority over the yeomen of the great [wardrobe](#) and the yeoman [usher](#) and grooms of the [great chamber](#) in respect of the continual occasion that he shall have to employ them in whose offices doth consist the greatest part of his service, for which consideration he shall assist and defend them in all just causes.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> No housekeeper position is described by that name in the book.

<sup>4</sup> In other words, he will be their supervisor because their jobs are his responsibility, and he will back them up, when necessary.

### *Mornings*

He shall in the morning first give attendance to strangers (if there be any) associating unto himself for that purpose an other gentleman or two, and then serve them breakfast and afterward attend them as shall seem most convenient.

### *Service at dinner*

Call the yeoman usher      At ten of the clock, it being covering time, he shall repair into the dining place and command the Yeoman Usher to call for my service,

Places, people!              after which he shall cause all the rest of my gentlemen likewise to repair unto the same place, and there to remain until the Sewer be sent to the dresser, where he himself also shall remain with them (unless he have for my service some cause to the contrary)

Kitchen ready?              And when it is dinner time, he shall send down to the Kitchen to know if it be ready, which being known he shall come and understand my mind.

Ready                          And if I be in my lodgings he shall knock (though the doors be open) and so being let in, shall declare the cause of his coming

Carver & Sewer              and according to my direction shall see the Carver and Sewer wash and be armed at the ewery board from whence he shall command the Sewer to the dresser and conduct the carver to my table, and there see it orderly placed:

Yeoman at the cupboard    which done he shall appoint a comely yeoman to wait at the cupboard, and then give word to me that I may come to dinner.

Second course              He shall wait all dinner time and when he shall see it time shall send the Sewer for the second course, which he shall, (like as before) receive at the great chamber door, bring to my table, and see orderly placed thereon.

Watchful eye                He must all dinner time have a vigilant eye over them that sit at my table, to see if they need anything which for want of acquaintance, or the like cause, they forbear to call for:

and if he find any such thing, command their wants to be supplied.

Towel and basin              The dinner being done and voiders taken away, he shall come towards the table with a towel (the gentlemen following with basins and ewers)

and shall spread the same on the bare table, unless it be some solemn time, which if it be he shall spread it upon the second table cloth that shall appear,

	the uppermost being taken away;
Keep an eye on the light-fingered	When washing is done and the towels taken up he shall have an eye to the carrying out of meat, that none go to corners.
When he gets to eat	And after all the meat is conveyed out orderly, and the yeoman usher for that time departed, then lastly the Gentleman Usher shall come in and, looking first to see if all things be orderly done, and so finding them, after due reverence shall go to his dinner, where if he shall upon good advisement find any want of meat, he shall send to the Clarke of my Kitchen and desire out a convenient supply.
After his dinner	After dinner he shall come in again with the Carver and Sewer for that day, and with all the rest of the gentlemen, and there attend till I be risen and gone.
Free till 5, then begin again	After which time unless there be cause to the contrary he may dispose himself at his pleasure till five of the clock, from which time till after supper, he must bestow himself as is set down between ten of the clock and the time of my rising from dinner.
After supper	After supper he shall cause all liveries to be served (if any ought to be) and bring strangers (if there be any) to their chambers. And if there be diverse (as it will often happen) at one time to go to their several chambers, he shall cause one Gentleman to go with every stranger, so that the most sufficient be allotted to the stranger of most worth. This done, he may for that night dispose of himself as he best liketh till bedtime.

## *Otherwise*

Special occasions	I will that in great actions, and special time of service, he go down to the Hall door and there receive the meat and from thence convey it up to the great chamber, as in the order of service at my table, I have set down; And, in case I have two gentlemen Ushers, I will that they both go together in that service.
Extra help	I will that when more tables are furnished with strangers of account than mine own, he appoint Sewers, Gentlemen and Yeomen several, to attend



them for avoiding confusion.

I will that he appoint sufficient men to attend the silver vessels and meat in great repair of strangers;

Dress codes

I will that he suffer no waiters to carry a dish or attend at my table in doublet and hose only, without either coat, cloak, or some upper garment.

Two Gentleman Ushers

And if I shall have (as said before) two Gentlemen Ushers in my house at once,

the especial authority over my servants shall rest in the senior, (only while he is at home)

and the other shall be for increase of state, and yet shall carry a double key, and take the inventory jointly with his senior, and in his absence execute the whole office in all respects.

Place at meals

I will that one of them take his diet with the Steward next after my principal officers and secretary, the other with my gentleman waiters, the uppermost on the bench side and that weekly they change their course.

## 10. My Carver and his Office

*Ready for work*

I will that my Carver, when he cometh to the ewery board, do there wash together with the Sewer, and that done, be armed with an arming towel cast about his neck, and put under his girdle on both sides, and one napkin on his left shoulder, and an other on the same arm;

*Taking position*

And thence being brought by my [Gentleman Usher](#) to my table,

with two courtesies thereto, the one about the midst of the chamber, the other when he cometh to it,

that he do stand seemly and decently with due reverence and silence until my diet and fare be brought up, and then do his office;

*Service*

And when any meat is to be broken up that he do carry it to a side table which shall be prepared for that purpose, and there do it [*carve*];

*Clearing the table*

When he hath taken up the table, and delivered the voider to the yeoman usher, he shall do reverence and return to the ewery board there to be unarmed.

*Place at meals* My will is that *for the day* he have the precedence and place next to my Gentleman Usher at the waiters' table.

## 11. My Sewer and his Office

*Clean and well-armed* I will that my Sewer, after he hath washed together with my [Carver](#) at the ewery board, be there armed (as it were) with an arming towel laid upon his right shoulder and tied low under his left arm,

whence being by my Gentleman Usher commanded to the dresser,

*Deliver the meat* where he shall deliver the meat to everyone according to their places,

and then returning with my service all covered to my table, shall there receive every dish and deliver them severally to my Carver;

*Waiting* Which done he shall there abide a little, beside the Carver, and not depart until he be again commanded by the Gentleman Usher to go for the second course;

*For the second course* which he shall bring and use in all respects as before, and then attend until the table be taken up:

after which with due courtesy done, he shall return to the ewery board, and there be unarmed:

*Consultation* And after the meat is brought down into the hall shall there distribute it orderly, with the [Gentleman Usher](#)'s advice if need shall so require.

*Place at meals* I will that he take his diet with the waiters and place (for that day) next to my Carver.

## 12. The Gentlemen of my Chamber and their Office

*Service* I will that the Gentlemen of my Chamber shall give their diligent attendance upon me in my withdrawing chamber, especially against my rising in the morning, to help to do such service about me as shall be fit and they shall learn by daily use

<i>Indoors</i>	And that some of them at least, while I am in my own lodgings, be continually remaining in my withdrawing chamber to be always ready to receive my directions, and to give me notice of such as would speak with me:
<i>and out</i>	And at all such times as I walk out of my chamber or elsewhere abroad to attend upon me:
<i>At table</i>	And that such one of them as I shall appoint (which most commonly shall be the senior) shall wait upon my trencher and cup at dinner and supper, and shall be most especially attendant upon me,
<i>unless</i>	unless I license him to the contrary; which if I do, the next in seniority shall supply his room.
<i>Night duty</i>	At night if I be out of my lodgings (it being dark) some one of them shall wait for my coming in, with a candle to light me to my chamber; where after I am [there] and would go to bed, they shall help me into it,  and being laid to rest they shall either by themselves or by some of the yeomen take care that the doors all be fast locked:
<i>Inventories</i>	My will is that the ancientest of them shall take a perfect inventory of all my linen and apparel indented between him and the senior <a href="#">yeoman</a> of my chamber; and as any shall be worn out and renewed, that the inventory be accordingly altered.
<i>Precedence</i>	I will likewise that two of the principal gentlemen of my chamber, whereof he that waits on my trencher be the chief, and he that waits on my wife's trencher be next, shall have the precedence and place before the <a href="#">Gentlemen of my Horse</a> :  And if the last be not, then I will that the two chief of mine own chamber shall notwithstanding have place in like manner before him, and all the rest next to him, before my Gentlemen Waiters, according to their seniorities in my service.
<i>Place at meals</i>	My will is they dine and sup with the waiters and take their places, as I have already set down.

### 13. The Gentleman of my Horse and his Office

I will that he take charge of all my horses, geldings, colts, mares, and foals, with the furniture and all other things pertaining to the stable by inventories or bills indented between my [Steward](#) of Household and him;

#### *Inventories*

And that he do make a just account of all the said horses, or any other that shall come to mine use:

#### *Accountability*

And also that he keep a perfect reckoning of all the charges and provisions belonging to that office,

and do make account of the same at every month's end to my Steward of Household.

#### *Pasturage*

I will that he look carefully to the grounds appointed for some pasturing of my said geldings, colts, and mares:

#### *Hay*

And that the hay laid into the barns and lofts of the stable for winter food of them be nor willfully wasted or spoiled.

#### *Waiting on his lordship*

I will, when I have occasion to ride, that he help me to my horse, appointing my [Yeoman of my Horse](#) to hold my stirrup, and my footman to stand to his head.

#### *Authority over the grooms*

I will that he give express commandment to the grooms to attend their charge by day and by night, and not to frequent alehouses, nor lodge abroad:

And if any of them through this (or the like) misgovernment and disorder shall deserve to be removed and displaced, that he do acquaint my Steward therewith and take his advice and judgment what shall be meet and convenient to be done:

Whether by admonition to expect his amendment or to remove him, and make choice of another, which together with his help that he may do;

#### *Scheduling*

And that he do further advise and consult with my said Steward what number of them shall be sufficient and needful, of intent that there may neither be more than shall be convenient nor any wanting that shall between them be esteemed requisite for that office.

#### *Place at meals*

He shall take his diet as occasion shall serve, either at the Steward's table or amongst my Gentlemen Waiters, and his place next to the two chief Gentlemen of my chamber.

## 14. My Gentlemen Waiters

### *Principal service*

I will that some of my Gentlemen Waiters harken when I or my wife at any time do walk abroad, that they may be ready to give their attendance upon us, some at one time, and some at another as they shall agree amongst themselves;

But when strangers are in place then I will that in any sort they be ready to do such service for them as the [Gentleman Usher](#) shall direct.

### *Table service*

I will further that they be daily present in the great chamber or other place of my diet about ten of the clock in the forenoon and five in the afternoon without fail for performance of my service, unless they have license from my [Steward](#) or Gentleman Usher to the contrary,

which if they exceed, I will that they make known the cause thereof to my Steward, who shall acquaint me therewithal.

### *Place at meals*

I will that they dine and sup at a table appointed for them, and there take place next after the Gentlemen of my Horse and Chamber, according to their seniorities in my service.

## 15. Gentlemen by Office The Marshall of my Hall and his Office

*Note:* In all but the greatest households, the Marshall is not a regular office. One is appointed from the senior Gentleman Ushers for a particular occasion, as needed. —Ed.

### *Extraordinary times*

I will that the Marshall of my Hall, when I have occasion to use one, which shall be only at times of extraordinary action (as in repair of the Prince, marriage of my children, or at Christmas and the like) do have and execute the office of the [Ushers](#) of my Hall, and perform all those services, which for ordinary service I have [prescribed](#) and set down unto them:

### *Authority*

And further that he have authority (during that time) over the said Ushers to appoint and design [*designate*] them as shall seem meet, and with their assistance to place strangers dining or supping in the hall according to their degrees;

And to command and remove such out thereof as shall either be outrageously disordered or otherwise not fit to sit therein.

*Place at meals*

I will that he dine and sup after the first dinner done, when the Gentlemen Waiters be come down, at a table appointed for him;

And that he have also a mess of meat at those times allowed him, associating to himself thereat, the Ushers and such servitors or others as he shall think meet and convenient.

## 16. The Clarke of my Kitchen and his Office

*When new in office*

I will that the Clarke of my Kitchen at his first entrance into that office do take a perfect inventory of all the utensils, implements, and necessaries within every inferior office, as [for example, the] Hall, Cellar, Buttery, Pantry, Ewery, Kitchen, Bakehouse, Laundry, Scullery, Larders, Porter's Lodge, and Brewhouse

and that he do indent the same tripartite, and deliver one part thereof to my [Steward of Household](#), an other to the Officer of the plate, and that he keep the third remaining with himself:

*Record of expenses*

I will that he keep a whole and perfect book of the daily expense of all kinds of victuals, and that he enter and divide the same every day into their several meals:

And that he show me beforehand the proportion of mine own fare and diet, that I may add thereunto or diminish at my pleasure.

*Protocol*

I will that he suffer none to stand unseemly with his back toward my meat while it is at the raunge [*range*];

*Managing groceries*

And that he provide or cause to be provided by the caters all manner of fresh acates for necessary expense of mine house,

*And the cooks*

And that he have a peculiar charge over the [cooks](#) within his office and authority to appoint, design, and command over them;

	And that he do deliver unto them the fare of every meal for myself and my whole house,
	and take good care that it be orderly dressed without spoil, waste, or needless expense;
<i>Dinner service</i>	and when the <a href="#">Sewer</a> doth come for my diet, that he stand to the dresser and call to the cooks for it by his paper of proportion, and see it set forth unto him.
<i>Spices &amp; fruits</i>	I will that he keep and order the spice and fruits and see carefully that there be no waste made of them.
<i>Assize of bread</i>	I will that he see the <a href="#">Baker</a> to keep his size and proportion of bread, that is, upon full and plumme [ <i>plump?</i> ] wheat every loaf 18 ounces into the over and 16 out, and upon course and hungry wheat 17 ounces 1 dram into the oven and 15 ounces 1 dram out, or near thereabout, and that 30 caste be made of every bushel. {see <a href="#">Of Bread and Wine</a> }
<i>...and beer</i>	And the like I will that he do go to the <a href="#">Brewer</a> , and see that he make good and wholesome beer, and 18 gallons at the least of every bushel.
<i>Oversee the butchering</i>	I will that he see the slaughter man to perform his duty in slaughtering and powdering [ <i>salting</i> ] of the beef, and appoint what messes shall be cut out of the slaughtered ox.
<i>Provision to be made</i>	I will that he provide apparel for the boys of the Kitchen, hays for my warreners, nets necessary for fishing the river and stews; entrails of beasts and cheese curds for wildfowl, oats and barley for poultry, rye for baking of red deer,  and that he give the rewards for common presents brought,  and see the saltstore and live fish to be well placed, ordered, and kept, and give foreknowledge to my Steward when more saltstore or spices are needful if new to be bought, that they may be provided in convenient time, and at best hand,
<i>Distributing alms</i>	And that he oversee some time as his leisure will permit, the <a href="#">Almoner</a> and <a href="#">Porter</a> in distributing of the alms to the poor.
<i>Supervision</i>	I will that he resort often into the Cellar , Buttery, and Pantry to see that their offices be cleanly kept and well-ordered, and that they serve wine, beer, and bread to comers at the barre

<i>Accounting</i>	and that he do charge in his book, at every week's end, the expenditure of wine, beer, and bread;  and the remain of every their several offices together with a note in the margin of his book of the days, number, and names of strangers repairing to mine house that week.
<i>Consult with the Usher</i>	I will that he take report of the <a href="#">Usher</a> daily what messes of meat are to be served into the Hall; and what be the number of strangers that do remain, that he may provide diet and breakfast for them according to their degrees.
<i>Submit to the Steward and Auditor</i>	I will that once in a fortnight at furthest, he exhibit his book of expense to my Steward to the end he may examine and subscribe it and either report or show it to me;  And that at year's end he determine it and deliver it to mine Auditor.
<i>Supplying the table</i>	I will that he follow my waiters after both the courses, into the place of my diet, to see what wanteth for furnishing the board, or board's end, and that accordingly he provide a convenient supply.
<i>Place at meals</i>	Lastly I will that he dine and sup at the accustomed table appointed for him, and do there order the same.

**Note:** Like the Steward, the Clarke of the Kitchen heads his own table. —*Ed.*

## 17. Yeomen Officers

### The Yeoman Usher of my Great Chamber and his Office

<i>Authority &amp; responsibility</i>	I will that the Yeoman Usher shall have authority next under my <a href="#">Gentleman Usher</a> to appoint and design the <a href="#">Grooms of my Great Chamber</a> to their office and charge;
<i>Setting up</i>	And that he see the chamber or place of my diet to be orderly prepared, and in due time, with tables, stools, and chairs necessary for the company;
<i>Tidying up</i>	And after dinner and supper to see them bestowed again decently into their several rooms,  and the place to be swept and kept clean and sweet, with perfumes, flowers, herbs, and boughs in their season.



- In the mornings* I will that every morning he do resort into my great chambers and other places of my diet to see that every thing be seemly bestowed and set in their right places,
- Available to guests* And that he give his special attendance in them of intent that he may be always pressed and ready at the appointment of my Gentlemen Ushers to fetch or cause to be fetched for strangers what they shall want or desire to have.
- Dinner service* I will that at ten of the clock being thereto commanded by my Gentleman Usher (if he be in place) he do call to the Yeomen of the [Ewery](#), [Pantry](#), [Buttery](#), and [Cellar](#) to make ready for my service,
- Laying the table* And that after the Yeoman of the [Ewery](#) hath prepared the ewery board, he do from thence conduct him with due reverence (that is, with two courtesies, one at the midst of the chamber, and another at the table) to the table of my diet:
- Ewery* And that then kissing his hand he lay it on the midst of the table in the same place where the Yeoman of the Ewery is to lay his cloth, the which he shall help to spread. This service ended, and due courtesy done, he shall return with him to the ewery board,
- Pantry* and then forthwith fetch the Yeoman of my [Pantry](#), whom he shall usher to the great chamber door
- And from thence conduct on his right hand with like reverence, as is before said, to my table, where he shall abide till his service be ended;
- And repeat* And then with accustomed reverence depart, and fetch again the Yeoman of mine Ewery in all respect like as before, to do that service that then belongs unto him:
- Hats off!* Which after he hath seen performed, himself then (if my Gentleman Usher be absent) shall suffer none of mine own to be covered there or to sit.
- Watchful eye* I will that he have a vigilant eye to the meat, to the intent that it not be embezzled or conveyed to corners without the appointment of myself or the Gentleman Usher.
- And I will that he do reform by himself or inform my Gentleman Usher if he see any attendants to carry a trencher plate in his hands out of the place of my diet, having neither anything to fetch or carry with it.
- Clearing away* I will that having done his service at my table, he stay and see all the meat

orderly carried out of the dining place, and the stools of such as shall then rise to be placed in their rooms;

*Place at meals*

That done, to pause awhile and look if there be yet ought else to be done, and then, after due reverence, depart to his dinner or supper with the waiters in the hall, and there take place next after my Gentleman Waiters:

And after his meals, return into the dining place with the rest, and then order it as I have said.

*Play box*

I will that he and the Grooms together provide, and have in readiness, cards and tables [*backgammon*] for such strangers as shall be willing to play and pass some time thereat:

And that he acquaint my Steward with the commodity and content of his play-box, to the end that it may be equally divided between them; unless my Steward shall see cause to the contrary.

## 18. The Usher of my Hall and his Office

*Laying the Steward's table*

I will that the Usher of my hall, after my own table and the gentlewomen's be covered and prepared, do forthwith call to the officers of mine [Ewery](#) and [Pantry](#) to cover and prepare my Steward's table with salt and trenchers;

which being placed, I will that he suffer none of mine own people to sit thereat until the meat be upon it.

*Table service*

I will that when the [Sewer](#) is sent for my diet, and he passeth the Hall, he [the usher] do with a commendable voice say: "Gentlemen and yeoman, wait upon the Sewer for My Lord."

And when it and the gentlewomen's service is once past by, that he do in like manner stand in the head of the hall and say "Gentlemen's servants to the dresser."

*Ewer and basin*

Which having done, I will that he do call again to the Ewery for basin and ewer and that himself hold the towel, whilst the [Almoner](#) doth give water, and my chief officers and gentlemen strangers do wash.

*Help for the Cellarer*

I will that when the Yeomen of my [Cellar](#) doth call unto him for help to carry up his plate that he forthwith command of the yeomen to help him;

*All rise!* And that he receive my Sewer coming from the dresser with my service, at the screen, and say unto such as be in the Hall: "By your leave, my masters" causing them to stand uncovered on the one side thereof, himself going before the Sewer to the head of the same.

And this in ordinary service,

*Extraordinary occasions* but in extraordinary and at solemn feasts he shall go next before the Marshall, and my chief officers.

*In chamber and hall* I will:

- that he often resort to my Steward's table during the time of his meal to see the gentlemen's servants do their duty in waiting;
- that he place strangers and see them served at meals and breakfast according to their degrees:
- that he call to the Butler and Pantler for reward of the Hall [ale and snacks], if need be;
- that he command order and silence in it;
- that he remove unfit and disordered persons out of it:
- and that he see the [Almoner](#) do his office, which shall appear in his [place](#).

I will that he call to the [Clarke](#) of my Kitchen for supply of meat for the Almoner and gentlemen's servants, that attended on my Steward's table, if they do want;

*Place at meals* And lastly that he take his own diet at my Clarke's table, and his place next to him.

## 19. The Chief Cook and his Office

I will that my Chief Cook be at the appointment and direction of the [Clark](#) of my Kitchen for ordering of it:

and that he have the special regard and care in dressing of the fare and diet for mine own table, as well in boiled meats as pastry

(not exempting the inferior cook from working with him, and assisting of him in the same, neither himself from looking also to the raunge especially where mine own meat is dressed)

- Wholesome and clean* And that he see every thing wholesomely and cleanly handled, and with as little expense of spice as conveniently may be:
- No pin feathers* And that he look that all manner of poultry or wild fowl that comes to mine own table be well-pulled that there remain no kind of feathers or stumps upon them.
- Clean serving dishes* I will also that he serve out my meat in clean vessels and well scowered; and such as be not, that he return to the [Sculleryman](#) to be amended,
- Serve from a list* And when the [Sewer](#) is come for my diet, that he set it down in such order as he is to deliver it to the waiters.
- Place at meals* Lastly I will that he take his diet with the Clarke, and his place next to the Usher of the Hall.

## 20. The Yeomen of my Chamber

- Senior Yeoman's duties* I will that the senior of them shall receive from the chief [Gentleman of my Chamber](#), by inventory indented between them, all mine apparel, linen, robes, and jewels;
- And shall order and lay them up into presses and places appointed for that purpose
- and keep them clean, sweet, and safe,
- and either mend them or cause them to be mended when and wherein they shall be at default.
- One always on duty* I will that they [all the yeomen of the chamber] agree and conclude amongst themselves that one of them at the very least do always remain in my withdrawing chamber to attend me,
- Morning duty* And that every morning they do rise at a convenient hour
- to remove the palettes (if there be any) out of my said withdrawing chamber;

- to make it clean and sweet with flowers and boughs in their seasons;
- to bestow the stools and chairs in their rooms;
- to brush the carpets, make fires, and
- to prepare, brush, and lay forth my wearing apparel for that day.

*Chamber pots*

I will that after they have helped to make me ready, they make my bed and pallet (if it be used) at a convenient hour,  
and order my bedchamber and everything in it seemly,  
and decently cleansing chamber pots and the like:

*Walking abroad*

And when I go abroad into the parks, walks, or other places for my pleasure and recreation, that they attend upon me:

one to carry my cloak,

the rest to do mine errands, to take up and make clean my bowls and the like

*Dining*

I will that one of them do every day dine and sup at the first dinner in the hall, and presently be ready to attend me in my withdrawing chamber, if straight after mine own meal I come thither;

*Snacks*

And that some one of them do every night serve a livery [*light meal*] into my chamber.

*Bedtime duty*

I will that they be very careful to extinguish the fire and lights after I am in bed,

and that they lock fast and bar all the doors

and perform their business silently without clamor or noise for fear of my disturbance.

*Packing*

And I will that when I ride abroad, they prepare all such apparel and other things as shall be needful to be carried for my wearing and use in that journey.

*Place at dinner*

The like is my meaning for those that shall attend upon my wife in her chamber who, together with mine own yeomen (he only excepted that dines at the first dinner), shall have their diet amongst the other Yeomen Waiters, and place viz. the two chief of them next the Yeoman Usher of the great chamber, the rest after my yeomen officers, and next before my Yeomen Waiters.

## 21. The Clarke of mine Officers' Chamber, and his office

I will that the Clarke of mine officers' chamber have an especial care to the clean and sweet keeping thereof,

and that he have always in a readiness pens, ink, paper, etc. at my charges:

*Keep the chamber comfortable*

And at such times as my [Steward](#), or in his absence my [Comptroller](#), shall appoint a meeting therein, that he cause a fire to be made, if the weather be cold,

or otherwise provide boughs and herbs according to their seasons, and whatsoever else shall be any way needful to them, and the rest of my principal officers there present,

*Take notes*

Which done (and they placed) he shall settle himself at a desk thereby, and be ready according to their direction, to write and enter into a book all such matters as they shall agree upon, specifying the day, month, and year of every such meeting, and which of my chief officers were present thereat;

*Confidentiality*

In all such matters there by them handled, I earnestly expect that he be very secret and trusty.

*Signing the minutes*

And to the end that they may carry both the more certainty, credit, and authority, he shall request my said Steward or Comptroller, or both of them, and such others also of my principal officers as he can procure and were then present, to subscribe to every several day's actions,

*Review*

And at the year's end shall show the same to me,

and afterwards place it amongst other records there to be kept as a precedent forever.

*Inventories*                      Moreover, I will that he make inventories of all the books, writings, and other things under his charge, and deliver under his hand, one to my Steward, another to my Comptroller, and the third by them subscribed that he keep in his own hands.

*Place at meals*                      Lastly, I will that he take his diet together with the rest of my Yeomen Waiters, and his place next to the two chief Yeomen of my Chamber.

## 22. The Yeoman of my Horse and his Office

*Authority*                              I will that in the absence of the [Gentleman of mine Horse](#), or when there is none, he do execute that office and place, after such manner and sort in all points, and with such authority as to my said Gentleman I have set down in his [office](#).

*Duty*                                      And that when I have occasion to ride he be ready to help me to mine horse, causing one of my footmen to hold my stirrup and the other (if I have two) or else the groom of my stirrup to stand to my horse's head.

But if I have a gentleman of my horse, himself shall in his presence at the like time hold my stirrup, and in all other things that shall concern my service in that place be at his design.

*Place at meals*                      I will that he dine and sup, as occasion shall serve, either at the first sitting in the Hall, or amongst the Yeomen Waiters and there take his place next to the clarke of mine officers' chamber.

## 23. The Yeoman of my Cellar and his Office

*Total inventory*                      I will that the Yeoman of my Cellar do receive of my [Steward](#) of Household all the plate of mine house,  
  
and all the stuff within that office into his custody by inventories or bills indented tripartite, whereof one part to remain with myself, another with my said Steward, and the third with him, the said yeoman, who shall stand charged with the whole.

But for so much as it will be needful that some plate remain in other offices, as namely the Ewery, Pantry, Buttery, etc. it shall be sufficient that he take

particular inventories of all such plate as he shall deliver unto them, indented and subscribed interchangeable between himself and them.

*Wines*

I will also:

that he receive all provisions of wines made and had to my use, and that at every month's end he make a just account to the [Clarke of my Kitchen](#), of the expenses of the same;

*Other duties*

That he see carefully there be no waste made of any thing under his charge;

That strangers and comers be served at the bar, or otherwise at his discretion:

That good order be kept within his office, and

That he give good attendance daily in the house for service of me and my wife, and repair of strangers.

*Table service*

I will that after my tables be covered for dinner or supper (being thereto warned by the [Yeoman Usher](#)) he shall call to the [Usher of the Hall](#) for help to carry up his plate, wherewith he shall orderly bring it up, and place it upon the cupboard in the place of my diet,

And then give his attendance thereabouts till I go to dinner or supper, during which time he shall stand at the said cupboard and fill wine with discretion to such as call for it:

Dinner being done he shall carry down the plate with such help as he brought it up withal:

*Place at meals*

And then go to his own diet at the Clark's table, and there take his place next to the chief Cook.

## 24. The Yeoman of mine Ewery and his Office

*Plate*

I will that the Yeoman of mine Ewery shall receive of the [Yeoman of my Cellar](#), by bills indented interchangeable between them, all such plate (namely basins, ewers, and candlesticks) as shall appertain to his office,

and be accountable to my said Yeoman of Cellar for the same, for that by mine order he standeth charged to answer it.



- Napery* I will also that he receive of my wife or of such as she shall authorize in that behalf, all such napery and linen as shall necessarily appertain to his office, by inventory indented interchangeable between my said wife or her assign and him,
- and shall give a reckoning and just account thereof when he shall be thereunto required.
- Candles* I will likewise that he keep a perfect reckoning of all such torches, links, candles, and of every other kind of provision made to that office,
- and make a just account to the [Clarke of my Kitchen](#) at every month's end of the expense of the same.
- Table service* I will, after warning given him by the Yeoman Usher to prepare for covering, that he arm himself, and having everything ready within his office do carry him up to the Ewery board, which after he hath furnished with all things necessary, he shall then lay the table cloth fair upon both his arms,
- and go together with the [Yeoman Usher](#) with due reverence to the table of my diet, making two courtesies thereto, the one about the midst of the chamber, the other when he comes to it,
- and there kissing it, shall lay it on the same place where the said Yeoman Usher with his hand appointed, casting the one end the one way, the other end the other way;
- the said Usher helping him to spread it:
- which being spread and reverence done, he shall return to my cupboard for plate and cover it.
- This done (after the [Yeoman of my Pantry](#) hath placed the salt and laid mine and my wife's trenchers, manchets, knives, and spoons) he shall return with the like reverence, and so conducted as before, and cover them with napkins and set them upon the Ewery board.
- Waiting table* I will also that when my diet is come up, he give his attendance until my table be set, and likewise at the taking up thereof, to see if there be any thing to be done that appertains to his office,
- Liveries* And further that he provide for such number of liveries as my [Gentleman Usher](#) shall give him warning for.

*Place at meals*

Lastly I will that he take his diet at my Clarke of the Kitchen his table, and his place next the Yeoman of the Cellar.

## 25. The Yeoman of my Pantry and his Office

*Plate*

I will that the Yeoman of the Pantry do receive of the [Yeoman of my Cellar](#) by inventory or bills indented interchangeable between them all such plate as shall appertain to his office (videlt) salts, plate, trenchers, spoons, and knives hafted with silver, and be answerable to him for the same.

*Bread*

I will that he receive the bread of the baker, by tale [*tally*], and keep a true reckoning of the receipts of the same, and do weekly make account thereof to the [Clarke of the Kitchen](#);

And that he see carefully there be no waste or spoil made of it, or any other thing under his charge;

And that strangers and comers be served at the bar.

*Table service*

I will that, being warned by the [Yeoman Usher](#) to prepare for my diet, he do arm himself and have all things in readiness for my service

And being come for by him shall follow him to my dining chamber door, and from thence go even with him on his right hand unto my table, making each of them two courtesies thereto, the one about the midst of the chamber, the other at the board;

Which done, he shall place the salt and lay down the knives and then lay mine own trencher with a manchet thereon, and a knife and spoon on either side;

And my wife's in like manner.

At every which service ended, he shall make a small obeisance: and having fully done, and together with the Yeoman Usher made a solemn courtesy, he shall depart, so conducted out as he came in.

*Be prepared*

I will that every meal, after the first course, he follow my service up having a purpyn [*breadbasket*] with bread on his arm, and a case of knives in his hand, to supply their wants that shall need:

And after that, I am sett that he come up sometimes to see that there be no want of bread, or any other thing that belongs to his office;

<i>Clearing away</i>	And after every meal ended and the voider taken away, that he come and orderly take off the salt and knives, and with due reverence return, so bearing them down as he brought them up.
<i>Quality of service</i>	I will that he give good attendance daily in the house for service of me, my wife, and repair of strangers:
<i>Liveries</i>	And that he provide and make ready for liveries according as the Gentleman Usher shall give him warning.
<i>Place at meals</i>	Lastly, I will that he take his diet at my Clarke of the Kitchen his table and place next the Yeoman of mine Ewery.

## 26. The Yeoman of my Buttery and his office

<i>Plate</i>	I will that the Yeoman of my Buttery do receive of the <a href="#">Yeoman of my Cellar</a> by bills indented interchangeably between them, all such plate (namely pots, bowls, cups, etc.) as do appertain to his office, and be answerable to him for the same:
<i>Other vessels</i>	And that he do in like manner receive of the <a href="#">Clarke of my Kitchen</a> all such other things (videlt) pewter pots, tin jugs, casks, etc. as do belong to his office, and be likewise accountable to him for the same.
<i>Beer</i>	I will also that he receive of my <a href="#">Brewer</a> all the beer and ale by tale [ <i>tally</i> ], and do weekly make account to my said Clarke of Kitchen of expenses of the same;  And that he see carefully there be no waste or spoil made of it, or of any other thing within his charge,  and that his office [the buttery] be cleanly and sweetly kept.
<i>Table service</i>	I will, after warning given him by the <a href="#">Yeoman Usher</a> to prepare for me:  that he have his plate in readiness  and that he call to the <a href="#">Usher of the Hall</a> for help to carry it up (if need be)  and that he there place it orderly upon the cupboard, and then return to his office  where I will that he give his attendance during the time of any meal, both for

the service of myself, as also of the Hall;

*Clearing away*

And that after my dinner be ended, when my table is taken away, he come and fetch down his plate, with the help of some of my [Yeomen Waiters](#), if need so require.

*Other duty*

I will also:

- that he keep good order within his office;
- that strangers and comers be served at the bar, and
- that he give good attendance daily in the house for service of me [and] my wife, and [for] repair of strangers.

*Place at meals*

Lastly I will that he take his diet at my Clarke of Kitchen his table; and place next to the Yeoman of the Pantry.

## 27. The Yeoman of my Wardrobe and his Office

*Inventories*

I will that the Yeoman of my Wardrobe do receive of my [Gentleman Usher](#) or Gentlemen Ushers—by inventories under their hands interchangeable, made and subscribed between them— all household stuff whatsoever [that] are within the house of my present abode that doth belong to his office, and that he see well and carefully to the keeping thereof.

*Household linens*

I will in like manner that he receive of my wife or of whom she shall authorize in that behalf, all such linen as shall likewise appertain to this office, and be accountable for it to my said wife or her assign:

And as it shall wear out and decay, that he deliver it up and crave a new supply.

*Guest rooms*

I will that he see the galleries and all lodgings reserved for strangers cleanly and sweetly kept with [herbs](#), flowers, and boughs in their seasons, and beds of such as shall hither resort at their first coming to be made,

and the better sorts of quilts of beds at any time to be used, to be at nights taken off and Irish rugs laid in their places;

and in the morning to be again laid on;

<i>Liveries</i>	And that he give his attendance for serving of liveries (if any be to be served)
<i>Tidying up after visitors</i>	and that he see the chambers of such as do depart to be well and handsomely dressed up and that nothing be missing;
<i>Fires and doors</i>	And that he have great care of their fires left (if any be) and that after such care that the doors be locked up.
<i>Gutters and spouts</i>	I will that he look well to the keeping clean of all leads, gutters, and spouts about my house, except only those within the compass of mine own lodging. <sup>5</sup>
<i>Servants lodgings</i>	I will that once every month he repair to my servants' lodgings to see if there be any default in their bedding or furniture; and if such be, that he cause it to be mended.
<i>Reporting</i>	I will also that at the removal from the house of my present abode unto any other, he deliver up his inventory with account of all things therein contained to my said <a href="#">Gentleman Usher</a> .
<i>Place at meals</i>	Lastly, I will that he take his diet among my Yeoman Waiters, and his place there next the Yeoman of my Horse.

## 28. The Yeoman Waiters and their duty

I will that some of them be ready at all times to attend me when I walk abroad;

<i>At table</i>	And that at ten of the clock they be always in the Hall, ready to do such service as shall there be commanded them;  And otherwise shall not depart thence, until warning [is] given them to wait upon the <a href="#">Sewer</a> at the dresser, where they shall commendably and decently behave themselves, without doing anything that may distract and hinder them from my service;
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<sup>5</sup> This one seems out of place, and may properly belong to the Porter. Why would the yeoman of the wardrobe be responsible for the roof gutters?

<i>Clearing away</i>	<p>When they come to my table, I will that they do reverently redeliver their dishes unto my Sewer</p> <p>and during the time of my whole meal give watchful and diligent attendance to my service,</p> <p>not using any uncomely gestures or actions (as laughing, harkening to tales, and the like) whereby they may neglect or hinder their duties.</p> <p>After my dinner ended, I will that they go to theirs, and take their place after the junior yeomen of my chamber, according to their seniority in my service;</p>
<i>Free time</i>	<p>From which time till five of the clock (if there be not cause to the contrary) they may bestow themselves at their pleasure, so that it not be in evil company:</p>
<i>Supper</i>	<p>But from five till all suppers be done, they are to do in all respects as from ten of the clock till after dinner is set down:</p>
<i>Liveries</i>	<p>After supper, if there be any liveries to be served, they shall be ready to help:</p>
<i>Stay out of trouble</i>	<p>And that done, use their discretion for that night, provided (as I said before) that they frequent not evil company, nor by any means lodge out of mine house.</p>
<i>Armed and awesome</i>	<p>I will that when they attend upon me in the streets at London or at my table there, they be always in their liveries with handsome swords or rapiers by their sides:</p> <p>And the like I will that they do in the country at all solemn feasts [such] as Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, great meetings, and such other times as I shall specially appoint.</p> <p>And this for my Yeoman Waiters.</p>

## 29. The Second Cook and the rest, with their offices

<i>Reports</i>	<p>I will that my second cook (as also so many other inferiour cooks as I shall have) be at the designment of my <a href="#">Clarke of the Kitchen</a> for ordering of the same:</p>
<i>Dress the meats</i>	<p>And do see to the dressing of all the meat that is to be spent in mine house, besides that which cometh to mine own table,</p>

<i>Pitching in</i>	<p>whereunto also (as occasion shall serve either at the commandment of the Clarke or at the request of the Master <a href="#">Cook</a>) they shall put their helping hand:</p> <p>as he shall do the like for them, if they require, when there are more tables of account to be furnished than mine own.</p>
<i>Team spirit</i>	<p>Though I have here of reason doth require set down their offices [the Master Cook and <a href="#">Second Cook</a>] apart, as they are in very truth several, yet would I not that thereupon should grow any heart-burning or disdain between either the one or the other;</p> <p>But as they are (though distinct numbers) but of one entire office, so I would and do expect that they concur well together, and seek the mutual credit either of the other;</p> <p>Thereby they shall best please me and stir up my mind to consider their care, diligence, and good agreement.</p>
<i>Clean serving vessels</i>	<p>And this by way of admonition, I will that he or they have regard, the rather for their own credit, that the vessel wherein meat is to be dished be clean, and if it be not, that they return it back to the <a href="#">Sculleryman</a> to be amended.</p>
<i>Frugality</i>	<p>I will that they carefully save and keep all such things as are to be saved to mine use, and deliver them to the Clarke of my Kitchen:</p>
<i>Clean boys, too</i>	<p>And further, that he or they do carefully see that the boys of the Kitchen do neatly and cleanly handle all such things as shall any way come under their hands:</p> <p>And keep the kitchen with all things therein clean and sweet.</p>
<i>Place at meals</i>	<p>Lastly I will that he and the rest (if more be) have their diet at my said Clerke of Kitchen his table, and their place next after the yeoman of my Buttery.</p>

### 30. The Porter and his office

<i>Eating at his desk</i>	<p>I will that the Porter in time of extraordinary action, or at solemn feasts (as Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide) have his mess of meat into his office, that he may give his diligent attendance at the gate,</p> <p>as well for the repair of strangers, as for disordered persons, that would come in at no convenient time,</p>
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and that he do answer all comers of meaner sort at the gate.

*Duties*

I will that at Cowdray he keep the conduit clean, and the inner court, with the help of the poor, the long alleys without the gate and the green before it:

and that he do assist the [Almoner](#) in distributing of the alms;

and keep good order within his office.

*Mode of dress*

He may conveniently wear a gown all winter and at solemn times.

*Place at meals*

I will that ordinarily he dine and sup at the first sitting in the hall, next to the Yeomen of my chamber.

### 31. The Granator and his Office

*Duties*

I will that the Granator keep a perfect tally of all such corn as he shall receive of any manner or person to my use,

and deliver the same to my [Baker](#) and [Brewer](#) by the like tally;

Reckoning & report

And at every month's end make account and reckoning to the [Clarke of the Kitchen](#) as well of all the corn that month by him received; as any way by him delivered to my use.

*Quality assurance*

And further, that he see the corn, which he is to receive of my farmers to be good, sweet, well winnowed, and answerable to the covenants of their leases;

And that he keep it orderly and well.

*Place at meals*

Lastly I will that he take his diet at the first sitting in the hall and his place next to my Porter.

### 32. My Bailiff of Husbandry and his office

*Management*

I will that he have the special care and oversight of all the husbandry under his charge, and authority to appoint the inferiour husbandmen and laborers to their daily work, with the privity, advice, and direction of my [Steward](#);



<i>&amp; Maintenance</i>	<p>And that he have regard to the safekeeping of all the necessaries and implements thereunto belonging,</p> <p>that they be neither embezzled nor abused</p> <p>and when they are decayed or wanting that he acquaint my Steward therewith, and desire a new supply.</p>
<i>Parks &amp; pastures</i>	<p>I will that he ride often into my marshes and pastures to see that they be not abused or disordered,</p> <p>and inform my Steward or Purveyor when either they be surcharged or not fully laid and furnished;</p> <p>And that he suffer no horse or beast to be kept and fed in them, or in any of my parks, but only mine own, and such other as myself, my Steward, or ranger shall appoint or permit.</p>
<i>Authority</i>	<p>And to the end that my commandment herein may be duly observed, I will that he do sundry times drive the parks and impound the beasts and horses which he shall find more than are allowed, to the end that the authors of the abuses may be known and reformed.</p>
<i>Meadows</i>	<p>I will that he cause the meadows within his charge to be yearly laid up, and rid of all beasts (excepting at Cowdray and Battle a brace or leash of old bucks) between the five-and-twentieth of March and the first of April;</p>
<i>Fencing</i>	<p>And that all breaches and loops of pales [<i>fences</i>] be mended and shut up.</p>
<i>Haying time</i>	<p>I will that he provide such number of laborers to help in haying time as my Steward or his deputy and he shall think meet and necessary,</p> <p>and that he hold them to their work during the time of their hire,</p> <p>and exhibit the bills of their wages to my said Steward or his deputy at every week's end.</p>
<i>Storing fodder</i>	<p>I will that he appoint and assign the rooms for the stowage of the hay, with a special regard to place the best hay conveniently for the stalled oxen;</p> <p>And the rest in the barn and lofts for horses and geldings, allotting and appointing for every stalled ox one load, and for every gelding, two, if they continue housed from the midst of September until the midst of April following.</p>

	And I will that he keep a perfect note of the number of loads of hay coming and made of every several meadow in mine own hands and use,
<i>Reports</i>	And that he yearly exhibit the total sum of them to my Steward when meading is past and the grounds cleared;
<i>Spoilage</i>	And likewise I will if he see any waste or spoil made of it that he request the gentleman or yeoman of my horse to cause some of the grooms to bottle it [ <i>bundle it up into "bottes" or bales</i> ].
<i>Ponds, forests</i>	I will that he take the care, charge and oversight of my ponds and forests, that the decayed bays and wastes of them be repaired and amended in due time,  and that he keep a perfect note of the day, month, and year of storing of them,  and what number of fishes, of what sort and scantling [ <i>size</i> ] is placed and bestowed in every of them,  and deliver a copy thereof to my Steward.
<i>Floodgates</i>	I will also that he have special care to the timely drawing of the sluices and floodgates of my said ponds when and as often as he shall in discretion perceive through abundance of rain a likelihood of ravens [ <i>breaks</i> ] and surrounds to ensue;  And that he give forewarnings to the millers in all such extraordinary tempests to draw his floodgates in time.
<i>Pond ice &amp; frosts</i>	And I will that he have like regard to the breaking of the ice of my said ponds, in great and long during bends of frost;
<i>Fishing</i>	And that he see the vessels and nets provided for fishing to be well ordered and safely kept.
<i>Ancient access</i>	I will that my Bailiff at Cowdray do continue my right and claim of the ancient usual cartway through the north street into the Gall Meade.
<i>Mill &amp; priory gates</i>	And that he see the gates of the mill and priory be chained and locked, especially upon the market days, and at other times also needful, the better to avoid and keep out strange beasts and hogs.
<i>Tools</i>	I will that the bailiff where I am abiding provide a competent number of forks and rakes against the time of hay harvest for my domestical servants,  and see them brought into the meadows against the hour of the haying,

and placed again in safety when the work is done.

*Place at meals*

And lastly, that he take his diet at the first sitting in the Hall, and his place next to my Granator.

### 33. My Baker and his Office

*Receipt & delivery*

I will that my Baker receive all his wheat of my [Granator](#) by tally, and deliver his bread by the like tally, to the officer of my [Pantry](#),

And that at every month's end he do make an account to the [Clarke of my Kitchen](#) of all the wheat that month by him received,

*An assize of bread*

and how many casts [*batches*] of bread he hath delivered the same month to my [Pantler](#) after the rate that is appointed him

to make of every bushel of full and plumme [*plump or plumed?*] wheat, every loaf to weigh 16 ounces from the oven,

and of barren and hungry wheat fifteen ounces and a half or thereabouts,

and that there be made of that size thirty cast of bread of every bushel.

*Place at meals*

Lastly I will that he take his diet in the hall at my Clarke of the Kitchen's table, and his place next to my Second Cook and the rest of them.

### 34. My Brewer and his Office

*Receipt & delivery*

I will that my Brewer do receive his malt of my [Granator](#) by tally and deliver the beer and ale by the like tally to the Yeoman of my [Buttery](#):

*Accounting of malt*

And also that at every month's end he make account to the [Clarke of my Kitchen](#) of all the malt that month by him received,

and how much beer and ale he hath delivered the same month to the said Yeoman of my [Buttery](#) after the rate that is appointed for him:

that is, of every bushel of malt eighteen gallons at the least.

*Place at meals* Finally I will that he take his diet in the Hall at the Clarke's table, and his place next to my Baker.

### 35. The Grooms of my Great Chamber

*Supervision* I will that the grooms of my great chamber be at the commandment of the [Gentleman Usher](#) or [Yeoman Usher](#) for such service as is to be done in the place of my diet,

*Hearth fires* and that they shall either by themselves or some other have convenient wood in readiness wherewith they shall make fires at such times as there shall be need.

*Special assignments* I will that one of them fetch up drink and such like for my dinners and suppers, and that at night one of them do ordinarily light a torch and carry it before my meat when I sup by candlelight.

*Place at meals* I will that by turns betwixt them:  
  
one of them shall dine and sup at the first sitting in the Hall next to my Bailiff, that he may be ready to give his attendance in the place of my diet, whist the waiters are at dinner;

And the other take his diet at the lower end of the waiters table.

*Play box* To conclude I will that they bear equal portions in buying of the cards etc., and have their parts equally out of the box.

### 36. The Almoner and his Office

*Supervision* I will that the Almoner, whilst he is within the Hall, be at the appointment and direction of the [Usher](#) thereof:

*In the Hall* And that he do frequently repair into it, to order and keep it clean and sweet with boughs and flowers in their seasons,

and be pressed and ready to receive strangers coming on errands or with presents,

and inform the [Clarke of the kitchen](#) or Usher of them.

*General duties*

I will:

- That he make the fires in the hall when the fire is there to be used: that is, from All Hallow's Eve at night to Good Friday morning;
- That he cover the tables when the cloths are laid for them;
- That he hold the basin and give water when my chief officers do wash:
- That he repair to the dresser for my Steward's diet, when my Gentlemen's servants are commanded thither:
- That he take away when the Usher of the Hall shall command him:
- That he attend to fetch beer, bread, and other necessaries for the Gentleman Waiters, and the rest of the officers whist they be at dinner:
- That he avoid out [*kick out*] of the hall ranters [*boisterous people*] and dogs:
- That he preserve the broken meat, bread, and beer for the poor:
- That he distribute the alms considerately with due regard and respect to the poorest and most needy:

*Place at meals*

And to conclude, that he keep his place at meals with the gentlemen's servants, and see that table to be well ordered.

### 37. The Sculleryman and his Office

*Mind the silver*

I will that the Sculleryman have a special regard and care to the safe keeping and preserving of the silver vessels coming under his hands, that it be neither embezzled nor abused:

And that every night he do redeliver the same by tally to the [Yeoman of my Cellar](#), clean scowered and well ordered;

*and the Pewter*

And that he do likewise order all the pewter vessels and all other things brought into his office decently and cleanly

and become answerable for it, if anything under his charge through his negligence and default become wanting or abused [*missing or damaged*].

*Not without Mustard*

And moreover I will that he have a singular regard to the tempering and making of mustard, with good seed; and to the well keeping and serving of it:

*Supervision*

And that he be at the commandment of the [Clarke](#) and [Cooks](#) in matters concerning his charge.

*Place at meals*

Lastly I will that he have his diet in his office and the boys of the kitchen with him.

These be the offices whereof I have thought it most expedient to speak in this place, notwithstanding that there may be diverse others conceived, not unfit to be used under me, whereof I have not made here any mention, and they of diverse sorts;

As, namely, the Ranger of my Parks, and the Keepers of them, and others such like, wood wards, under-wood wards, and others of that sort, and also diverse of meaner condition, as grooms in every office, with many others too tedious and needless to be rehearsed;

All which in respect that they are not as I think of such necessity as these here set down, and for that the name will for the most part import so much as shall belong to them, I have thought good here to pass over, leaving all or such of them as according to the change of times shall seem meet to be used, to be directed according to common course and experience, without any prescript form to be laid down for them.

And treatises hereafter following be rather more general kind of discourses, and not particularly incident to any one office.

### 38. An Order of Service to be used at my Table

[Summarizes and assembles the various instructions given throughout.]

#### *Ordinary service*

When I have given notice that I am ready for my dinner or supper, then my [Gentleman Usher](#) shall see the [Carver](#) and [Sewer](#) to wash at the ewery board, and there severally to be armed, which done he shall thence depart with the Carver to my table, having commanded the Sewer down to the dresser, who forthwith going down the hall as he enters it, the usher thereof shall say with an audible voice: "Gentlemen and Yeomen, wait upon the Sewer for My Lord."

And he shall not depart thence until he have at the least six gentlemen and yeomen to wait upon him till the rest come to the service.

At his coming to the dresser he shall call: "For my lord" and so cause the [chief Cook](#) to set forth the meat, which being served he shall deliver the dishes at his discretion and so depart, with the service all covered.

And at his entering into the Hall therewith, the Usher there shall stand ready, at the screen, and say to them in the Hall: "By your leave, my masters" causing them to stand uncovered till my said service be past, himself going before it to the upper end of the Hall.

And at the door there the [Yeoman Usher](#) shall meet the Sewer and go before him to the great chamber door, at which place the Gentleman Usher shall receive him, and usher him with the said service to my table doing due reverence thereto;

And there the Sewer shall severally deliver the dishes to the Carver, and then give his attendance upon the table until he be commanded for the second course, which in all respects is used like the first.

And thus much for mine ordinary service.

### *Extraordinary actions and festival times*

But in extraordinary actions and festival times, I will that my Steward and [Comptroller](#) being in fair gowns not unlike, and having white staves in their hands, go from the screen next before the Sewer through the Hall, and the [Marshall](#) before them, and the two Ushers before him,

And that the Marshall as the meat passeth the screen shall, with a commendable voice, say to them present the words: "By your leave, my masters," and so proceed in order.

When they come to the upper end of the Hall, the Marshall and the two ushers shall divide themselves, the Marshall on the one side and the ushers on the other, and at the entering out thereof, I will that the Gentleman Ushers and Yeoman Ushers of the Great Chamber shall receive the service and go orderly before it, first the two Yeoman Ushers, next the two Gentleman Ushers, then my chief officers and lastly the Sewer.

And at their coming into the Great Chamber, I will that the two Yeoman Ushers, after reverence done, part in the midst of the chamber and give place to the service, and that the two Gentleman Ushers a little forward do likewise part, the one to one side and the other to the other side of the table, and so meet at the salt, and that my chief officers after reverence done, give place and stand a little above the midstest [*middle point*] of the chamber by the carpet,

And then that the Sewer go to the table and deliver the service to the Carver in such manner and order as he was wont;

Which done and the Sewer discharged, I will that my said chief officers and the ushers do go to their several dinners and suppers, and at the second course that they leave their meat and attend the service up in like manner, and then return to their own diet again.

### 39. My determination for officers' fees

The problem	<p>For as much as I have been informed by others, and also have seen, and noted myself,</p> <p>both in the time of my late lord my grandfather, as also since in mine own,</p> <p>the sundry inconveniences that have arisen by reason of their place and office then before and now under myself,</p> <p>[some] do challenge certain fees to be allowed them as of right adhering and belonging to their office,</p> <p>and perhaps think that not without injury they can be debarred from having that which they so challenge to be due;</p>
Let me point out	<p>I have therefore thought good to lay down that</p> <p>for so much as all such offices are mine, the officers mine, and at mine appointment,</p> <p>and the things accounted as fees issuing out or being part of that which cannot be denied to be mine,</p>
It's all mine	<p>there can be no color of reason why any officer of mine can, of duty or otherwise, challenge that [fee] as due to himself which is so manifest to be mine;</p>
A privilege, not a right	<p>And therefore without wrong to any, it is in my power and authority as my liking shall lead me, either to tolerate the having of such fees, or else to frustrate and disannul them:</p>
You get what I say you get	<p>Wherefore I do publish and declare for all Officers, as well within mine house as without, that they shall not have any fees whatsoever allowed them,</p> <p>saving only such as my <a href="#">Steward</a> shall by note, under mine hand, from time to time to him delivered, have authority to appoint or allow,</p> <p>and that to continue only during my pleasure.</p>
One issue in particular	<p>This only amongst many I have thought particularly to note,</p> <p>that my wood wardens for many especial causes</p>



(as well in respect of the great decay that I do already find in my woods, as also of a far greater that mine heirs may hereafter find, if great consideration be not had to preserve them)

be not permitted to have any windfalls, dotterel [*decayed*] trees, or such like whatsoever, besides [*except*] their accustomed fees for the marking,

in respect that under the color of them great damage may ensue, whereof just proof can hardly be made.

## The Conclusion

Thus have I now briefly run over all such orders as I have esteemed most convenient for the civil government of mine household, howbeit not so largely as the matters themselves might well require;

Neither so that the strict observing of no more than is herein set down should be sufficient to be performed by them in whose offices matters of less moment, to avoid tediousness, are left out.

And yet is it here sufficiently enough (as I conceive) laid down for the full instruction of every one in that which belongs to him.

In the doing whereof I thought it not unmeet to insert such customable ceremonies of service as are best fitting the degree of that place and calling wherein by Her Majesty's favor I now live, meaning thereby neither in presumption to hazard the displeasure of the State, nor in any sort to encroach upon the rights of my superiors, neither yet intending to yield to any degree, just cause of conceit, that this my course hath proceeded either of vain glory or any other light and idle fancy, but only of a careful regard moved to see my people live under me in such civility and seemly behaviour as may stand most with mine honor and the dutiful discharge of their service in their several offices and places.

Now to the intent that I may be the better understood, and that ignorance hereafter be no excuse for negligence, I will that once in the year, and that about audit time, they be publically read in the presence of all my servants, and moreover that it be lawful upon just cause for the satisfaction of anyone who may stand in doubt of my meaning herein, to have access unto this my Book of Orders, by my Steward's direction there to learn and be resolved in all points and circumstances appertaining to his duty.

*Finis*

# An Elizabethan Glossary

<b>acates, cates</b>	groceries and special foods, provisions
<b>amerciaments</b>	<i>modernly</i> : amercement; a penalty in the form of a fine.
<b>ancient, ancientest</b>	old in service, most senior, not necessarily oldest in age
<b>Battle</b>	the manor of Battle Abbey near Hastings on the Sussex coast
<b>boughs and herbs</b>	"Strewing herbs" and flowers mixed with the rushes on the floor, or hung in doorways and windows, as an air freshener. See <a href="#">Domestic Details</a>
<b>brevyat</b>	legal brief, the outline of an argument
<b>buttery</b>	the household office/storeroom concerned with beer, ale, & wine; from <i>butt</i> , a cask
<b>cast</b>	a batch of two loaves of bread
<b>challenge</b>	Claim. Where some servants "do challenge certain fees " they have claimed or demanded those fees as theirs by right and custom
<b>clark</b>	Clerk. A servant employed to keep records, accounts, and correspondence. I have maintained the old spelling to preserve the pronunciation.
<b>Comptroller</b>	An officer who supervises the accounts of other officers and keeps a counter-roll to check them against. (Scott p. 189, note 14)
<b>conveyance</b>	theft; that is, conveying or taking away [food, etc.] to use or sell
<b>conveyed</b>	Stolen. Every house with servants had to watch out for light fingers and sharp practice.
<b>Corpus Christi</b>	The Thursday after Trinity Sunday
<b>covered</b>	When the table is covered, all the plate, silver, and pewter has been set out.
<b>Cowdray</b>	Montague's principal residence is the manor of Cowdray, near Midhurst, in Sussex. Cowdray came into the family in 1528.
<b>design, designment</b>	v. designate; n. ordering
<b>dresser</b>	a sideboard for dressing the meats and other dishes for the table
<b>engross</b>	copy over in a large, fair hand as a final copy. It has other meanings in period but this is the one intended in this document.

<b>evidences</b>	deeds or other documentation of land rights
<b>ewer</b>	a type of pitcher, usually paired with a basin for washing.
<b>expense</b>	for our expense = for our use
<b>foreign</b>	outside the immediate household or away from home
<b>go to corners</b>	<i>see: convey</i>
<b>great chamber</b>	his lordship's principal dining hall
<b>gross</b>	large, as in things bought in large lots, such as provisions, not specifically 12 dozen of something.
<b>hays for my warreners</b>	Nets used by the warreners for catching rabbits
<b>indented</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To divide (a document) so as to produce sections with irregular edges that can be matched for authentication</li> <li>2. To draw up (as a deed) in two or more exactly corresponding copies. "Indented between them" refers to definition 2.</li> </ol>
<b>inferior</b>	lower in status or height, not necessarily in quality
<b>leare</b>	Good ground for feeding and fattening sheep
<b>livery</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The uniform of household servants</li> <li>2. A light meal served to one person when called for</li> <li>3. An evening's allowance of drink</li> </ol>
<b>livery book</b>	a book of daily expenses kept by the Steward and reviewed annually by the Auditor
<b>manchet</b>	Fine white bread. In this context, probably a small loaf for one person.
<b>mean</b>	lesser, lower, small, base, sometimes poor. It does not mean ill-tempered or stingy.
<b>meat</b>	Often this just means food, generally.
<b>mess</b>	Multiple, usually 4, servings at a meal. At a banquet they may serve up 20 messes, which is 80 people.
<b>middest</b>	midst, middle point
<b>napery</b>	table cloth, napkins, etc.
<b>pales</b>	fences

<b>palette</b>	Portable bedding that is folded up and stored away during the day. Grooms and most inferior servants don't have quarters of their own; they sleep on palettes in the Hall. Similarly, personal servants may sleep in or near the chambers of whomever they serve.
<b>pantler</b>	servant in charge of the pantry
<b>paper of proportion</b>	a list of all the dishes going out to the various tables at a meal, so things don't get mixed up.
<b>presently</b>	at once, in the present moment
<b>press (n.)</b>	a clothes press, a kind of wardrobe with both shelves & drawers
<b>Prince</b>	Generically, the monarch. Elizabeth referred to herself as a prince. But also, by 1595, she was very old and Montague would not have wanted to limit his orders to the times of a particular monarch.
<b>purpyn</b>	Breadbasket, from French, <i>pour pain</i>
<b>ranters</b>	Rant, to drink or riot. Thus, drunken and boisterous people.
<b>raunge</b>	range, the cook stove
<b>raven</b>	A breach in an earthen dike, caused by a rush of water. That's raven as in ravenous, not as in bird.
<b>retainers</b>	Retainers are those who are not part of the day to day "family" of the household, although they wear the livery and attend occasionally.
<b>room</b>	As in "get his room" or "supply his room". Refers to a position in a household
<b>sewer</b>	A server, serving at table. From old French, <i>asseour</i> , a setter. Not a menial office. In a royal household this job is held by a nobleman of consequence who oversees dinner service and serves the monarch. In this house, it's a senior officer.  Pronounce it as one who sews, not one who sues.
<b>sithence</b>	since
<b>St Margaret's day</b>	July 8 <sup>th</sup>
<b>subscribe</b>	sign at the bottom. Montague asks his servants subscribe their inventories.
<b>sufficient</b>	handsome, well set-up, well-trained, impressive, talented, full of grace
<b>tables</b>	backgammon

<b>term</b>	a term of the civil year, similar to a quarter. See the <a href="#">Compendium</a>
<b>uncovered</b>	bare-headed, without a hat
<b>vail</b>	A tip or token of money given by visitors to household servants for any reason. Often given to the Steward for disbursement or distribution.
<b>Videlt</b>	that is to say
<b>voider</b>	basket for clearing the dishes from the dinner table. When the table has been voided, the dishes have been cleared away.
<b>want</b>	need or lack
<b>warrener</b>	the man who manages the rabbit warrens