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Introduction

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Introduction

The royal household served a unique and ever-evolving purpose during the later Stuart and Hanoverian periods. It existed to provide a wide variety of services to the monarch and the nation, not all of which are reducible to structural analysis or rational measures of efficiency or cost. To the extent that it provided the King and his attendants with their lodging, food, fuel, transportation and medical services, it is fairly easy to determine the responsible structures and personnel. More difficult is to gauge the quantity and quality of the services it provided, the rationality of its administrative and financial arrangements, the suitability and assiduity of its officeholders, the rectitude of its administrators, the shrewdness of its purchasing officers and the integrity of its purveyors and suppliers. To the extent that the court provided the monarch, his courtiers and the nation as a whole with useful and meaningful rituals and inspiring or pleasurable art or entertainment, it is more difficult still to explain its methods or assess its effectiveness. And to the extent that the court was intended to provide a habitat or a rallying point for members of the ruling class, the delineation of means and evaluation of success is even less amenable to traditional methods of historical inquiry.

The following pages seek to explain the administrative and financial structures and procedures of the court and to evaluate their effectiveness, primarily, against the first of these sets of functions. As a result, that most intangible thing called a court will be reduced to an assemblage of lists, establishments, ordinances and accounts. When examined from this perspective, the royal household can too readily seem an irrational and inefficient anachronism, rather than a vital organ of the body politic. Therefore, it would be well to recall the other functions of the court noted above, if only because they dictated that it could not always be on the cutting edge of administrative and financial evolution.

I Administrative Structure and Work of the Royal Household

Before exploring the structure and history of the royal household during the period covered by this volume and its successor, it must be recognized that no other branch of government was more fully an expression of the sovereign's disposition, tastes or will. It was the sovereign who determined where the court would reside, how formal or informal were to be its daily routines and social occasions and, until nearly the end of the period, how strict was to be its adherence to administrative protocol or thrift. The sovereign set the tone for departmental heads and they, in turn, were careful to consult their master on matters of ceremony, administration, personnel, even finance.¹ Indeed, even after the establishment of the principle of Treasury control of the spending departments soon after the Restoration, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century monarchs not only set the parameters for household establishments, but could authorize expenditure exceeding those establishments by

¹See Bucholz, pp. 30-1, 50-2, 56-8, 62-3, 75-82, 122, 203-4; Beattie, pp. 11-12, 27, 101, 119, 135-52; *Corr. of George III*, ii, 501-3; *ibid.* iii, 199-201; *ibid.* vi, 46; *Later Corr. of George III*, ii, 283-4; *ibid.* iii, 542; *ibid.* iv, 173, 293, 307; LC 1/2 no. 41; LC 5/204 p. 208; LS 13/179 ff. 29v-30; LS 13/281 ff. 28-29v, 43r-v; MOH LB A pp. 298-300; MOH LB D pp. 84, 92, 112, 118, 136, 145, 160-1, 193, 211, 311, 312; MOH LB F p. 427.

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means of the royal sign manual.² This was in keeping with the idea that the royal household was the monarch's private affair and that the civil list was, in the words of the Duke of Newcastle, 'your Majesty's own Money; you may do with it, what you please'.³

Nevertheless, as the period progressed, the sovereign's practical administrative and financial control over his household diminished, just as it did for his government as a whole. Because of the parlous finances of the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century monarchy, the sovereign found it increasingly necessary to conform to fixed household establishments, and convenient to leave many day-to-day decisions to the Treasury. After the advent of Economical Reform in 1782, ever-more stringent parliamentary requirements for Treasury control of civil list (and therefore household) expenditures diminished still further the monarch's freedom in anything affecting the budget. That control was cemented by the legislation which resulted from a series of inquiries into the civil list which took place in the wake of the establishment of the Regency between 1811 and 1816.⁴ When, in the summer of 1816, the Prince Regent informed the master of the horse of his desire to appoint three supernumerary footmen and a number of other menial stables servants, the request was denied by the Treasury on the basis of this legislation and resultant Treasury orders which had been approved by the Prince.⁵ When, at the beginning of his own reign, George IV expressed his intention to run his household by direct communication with its department heads, rather than through the Treasury, he was thwarted when the latter pointed out that their authority was now secured by both statute and usage.⁶ Thus, the structures and procedures delineated below were subject, first, to the wishes of the King (or Queen), then, fairly early in the period, increasingly over its span, and decisively at its end, the Treasury. Finally, as the civil list became a matter of public debate in the eighteenth century, the Treasury found itself increasingly subject to the inquiring gaze and direction of parliament in the area of household administration and finance. This process achieved dramatic culmination in 1830 when the Wellington ministry fell on a vote on William IV's civil list provision.⁷

The early modern royal household may be divided into three parts: the lord chamberlain's and associated subdepartments, responsible for the ceremonial, social and artistic life of the monarch and his court; the lord steward's department,

²For royal involvement in the framing of establishments, see *CTB*, xiii, 100-1, 104; *ibid.* xiv, 45, 50-2; *ibid.* xv, 26, 38, 44, 49, 101; *ibid.* xvi, 63, 80-1, 112; LC 5/159 pp. 142-3; LS 13/114 f. 25; LS 13/115 f. 11v; LS 13/174 p. 132; Add. MS 5726 D f. 5; *ibid.* 51324 ff. 44r-v, 50v-51; Bucholz, p. 51. For additions to those establishments via sign manual, see Beattie, p. 119 n. 6; LS 13/174 p. 129; MOH PB 1 pp. 195-6.

³Add. MS 35419 f. 255: Newcastle to the Earl of Hardwicke, 16 Aug. 1760.

⁴See below, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiv.

⁵MOH LB D p. 311. See also MOH LB E pp. 105-6.

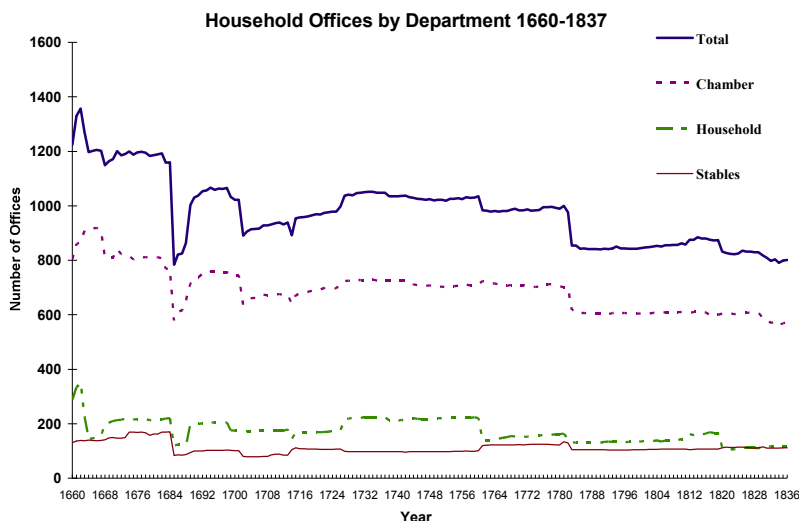
⁶LC 1/8 no. 552; MOH LB E pp. 285-6.

⁷See *PD*, 3rd ser., i, 364-5, 429-71, 525-59.

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responsible for their culinary and domestic needs; and the department of the master of the horse, which provided their transportation.⁸ Of these three, the chamberlain's was by far the largest, ranging from as many as 900 officers and servants in the early years of Charles II down to about 570 under his successor and, again, at the end of the period (**Fig. 1A**).

Figure 1A



Sources, Figure 1A: PRO, E 407/1-2 ; LC 1/1-20; LC 3/2-22, 24-33, 73; LC 3/54-5; LC 3/56-70; LC 5/166; LC 7/1; LS 2/1-63; LS 13/7-10; LS 13/31-69; LS 13/197-204; LS 13/252-67; Stafford R.O., Dartmouth MSS. ox D (w) 1778 (Stables Establishments 1669, 1682, 1685); MOH PB 1, EB 1-4, WB 1-5 ; Old Cheque Book; Chamberlayne; G. Miège, *The New State of England* (6 edns., 1691-1707); *The Present State of Great Britain* (11 edns., 1707-48); CCR; RK; GM.

Offices (Sample): Household offices are defined, for the purpose of Figures 1A and 1B, as offices involving swearing in and a regular form of payment, such as wages, boardwages or diet. That is, these figures count offices whose holders were entitled to some form of fixed remuneration for their attendance at court, including those such as the gentlemen of the privy chamber or chaplains in ordinary, both of whom received only diet when in attendance. It excludes offices paid for most of the period entirely via bills, including those of sworn purveyors, craftsmen and tradesmen.

Division by Department: Offices in the Bedchamber, Chapel Royal, Great Wardrobe, Jewel Office and Robes, as well as the gentlemen pensioners, yeomen of the guard, keeper of the

⁸Early in the period, these departments were referred to as the chamber, the household below stairs and the stables, respectively. The terminology used above (and throughout this introduction) came into currency during the later part of the 18th century. The following description of the household's administrative and financial structure is based upon Bucholz, chapters 2, 3 and 5. These are, in turn, indebted heavily to the much more detailed exposition in Beattie, chapters 2-4.

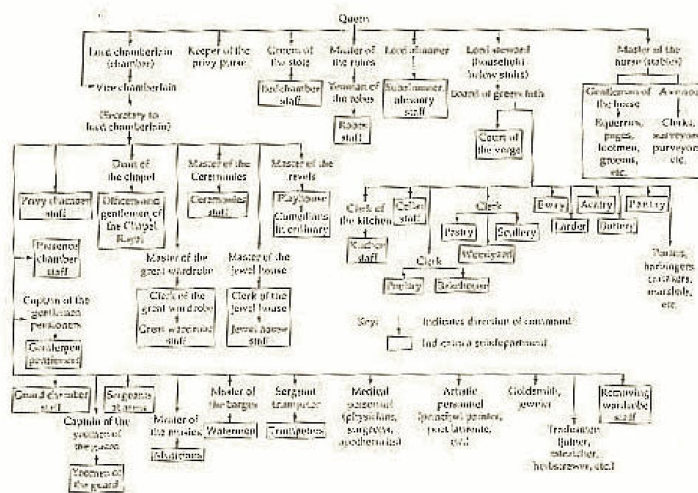
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privy purse, lord almoner and subalmoner (but not the Almonry) have been counted under the lord chamberlain's department.

Year: Number of offices as of Michaelmas of the year in question.

The chamber was also the most loosely organized of the household departments (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Departmental Organization of the Royal Household, c.1710



Sources, Figure 2: PRO, LC 2/14-20 (Accounts of Royal Funerals and Coronations, 1700-14); LC 3/5-6; LC 3/53; LC 3/62; PRO, LC 5/2-3, Masters of the Ceremonies, Bound Papers, 1660-1758 [The Notebooks of Sir Charles, Sir Charles Lodowick and Sir Clement Cotterell]; PRO, LC 5/70-1 (Great Wardrobe, Warrants Dormant, 1698-1714); PRO, LC 5/108-9 (Jewel Office, Warrant Books, 1677-1731); LC 5/153-5; LS 13/11; LS 13/43; LS 13/106; LS 13/199; LS 13/258-9. See also Beattie, chapters 2-3; Bucholz, chapter 2 and sources cited therein.

At its head was the lord chamberlain. During the period in question, this position was invariably held by a peer of the rank of earl or higher. He, or, in his absence, the vice chamberlain, received orders directly from the monarch. These were communicated verbally through the gentleman usher of the privy chamber and the gentleman usher daily waiter in attendance to the array of gentlemen, grooms and pages who served in the public rooms; through their respective masters to the officers of the ceremonies, revels, buckhounds, harriers, hawks, staghounds, music and watermen; through their respective captains to the gentlemen pensioners and

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yeomen of the guard; and through its dean to the chapel royal.⁹ Before 1782 financially independent subdepartments providing *matériel*, such as the great wardrobe, works or jewel office, received their orders for work or goods via lord chamberlain's warrant (see Fig. 2).¹⁰ The lord chamberlain was also responsible for planning royal ceremonies, selecting Lent preachers, granting leave of absence, assigning lodgings, disciplining servants and regulating the London theatres.¹¹ The clerical work of the department was handled by the secretary to the lord chamberlain, supported by a deputy secretary and a clerical staff which grew from one servant under Queen Anne to five a century later. These officers worked at the lord chamberlain's office in the cockpit at Whitehall.

It has been argued that one reason for the fragmentation of chamber organization was that so many heads of subdepartments associated with the lord chamberlain's department were peers.¹² Indeed, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the chamberlain's authority was challenged by the heads of a number of these semi-independent subdepartments, who were, often, his social and political equals. These challenges were, for the most part, resisted successfully by the vigorous and politically significant lords chamberlain of the period, in particular Arlington and Mulgrave.¹³ A major exception concerned the royal bedchamber, a department created under James I and headed by the groom of the stole.¹⁴ This office was held by a peer almost always of the rank of earl or higher. Under a male sovereign, he was in charge of eight to nineteen gentlemen, eight to fifteen grooms, six pages and the menial servants of the bedchamber. Under Queen Anne, the groom of the stole supervised ten or eleven ladies of the bedchamber, four to six women of the

⁹*Household Ordinances*, pp. 352-64, 373-9. The dean of the chapel royal was directly responsible to the sovereign regarding the conduct of services and the discipline of the personnel of the chapel: see the *Liber Regia Capella* of 1449, ed. Walter Ullman (1961 for 1959), still the official rule in that sub-department. In all other respects, the lord chamberlain was either supreme or the conduit of the sovereign's wishes: see LC 5/147 p. 55; LC 5/155 f. 15; LC 5/201 pp. 48, 51, 53-8. The author is grateful to Mr. David Baldwin, serjeant of the vestry of Her Majesty's chapel royal for providing a copy of the *Liber Regia Capella* and for clarification on this point.

¹⁰Warrants to the great wardrobe are contained in PRO, LC 5/60-77; to the works in LC 5/137-63 and PRO, Works 6/3; and to the jewel office in PRO, LC 5/107-13. In 1782 the great wardrobe and jewel office were abolished; their functions assumed by the lord chamberlain's department, which also absorbed the works. The latter was part of the chamberlain's department until the reforms of 1815-16.

¹¹PRO, LC 2; LC 5/137-63, 201-4; *Corr. of George III*, ii, 26-7, 36-7, 318; *Later Corr. of George III*, i, 495; *ibid.* ii, 283-4. For the lord chamberlain's relationship to the theatre, which included the regulation of operas, plays, puppet shows, etc. see J. Loftis, 'Governmental Control of the Theatres' in *The Revels History of Drama in English*, v (1976), pp. 26-32; *The London Stage 1660-1800*, ed. E.L. Avery and W. van Lennep (Carbondale, Ill., 1960), pt. i, pp. lxii-lxv; pt. ii, pp. xxxix-xliii; LC 1/1-20; PRO, LC 5/164 ff. 67-76v; LC 7/2-12.

¹²Beattie, p. 27.

¹³See LC 5/201 pp. 9-47, 48, 51, 71-5, 157, 456, 457.

¹⁴For the genesis of the bedchamber, see N. Cuddy, 'The Revival of the Entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-25' in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. D. Starkey (1987), pp. 173-225; Beattie, pp. 53-4.

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bedchamber and six maids of honour in addition to menial servants.¹⁵ These officers had supplanted those of the privy chamber at the beginning of the seventeenth century as providers of the monarch's 'body service', that is, his ceremonial dressing and personal attendance generally.¹⁶ The groom of the stole and gentlemen or ladies also provided companionship of an appropriate social rank. Their relationship to the rest of the lord chamberlain's department had always been ambiguous.¹⁷ After a running battle through the early 1680s, a compromise was reached whereby the officers of the bedchamber were to obey the lord chamberlain outside the royal bedchamber and closet. Within these rooms the groom of the stole was supreme.¹⁸ This supremacy was strengthened by the Bedchamber Ordinances of 1689, which remained in force well into the eighteenth century.¹⁹

The heart of the lord chamberlain's department was to be found among the gentlemen waiters and inferior servants who worked in the public rooms. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were about 220 of these, excluding the 48 gentlemen of the privy chamber, who had lost nearly all of their duties and remuneration by 1685.²⁰ The remainder of the staff of the public rooms existed to open doors, light the way for visitors and generally to provide the court with a gentle or martial presence.²¹ A visitor to St. James's in the early eighteenth century encountered porters and undermarshals (subordinate to the knight marshal in the lord steward's department) at the palace gates, footguards in open courtyards, and 40

¹⁵According to Frances Harris, the maids of honour, who had no specific duties beyond attendance, are more properly considered drawing room servants: see "'The Honourable Sisterhood': Queen Anne's Maids of Honour", *British Library Journal*, xix (1993), p. 181.

¹⁶Beattie, p. 35. Under George I, these officers were, in turn, rendered almost superfluous by the existence of the King's German bedchamber staff: see *ibid.* pp. 55, 258-61.

¹⁷For example, the groom of the stole rather than the chamberlain was to be consulted when any change of diet was contemplated for officers of the bedchamber: LS 13/253 f. 12v.

¹⁸Barclay, 'Impact of James II', pp. 67-8; LC 5/201 pp. 9-47, 71-5, 456; HMC *Ormonde*, n.s. vii, 27-32; *Hatton Correspondence*, ed. E.M. Thompson (Camden Soc., 1878-9), ii, 21-22. This compromise remained in effect into the 19th century: see *CTBP 1742-5*, p. 381; *Later Corr. of George III*, iv, 307.

¹⁹Copies in Stowe MS 563; Add. MSS 50842, 61419; Caspar Frederic Henning Papers, BA 2252/2, pp. 58-70. For their continued significance, see Bucholz, pp. 39, 153; Beattie, pp. 11, 54 n. 3.

²⁰Although Charles II's household ordinances specify 12 gentlemen to wait per quarter (*Household Ordinances*, p. 361) the usual number seems to have been 2 in some other temporal rotation: see LC 5/139 (reversed) p. 26; LC 5/141 p. 298; LC 5/143 pp. 78, 174; LS 13/253 f. 78. These arrangements were officially recognized by the ordinances of 1685: LC 5/146 p. 212. The gentlemen of the privy chamber cease to be included among those listed as attending the King abroad under William III: see LC 5/152 p. 230; LC 5/153 p. 295. However, small groups of gentlemen, ranging from 6 to 24, were required to attend coronations, funerals, thanksgiving services and ambassadorial entrances into the middle of the next century: see Boyer, v, 4, 5, 152; PRO, LC 2/14; LC 5/3 pp. 4, 8, 9; LC 5/70 p. 156; LC 5/153 p. 240; LC 5/156 p. 22; LC 5/204 f. 123; *Evening Post*, no. 610, 4-7 July 1713. The gentlemen had lost their salaries under James I, but were allowed diet when in attendance until at least 1761: Beattie, p. 30; LC 5/204 p. 194.

²¹This paragraph is based upon *Household Ordinances*, pp. 352-64, 368-79 modified by *British Court*, pp. 61-3; Pegge, pt. i; Beattie, pp. 29-46.

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yeomen of the guard lining the great staircase and guard chamber, with a yeoman usher to open the door to the latter. Also attending in this room were the grooms of the great chamber, who acted as household messengers, as well as a number of messengers of the chamber, who, though nominally under the authority of the lord chamberlain, were really the messenger-and-law-enforcement service of the secretaries of state.²² At the opposite end of the guard chamber stood two gentlemen ushers quarterly waiters to open the door and, if necessary, light the way into the presence chamber. This room was manned by four sergeants at arms, two pages of the presence, a cupbearer, a carver and a sewer and lined by 12 to 40 gentlemen pensioners, depending on the occasion.²³ At all times, at the far end of the presence chamber, were stationed two grooms whose duty was to open the door and light the way into the privy chamber. At the far end of the latter stood two gentlemen ushers of the privy chamber, who provided the same service into the drawing room. These gentlemen ushers were the superior officers in the privy chamber and withdrawing rooms, the gentleman usher daily waiter in the presence and guard chamber; that is, each took orders for their respective rooms directly from the lord or vice chamberlain.²⁴

Intermittently under the later Stuarts, and especially during periods of political crisis such as the Popish Plot, the yeomen of the guard, one gentleman usher quarterly waiter or page of the presence and an esquire of the body (in the presence chamber), two gentlemen of the privy chamber, a groom of the bedchamber (in the withdrawing room) and the gentleman of the bedchamber in waiting slept on pallet beds in their respective rooms of attendance, for the King's protection. This was a revival of an ancient practice known as the service of 'All Night'.²⁵ But as access to the monarch came increasingly under the purview of the groom of the stole and the gentlemen and grooms of the bedchamber, the office of esquire of the body became superfluous and was abolished in 1702. During the day, the officers of the bedchamber in waiting (that is, the gentleman or lady, groom or woman and page) generally guarded access to the closet, usually at the backstairs. In addition, there was often an equerry of the stables in readiness there should the monarch decide on

²²The attendance of the yeomen was reduced to 30 by 1782: LS 13/117 p. 55.

²³The presence of the cupbearer, carver and sewer was because this was the room in which the monarch dined in state. In 1734, the captain of the gentlemen pensioners, the Duke of Montagu, 'observed this material part of their Duty of daily attendance in the Presence-Chamber has been of late years neglected' and issued new orders demanding this, but dispensing with the traditional Christmas attendance of the whole band: Pegge, pt. ii, 91-2. For their attendance under George III, see *ibid.* pp. 103-4.

²⁴The drawing room appeared at Whitehall by 1670: see Beattie, p. 8. For the genesis of the public rooms, in general, see *ibid.*, pp. 6-10; H.M. Baillie, 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces', *Archæologia*, ci (1967), pp. 172-81; D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: the Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547' and N. Cuddy, 'The Revival of the Entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-25' in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. D. Starkey (1987).

²⁵Pegge, pt. i; *Household Ordinances*, p. 356; HMC 5th Report, App., pp. 344-5; R. Hennell, *The History of the King's Body Guard of the Yeoman of the Guard* (1904), pp. 149-50; LC 5/141 p. 34; LC 5/143 p. 174; LC 5/146 p. 215; LC 5/147 f. 272; LS 13/104 f. 53v; *CTB*, viii, 193.

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a remove.²⁶ The duty of sleeping in or near the monarch's bedchamber seems to have been performed by a gentleman of the bedchamber as late as the reign of James II and by a woman of the bedchamber under Anne. A page of the bedchamber continued to sleep just outside the King's bedchamber into the reign of George III and it was the pages who bore the brunt of close attendance during his periodic bouts of insanity.²⁷ The King's illness eventually resulted in a new layer of attendance about him with the creation of a private secretary in the person of Herbert Taylor in 1805. Henceforward, this officer was the main regulator of access and conduit of information to and from the King.²⁸ The lord chamberlain's department included or was associated with a number of important subdepartments. The ceremonies was responsible for the ritual surrounding the reception and entertainment of ambassadors.²⁹ The revels concerned itself with the censorship of plays put on in London during the first half of the period. This function, part of the chamberlain's general power to regulate the theatre, was transferred to a newly created examiner and deputy examiner of plays by the Licensing Act of 1737.³⁰ The removing wardrobe and wardrobe keepers were responsible for the King's furniture and the housekeepers had caretaking functions. The lord almoner and sub almoner distributed royal charity through the office of the almonry (which came under the jurisdiction of the lord steward). The dean and subdean, chaplains, gentlemen and children of the chapel royal provided for the monarch's daily and Sunday worship, as well as forming, in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, especially, the most significant centre for the production and performance of church music in the country.³¹ The court musicians (who, under Charles II, numbered over 100 outside the chapel, but fell to less than half that number thereafter), the poet

²⁶HMC *Portland*, v, 222; HMC *Lindsey*, supplement, p. 52; *Hatton Correspondence*, ed. E.M. Thompson (Camden Soc., 1878-9), ii, 21; *The Diary of Sir David Hamilton 1709-14*, ed. P. Roberts (Oxford, 1975), p. 64; *The Wentworth Papers 1705-39*, ed. J.J. Cartwright (1883), pp. 184, 234-5; *Memoirs of the Duchess of Marlborough*, ed. W. King (1930), pp. 146-7, 170; Add. MS 22226 ff. 50, 66, 244, 258; *ibid.* 31143 f. 486v; *ibid.* 31144 ff. 247, 257v, 274v, 357-8; J.H. Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England from the Revolution in 1688 to the Death of George II* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1843), iii, 120; *Grenville Papers*, iii, 123; *Corr. of George III*, v, 284, 285, 418.

²⁷Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 188; T.B. Macaulay, *The History of England From the Accession of James II* (Longman's Popular Edition, 1895) i, 598-9; Bucholz, p. 124; Burnet, vi, 36-7 n. c; HMC *15th Report*, App. iv, 540-1; HMC *Portland*, v, 369, 374; *Corr. of George III*, ii, 503; *Later Corr. of George III*, iii, 628; *Corr. of George, Prince of Wales*, viii, 201. Early in the 18th century, physicians, women, pages and necessary women of the bedchamber, yeomen of the guard and footmen continued to receive beds and bedding out of the great wardrobe, implying similar attendance on their part: PRO, LC 5/70 pp. 295, 309, 404; LC 5/71 ff. 46, 51v, 82, 90; LC 5/72 f. 35. Such bedding continued to be provided for footmen into the reign of George III: see PRO, LC 5/28. Samuel Pegge, who, as a groom of the privy chamber ought to have known, implies that the yeomen on duty still slept in the guard chamber c.1791: Pegge, pt. iii, 64-5.

²⁸Though the office was officially in abeyance from 1822 to 1830, its functions were performed during this period by the keeper of the privy purse, Sir William Knighton.

²⁹See PRO, LC 5/2-3; *Later Corr. of George III*, iii, 643.

³⁰10 Geo. II, c. 28. See also 25 Geo. II, c. 36; 28 Geo. II, c. 30. For the lord chamberlain's authority, see above, p. xxii and n. 11.

³¹Bucholz, pp. 16-17, 229-30 and works cited therein.

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laureate, historiographer, principal painter and surveyor of the pictures were paid servants of the chamber. An army of auxiliary artistic personnel and tradesmen, including the members of the licensed theatre companies during the first half of the period, were sworn under the lord chamberlain. However, they were paid only for occasional services and so had only an occasional connection with the household proper.

As indicated above, a number of semi-independent subdepartments received their orders via lord chamberlain's warrant prior to 1782. Of these the largest was the great wardrobe, which provided livery for household servants and furniture, tapestries and bedding for the royal palaces and some government offices.³² The department was headed by a master who was usually a peer. He was aided by a deputy master and a clerk, who presided over a staff of between 30 and 70 tailors, arrasworkers and tradesmen. As the period progressed, a number of officers intended by the Treasury to exert financial regulation were inserted into this hierarchy. The jewel office provided plate for the household, for ambassadors, great officers of the state and household department heads and as prizes for horse races. This subdepartment also kept the royal jewels and regalia.³³ It, too, was headed by a master, aided by a clerk and several yeomen, grooms and pages. The works, headed by a surveyor, was responsible for the construction and upkeep of royal buildings.³⁴ The robes, responsible for the monarch's clothing, was headed by a master and was of about the same size and structure as the jewel office.³⁵ Finally, the keeper of the privy purse was responsible for the monarch's private fund of that name. The departments of the great wardrobe and jewel office were abolished in 1782, that of the works removed from the lord chamberlain's jurisdiction in 1815.

The lord steward's department was smaller than that of the chamberlain, ranging in size from nearly 350 places in the early years of Charles II down to about 120 by the end of the period (**Fig. 1A**). It was headed by the lord steward, invariably of the rank of earl or above.³⁶ While the steward received the King's verbal orders and had the final say (after the monarch) on administrative procedure (as well as, early in the period, financial and patronage matters³⁷), he tended, in practice, to leave the day-to-day running of the department to the board of green cloth.³⁸ This body, which

³²See Beattie, pp. 50-1; PRO, LC 5/39-77, 115-63. For the process whereby furniture was ordered towards the end of the period, see *PP* 1812 (330) ii, 'Report [of] the Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Charge Upon the Civil List Revenue', p. 462.

³³Beattie, p. 50; PRO, LC 5/107-14.

³⁴Because contemporaries considered the works to be part of the royal household, and because the administration and finances of this department are often inextricable from those of the household proper (especially during the period 1782-1815) some discussion of its relationship to the larger institution is necessary. For more detailed analysis, see Colvin, vols. v-vi.

³⁵Beattie, pp. 63-5.

³⁶The lord steward had precedence over all household officers: see PRO, LS 13/277; *PD*, xxi, 155.

³⁷See, for example, MS Carte 160 ff. 26, 29v; LS 13/116 f. 46.

³⁸The tone was undoubtedly set at the beginning of the period during the 27-year regime of Lord Steward Ormond, who was frequently away in Ireland, often, but not always, as Lord Lieutenant. His

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met at Whitehall before 1715 and at St. James's thereafter, drew up establishments, co-ordinated the work of the various catering subdepartments, disciplined recalcitrant officials and acted as a lower court of law for the Verge, that area within 12 miles of the royal household, excluding the city of London and other liberties.³⁹ It consisted, from 1660 to 1782, of the treasurer, comptroller and master of the household (positions which were, for the most part, sinecures), the cofferer (the department's financial and accounting officer), two clerks and two clerk comptrollers of the green cloth. In 1761 two additional clerk comptrollers of the green cloth, two clerks of the debentures and a clerk to the master of the household were added to the departmental establishment.⁴⁰ In 1782 the cofferer was replaced by a paymaster and the clerical staff by two clerks of the household.⁴¹ The clerks of the green cloth and their successors, the clerks of the household, made the day-to-day decisions on running the household below stairs, often in consultation with the lord steward through his secretary. The actual clerical work of the department was done by a number of assistant clerks, and, prior to 1782, the yeomen and grooms of the accompting house.

correspondence in MSS Carte and HMC *Ormonde* reveals his utter reliance on trusted subordinates at the green cloth such as Sir William Boreman and Sir Stephen Fox: see, for example, MS Carte 32 f. 107; *ibid.* 50 f. 240; *ibid.* 143 f. 177; Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 91. Indeed, that correspondence is also revealing of an occasional surprising ignorance of procedure in the department of which he was so long the head: see, for example, MS Carte 32 f. 147.

³⁹For the Verge and its relationship to the court of that name, the Palace Court, the Lord Steward's Court and the board of green cloth, see Beattie, pp. 77-80; *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office* (1963-8), i, 152-3; *ibid.* ii, 152; and W.S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (1922-52), i, 208-9. For the legal work of the board, see PRO, LS 13/84-8; LS 13/104-6; LS 13/114-20; LS 13/180 ff. 84-5, 141v-142; LS 13/181 f. 19v; MS Carte 60 f. 7r-v. According to John Secker, the court of the Verge ceased to sit after 1727: LS 13/281 f. 6. However, the board of green cloth continued to deal informally with the district's legal matters, especially debt, well into the 18th century: LS 13/180 f. 90.

⁴⁰LS 13/55.

⁴¹LS 13/60 ff. 1, 4; LS 13/180 ff. 84v-85. The clerks of the household were replaced by 3 clerks to the board of green cloth in 1815. Their area of initiative seems to have diminished with the establishment of the secretary of the board in 1813.

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Below the level of the green cloth, the lord steward's department consisted of a series of subdepartments, mostly concerned with the catering and supply of necessary articles. The most important and largest of these offices were the royal kitchens. During the first half of the period there was usually a King's privy kitchen and a household kitchen, with a Queen's privy kitchen in existence 1663-94 and 1727-37. The kitchens had a staff of clerks to record the delivery and outlay of provisions. The work of cooking for the court was performed by a series of master cooks, yeomen, grooms and children, supported by menial servants such as turnbroaches, pankeepers and scourers. Next in importance came the cellar, headed by a gentleman and responsible for keeping the monarch's wines. The buttery stored and delivered liquors other than wine. The poultry was responsible for providing fruit, greens, butter and eggs for the royal tables. The acatry procured meat, fish, bacon and other goods and delivered them to the larder, where they were stored prior to delivery to the kitchens. The scalding house prepared fowl for dressing by the cooks. The bakehouse baked the court's bread and delivered it to the pantry. The confectionery prepared fruit desserts, the pastry bakemeats, pies and tarts. The spicery delivered spices, candles and goods supplied by the grocer and oilman. The ewry and laundry were responsible for the royal table linen (the former for provision and storage, the latter for cleaning), the scullery for royal plate and pewter. The woodyard (later known as the coalyard) provided the court's fuel.⁴²

The size and number of these subdepartments decreased steadily over the course of the period as the Crown gradually abolished tables of hospitality and the right to diet of its own servants, beginning in 1663. Early in the period, a separate boiling house, chandry (responsible for candles), pitcher house and wafery were consolidated into other subdepartments or were eliminated in favour of purchase from off-site vendors. The acatry, bakehouse, household kitchen, larder, poultry and scalding house were abolished in 1761, the pastry (apart from a single pastry cook) by 1812, the buttery by 1816 and the spicery by 1820.⁴³

⁴²Beattie, pp. 83-98; *British Court*, pp. 6-20.

⁴³See sources under headnotes for each subdepartment, vol. ii.

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Most subdepartments had at least one established clerk who was responsible for bookkeeping and accounting. Heading the staff of each subdepartment was usually a sergeant or a gentleman, followed by a series of yeomen, grooms, and in the case of the largest subdepartments (cellar, kitchens, scullery, etc.), children, pages and other menial servants, whose places were all filled by promotion according to seniority. Before 1782, the lord steward also had the supervision of the royal harbingers, responsible for finding lodgings for the court while on progress; the marshals, servers and daily waiters in hall, who maintained order and served food and drink in the dining hall; the porters at the gate; the cartakers, who procured carts for the court's progresses and removes; and the knight marshal and his men, who acted as a kind of security force for the household as a whole. But the changing nature of the royal household reduced these responsibilities: the officers of the hall, unnecessary once household servants lost diet, were gone by 1716. Similarly, a less peripatetic court could do without the harbingers and all but one cartaker by 1783. Finally, there was a vast array of purveyors sworn into royal service who were paid for goods as delivered.⁴⁴ Prior to reforms enacted in 1761, many of these also had salaried positions in the catering subdepartments noted above.

The smallest of the household departments was that headed by the master of the horse. It ranged in size from about 170 officers in the 1670s down to around 80 under Queen Anne (**Fig. 1A**). When not in commission, the master's position was usually held by a peer, generally of the rank of earl or above.⁴⁵ He was both his department's administrative head and its chief accounting officer. When in attendance, he accompanied the monarch abroad and conveyed his or her verbal orders to the gentleman of the horse and the equerry in attendance, who, in turn, communicated necessary arrangements to the footmen, coachmen, chairmen, grooms, postilions and helpers who did the work of transporting the court and caring for its horses and equipage.⁴⁶ In the absence of the master, the equerry in attendance received the monarch's orders and accompanied him or her on horseback when abroad. In addition, the equeries of the crown stable and the yeomen riders were responsible for training the pages of honour (who were adolescent boys) in horsemanship.⁴⁷ There was also a staff of farriers, saddlers, purveyors and granitors, stablekeepers and surveyors whose jobs were to keep the stables in good repair and supplied with necessities. Many of these latter servants were on the payroll until 1782, when they were reduced to the status of purveyors; that is, paid only for specific work. Finally, the officers and servants of the buckhounds were transferred to the jurisdiction of the master of the horse in 1783.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Sources as for n. 42, above.

⁴⁵The department was administered by commissions 1679-85, briefly in 1702, 1712-14 and 1715-27.

⁴⁶Beattie, pp. 98-104. For an example of the stables attendance when the monarch was on progress, see *Corr. of George III*, iv, 125-6.

⁴⁷See MOH PB 1 ff. 7, 9r-v, pp. 145, 146, 311; Beattie, pp. 101-4; Add. MS 22225 ff. 331v-332; *ibid.* 31143 f. 6; *ibid.* 31144 ff. 247r-v, 257v, 274v; *Corr. of George III*, iv, 41; *Corr. of George, Prince of Wales*, iv, 543 n. 1.

⁴⁸MOH WB 2 p. 11.

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The master of the horse made administrative decisions for the department which were implemented via orders written up by the clerk of the stables. This officer was responsible for the day-to-day operation of the stables.⁴⁹ There was no office to transact the business of the department in the Royal Mews at Charing Cross until December 1760.⁵⁰ This office and the Mews themselves moved to Pimlico in the mid-1820s.⁵¹

II Financial Structure

It was, perhaps, in the financial arrangements of the royal household that its medieval origin, *ad hoc* development and idiosyncratic structure appear most plainly. As indicated in **Fig. 3**, between 1685 and 1782 there were some ten household paymasters,⁵² corresponding roughly to the major household departments and subdepartments. However, a large number of officers and servants, including the whole of the bedchamber, revels, ceremonies and works received the bulk of their salaries directly at the Exchequer until 1782; thereafter this number was reduced piecemeal until hardly any were so paid by 1830.⁵³ Moreover, of the ten paymasters, only seven were required to submit accounts to the Exchequer of Audit. The keeper of the privy purse, paymaster of the gentleman pensioners and jeweller and goldsmith operated without account.⁵⁴

⁴⁹See MOH PB 1 especially f. 7, p. 44; MOH LB A-G.

⁵⁰MOH PB 1 f. 7; MOH DB 1 f. 1r-v. However, see evidence of a 'Crown Stable Office' in 1702: MOH PB 1 f. 6v.

⁵¹MOH LB E pp. 311-34; MOH LB F pp. 68-70, 71-82, 86-90, 233-42; *The London Encyclopædia*, ed. B. Weinreb and C. Hibbert (1983), entries for 'Royal Mews' and 'Trafalgar Square'.

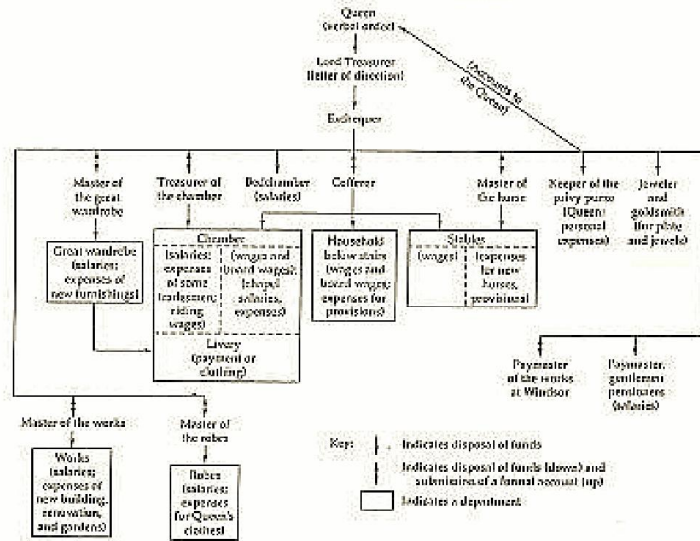
⁵²The office of the tents and toils, which had accounted separately to the Exchequer, was transferred to the Ordnance office in 1685: see Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 63.

⁵³Some of the positions in question were eliminated in the reforms at the end of George III's reign; others were transferred entirely to the accounts of the household paymasters. Only the hawks, the latin secretary and the reader at Hampton Court chapel were paid at the Exchequer by the civil list settlement of 1830.

⁵⁴However, privy purse accounts for the years 1668-85 and 1687 may be found in PRO, E 351/2795-7 and AO 1/2021.

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Figure 3: Financial Arrangements of the Royal Household, c.1710



Sources. Figure 3: as for Figure 2; *CTB*, ix-xxxii.

As with the administrative chain of command, it was the lord chamberlain's department which had the most complicated financial arrangements. In theory, the chief financial officer of the department was, before 1782, the treasurer of the chamber. He had been a formidable figure during the Yorkist and early Tudor periods, but the reforms of Thomas Cromwell and subsequent developments had reduced his responsibilities to that of paying a portion of the salaries, the lodging money, riding wages and bills of the officers and servants of the public rooms and chapel, some of the artisans, the groom porter, harbingers, messengers of the chamber, some hunting personnel and the watermen.⁵⁵ A number of subdepartments whose salaries were paid at the Exchequer, such as the ceremonies, revels and (through their paymaster) the gentlemen pensioners, had expenses paid by the treasurer of the chamber. In 1690-2, after a notorious case of peculation by the incumbent treasurer, a comptroller of the treasurer of the chamber was established by the Treasury. This officer examined the warrants which accompanied the lord chamberlain's requests for goods, certified that the money earmarked for those goods was paid to the proper person, kept his own set of accounts and signed the treasurer's accounts before they were sent to the auditor of receipt.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Declared accounts of the treasurer of the chamber for the period 1660-1782 may be found in PRO, AO 1/395-426; AO 3/130-9 [1660-1715]; and E 351/545-68 [1618-1741]. See also PRO, LC 5/11-25; LC 5/167-8.

⁵⁶*CTB*, ix, 759; LC 1/2 [31 July 1707]; PRO, LC 5/27-30; Beattie, p. 121; Baxter, *Treasury*, p. 71.

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In 1782 the treasurer of the chamber and associated officers' places were eliminated. The lord chamberlain became the chief financial as well as administrative officer of his department.⁵⁷ In 1801 a superintendent of payments was added; in 1823 he was joined by a comptroller and an inspector of accounts. The superintendent and comptroller examined requests for goods and services.⁵⁸

The great wardrobe, robes, tents and toils and works, though subordinate to the lord chamberlain in point of administration, were financially autonomous, receiving their money on imprest from the auditor of receipt and accounting for it directly at the Exchequer.⁵⁹ This put the lord chamberlain in the position of ordering *matériel* without having any idea of its possible cost. Since these departments existed to supply the household with goods as needed, and since the price of materials and workmanship fluctuated, they were impossible to reduce to an establishment. Instead, the later Stuart Treasury attempted to impose order upon these subdepartments by requiring the submission of estimates for each piece of work undertaken and of annual estimates of the next year's expenses; and, in 1667, by creating a comptroller and a surveyor of the great wardrobe.⁶⁰

A series of inquiries into the great wardrobe, works, jewel office and removing wardrobe between 1711 and 1730⁶¹ revealed that these measures were largely ineffectual, not least because the Treasury had no way of judging the accuracy of each estimate nor the means to prevent its being exceeded in the finished product.⁶² The inquiries into the great wardrobe undertaken at the beginning of George II's reign, in particular, proved that the Treasury estimates were, indeed, not always accurate and were sometimes left unexamined; that work was often ordered before the Treasury had countersigned the warrants; that the Treasury had not always done so; that goods were sometimes ordered by verbal contract, sometimes by no contract at all; that there was no check by the officers of the department (let alone the Treasury) on either the quantity or quality of goods supplied; that tradesmen's bills

⁵⁷Declared accounts of the lord chamberlain 1782-1812 may be found in PRO, AO 1/427-36.

⁵⁸LC 1/15 no. 1160.

⁵⁹Great wardrobe accounts for the period 1660-1782 may be found in PRO, AO 1/2353-90; AO 3/1122-85, 1188-93 and E 351/3103-40, 3147-52. Robes accounts for the period 1660-1812 may be found in PRO, AO 1/2050-67; AO 3/910-46 and E 351/2818-49. For the tents and toils 1660-76, see PRO, AO 1/2295-7; AO 3/1093 and E 351/2958-9. For the works 1660-1832, see PRO, AO 1/2433-73, 2476-501; AO 3/1243-75 and E 351/3274-320, 3423-69.

⁶⁰Colvin, v, 7; PRO, LC 5/11 f. 24; *CTB*, ii, 121; *ibid.* iii, 533; *ibid.* vii, 753-4; *ibid.* xv, 245; *ibid.* xviii, 313; PRO, LC 5/53 f. 148. The works had been required to submit estimates since before the Restoration; the great wardrobe from 1662, but the rule had to be reiterated in 1699; and the jewel office from 1703. For the work of the comptroller and surveyor of the great wardrobe and the difficulties which they faced, see PRO, LC 5/85 ff. 5-6, 29.

⁶¹For the great wardrobe see Beattie, pp. 122-6; *CTB*, xxv, 110; *ibid.* xxvi, 126, 390, 398; *CTP 1720-8*, pp. 531-3; *CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 11, 12, 16, 22, 114, 131, 136, 168, 234, 474. For the works, see *CTP 1714-19*, pp. 309-10, 416, 418, 443, 448-9, 477. For the jewel office, see *CTP 1720-8*, pp. 472-3. For the removing wardrobe, see *CTBP 1729-30*, p. 474; *CTBP 1731-4*, p. 7; LC 5/160 pp. 140-6.

⁶²See, for example, *CTP 1720-8*, p. 472.

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were simply accepted as true; and, finally, that no vouchers were required in order for the auditor to pass the account. In the works, the King was paying for buildings which he had not approved, for workers who had done no work, and for materials which had been measured falsely or embezzled.⁶³ This led, in turn, to the revived establishment of a Treasury-sponsored comptroller in the great wardrobe (1729) and several new sets of instructions for the works (1715, 1718, 1719, 1726).⁶⁴ But the great wardrobe, jewel office and works remained notorious for their expense and corruption. The functions of all three were absorbed by the lord chamberlain's department in 1782, but these services continued to be the major source of overruns in household expenditure until most were removed from the chamberlain's responsibility late in the reign of George III.

Finally, many officers and servants in the lord chamberlain's department began the period by receiving diet, which was soon commuted to boardwages, on the lord steward's establishment. In fact, the major head of expenditure on that establishment was the provision of food, drink, fuel, forage and other necessities for the court. Prior to 1660, these had been supplied out of the countryside by the monarch's ancient rights of purveyance, that is 'of buying goods for the king by forced purchase at low static rates', or by composition, 'that is an agreement [by an individual county] to deliver stated quantities at stated prices below the market rate'. These practices were abolished soon after the Restoration by 12 Charles II, c. 24.⁶⁵ Instead, the lord steward negotiated annual contracts at the board of green cloth with officially designated and sworn purveyors.⁶⁶ The day-to-day financial decisions below stairs were made by the board of green cloth. It was to the board that individual catering subdepartments such as the larder or kitchens were required to submit monthly accounts for both established and extraordinary expenditure. In addition, the clerks of the kitchen made up daily bills of fare for the board's approval, ordered provisions from purveyors and kept records of servants receiving board wages.⁶⁷

The chief financial and accounting officer of the household was, before 1782, the cofferer. He paid and accounted at the Exchequer for all the wages and boardwages of the lord steward's department, the wages of the master of the horse's department and the aforementioned boardwages of the chamberlain's department. In addition, he paid the purveyors who supplied the royal household with food, fuel, hay, oats

⁶³Beattie, pp. 122-3; *CTP 1714-19*, pp. 416, 418; *CTP 1720-8*, pp. 472-3, 531-3.

⁶⁴For the great wardrobe, see *CTP 1720-8*, p. 1; *CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 168, 234; Beattie, pp. 125-6. For the works see Colvin, v, 58-9, 67-9; *CTP 1720-8*, p. 404; *CTBP 1742-5*, p. xli. For evidence of greater Treasury scrutiny of warrants in the wake of these investigations, see *CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 168, 320; *CTBP 1739-41*, p. 25.

⁶⁵See Beveridge, i, 319-20; G. E. Aylmer, 'The Last Years of Purveyance 1610-60', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. x (1957), pp. 81-93.

⁶⁶Beveridge, i, 319-22; Beattie, pp. 76-7.

⁶⁷Beattie, pp. 79-82, 87; LS 13/116 ff. 46, 62, 73v; LS 13/117 p. 36; LS 13/118 f. 41; LS 13/170 f. 106; LS 13/177 f. 42.

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and other necessities according to the above-noted annual contracts.⁶⁸ After his elimination in 1782, the paymaster of the household became the accounting officer.⁶⁹ Similarly, the master of the horse was responsible for equipage and extraordinary expenses in the stables supplied according to contracts which he and the lord steward negotiated with its purveyors.⁷⁰ From 1782, he paid the officers and servants of the stables, and gained increasing responsibility for the provision of forage.⁷¹

As the period began, the arrangements made for the supply of funds to the royal household might charitably be described as makeshift.⁷² Prior to 1698, each household paymaster and servant paid at the Exchequer had to vie with those from other government departments, many of which were considered, during time of war or scarcity, in particular, more essential. In 1698, parliament voted William III a civil list revenue intended to provide him with £700,000 a year, of which the household departments were supposed to receive just over 40%. Henceforward, the problem of household finance was inextricably bound up with the problems of the civil list. The most important of those problems was the repeated failure of the civil list revenue to produce its intended yield.⁷³ The situation was exacerbated by royal extravagance (especially under Charles II and William III) and made worse by the fact that there was, at first, no central authority to brake that extravagance at either royal or departmental level and by the confused nature of the household's internal financial arrangements. In these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that the court was, during the later seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries, often short of money and not always sure of how that money had been spent. This led to massive cumulative debt and lengthy arrears under Charles II, William III, Anne and each of the first three Georges. This led, in turn, to repeated requests for both permanent and temporary augmentations of the civil list, detailed below in section VII.

Given the uncertainty of supply for household expenses, it was imperative that there be some means to regulate spending. The only agency of government with

⁶⁸Declared accounts of the cofferer 1660-1782 may be found in PRO, E 351/1836-946.

⁶⁹See LS 13/118, entry of 5 May 1815. The declared accounts of the paymaster 1782-1816 may be found in PRO, E 351/3623-57. After 1782, the main account of the department is contained in the estimates preserved to 1814 in PRO, LS 13/303-4. See also the civil list accounts for the lord steward's department 1784-1810 in PRO, T 38/511-22.

⁷⁰Declared accounts of the master of the horse 1660-1813 may be found in PRO, AO 1/1443-65 and E 351/1749-69. From 1694, the master of the horse also provided liveries for stables servants, a right previously vested in the great wardrobe: Stowe MS 194 f. 91; *CTB*, iii, 778; *ibid.* iv, 514; *ibid.* v, 186; *ibid.* viii, 582-3; Beattie, p. 98 n. 2. For the negotiation of contracts, see MOH LB A pp. 38-40; MOH LB C p. 273; LS 13/116 f. 70 and *PP* 1812-13 (342) iv, 578.

⁷¹MOH WB 1; MOH PB 1, p. 157; MOH LB A-F.

⁷²For the process by which funds were supplied to spending departments see J. E. D. Binney, *British Public Finance and Administration 1774-92* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 172-6; Baxter, *Treasury*, pp. 132-6; PRO, LC 5/11 ff. 4-5; Roseveare, pp. 33-4.

⁷³See especially Reitan, 'Revenue to Civil List' and 'Civil List'.

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any hope of imposing such regulation on the tangled apparatus of household finance was the Treasury. But, despite the advances in control over the spending departments achieved by the commissions of 1667 and 1679, and the more specific measures for the household described above, 'Treasury control' of the household departments was weak for most of the period. For example, the Treasury, while commonly consulted in the framing of household establishments, did not have the ultimate authority in determining their final form. As noted previously, that right was reserved to the King, who could also modify a signed establishment toward greater expenditure by virtue of a royal warrant.⁷⁴ The Treasury did what it could to set limits for departments for which it was impossible to fix establishments because they provided goods on an 'as needed' basis, such as the great wardrobe and works.⁷⁵ But, because the household was still considered the King's private concern and because great department heads were usually peers who held their offices at his pleasure, there was little attempt to hold the household departments - whether established or non-established - to these limits: Treasury warrants authorizing payment of the excess were common in the mid eighteenth century.⁷⁶

Nor did the Treasury have a very clear idea of how moneys had been spent in the immediate past, thanks to 'the ancient course' of eighteenth-century accounting procedure. First, the legal remedies to force a household paymaster to submit his accounts were weak.⁷⁷ Second, the accounts of even a conscientious paymaster could take years to move through the system.⁷⁸ Third, the accounting years of the various household paymasters varied wildly. In some departments, the expenditure for several years would be declared in a single seamless account.⁷⁹ As a result, it was almost impossible to know what a department's current - let alone anticipated - expenditure was likely to be. This led to the Treasury's first call in September 1710 for each household department to provide an estimate of its median expense for the previous seven years and for the Exchequer year about to begin. This was an

⁷⁴See above, p. xxi.

⁷⁵In 1718 the Treasury set a limit of £13,000 a year on the expenses of the great wardrobe, £14,400 on those of the works: *CTB*, xxxii, 535; Beattie, pp. 127-8.

⁷⁶For the warrants authorizing excesses of, sometimes, double or treble the great wardrobe's limit of £13,000, see *CTBP* 1729-30, p. 45; *CTBP* 1731-4, pp. 370, 628; *CTBP* 1735-8, pp. 214, 361, 527; *CTBP* 1739-41, pp. 302, 532; *CTBP* 1742-5, pp. 139, 375, 589, 785. The works was also allowed frequently to exceed its limit of £14,400: *CTBP* 1735-8, p. 224; *CTBP* 1739-41, p. 314; *CTBP* 1742-5, pp. 353, 785.

⁷⁷See Roseveare, pp. 48 and n. 4, 49; *CTB*, vi, 510; *ibid.* viii, 643; *ibid.* ix, pp. clxi, 745; *ibid.* xiii, 389; *ibid.* xvi, 124-8; *ibid.* xvii, 372-3.

⁷⁸See *CTB*, ii, pp. xxxiv, 413; *ibid.* iii, 153, 228, 870, 1075, 1235, 1242; *ibid.* viii, 50; *ibid.* xix, 390; *ibid.* xx, 362; Colvin, v, 43.

⁷⁹The accounts of the cofferer and master of the great wardrobe ran 1 Oct. to 30 Sept. and Michaelmas to Michaelmas, respectively; the treasurer of the chamber from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, Christmas to Christmas, Lady Day to Lady Day or Midsummer to Midsummer; the works and master of the horse usually from 1 Apr. to 31 March. Those for the robes covered, generally, 3 or 4 years at a time. Indeed, a change of department head or reign might lead any of these accountants to lump several years together or otherwise vary the above 'pattern': see printed versions of these accounts in the introductions to successive vols. of *CTB*.

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isolated case in Anne's reign, but the practice became common after 1718. Moreover, as the eighteenth century wore on, the Treasury demanded annual and quarterly accounts from an increasing number of departments and estimates of the cost of individual items.⁸⁰ Burke's Economical Reform Act gave parliamentary sanction to such control while adding an incentive to avoid such parliamentary scrutiny in future.

By the early nineteenth century, the need to defend household expenditure in parliament led the Treasury to make increasingly frequent and, often, peremptory assertions of the right to determine establishments and revise or refuse permission to implement individual and quarterly estimates.⁸¹ In 1810 the House resolved that no 'Pension or Allowance should either be granted in any Office, or presented by way of Estimate to this House, until it shall have been submitted to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury'.⁸² This control was facilitated in 1816 by the establishment of an auditor of the civil list by 56 George III, c. 46, which finally put the court's financial structure under a single authority other than, and independent of, the monarch. His job was to examine required quarterly estimates of future expenditure and quarterly accounts of past expenditure, orders, bills and vouchers provided by the household departments, compare them against each other, against required annual estimates sanctioned by parliament and against current market prices and report any excess to the Treasury Board for approval or rejection. He was also to enforce financial regularity, uncover fraud in tradesmen's bills (for which he had the right to examine persons under oath), make suggestions for 'the better management of the Civil List' and compile an annual account which would give the Treasury a much better idea of recent expenditure than that available to its predecessors.⁸³ The result was a true Treasury sovereignty over spending in the departments of the royal household, a sovereignty which did much to bring that spending down to predictable, and so manageable, levels by the 1830s.

III Patronage

In theory, the patronage structure of the royal household was far more clear-cut, even logical, than its administrative or financial chains of command (see **Fig. 4**). At

⁸⁰Bucholz, p. 58; Beattie, pp. 118-19. For accounts of annual expenditure, see LS 13/176 pp. 108-9, 130-2, 149-51, 160, 191, 205, 216; LS 13/177-84. For estimates of future expenditure, see LS 13/176 pp. 131-2, 171-2, 191, 217, 224, 231; LS 13/177-84. For quarterly accounts below stairs beginning in 1715, see LS 13/176 pp. 37, 45, 50, 59; LS 13/177-84; for the master of the horse's department, beginning in 1777, see MOH LB A p. 21 and *passim*; MOH LB B-F. For additional evidence of increased Treasury interference in departmental establishments and finances, see LS 13/179 ff. 87v, 102v, 132r-v.

⁸¹Roseveare, p. 69; see, for example, LC 1/8 nos. 550, 552; MOH LB E pp. 269, 285-91, 303-4, 496.

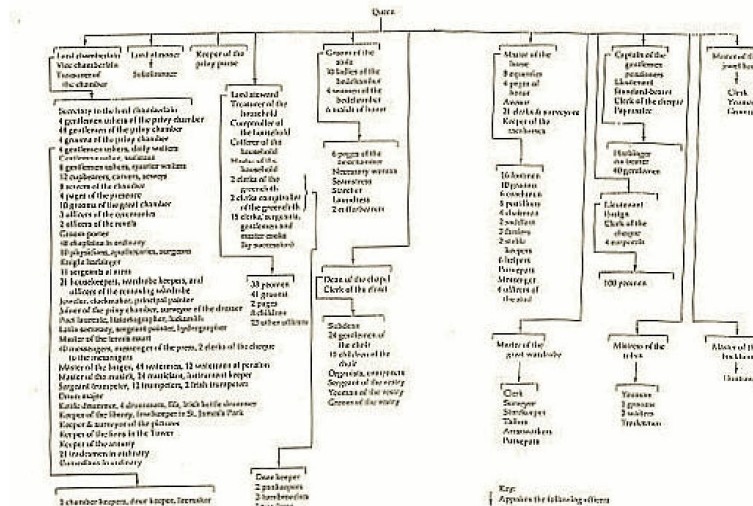
⁸²PP 1810 ii, 366-7 quoted in Roseveare, p. 66.

⁸³For the establishment of and instructions for the office, see LC 1/7 nos. 446-50; MOH LB D pp. 324-32. For evidence of performance of these duties, see LC 1/7 no. 513; LC 1/16 no. 1235; LC 1/19 no. 1642; MOH LB E pp. 55, 56, 162, 180, 443; MOH LB F, p. 165. For the holders of the office, see *Treasury Officials 1660-1870*, comp. J.C. Sainty (1972), p. 60.

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the beginning of the period, the monarch appointed all household officers of high rank, such as the lord and vice chamberlains, the lord steward and officers of the green cloth, the groom of the stole and lords (or ladies) of the bedchamber, the masters of the horse, robes, jewel office, great wardrobe and buckhounds, the captains of the gentlemen pensioners and yeomen of the guard, the lord almoner and the dean of the chapel royal. In addition, the Crown had the appointment of the most prestigious and lucrative middling posts, including the grooms, women and maids of honour in the bedchamber; the subordinate officers of the gentlemen pensioners and yeomen of the guard; the clerk of the closet; the equeries, pages of honour, clerk and surveyors of the stables; and the sergeants, gentlemen and clerks of the catering subdepartments below stairs.⁸⁴ In this last case, however, royal initiative was circumscribed by the 'Ancient Order of Succession' that was supposed to fill these offices from below. Altogether, the Crown had, before 1782, about 90-100 of the most desirable household posts in its disposal. That number fell to perhaps 75 thereafter.

Figure 4: Household Patronage, c.1710



Sources. Figure 4: as for Figure 1A.

The remaining household patronage was divided among heads of department. Thus, the lord chamberlain had at his disposal a patronage field which fluctuated between 285 and 450 offices between the Restoration and Economical Reform.⁸⁵

⁸⁴Bucholz, pp. 65-8.

⁸⁵In general, the higher figure given for patronage applies to the household in the early years of Charles II. The lower figure occurred, in most cases, under James II or Anne. For places in the lord chamberlain's disposal, see Stowe MS 152 f. 114; PRO, LC 5/205, entry of 12 Aug. 1727.

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These included middling and menial chamber attendants, artists and tradesmen, ranging in status from the masters of the ceremonies and revels down to the royal watermen. The captain of the yeomen of the guard had the appointment of 200 yeomen before 1670, 100 thereafter. The captain of the gentlemen pensioners appointed 50 gentlemen of the band before 1670, 40 thereafter.⁸⁶ The dean of the chapel appointed the subdean, about 40 gentlemen, children and officers of the vestry and, from 1724, 24 preachers at Whitehall Chapel;⁸⁷ the master of the great wardrobe, between 30 and 70 tailors, arrasworkers and tradesmen and the master of the robes about 15 to 25 tradesmen.⁸⁸ The groom of the stole had the appointment of about ten menial servants in the bedchamber.

Below stairs, the lord steward had the appointment of between 90 and 250 yeomen, grooms, pages and children in the catering subdepartments, though here, too, the 'Ancient Order of Succession' should have prevented his having a free hand.⁸⁹ At the lowest levels of the department, turnbroaches, coal porters, doorkeepers, and soil carriers were appointed by individual clerks and clerks comptrollers of the green cloth or clerks of the kitchens and master cooks in a variety of rotations.⁹⁰ In the stables, the master of the horse had the appointment of between 60 and 150 footmen, grooms, coachmen, chairmen, postilions, helpers, stablekeepers, tradesmen and other menial personnel.⁹¹

Finally, as first Treasury and then parliamentary control of the household grew, the former began to appoint officers in its own right, beginning with the comptroller and surveyor of the great wardrobe in 1667 and continuing with the comptroller of the treasurer of the chamber's office in 1690. By the end of the period the Treasury had the appointment of an auditor of the civil list, and Treasury approval was necessary for any appointment that increased the size of the household establishments.⁹²

In fact, from the beginning of the period a wide variety of factors could, in practice, sway or prevent the appointing officer from being able to exercise his or her right without constraint. The sovereign himself was, of course, subject to influence from courtiers whom it was desirable or necessary to please. By at least the reign of Anne, appointments at the highest levels of the household were determined in consultation with the ministry. By the end of the period, they were

⁸⁶Under Charles II, the monarch reserved the right to approve the appointment of individual yeomen of the guard and gentlemen pensioners: PRO, LC 5/196 ff. 13, 18; *CTB*, iii, 853-4.

⁸⁷LC 5/202 pp. 318-19.

⁸⁸The tradesmen in the chamber, great wardrobe and robes, like the purveyors below stairs and in the stables, were not regularly paid servants of the crown. As such they have not been counted in Figs. 1 and 4 and do not figure in the lists printed in this volume.

⁸⁹For places in the lord steward's disposal, see Stowe MS 306 ff. 93-96v; MS Carte 59 ff. 121-3.

⁹⁰Stowe MS 306, ff. 93-96v; LS 13/117 pp. 93, 218-19; LS 13/118 p. 45; LS 13/171 p. 382; LS 13/200-1 (reversed).

⁹¹See MOH WB 1-2.

⁹²LS 13/266 ff. 73v, 77; LC 1/2-20; MOH LB D-F.

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increasingly made at its behest.⁹³ Finally, the monarch's choice might be constrained by a customary ladder of promotion, as below stairs, or by a previously granted reversion. On the other hand, no monarch seems to have felt the least qualm in interfering in the patronage of his department heads.⁹⁴ The most spectacular example of this came at the Restoration, when the new King made 26 such requests of his lord steward alone - at the cost to the latter of an estimated £14,100 which would have accrued to him from the sale of the offices in question. Nor could a department head ignore easily the requests of a member of the royal family, a prominent politician or a favoured courtier or mistress.⁹⁵ Indeed, it was the wise appointing officer who secured the monarch's approval, whether explicit or tacit, in making any appointment, particularly one to an office which brought its holder into the royal presence or social prominence. For example, in 1723, Lord Chamberlain Newcastle consulted the King before appointing Charles Jervas principal painter, despite the position's being in his own gift.⁹⁶ As the period wore on, there were two noticeable developments with regard to household patronage.

⁹³See Bucholz, pp. 92-4; Beattie, pp. 138-52; R. Pares, *King George III and the Politicians* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 145-6; *Corr. of George III*, iv, 506; *ibid.* v, 464, 502-3, 504-5, 506; *ibid.* vi, 1, 382, 395; *Later Corr. of George III*, i, 11-12, 109; *ibid.* iv, 163-4 and n., 169-75 and n.; *ibid.* v, 617-18; *Letters of George IV*, i, pp. lxxiv-lxxvi; but cf. *ibid.* ii, 169-170, 448-9 and n. 1, 471 n. 1.

⁹⁴See HMC *Ormonde*, n.s. iv, 93, 139, 393-4; Harl. MS 1843 pp. 15-16; LS 13/175 f. 24v; Bucholz, pp. 78-9; Beattie, pp. 135-8; Colvin, vi, 41; *Corr. of George III*, iii, 2; *Later Corr. of George III*, iii, 75.

⁹⁵MS Carte 59 ff. 121-3; Beattie, p. 137.

⁹⁶Beattie, p. 137. For a later example, see *Later Corr. of George III*, iii, 479.

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The first was the Treasury's increasing role, as noted above. The second was the gradual reduction of the patronage fields of the greatest department heads after 1782 (see **Fig. 1A**). Most dramatically, the lord chamberlain lost the disposal of about 70 places between that date and the end of the period.⁹⁷ The masters of the great wardrobe and jewel house saw their offices and departments cease to exist entirely.

IV Remuneration and Value of Office

⁹⁷That is, his field of patronage diminished from about 350 in 1780 to about 280 in 1836.

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The details of remuneration for individual offices are enumerated in the main body of the text. Overall, that remuneration may be divided into established monetary emoluments on the one hand and non-established fees, perquisites, privileges and even less tangible rewards on the other. As the period began, the latter were far more significant to holders of household office than the former. That is, established wages, even for officers of high rank, tended to be based upon medieval precedent and so were quite small.⁹⁸ However, as Edward Chamberlayne observed, 'although the King payes still the antient Fees which at first were above 10 times the value they are now, yet the Perquisites in many Offices make sometimes a place of 10*l.* Fee to be worth near 500*l.* per annum'.⁹⁹ Early in the period, household officers and servants received the bulk of their rewards in the form of diet, which was allotted during the first years of Charles II's reign to all major department heads and to gentlemen waiters in the chamber, bedchamber and stables, officers of the removing wardrobe, the clerk of the closet and chaplains, court medical personnel, musicians, the yeomen of the guard, officers and servants of the catering subdepartments and even some tradesmen.¹⁰⁰ Many household servants were entitled to lodgings, livery (in the form of actual clothing or payments out of the great wardrobe in lieu thereof), plate and provisions such as wine, bread, beer, fuel, candles and other supplies. Some were allowed fees for performance of duty. The gentlemen ushers daily waiters collected fees for swearing-in household officers. Clerks did so for drawing up warrants and collected poundage on goods received. There were riding wages for travel beyond Whitehall and St. James's, New Year's gifts from superiors and fees of honour upon the promotion of peers, bishops, baronets and knights. Officers and servants in the lord steward's department were allowed 'waste, command and remains', that is, scraps of food left over from the process of preparation or which had remained uneaten.¹⁰¹ Finally, appointing officers had the right to sell places. This perquisite could yield several hundred pounds a year in the case of a large department.¹⁰²

It is, naturally, difficult to pin down the exact value of such non-established emoluments, but where possible, the most important receive an estimate in the headnote to each office, below. To give just one example of how large bulked such non-established remuneration, Sir Gilbert Talbot, the master of the jewel office, estimated that his place had been worth at least £1,000 to him at the beginning of the reign of Charles II. This included a diet which he calculated at £700 a year, the right to present gifts to ambassadors, worth £200, and poundage on New Year's

⁹⁸For example, in 1662, the lord steward received only £100 in wages, the treasurer and comptroller £123 14s 8d apiece. The preponderance of their emoluments came in the form of board and perquisites.

⁹⁹Chamberlayne (1671), pt. i, 252.

¹⁰⁰MS Carte 60 f. 50r-v; LS 13/31 f. 1; LS 13/170 ff. 5r-v, 9, 12r-v, 13v, 15, 21, 24v, 25, 36v, 37v, 42, 84v, 86r-v, 90; LS 13/252 ff. 10, 16, 40v, 67v, 78v, 229v, 230, 237v, 240.

¹⁰¹Bucholz, pp. 126-44.

¹⁰²For example, this source yielded a total of £2,300 or £460 a year to Lord Steward Ormond between 1668 and 1673. This provided a substantial supplement to his established wages and board wages of £1,460 a year: MS Carte 59 f. 110.

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Gifts worth £150 a year.¹⁰³

Unfortunately for Talbot, his colleagues and their successors, the initial profligacy of the Restoration was short lived. For the rest of the period the Treasury, eventually urged on by parliament, did its best to suppress such non-established rewards in favour of set wages. There were two reasons for this. First, such emoluments were virtually uncontrollable and so tended to cost the court far more than wages or boardwages. Second (and this helps to explain the first), they were open to abuse. Many officers and servants lost their right to diet by the establishment of 1 December 1662 and the royal warrant of 25 August 1663. From this point on, most of the court was put to boardwages, which formed the bulk of established remuneration.¹⁰⁴ By 1702 only the royal family, gentlemen waiters, ladies of the bedchamber, maids of honour, pages of the bedchamber, chaplains, officers of the green cloth, clerks of the kitchen and yeomen of the guard had tables.¹⁰⁵ The fiction that the remaining household servants were being reimbursed for board was abandoned by the establishment of 1782, which expressed remuneration for each such servant by a single figure.¹⁰⁶ Subsequent establishments gradually eradicated the remaining tables. In 1813, the yeomen of the guard became the last society at court to lose the privilege of dining at the monarch's expense when their table was commuted to a fee of £2,230 3s a year, to be divided among the efficient members of the society.¹⁰⁷

In parallel to the reduction of diets, the later seventeenth century witnessed a piecemeal attack on fees and perquisites which, however, did not get much further than the highest ranking officers. Most notably, the royal warrant of 29 June 1702 proscribed sale of household offices.¹⁰⁸ In addition, during the period 1660-1714, the masters of the great wardrobe, robes and jewel office, groom of the stole, and clerks of the green cloth lost valuable rights to poundage and remains.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Talbot's calculation of the value of his office, quoted above, was part of a protest

¹⁰³MS Carte 60 f. 5. For estimates of the total (that is, established and non-established) value of other offices early in the 18th century, see Bucholz, pp. 128, 132-3, 138-9, 141-2; Beattie, pp. 209-14.

¹⁰⁴LS 13/31; LS 13/170 f. 125; LS 13/252 f. 111. For an explanation of how board wages were set, see LS 13/104 f. 54v.

¹⁰⁵LS 13/43 f. 2. The gentlemen waiters included the 2 gentlemen and groom of the privy chamber, the gentlemen ushers, the corporal of the yeomen of the guard, the equerry and the page of honour on duty (LC 5/204 p. 194). Under George II, gentlemen of the catering subdepartments were allowed diet: LS 13/177 f. 25v. A wider range of officers (including middling and menial servants below stairs, footmen and grooms in the stables) was allowed diet when the court was away from London: LS 13/175 ff. 96, 104; LS 13/180 f. 82r-v.

¹⁰⁶LS 13/60. The establishment of 1761 (LS 13/55) had divided remuneration into 'Salaries' and 'Allowances'.

¹⁰⁷LS 13/118 f. 51, entries of 8 May, 1 June, 6 June 1813; LS 13/184 pp. 352-6, 370, 388-9.

¹⁰⁸LS 13/258 p. 4; Burnet, v, 63 n. a.

¹⁰⁹CTB, ii, 245; *ibid.* iii, 131, 133, 350-1, 459; *ibid.* iv, 79; *ibid.* viii, 485, 752; LS 13/258 p. 17; Bucholz, p. 49.

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against the loss of its perquisites, leaving him, after the deduction of exchequer fees, 'but £31 10s p. an....to support the dignity of his place'.¹¹⁰ At a lower level, the period saw an attempt to restrain fees and extraordinaries by reducing to fixed salaries servants whose work had previously been paid for via bills.¹¹¹ But the fees and perquisites available to most officers of middling and menial rank remained available to them very largely until the reforms of the 1780s.¹¹²

The period from Economical Reform to the death of George III witnessed the gradual erosion of payment in kind, fees and perquisites to middling and menial servants. New Year's gifts to servants were abolished in 1797.¹¹³ More importantly, the reform of 1813 which eliminated diet for the yeomen of the guard was part of a concerted attempt during the last years of George III and those of George IV to eliminate the remaining forms of non-established income. By 1819, gratuities to inferior servants had been stopped and payment in kind had been commuted to cash allowances which were themselves set to determine upon the deaths of the current incumbents. The establishment of 1820 eliminated the fees of the first clerk to the lord chamberlain.¹¹⁴ These developments led the lord chamberlain to lament that the loss of such perquisites diminished the attractions of office, and so of his patronage. To this the Treasury replied with admirable steadfastness: 'should such a principal [*sic*] be admitted, no regulations however salutary could be adopted with a view to reduce Public Expenditure within the limits fixed'.¹¹⁵

This process rendered household servants ever more dependent upon their established salaries, and, therefore, on the health and despatch of the royal Treasury and Exchequer. As implied above, the results were sometimes disastrous for individual officers and servants. The reign of Charles II saw four long suspensions or retrenchments of virtually all salaries and pensions, in 1663-4, 1668-9, 1676-7 and 1679-85. While an effort was made to repay servants for the first three, the Crown's unreliable financial situation resulted in arrears ranging from two to eight years and longer during this reign.¹¹⁶ When ready money was not available, a

¹¹⁰MS Carte 60 f. 5.

¹¹¹Between 1660 and 1688, the gentleman usher of the black rod, clerk of the great wardrobe, master of the ceremonies and the clockmaker gave up valuable perquisites for increases in salary: *CTB*, iv, 419; *ibid.* v, 168; *ibid.* viii, 827, 927. At the end of William III's reign, the master of the barges and the housekeeper at Hampton Court lost the right to submit bills in return for salaries: Beattie, p. 129, n. 2. This policy continued under Anne and George I: see *ibid.*; *CTB*, xviii, 26; *ibid.* xix, 64; LC 3/53 pp. 18, 47-8.

¹¹²However, in 1746 the House of Commons resolved to limit the fees of sergeants at arms: *CJ*, xxv, 170-1. In 1760 the clerk of the stables lost the right to take poundage on bills: MOH PB 1 p. 7.

¹¹³MOH LB B p. 31.

¹¹⁴LC 1/6 nos. 384, 405; LC 1/7 no. 426; LC 1/8 no. 521; LC 1/10 no. 705; LS 13/184 pp. 418-23; MOH LB D p. 73.

¹¹⁵LC 1/8 no. 531: Charles Arbuthnot to Lord Chamberlain Hertford, 12 June 1819.

¹¹⁶Bucholz, pp. 21-2; Chandaman, p. 252; *CTB*, i, 542, 619; *ibid.* ii, 135, 156, 160, 336, 566, 601, 620, 622; *ibid.* iii, 268, 650, 898, 1124, 1156, 1164; *ibid.* iv, 133, 147, 170, 450, 476, 480, 593, 651; *ibid.* v, 116-18, 168, 567, 602, 654, 805, 1382; *ibid.* vi, 181-2, 595, 625, 631, 633, 635; *ibid.* vii, 136, 195, 265,

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department head or an individual officer or servant to whom wages were owed might be issued treasury orders or tallies of anticipation - in effect, promises to pay which could be sold on a buyer's market, usually for far less than their face value.¹¹⁷

Nor was it unknown for a household paymaster to have to borrow money outright or supply it from his own pocket to keep up with his responsibilities - although one must be wary of accepting the latter claim at face value.¹¹⁸ Talbot undoubtedly exaggerated, yet expressed the feelings of many, when he described himself in the wake of recent reforms as 'therefore having nothing in his prospect but a desperate expectation of starving (and which is yet more insupportable to him) the disability of maintaining your Majesty's honour in the discharge of his place...'.¹¹⁹

Subsequent monarchs approached more closely to solvency, but arrears of one and two years' duration were not uncommon under William III, Anne and George I. All left large numbers of servants unpaid at their deaths.¹²⁰ During the deepest financial crisis of William's reign, in 1695, the scourers, turnbroaches, pankeepers, soil carriers 'and other poor Servants of His Majesty's Household' represented their dire situation to the board of green cloth thus:

That the immediate maintenance of your Peticoners and their Families arising from the several Dyetts & by Books of Liveries daily served in His Majesty's Family, being now wholly taken away, your petitioners have nothing left to Subsist on, but their Salaries, which they have Spent, and Assign'd greatest part of them to their Creditors, have nothing left: the small allowance of Bread and Beer being also taken from them, soe that they are now likely to begg about the street. That your Peticoners ...are most of them aged, and the rest altogether incapable of undertaking any other Means of support.¹²¹

Though George II enjoyed the most favourable civil list arrangements of any eighteenth-century monarch, the 1740s witnessed arrears of over one year.¹²² George III's troubled civil list was in an almost continuous state of debt, which likewise led to long arrears and frequent complaints by stables' servants in particular.¹²³

469, 633, 721, 1308, 1337; HMC *Ormonde*, n.s. iii, 258; *ibid.* v, 143, 147, 239.

¹¹⁷See *CTB*, ii, 413; *ibid.* iii, 762, 772, 1193; *ibid.* iv, 512, 514; *ibid.* v, 559; *ibid.* vi, 679; LS 13/172, entry of 28 Nov. 1682; HMC *Ormonde*, n.s. iii, 257.

¹¹⁸*CTB*, ii, 18, 23, 603; *ibid.* iii, 646; *ibid.* iv, 514; *ibid.* v, 579; *ibid.* vi, 684; *ibid.* viii, 1366. For examples from subsequent reigns, see *CTP 1697-1702*, pp. 474, 520-1; LS 13/174 f. 99r-v; Bucholz, p. 55.

¹¹⁹MS Carte 60 f. 5.

¹²⁰For William III, see Bucholz, pp. 29-30. For Anne, see *ibid.*, pp. 53-5, 57, 59-60, 63. For George I, see *CTB*, xxx, 544; LS 13/262 f. 21; *CTP 1714-19*, pp. 164-5, 443; *CTP 1720-8*, pp. 198, 501, 505.

¹²¹PRO, LS 13/120, entry of 17 May 1695. The lord steward ordered the clerks of the green cloth to allow bread and beer to all who needed it and to provide firing and candles 'as they shall find absolutely necessary'. See also entry for 29 May 1696.

¹²²See below, p. lxix.

¹²³See, for example, MOH PB 1 pp. 343-4, 347; MOH LB B pp. 32-3.

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The reduction of servants' remuneration to salaries was injurious in another respect: it fixed that remuneration at times of high inflation. The period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, in particular, saw several sharp increases in the cost of necessary goods, as well as high taxes. Many royal servants had experienced a rise in pay in 1760, but little thereafter unless in compensation for the loss of some perquisite or provision.¹²⁴ Thus, early in 1807, the livery servants in the master of the horse's department wrote that

the high price of all the necessaries, of Life, and the Depreciation of the Value of money since their Salaries were fixed, added to the Deductions of Land Tax &c (amounting to between 20 & 30 per Cent) have tended to make their Situations in His Majesty's Service so very uncomfortable that the greater part of them are unable to subsist thereon.¹²⁵

For many, household office carried a countervailing material cost. Those at the top of the court hierarchy were expected to entertain, those in the middle to dress and act like gentlemen or ladies. Household servants of all ranks were required to pay fees upon appointment and receipt of salary, and, of course, to maintain minimal standards of decent behaviour.¹²⁶ This raises the question of why individuals continued to seek employment in the royal household. It has been argued that the significance - political, social, artistic - of those who did so declined somewhat as the period wore on.¹²⁷ However the reality, extent and significance of this decline for the Hanoverian courts awaits its historian. When department heads objected that reductions in the perquisites of office would limit the appeal of the court, the Treasury was quick to reply that there never seemed to be a shortage of eager applicants for positions there.¹²⁸ Perhaps the attraction of court office came increasingly to lie with its intangible rewards of access and proximity to the sovereign and the resultant political and social prestige which these could still generate. Chaplains, for example, could, throughout the period, count upon a kind of exposure to royalty which often led to deaneries and bishoprics.¹²⁹ For those with little such contact, the privilege affording royal servants immunity from

¹²⁴See headnotes to individual offices, below, for such increases.

¹²⁵MOH PB 1 pp. 172-3: Petition of the Livery Servants, 1807. See also MOH LB C pp. 21-2, 156-9. It is difficult to tell whether the preponderance of stables testimony on this issue is due to the fact that this is the best documented household department after 1800, or because, as the clerk of the stables pointed out to the Treasury in 1789, arrears in this department were attended with more distress than in any other 'there being more upon low Salaries and Pensions in it, than in either the Lord Chamberlain's or Lord Steward's': MOH LB A p. 282.

¹²⁶See Bucholz, pp. 132, 138-40, 316-17 n. 86, 320-1 n. 131; Beattie, p. 78 n. 6; *CTP 1714-19*, pp. 52, 383; MS Carte 60 f. 78; LS 13/106 f. 11a; LS 13/172 p. 32; J. B. Curling, *Some Account of the Gentlemen at Arms* (1850), p. 180.

¹²⁷Bucholz, pp. 113-14.

¹²⁸See MOH LB C pp. 21-2; LS 13/118, loose entry of 29 Apr. 1807. In fact, there is some evidence to indicate that posts at the upper echelons of the household became harder to fill as the period wore on: *Later Corr. of George III*, i, 109-10; *ibid.* iv, 181 n. 3, 201, 204 and n. 1.

¹²⁹See LC 5/202 p. 416. For officers in other posts hoping to advance their families through their attendance at court, see Bucholz, pp. 139-41; *Walpole Corr.*, xxxviii, 108; *Later Corr. of George III*, iv, 207 n. 1. On the other hand, see Somerset, pp. 242-3.

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arrest¹³⁰ or service in the community would have been attractive for many. There is evidence that tradesmen continued to compete avidly - as do their modern counterparts - for the lord chamberlain's or lord steward's warrant.¹³¹ Perhaps equally telling are the petitions of 1830 and 1831 by a group of gentlemen of the privy chamber - a position which, at that point, had neither duties nor remuneration - to be allowed to wear the royal uniform and button 'at their own expence of course'.¹³² Service in the household of the monarch, however diminished in material rewards, seems still to have lent social prestige and carried personal significance for many. As one of George III's equerries concluded, philosophically: 'It's honour! That's one comfort; it's all honour!'.¹³³

V Promotion and Tenure

Promotion within the household was rare.¹³⁴ There was little opportunity for servants in the public rooms, artistic, trades or stables personnel to rise. Most household departments and subdepartments were too small or too fragmented to have a clear ladder of promotion. Some groups of officers did have a principal: one musician rose to be master of the music, one waterman to be master of the barges. The eldest gentleman usher daily waiter usually officiated as black rod. Later in the period there existed places for first footman, first groom, body coachman and head postilion. Obviously, only one individual could fill each such position at a time.

Only in the lord steward's department were there regular opportunities for promotion, but these tended to diminish in the course of time. There were two ladders, one for clerks and one for menial culinary personnel. In theory, a clerk of the pastry could rise through the clerkships of the scullery, woodyard, bakehouse, poultry and acatry to that of the kitchen or spicery or avery, in turn. The last three clerks rotated in filling vacancies among the clerks comptrollers and clerks of the green cloth. The senior clerk of the green cloth was supposed to rise, in turn, to the cofferership of the household. Within each catering subdepartment, menial servants rose via seniority from child or page through groom and yeoman, to master cook, sergeant or gentleman, depending upon the subdepartment.¹³⁵ However, the

¹³⁰For this privilege, see Pegge, pt. iii, 76-7; Beattie, pp. 31-3; LS 12/170 f. 124. For evidence that household places were sought by some for precisely this reason under Charles II, see Pegge, pt. iii, 73. However, such privilege was not ironclad, as the board of green cloth could and often did grant permission to prosecute royal servants or garnish their salaries for debt: see LS 13/170 ff. 63v, 94, 95v, 100v, 108v, 119v, 124v, 139r-v, 147v; PRO, LS 13/119-20.

¹³¹Bucholz, pp. 150, 323 b. 170; Colvin, v, 10.

¹³²LC 1/14 nos. 1058, 1105.

¹³³Quoted in Somerset, p. 243.

¹³⁴See Bucholz, p. 136. The assertions contained in *ibid.* about the early 18th century seem to be borne out for the whole period by the information contained in the lists below.

¹³⁵Prior to 1660, the senior clerk of the green cloth rose to be master of the household, the master to be cofferer, the cofferer to be comptroller, the comptroller to be treasurer: Aylmer, *King's Servants*, p. 87; MS Carte 60 f. 9v. For the 'Ancient Order of Succession' after 1660, see LS 13/34 f. 31v; LS 13/171 pp. 270-1; MS Carte 60 ff. 59v-61; Bucholz, pp. 88, 301 n. 6; Beattie, pp. 73, 168-71; and lists below.

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'Ancient Order of Succession' was never entirely reliable¹³⁶ and became less so as the period wore on. In fact, the cofferer's place was never filled from below during the period, Sir Stephen Fox failing to enforce his reversion. By the reign of George I, the clerkships at the board and even inferior subdepartmental clerkships came to be filled by the well born and well connected.¹³⁷ As for the other ladder, the retrenchments of the periods 1660-1702 and 1782-1820 played havoc with it, lessening chances for promotion among the menial servants below stairs.¹³⁸

Fortunately, retention of a current position seems to have been something upon which the vast majority of household servants (that is, those below the politically sensitive echelons of the highest ranking officers) could count within a reign, barring periods of retrenchment. Officially, offices held for life or during good behaviour had always been a small minority in the royal household, and most were reduced to tenure during pleasure under Charles II and James II.¹³⁹ By the early eighteenth century, only the masters of the great wardrobe and revels, the knight marshal, the sergeant surgeon and the housekeeper at Whitehall held for life. With the exception of the knight marshal, life tenures had been eliminated entirely by the end of the century.¹⁴⁰

However, because many household officers, at the beginning of the period, at least, had purchased their places, there was a strong contemporary tradition that office was a freehold, subject to the same rights as other forms of property.¹⁴¹ Despite the

¹³⁶See Aylmer, *King's Servants*, p. 88.

¹³⁷In 1689, John Fox became the last clerk of the spicery to rise to the green cloth; the last clerk of the kitchen, Charles Isaac, followed in 1691; the last avenor, Anthony Rowe, in 1693. Their successors in these inferior clerkships were disappointed in 1693 and 1702. Indeed, the clerk of the kitchen, Henry Lowman, failed repeatedly to make good his claim (Bucholz, pp. 102-3). For inferior clerkships, see the cases of James Eckersall and John Shaw (Beattie, pp. 168-71). Some idea of the confusion which befell this ladder of promotion by the end of the 18th century may be gathered from the later careers of Joseph Ramus, John Tarris and Henry Norton Willis, detailed in vol. ii.

¹³⁸Promotion from yeomen's and grooms' positions to gentlemen's and sergeants' posts died out under George II: for example, the last yeoman of the ewry to become the gentleman of that department was William Beger in 1731, despite the continued existence of both positions to 1832. On the other hand, promotion from groomships to yeomen's positions continued throughout the period.

¹³⁹Under Charles II, the following offices were held for life: treasurer of the chamber, master of the horse, master of the hawks, master and clerk of the great wardrobe, master and clerk of the jewel office, master of the revels, knight marshal, knight harbinger, groom porter, paymaster of the gentlemen pensioners, clerk comptroller of the tents, sergeants at arms, library keepers, bookseller, bookbinder and stationer, some physicians and surgeons, pages of the presence, grooms of the hunting and padd stable, musicians and falcons: see sources cited for lists below and LS 13/257 ff. 43v, 117, 146v; Stowe MS 196 ff. 104, 132; CTB, iii, 381; *ibid.* iv, 692, 698, 743, 747; *ibid.* v, 296, 649, 653, 661, 668, 991; *ibid.* viii, 379. In addition, the salaries of the gentlemen of the bedchamber were granted as life pensions until 1680.

¹⁴⁰See J. C. Sainty, 'A Reform in the Tenure of Offices during the Reign of Charles II', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xli (1968), pp. 151, 162; CTB, iii, 381; *ibid.* viii, 430, 457, 475; HMC *12th Report*, App., vi, 309; HMC *Buccleuch at Montagu House*, i, 352; LC 3/53 p. 87; LC 5/155 p. 312; LS 13/183 pp. 4-5.

¹⁴¹The discussion of offices in the courts of law in W.S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (1922-

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official proscription of purchase at the beginning of the eighteenth century, this tradition had not died out by Burke's time. As a result, even the most dramatic retrenchments of the household, such as James II's in 1685 or Economical Reform in 1782 made provision for displaced officers. In the seventeenth century, they became supernumeraries at half-pay, with the promise of reinstatement to ordinary status at the departure of an incumbent.¹⁴² After 1782 servants whose positions had been abolished were entitled to compensation at rates very close to the annual established value of their offices.¹⁴³

Moreover, successive royal regimes provided superannuation to old or decrepit menial servants and, often, their dependants throughout the period under a variety of titles.¹⁴⁴ In addition, towards the beginning of the eighteenth century particular societies, such as the yeomen of the guard, the messengers of the chamber and the gentlemen of the chapel, began to establish their own contributory schemes. However, these were rarely able to do more than provide a lump sum to survivors on the death of an incumbent; they could not fund a pension upon which to retire.¹⁴⁵ Arrangements for superannuation to middling as well as menial servants became formalized after 1809 when a Treasury inquiry was launched in response to the suggestions of the Third Report from the Commission on Public Expenditure.¹⁴⁶ In 1822 an order in council pursuant to the Treasury minute of 25 February directed a 10% deduction from the salaries of all high and many middle-ranking officers to supply a Superannuation Fund. By 1833 a pension fund for widows had been set up under the lord steward, and a suggestion had been made for similar arrangements in the lord chamberlain's department.¹⁴⁷

Because these initiatives were in most cases too little or too late in the period to be

52), i, 246-64; *ibid.* vii, 312 has a wider applicability; see also N. Chester, *The English Administrative System 1780-1870* (Oxford, 1981), p. 18.

¹⁴²See LS 13/31-8; LS 13/10 ff. 15-16. Ominously for those involved, this status converted to that of pensioner on the establishment of 1699: LS 13/40.

¹⁴³For example, in the master of the horse's department, Francis Mackenzie, page of honour receiving £260 a year, was allowed £230 in compensation. The clerk of the avery, receiving £125 plus £69 2s for rent was compensated at £145. The sergeant of the carriages at £86 a year was compensated at £70: MOH PB 1 pp. 168-9.

¹⁴⁴Prior to the 1720s, such servants were named via royal warrant to pensions lists included in the household establishments (LS 13/31-44; LS 13/252-3, 255, 257-8, 260). Under George II and early in the reign of George III, annual warrants authorizing payments of royal bounty were the norm: LS 13/262 ff. 22v, 23, 29v, 30v, 31v, 35, 38v; LS 13/265 ff. 12, 20v, 21v, 22v; *CTP 1720-8*, p. 340. Late in George III's reign the Treasury began to examine requests for superannuation according to a systematic scheme, as indicated below.

¹⁴⁵See PRO, LC 9/6 pp. 24-5; LC 9/343, entry of 30 Jan. 1733; D. J. Burrows, 'Handel and the English Chapel Royal during the Reigns of Queen Anne and George I' (Open University Ph.D. thesis, 1981), i, 413-14.

¹⁴⁶LC 1/3 nos. 94, 95; MOH LB C pp. 164-5. For Treasury regulation of superannuations, see MOH LB D.

¹⁴⁷LC 1/9 no. 618; LC 1/17 no. 1340. See also LC 1/15 no. 1148; 3 Geo. IV, c. 113.

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of much use, many household officers and servants elected to stay on for as long as they could, which was often until death. It was notorious that, for example, members of the King's Band continued in that employment well past prime or even possible playing age. In 1735 the lord chamberlain asked Maurice Green for 'the Names of such who by Old Age or other Infirmitys are unable to do their Duty, and of those that are excused'.¹⁴⁸ The most recent study of officeholding at court finds that for Anne's reign, the average length of career was almost 22 years; 'service of 40, 50 and even 60 years was not unknown'; and a remarkably high number of servants remained in harness into their seventies, eighties or nineties.¹⁴⁹ During the course of a reign, removals for political reasons were rare below the level of the highest ranking officers;¹⁵⁰ those for disciplinary reasons were even rarer. A change

¹⁴⁸LC 5/160 f. 268: J. Pelham to Dr. Maurice Green, 24 Jan. 1735. For similar examples among the yeomen of the guard, see Pegge, pt. iii, 73.

¹⁴⁹Bucholz, pp. 145-7.

¹⁵⁰Soon after the Restoration a number of menial servants were removed for suspected association

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of reign or a major retrenchment was more difficult for an incumbent to negotiate, but, in the absence of a quantitative analysis for the whole period, cursory examination of the lists printed herein suggests that what previous work has found for the early eighteenth century applies across the period: *de facto* life tenure was a near certainty for most household servants.¹⁵¹

VI Administrative Standards and Corruption

with Cromwell's regime or disaffection to that of Charles II: see LS 13/170 ff. 57v, 67, 102; MS Carte 59 ff. 2r-v, 119r-v. In 1710 a yeoman of the guard and a waterman lost their places for participation in the Sacheverell Riots. The following year, several middling and menial servants appointed by or associated with the Churchills fell with the Duchess of Marlborough: Bucholz, pp. 83, 323 n. 167. A number of messengers were removed for unspecified reasons during and after the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, and there were a few dismissals at the Whig split two years later: Beattie, pp. 175-6; LC 3/63 pp. 113, 127. While the courts of the later period await their historian, the lists printed below do not suggest widespread removals (apart from retrenchments) within reigns.

¹⁵¹See Bucholz, pp. 144-9; Beattie, pp. 173-80. The passage of 6 Anne, c. 3, which decreed that all public officers (including household servants) were to remain in office for 6 months after the death of the reigning monarch, probably increased the chances of retention.

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The very idea of courts is practically synonymous in the popular mind with lax administrative standards, sinecurism and corruption. It is true that the routine of household business does not seem to have weighed heavily on any principal officer and only a portion of those who served at lower ranks, particularly during the first century of the period. Thus, Earl Poulett concluded his brief career as first lord of the Treasury to become lord steward in May 1711 with the observation 'I confess to you one has prepared me to have a most delicious taste of the ease and leisure of the other'.¹⁵² Department heads seem to have been allowed considerable discretion as to how much effort to put into their positions, though some, such as Vice Chamberlain Coke or Lord Steward Talbot, clearly took their duties quite seriously.¹⁵³

Below this level, pure sinecures were few towards the beginning of the period, though work for the servants in the public rooms and catering subdepartments was made relatively light by division of labour and quarterly attendance. Most subdepartments and societies of officers seem to have come to informal agreement amongst themselves that some of their number would do the bulk of the work for all. Thus a list of grooms of the great chamber and pages of the presence drawn up around 1685 distinguishes between those who 'have constantly wayted' (ten grooms and two pages) and those who 'live in the Country & Seldome wayte' (four grooms and two pages). Such arrangements seem to have been common throughout the period.¹⁵⁴ Often, allowances were made for diplomatic or military service. However, some positions were more suitable for this kind of flexibility than others, as Lord Steward Ormond informed Philip Bickerstaffe in January 1669, soon after his promotion to the clerkship of the woodyard:

So long as you were Clerke of the Larder the Officers of the Greencloth did in my Absence give you leave to absent your selfe from Court and to serve his Majesty in the comand wherein you now are; But you now being risen to a higher degree and to be sworn into a place that will require your attendance As I have been carefull to preserve your Succession so you must be carefull in the Execution of your place and therefore I require your present attendance.¹⁵⁵

Illness or age were other factors often leading to the use of deputies.¹⁵⁶ Periodic

¹⁵²HMC *Downshire*, i pt. ii, 894: Poulett to Sir William Trumbull, 30 June 1711. See Lord Suffolk's similar reasoning upon seeking the stewardship in exchange for his secretaryship of state in 1778: *Corr. of George III*, iv, 239. On the other hand, in 1800 Lord Falmouth sought to trade his captaincy of the gentlemen pensioners for the chief justiceship in Eyre south of the Trent because the latter required less attendance: *Later Corr. of George III*, iii, 373-4 and n. 4.

¹⁵³For Coke, see Bucholz, pp. 45, 118. For Talbot, see below and LS 13/117 pp. 1-62; LS 13/179-80.

¹⁵⁴LC 5/145, entry of 14 July 1685. Towards the end of George II's reign was drawn up a 'State of His Majesty's Messengers in Ordinary disposd into Four Classes Viz.' Those capable of every Service. Those only capable of attending on the King's Waits. Those who are only employed in one particular Service, or live with Noblemen and have never waited. And those who through Age and Infirmitys are rendered quite incapable of further Service': LC 5/162 pp. 94-5. See also Bucholz, pp. 122-3; Pegge, pt. iii, 73; LC 1/15 no. 1156.

¹⁵⁵MS. Carte 160 f. 26: Ormond to Bickerstaffe, 11 Jan. 1669. For other examples of military or diplomatic service leading to substitution or deputization, see LS 13/253 f. 29v; Bucholz, pp. 122-3.

¹⁵⁶Bucholz, pp. 105-6, 122 and n. 34; LC 5/154 p. 236; LS 13/174 p. 140; LS 13/175 ff. 70, 102r-v; LS 13/267 f. 79v; Old Cheque Book, p. 51; *Corr. of George III*, iv, 31-3.

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calls from department heads for servants to perform their proper attendance and other disciplinary measures suggest that the failure to do so was occasionally a serious problem.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, the similarly frequent requests from household servants for leave of absence and other evidence of attendance indicate that periods of waiting were for most a matter to be taken seriously.¹⁵⁸

The most demanding work required of household officers was performed by effective clerks and by the personal body servants of the monarch. The former is demonstrated by the amount and range of paperwork produced by the lord chamberlain's secretariat, the clerical staff of the board of green cloth and the clerk of the stables.¹⁵⁹ The latter can be seen in the careers of dedicated bedchamber servants such as William Chiffinch, Arnold Joost van Keppel, later Earl of Albemarle and Abigail, later Lady, Masham. Each was required to maintain an almost constant attendance upon his or her respective sovereign for years at a time.¹⁶⁰

Prior to Economical Reform, the number of sinecures seems to have grown, especially below stairs. This was caused by the gradual reduction in the number of diets provided for, and therefore by, the household. Thomas Gilbert's 1782 report on the lord steward's department is riddled with the designation 'sinecure' under his remarks on the function of each office.¹⁶¹ The years following this inquiry saw a serious attempt to cut costs by eliminating such positions. The result was, indeed, a leaner, more efficient household. This, combined with the increasing Treasury demands for reports, estimates, accounts and other paperwork, raised the pace of work for clerical officers, in particular.¹⁶²

Turning to the issue of official corruption, the possibilities for the exploitation of non-established perquisites and for outright peculation varied in proportion to the degree to which household officers were responsible for *matériel*. Thus, servants in the public rooms and stables were mainly disciplined for insubordination or non-attendance.¹⁶³ It was in supply and catering departments such as the great wardrobe,

¹⁵⁷Bucholz, pp. 121-2 and n. 30; LC 5/161 pp. 5, 49, 166, 279; LS 13/281 f. 20v; MOH LB E p. 200.

¹⁵⁸See, for example, LC 5/152 p. 19; LC 5/156 p. 254; LC 5/160 p. 134; LS 13/116 ff. 73, 80, 81v, 83r-v, 89v, 90v, 91; LS 13/175 ff. 12v, 15r-v, 24v, 31, 33v, 48; *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, ed. J.J. Cartwright (1883), pp. 205, 231-2, 248, 292, 345; Add. MS 22226 ff. 193v, 199; *ibid.* 31144 ff. 294, 318, 385, 405-6, 412v; *Walpole Corr.*, xxv, 226; *ibid.* xxxviii, 55, 61, 62, 74; *Corr. of George III*, vi, 461; *Later Corr. of George III*, iv, 293; Somerset, p. 237.

¹⁵⁹These are contained in the LC and LS series in the PRO and the MOH series in the Royal Archives, Windsor.

¹⁶⁰D. Allan, 'The Political Function of Charles II's Chiffinch', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xxxix (1976), pp. 277-90; S. B. Baxter, *William III and the Defence of European Liberty 1650-1702* (New York, 1966), pp. 273, 327, 348-52, 364; Bucholz, pp. 123-4.

¹⁶¹LS 13/180 ff. 95-100.

¹⁶²See, for example, MOH LB E pp. 184, 190, 443-5.

¹⁶³However, messengers of the chamber and marshal's men were frequently guilty of additional abuses, such as allowing prisoners to go free, pursuing their charges too eagerly or violently, inflating

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robes and below stairs that the most dramatic and costly such perquisites were exploited and abused. As indicated above, repeated investigations of the great wardrobe, in 1667-8, 1711, 1718 and 1728, found that rules to control expenditure were often flouted and were largely ineffective even when enforced.¹⁶⁴ Below stairs, the abandonment of purveyance at the Restoration meant that servants from each catering subdepartment often undertook the task of supply.¹⁶⁵ That is, the officer responsible for weighing, preparing and accounting for provisions was often their purveyor as well. This, combined with the rights to waste, command and remains allowed to virtually all officers and servants in this department, made possible gross abuses of the monarch's trust. It seems to have been notorious at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the clerks of the kitchen appropriated to their own board the choicest of delicacies intended for the royal tables. In 1707 the board of green cloth discovered a series of 'very scandalous & notorious frauds' by which officers in the larder and scalding house routinely took in provisions far in excess of what was needed, yet served inferior dishes and cuts of meat to the royal tables in order to claim and sell, or perhaps eat, the 'waste'.¹⁶⁶ In 1760 William Bray, commissioned by Lord Steward Talbot to uncover abuse, found that the officers of the pastry ordered excessive amounts of goods, turning this subdepartment into 'a shop from which they sell to all the neighbouring nobility and gentry round about at the expense of his Majesty'.¹⁶⁷ In the stables, the master of the horse discovered, in 1769, that servants had likewise been buying and selling, keeping and letting the King's horses, chaises, harness and carriages.¹⁶⁸ Nor was outright theft unheard of.¹⁶⁹

Household discipline was rarely severe. Most examples of peculation or neglect of duty and nearly every example of insubordination in the household records was punished by suspension rather than dismissal. In the vast majority of cases that suspension was ended by the submission of the offender and the promise not to repeat the offence.¹⁷⁰ Dismissal seems to have required a persistent flouting of minimal expectations, as when, in 1786, one William Fullor was sacked as porter to

bills, even smuggling: see Beattie, p. 121; LC 5/155 p. 306; LC 5/161 p. 366; LS 13/116 ff. 51, 73, 79, 88, 102; LS 13/117 pp. 12, 17.

¹⁶⁴See above, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

¹⁶⁵LS 13/170 f. 148; Beattie, pp. 81, 90-4, 196; Beveridge, i, 323-5.

¹⁶⁶Beattie, pp. 87-8, 94-5; LS 13/175 ff. 48v-50. For other similar incidents, see LS 13/170 f. 49v; LS 13/177 f. 35; LS 13/281 f. 10. It is probably significant that complaints about the quality of food and drink served at the royal tables were common throughout the period: LS 13/114 p. 15; LS 13/117 pp. 176, 220, 244, 252; LS 13/118 pp. 35-6; LS 13/170 f. 14; LS 13/281 f. 48.

¹⁶⁷Beattie, pp. 89, 93. These discoveries led to the abolition of supply by officers: see Beveridge, i, 320-5.

¹⁶⁸MOH PB 1 p. 89.

¹⁶⁹LS 13/116 f. 60; LS 13/117 p. 26; LS 13/170 f. 173.

¹⁷⁰Examples of insubordination, suspensions and restoration to service may be found in LC 5/154-62; LS 13/116-18; LS 13/170-83.

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the green cloth, 'he having absented himself for upwards of two years without leave'.¹⁷¹ It is difficult to know whether these mild punishments had their effect. The impression created by the administrative record is that there were few repeat offenders, but this may be more indicative of the steady decay of that record over the course of the period.

VII Chronological Survey 1660-1837:

The Later Stuart Royal Household 1660-1714

The years covered by this introduction saw two long periods of intermittent experimentation on and reform of the structure of the royal household (1660-1718; 1761-1837), bracketing an interval of administrative stability, even stagnation (1718-61). The first such period of experimentation was the result of Charles II's decision to re-establish a court which was nearly as large and extravagant as that of his father.¹⁷² There is evidence that the new King had, prior to the Restoration, expressed an intention to reform the royal household.¹⁷³ But once he arrived in England, the pressure to restore long-displaced but still loyal servants, to find places for those who had served him in exile and to provide for new adherents who saw the opportunity of the century was very great.¹⁷⁴ The result was a massive number of appointments in a very short time. According to **Fig. 1A**, over 1,200 officers and servants were sworn in by October 1660, including about 800 in the lord chamberlain's department, about 290 in that of the lord steward and about 130 under the master of the horse.¹⁷⁵ The court continued to expand for two years, reaching, by the autumn of 1662, the remarkable size of 1,357 sworn and paid servants' places in ordinary. Nor does this figure include a large army of reversionary, supernumerary or extraordinary positions on the main establishment, or the

¹⁷¹LS 13/117 p. 100. For previous misbehaviour by Fullor, see *ibid.* p. 46. For a similarly protracted case, see Beattie, pp. 176-7 and n. 5.

¹⁷²That is, a household comparable to that of Charles I at its greatest extent. As both G. E. Aylmer and Kevin Sharpe have shown, the last reign had witnessed significant attempts at reform and retrenchment: Aylmer, *King's Servants*, pp. 26-7, 62-3, 472-4; K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), chapter 5.

¹⁷³Earl of Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (Oxford, 1827), i, 365, 367. The King did consent to the abandonment of the ancient and much resented principle of purveyance, as noted above.

¹⁷⁴For the petitions of former and would-be servants, see Add. MS 5759; MS Carte 30 f. 711; *ibid.* 31 f. 8; LS 13/170 ff. 32v, 45; *PH*, iv, 59-62 n. For a list of 143 servants below stairs reappointed from the courts of Charles I and the former Prince of Wales, see MS Carte 59 ff. 123-124v. This represented about half of the 290 servants appointed in this department by the end of Oct. 1660.

¹⁷⁵These figures count positions, not individuals. Thus pluralists are counted separately for every place. Purveyors and tradesmen are omitted: see Fig. 1, below. HMC *Ormonde*, n.s. iii, 2-5 gives a figure of 310, including 23 purveyors, for the household below stairs by June 1660. The stables figure, which is based upon later establishments, may be an underestimate: see Barclay, 'Charles II's Failed Restoration', p. 18. The author is grateful to Dr. Barclay for permission to examine and cite this work prior to its publication.

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household servants of subordinate members of the royal family.¹⁷⁶

Clearly, the new court was a symbol of the King's desire both to enjoy his own again and to please as many of his adherents as possible. The sense of untrammelled profligacy is most evident in the King's decision, enshrined in the royal warrant of 22 October 1660, to grant diet to virtually every household officer who had had it on the last full establishment of Charles I - including medical personnel, musicians, even the King's limner.¹⁷⁷ Nor were the King's guests forgotten, for by the spring of 1661 the principal officers had begun to keep open tables of hospitality at the King's expense.¹⁷⁸ This period also saw a general openness on the part of household administrators to increase wages or perquisites of inferior servants where a precedent or increased need could be proved.¹⁷⁹ The costs to the King were almost certainly exacerbated by the restoration of many of the most draining features of Charles I's administrative system. For example, sale of office was carried on openly as a legitimate perquisite for heads of departments.¹⁸⁰ This led, in turn, to an inclination toward life tenures, nepotism, *de facto* hereditary succession and an enthusiasm for exploiting perquisites in kind in order to recoup an original investment as quickly as possible.

None of this was healthy for the finances of the royal household. Charles II was granted a revenue supposed to yield an income of £1,200,000. No separation of the King's civil from his purely domestic responsibilities was made in 1660, nor was he guaranteed this sum should the earmarked revenues fail to meet it, as they often did

¹⁷⁶There were perhaps 350 supernumerary or extraordinary servants in the main household by Michaelmas 1662 (LC 3/2, 24, 73; LC 7/1). According to the earliest extant lists, the household of Henrietta Maria, the Queen Mother, comprised about 140 places, that of the Duke and Duchess of York about 300 places and that of Catherine of Braganza, Queen Consort from 1662, about 120 places (Bucholz, p. 13). Thus, at their height, there may have been over 2,250 sworn places (omitting purveyors) in the royal households of Restoration England.

¹⁷⁷LS 13/252 ff. 9r-v, 34v-35. Petitions and green cloth orders for diet may be found in LS 13/170 and LS 13/252; see also MS Carte 60 ff. 51r-v, 76, 78, 80; Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 69 and 'Charles II's Failed Restoration', p. 2.

¹⁷⁸LS 13/170 f. 32; MS Carte 32 f. 110; Earl of Clarendon, *Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (Oxford, 1827), i, 367; *ibid.* iii, 237-8; Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 70. This measure was enacted over the objections of Lord Chancellor Hyde and Lord Treasurer Southampton: Barclay 'Charles II's Failed Restoration', p. 4; Clarendon, *Life*, i, 367; *ibid.* iii, 237-8.

¹⁷⁹See LS 13/170 ff. 91r-v, 93v, 96v; LS 13/252 ff. 27v, 59r-v, 62v, 71v, 88v-89. A commission consisting of the master of the horse, lord steward, lord and vice chamberlains, groom of the stole, treasurer and comptroller of the household was established in 1661 to sort out disputes over the rights and privileges of household servants: LC 3/2 f. 33; LC 5/139 (reversed) p. 19.

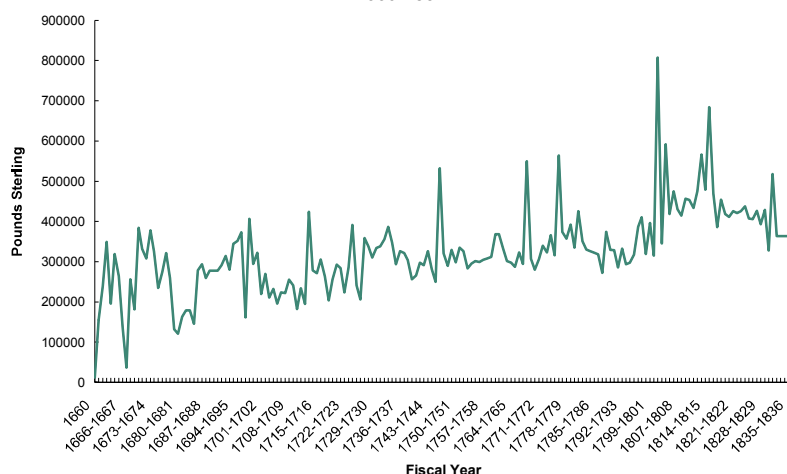
¹⁸⁰See MSS Carte 46 ff. 105, 476v-477; 59 ff. 110-113v, 206; 143 f. 223 for correspondence about the Duke of Ormond's yield from sale of office. For additional evidence of official venality, see HMC *Ormonde*, n.s. iii, 43, 78, 252; *ibid.* v, 70, 79, 104-5, 122, 147; HMC *5th Report*, App., p. 186; HMC *7th Report*, App., pp. 371, 478, 491; HMC *12th Report*, App. v, 45, 52; *ibid.* App. vii, 56; HMC *14th Report*, App. ix, 442; HMC *Portland*, viii, 365; HMC *Finch*, ii, 62-3; HMC *House of Lords*, n.s. v, 155; *Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson 1673-4*, ed. W. D. Christie (Camden Soc., 1874), i, 88, 104; Boyer, viii, 369; J. Macky, *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky* (1733), p. 43; J. H. Wilson, *Court Wits of the Restoration* (Princeton, N.J., 1948), p. 48 and n.; LC 5/150 p. 366.

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during the first decade of the reign. In fact, parliament would eventually rise to the challenge, providing additional grants which yielded an income matching this figure.¹⁸¹ Yet this was not enough to keep up with the King's spending - household or otherwise. By the end of September 1661, the lord steward's department had spent over £165,000 in 15 months. But as indicated in **Fig. 5**, Exchequer issues to Charles II's household departments were relatively modest in 1660-1, leading to a debt by Michaelmas 1661 of over £50,000. In the fiscal year 1661-2 the steward's expenditure was £168,784, and promising to grow still larger with the added expense of supplying the new Queen's household.¹⁸²

Figure 5

**Issues to the Royal Household
1660-1837**



Sources, Figure 5: For the period 1660-88, the tables of Exchequer issues in Chandaman, App. 3, pp. 350-1, 354-5, 358-9, 362-3, adding figures for 'Household', 'Wardrobe', 'Chamber', 'Privy Purse', 'Master of the Horse', 'Works', 'Building in Windsor Castle', 'Parks', 'Extraordinary Repairs', 'Robes', 'Revels', 'Jeweller', 'Goldsmith', 'Stables', 'Tents and Toils', 'Gentlemen Pensioners', 'Liveries', 'Messengers' and 'Grooms of the Chamber' and sources for officers paid at the Exchequer, noted below. For the period 1688-1838, tables of Exchequer issues contained in H.W. Chisholm, 'Accounts of Public Income and Expenditure 1688-1868', *PP* 1868-9, xxxv (366), pt. i, pp. 4-391; pt. ii, pp. 8-81, adding, for 1688-1785, figures for 'H. M.'s Privy Purse', 'H. M.'s Household' and 'Works'; for 1785-1831 figures for Classes 1 (King's Privy Purse only), 4 and 5; for 1831-8, figures for Classes 1 (King's Privy Purse only), 2 and 3; and the additional

¹⁸¹Chandaman, pp. 262-75, and chapter 6.

¹⁸²Barclay, 'Charles II's Failed Restoration', pp. 5-7. These figures illustrate the weakness of using Chandaman's figures for issues as an indicator of actual expenditure: much of the debt contracted early in Charles II's reign was only paid much later - if at all: see *ibid.* p. 24 n. 34.

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sources noted below. Chisholm's 'Household' figure for 1688-1785 can be shown to have comprised the Household Below Stairs (i.e., Cofferer's Office), Chamber, Great Wardrobe, Robes, Master of the Horse, Gentleman Pensioners, and Jewels and Plate. From 1782 the Office of Works and the cost of repairs to royal palaces was absorbed into that of the lord chamberlain, and thus figures in the totals for Class 4; however, 'Public Works and Buildings' came to be paid by parliamentary appropriations after 1815. Between 1782 and 1804 this class also included payments for printing costs, stationery for both houses of parliament, furnishings for younger members of the royal family and the salaries of some Exchequer officers. It is not possible to distinguish these payments from Chisholm's figures, but they were estimated to come to about £29,000 in 1786 (*CJ*, lix, 648).

These sources do not distinguish the salaries paid at the Exchequer to household servants from the general account of salaries so paid. This information has been derived for the period 1685-1714 from PRO, E 403/2203-14 (Exchequer Issues on Debentures) and the records of issues in *CTB*, viii-xxviii; for the period 1729-45 from the tables of issues in *CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 278-94, 539-606; *CTBP 1731-4*, pp. 152-97, 308-52, 468-515, 631-78; *CTBP 1735-8*, pp. 97-144, 239-81, 397-448, 569-622; *CTBP 1739-41*, pp. 134-96, 358-418, 564-616; *CTBP 1742-5*, pp. 158-207, 388-432, 600-42, 793-826; for the period 1752-69 from *CJ*, xxxii, 466-597; for 1769-76 from *ibid.* xxxvi, 337-98; for 1784-6 from *ibid.* xli, 638-46; for 1786-91 from *ibid.* xlvi, 594-6; for 1791-5 from *ibid.* xlvii, 774-81; for 1796-9 from *ibid.* liv, 271-4, 279-82, 287-90; for 1799-1802 from *ibid.* lvii, 751-4, 759-62, 767-70; for 1803-4 from *ibid.* lix, 637-40; for 1804-11 from *ibid.* lxvii, 791-829; for 1812-15 from *ibid.* lxx, 926-7; for 1815-16 from *ibid.* lxxi, 950-2; for 1820-30 from *ibid.* lxxxvi, cclxiv-cclxix; for 1830-8 from *PP* 1837-8, xxiii, pp. 27 and following. For the period 1660-85, an estimate based upon the officers distinguished as being paid at the Exchequer in British Library Add. MS 18765 ff. 57-80; *CTB*, v, 904, 968, 1006 has been used. For the reign of George I, Beattie's average of £29,040 has been used (Beattie, p. 112). For the periods 1727-9 and 1745-52 an average based on expenditure during the years 1729-45 (£32,433) has been used. For 1776-83, the average for the period 1760-76 (£33,851) has been used; for 1798-1800, an average for 1795-8 (£14,555); for a three quarter gap 1811-12, 3/4 of the annual average figure for 1810-11 and 1812-13 (£11,467) has been used. For 1816-20 the estimate contained in *CJ*, lxxi, 960-1 and implemented by 56 Geo. III, c. 46 (£10,655) has been used. It should be noted that the accounting years of the above sources do not always match Chandaman's or Chisholm's. In this case the figure for Exchequer salaries has been added to that for whichever year with which it most overlaps.

In addition, from 1783 figures for compensations paid to suppressed household officers from Class 6, and occasional payments for household purposes (such as the £1,119 paid annually to the lord almoner for alms) not included in one of the above classes have been compiled on the same principles and from the same sources as that for salaries paid at the Exchequer. These have been included in the household total.

Fiscal Year: For the period 1660-1752, Michaelmas to Michaelmas. For 1752-99, 10 October to 10 October. For the period 1800-38, 5 January to 5 January. (The beginning of Chisholm's accounting year changes from 10 October to 5 January at 1800. The extra quarter from 10 October 1799 to 5 January 1800 has been added to create a five quarter 'year' from 10 October 1799 to 5 January 1801.)

The King's inability to sustain his vast household establishment precipitated a period of experimentation, intermittent retrenchment and would-be reform which would outlive the Stuarts. The first signs of reaction came in late 1662. At the end

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of November the King ordered the board of green cloth to cut 16 pensions in half.¹⁸³ At about the same time, work began on the first household budget of the reign. The establishment of 1 December 1662 eliminated diet for all but the highest-ranking officers, reduced the size of the lord steward's department from about 350 to 230, cut its ordinary annual expenditure from £170,000 to £120,000 and imposed stricter procedures for exceeding that figure. Not surprisingly, the new establishment was greeted with howls of protest by household administrators and servants.¹⁸⁴

These measures were not adequate to bring household expenditures into reasonable proportions. Between Michaelmas 1662 and Michaelmas 1663 the Exchequer issued £349,225 to the household departments (**Fig. 5**), a sum which the King's precarious revenues simply could not support. On 23 August 1663 the payment of pensions was suspended.¹⁸⁵ This was followed on 25 August by a royal warrant ordering the suppression 'of all Dyetts - Chamber messes, Bouge of Court, Pentions, Board wages & allowances of any kind whatsoever, except wages to the household servants above & below stairs'. The only exception was the diet for the King and Queen, Prince Rupert and the maids of honour.¹⁸⁶

The elimination of diet to so many servants and guests made possible a sweeping retrenchment of now redundant culinary personnel. A new establishment enacted in mid 1665, but backdated to 1 October 1664, cut the lord steward's department even further, from about 230 ordinary positions to less than 150 (**Fig. 1A**). Those so cut were reduced to supernumerary status, with the promise of succession to ordinary positions as they became vacant.¹⁸⁷ Some diets and the servants necessary to prepare and serve them would be re-established in 1668 and 1674, but the vast majority of the tables suppressed in 1663 would never be restored, resulting in a saving of over £27,000 a year.¹⁸⁸ This changed, fundamentally, the court's relationship to the ruling class and to its own servants. It meant that no longer

¹⁸³LS 13/252 f. 100.

¹⁸⁴LS 13/31; MSS Carte 32 ff. 107, 110, 147; 60 f. 5; Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 70 and 'Charles II's Failed Restoration', pp. 8-10. The author has followed Dr. Barclay's analysis, but supplied his own figures for the size of the lord steward's department.

¹⁸⁵CTB, i, 542. For exceptions made as early as 1 Oct. 1663, see *ibid.* pp. 547, 552, 578, 595, 618, 661ff.

¹⁸⁶LS 13/252 ff. 110, 111r-v. There is some ambiguity about the timing of the warrant: though dated 25 Aug., a copy received at the green cloth on the 31st is vacated, only to be replaced by an identically dated warrant received 7 Oct. Ormond's copy, received in Ireland 9 Sept. 1663, is in MS Carte 33 f. 112. The interval appears to have been a period of some uncertainty during which Ormond, his friends and subordinates tried to sway the King as he chose among options which included reducing his servants to boardwages or dissolving his household altogether and living privately (see MS Carte 33 f. 86; HMC *Ormonde*, n.s., iii, 78). On 30 Sept., the King restored diet to the Queen's groom of the stole, the yeomen of the guard and the chaplains: LS 13/170 f. 132v. On 10 Oct. he signified his pleasure that the warrant of 7 Oct. should go into effect on Monday, the 12th (*ibid.*).

¹⁸⁷LS 13/34; LS 13/252 ff. 131, 133. An earlier draft which would have restored many of the suppressed diets is in LS 13/33.

¹⁸⁸HMC *Ormonde*, n.s. iii, 175.

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would the King provide regular hospitality to members of parliament and others whose presence at court might be translated into political advantage. If principal household officers sometimes provided such hospitality, they did so out of their own funds. Those who continued to serve were now put to boardwages, which meant utter dependence on the Treasury's ability to pay them.

Though most of the tables eliminated in 1662-3 would never return, the household's financial situation was eased only temporarily. Issues to the royal household fell in 1663-4 to less than £200,000, but they rose again the following year to almost £319,000 (**Fig. 5**). This occurred, in part, because in 1665 an attempt was made to reimburse all household servants for the year of suspension.¹⁸⁹ While Lord Treasurer Southampton was more successful in restraining household expenditure during the last two years of his life, it was the 'rougher hands' of the Treasury commission of 1667-9 who confronted squarely the old administrative and financial system of the household. They began by asserting the Treasury's right to call for and examine departmental accounts, to modify establishments, and even to direct how individual household paymasters should dispose of their funds.¹⁹⁰ This aroused considerable departmental resistance at first, especially from the great wardrobe.¹⁹¹ But after the Treasury's primacy was confirmed by the order in council of 31 January 1668, the Treasury went on to pursue the goals of tenure and salary reform, speedy declaration of accounts at the Exchequer, in English, and the weekly submission of receipts and remains by all spending departments.¹⁹² In addition, a committee of the Privy Council was established to contemplate a sweeping retrenchment of the household which would have brought total expenditures down to just under £210,000.¹⁹³

In the end, only a few of the Treasury's ideas were enacted: for example, in 1670-1, the gentlemen pensioners were reduced from 50 to 40 and the yeomen of the guard from 200 to 100.¹⁹⁴ A new household establishment, dated 1 October 1668, actually increased the number of servants below stairs to almost 200, yet managed to hold fixed expenditure down to just over £101,000.¹⁹⁵ In addition, another partial

¹⁸⁹LS 13/252 ff. 135, 138v, 139r-v, 140v, 142v-147v, 149-152v, 153r-v, 155v-156v, 160; LS 13/253 ff. 1, 2r-v. Less justifiable was a series of increases in the established emoluments of household servants, including the restoration of the gentlemen waiters' table, which began as early as Dec. 1663: LS 13/170 f. 143; LS 13/252 ff. 123, 130v, 135v, 136v, 141-2, 159r-v, 217, 218-19, 223v; LS 13/253 f. 4.

¹⁹⁰*CTB*, ii, 2, 5, 52, 61, 79, 97, 143, 225, 245, 317, 325, 331, 565; *ibid.* iii, 163, 242, 533; PRO, LC 5/85 f. 6.

¹⁹¹*CTB*, ii, 56, 114, 377, 392; *ibid.* iii, 153, 170-1; PRO, LC 5/85 f. 6.

¹⁹²For tenure, see *CTB*, ii, 61, 392; *ibid.* iii, 381. For the exchange of fees and perquisites for fixed salaries, see *ibid.* ii, 132, 237, 245, 383, 391, 392. For the declaration of accounts, see *ibid.* ii, 127; *ibid.* iii, 153, 236. For weekly certificates of receipts and remains, see *ibid.* ii, 12, 43 (the cofferer's certificate was to be monthly); *ibid.* iii, 143-4.

¹⁹³Egerton MS 2543 ff. 129-134v; MS Carte 35 ff. 595v-596. For subsequent deliberations over the ensuing retrenchment, see *CTB*, ix, pp. cxvi-cxviii.

¹⁹⁴*CTB*, iii, 133-4, 137, 529, 717, 853-4.

¹⁹⁵The establishment was not signed until 10 May 1669 (EB 10). LS 13/35 actually lists 211 ordinary

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suspension of salaries brought total issues to the household down to a mere £36,811 in 1667-68 (**Fig. 5**). But this was a temporary measure.¹⁹⁶ Lord Treasurer Danby presided over some of the most expensive years of the second Caroline court. Indeed, a third period of suspension in 1676-7¹⁹⁷ actually saw the first of two consecutive increases in issues to the household (**Fig. 5**), occasioned in part 'by reason of the Excessive rates of all sorts of Provicons for Our Stables this current yeare, as alsoe of the Extraordinary encreases and Allowances now there that were not in the last Suspencon'.¹⁹⁸ The need for a more stringent retrenchment and more sweeping reform was obvious to Danby as early as the beginning of 1679, but before it could be implemented, he lost his office in the furore over the Popish Plot.¹⁹⁹

It was left to the Treasury commission of 1679 to revive, with more lasting success, most of the policies of the previous commission.²⁰⁰ In 1679-80, it imposed stringent economies.²⁰¹ Though the household establishment of 9 January 1680 is labelled 'A Temporary Settlement', it remained in effect until the end of the reign. It reduced nearly every salary by at least a quarter, most by two-thirds, and sliced the budget for the lord steward's department by nearly one half, down to £54,000.²⁰² Overall, issues to the household departments during Charles II's last five and a half years (Michaelmas 1679-Easter 1685) fell to an average of £154,608 a year, the lowest total for an extended period of time for any of the later Stuarts. These cuts were not borne evenly within the court; some servants suffered massive arrears in pay.²⁰³ At his death, Charles II left a household debt, conservatively calculated (and

servants, but some were unpaid purveyors or officers of non-household departments. For the compilation of the establishment, see MS Carte 160 f. 7. For the plan of retrenchment for the government as a whole, dated 22 July 1668, see *PH*, iv, 427-8; *CTB*, ix, pp. cxvi-cxxi.

¹⁹⁶For the suspension, see Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 71; *CTB*, ii, 336, 338; *ibid.* iii, 409. Once again, servants were reimbursed for the period of suspension: *ibid.* ii, 297; *ibid.* vii, 1315-16. The period 1670-4 saw salaries rise for servants below stairs, but most such increases came from the defunct pensions of deceased supernumeraries: LS 13/252 ff. 190-1, 195-8, 202; LS 13/253 ff. 25r-v, 30r-v. Thus the 1674 establishment was only about £7,000 more expensive than that of 1668: see LS 13/36.

¹⁹⁷*CTB*, v, 116-18; LC 3/61 ff. 29-30; LC 5/141 pp. 328-33; LS 13/171 pp. 335-6, 344-52; LS 13/253 f. 61v; the period of suspension was 15 months, from 1 Jan. 1676 to 1 Apr. 1677.

¹⁹⁸LS 13/253 f. 63. Again there was an attempt to reimburse servants for the year of suspension: *ibid.* ff. 69v, 70v, 75v; *CTB*, v, 476; *ibid.* vii, 559.

¹⁹⁹Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 71.

²⁰⁰Chandaman, pp. 247-53. They also issued new, stricter orders for the control of great wardrobe expenditure: Baxter, *Treasury*, p. 69; *CTB*, vii, 753-4.

²⁰¹LS 13/37; LS 13/104 f. 61v, 62; LS 13/172 p. 63; MS Carte 243 f. 394; *CTB*, vii, 61-2.

²⁰²LS 13/37, especially ff. 10-12v, 20. High-ranking officers experienced reductions of up to just over 60% of their previous level of emolument. For deliberations over the new establishment of the treasurer of the chamber, see *CTB*, vi, 687; *ibid.* vii, 30.

²⁰³Bucholz, pp. 21-2. For evidence of long arrears during this period, see *CTB*, vi, 181, 595, 625, 631, 633-5, 679; *ibid.* vii, 123, 136, 265, 633, 721, 1150, 1308, 1315-16, 1337; LS 13/104 f. 60r-v; LS 13/172 pp. 33, 58-60, 85, 90, 95; entries for 28 Nov. 1682, 22 Nov. 1683; Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 66;

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not counting the arrears of those paid at the Exchequer), of over £130,000.²⁰⁴

Despite its continuance until the end of the reign, the retrenchment of the early 1680s was clearly intended as a temporary measure. There is evidence that a more permanent solution to the problems of household administration and finance was contemplated during this period.²⁰⁵ But it was left to Charles II's brother and successor, James II, to realize that solution.²⁰⁶ Early in the reign Lord Chamberlain Arlington, Vice Chamberlain Savile and Lord Godolphin submitted a report to the King suggesting major reforms in the household, including the abolition of useless offices and the consolidation of payments within single departments. Much of the driving force behind the ensuing reforms has also been attributed to Lord Treasurer Rochester.²⁰⁷ While the deliberations which produced the new establishments are somewhat shadowy, the immediate results are clear. As indicated in **Fig. 1A**, James II reduced the size of the royal household from about 1,160 places at Charles II's death to just over 780 - a reduction of approximately 380 offices, or almost one third. This included the elimination of 188 (out of 768) places in the lord chamberlain's department, 102 (of 221) in the lord steward's department, and 87 (of 171) in that of the master of the horse.²⁰⁸ That the last two departments did proportionally worse than the sinecure-heavy chamber, suggests that James's interest in a more efficient and frugal household was tempered by the need to maintain both the patronage opportunities and the splendour of his house. The latter is consistent with the increased formality of the new court.²⁰⁹ **Fig. 1B** confirms this imbalance. While 88% of the previous court's highest ranking offices survived, and 77% of its middling offices, only 62% of the lower or menial servants' places were retained on the new establishment. Still, the elimination of about 90 offices suitable for gentlemen did nothing to endear the new King to his most powerful subjects.²¹⁰

CTP 1714-19, p. 13.

²⁰⁴Calculation based on LC 3/39 ff. 33-5.

²⁰⁵Barclay, 'Impact of James II', pp. 87-8; LC 5/42 p. 75.

²⁰⁶The following discussion of the household reforms of James II, while based upon original work for *The Augustan Court*, has benefited greatly from examination of the unpublished Cambridge doctoral thesis of Andrew Barclay, 'The Impact of King James II on the Departments of the Royal Household'. This is now the most complete and persuasive analysis of the reforms of 1685.

²⁰⁷Barclay, 'Impact of James II', pp. 60-1, 88-90; LS 5/201 f. 247. For the King's involvement, see Barclay, 'Impact of James II', pp. 92-4.

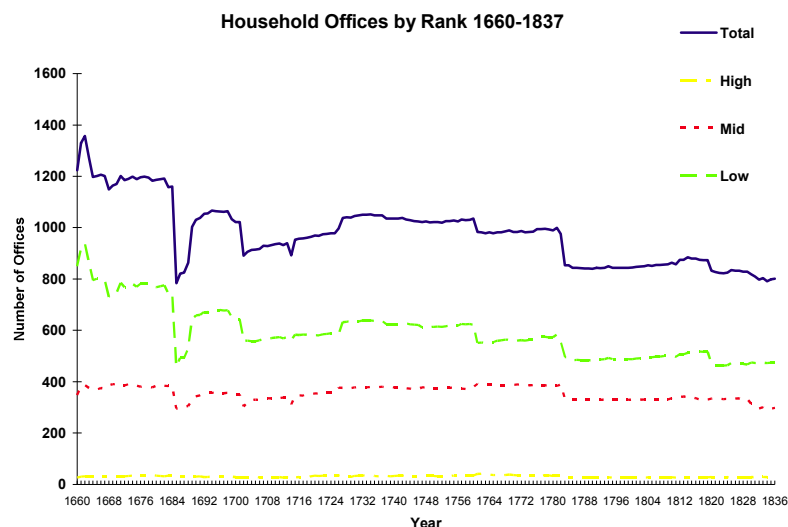
²⁰⁸These figures differ in value - if not in overall proportion - from those given in Bucholz, p. 24: Fig. 1.1. The discrepancy arises from the fact that that study counted sworn purveyors and tradesmen paid via occasional bills as fully-fledged members of the royal household. For purposes of this introduction, only sworn servants with regular emoluments are counted. Finally, these figures take note of the transfer of the office of tents to the Ordnance: Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 63. See *ibid.* pp. 62-4 for somewhat different figures.

²⁰⁹See Bucholz, pp. 23-5.

²¹⁰Gone, too, were hundreds of supernumerary and extraordinary positions, mostly at middling levels. Mulgrave later claimed that these reforms compromised the loyalty of household servants in 1688: Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 91. For opposition to them in 1685, see *ibid.*, pp. 90-1; Add. MS 51324 f. 43r-v.

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Figure 1B



Sources, Figure 1B: as for Figure 1A.

Offices (Sample): as for Figure 1A.

Division by Rank: The division by rank follows the pattern established in Bucholz, App. 1. That is, 'High'-ranking offices are those which could be (and were at least twice) held by a peer 1660-1837. 'Middle'-ranking offices are those suitable for gentlemen or gentlewomen. They were usually appointed by royal warrant, and male holders were customarily distinguished by the rank 'Esq.'. 'Low'-ranking 'servants' (as they were distinguished in household administrative documents) were appointed by the department head or its clerical staff and distinguished by no social rank higher than 'Mr.'. Established secretaries and clerks have been counted as middling officers, non-established clerical staff as lower servants.

Year: as for Figure 1A.

James II also attacked sale of office and the remaining life tenures, restrained fee taking, demanded more work from his remaining servants and - armed with a revenue that yielded £1,600,000 a year - raised wages nearly to pre-1680 levels in compensation.²¹¹ Though some diets were restored in 1685,²¹² it is significant that,

²¹¹For these reforms in general, see J. Miller, *James II: A Study in Kingship* (1978), p. 121. For the elimination of life tenures for the groom porter, master and clerk of the jewel office, 9 falconers, 5 musicians and 3 physicians in ordinary, see *CTB*, viii, 308, 378-9, 430, 457, 475. For the restraint of fee-taking and perquisites, see *ibid.*, pp. 756, 827, 1096. For the increase in workload, see LC 5/145 pp. 212, 215; LS 13/173 p. 43; HMC *5th Report*, pp. 344-5; *CTB*, viii, 193. For the rise in salaries, Dr. Barclay's comparison of the establishments of 1680 and 1685 ('Impact of James II', pp. 64-5) must be qualified with an awareness that the latter provided emoluments which were, in most cases, slightly *inferior* to those of the household establishment of 1674: LS 13/36-8. On the other hand, as in the period 1668-74, wages were subsequently increased out of the funds which became available when supernumerary

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in another rationalizing move, salaries were expressed by a single figure, rather than being divided into wages and boardwages. This marks the court's final break with widespread board for its servants. It was also part of an attempt to wean household servants away from costly, non-established forms of remuneration.

This philosophy did not lead immediately to a less expensive court. At £257,891, that of James's household actually cost more, on average, than that of Charles II (**Fig. 6**).²¹³ Besides the augmentation of salaries and the need to pay supernumeraries at half-pay until their reinstatement or death, James II supported two establishments of the chapel royal, an Anglican and a Catholic chapel with singers of Gregorian chant.²¹⁴ In fact, the King's healthy finances allowed him to engage in architectural and artistic patronage on a scale which exceeded even that of his profligate brother.²¹⁵ Moreover, as the reign wore on - and increased in political tension - his administration found it necessary to recall some servants (for example, several messengers of the chamber) and fill other places left blank in 1685.²¹⁶ In fact, the figure given above is more indicative of actual household expenditure than that for Charles II because James left few debts and paid his servants on time. As his reign progressed, that expenditure should have declined as the supernumeraries at half-pay on the 1685 establishment died off or were absorbed into the main household.

Figure 6

servants died off: see LS 13/173 pp. 52, 77.

²¹²Those to the Queen's waiters, clerks of the green cloth and kitchen, master cooks, pages of the backstairs, and yeomen of the guard. These were added to the diets of the maids of honour and chaplains, which had not been suppressed in 1680: Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 62.

²¹³This figure is significantly higher than that given in Bucholz, p. 20: Table 1.2. That figure was based upon departmental declared accounts. In order to maintain as much consistency as possible over the 177 years covered by the present introduction, the author has opted to use the figures for Exchequer issues provided by C. D. Chandaman and H. W. Chisholm: see Fig. 5, note on sources.

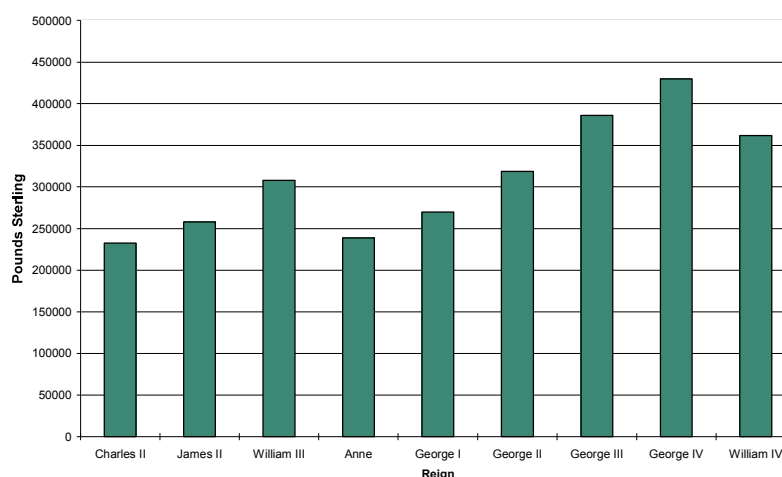
²¹⁴As initially established in 1686, the Catholic chapel had 28 servants, including 6 preachers and 4 chaplains at a total cost of £2,042 a year. The establishment was increased in July 1687 and again in Feb. 1688 to include 16 vocalists and 9 musicians for a total cost of £3,983 (LS 13/255 ff. 25v-26, 29r-v, 30v-31v). The Anglican chapel cost £2,600 to pay and maintain: Barclay, 'Impact of James II', pp. 111-12.

²¹⁵Bucholz, p. 25.

²¹⁶The household increased from 783 places at Michaelmas 1685 to 821 in 1686 and 864 in 1688 (Fig. 1A).

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Average Annual Issues to the Household 1660-1837



Sources, Figure 6: as for Figure 5.

Reign: Regnal years have been matched as closely as possible to fiscal years, as noted for Figure 5. However, some overlap at the change of reigns is inevitable: in such cases, fiscal years have been counted as part of whichever reign they most overlap. For example, expenditures for the period 29 September 1726 to 29 September 1727 have been counted as taking place under George I.

The long-term success of James II's household reforms must remain a matter for speculation, for they came to an untimely end simultaneously with his reign. There is a certain irony in this, since the first requirement that William III and Mary II would seem to have had of *their* household was thrift. As its historian has observed, the financial settlement voted by parliament in 1690 was temporary, inadequate and heavily encumbered.²¹⁷ But financial uncertainty had done little to restrain Stuart extravagance in the past and it did not do so now. The new regime had an even more pressing need to maintain the royal state and, with it, an appearance of legitimacy. Soon after ascending the throne on 13 February 1689, the new monarchs apparently promised to restore the establishments of the royal household to their pre-1685 levels.²¹⁸ A glance at **Fig. 1A** reveals that they came close to fulfilling that promise. The total number of places in the household rose from 864 at Michaelmas 1688 to just over 1,000 a year later. By 1694, the year of Mary's death, the royal household exceeded 1,060 places - less than Charles II's most liberal

²¹⁷C. Roberts, 'The Constitutional Significance of the Financial Settlement of 1690', *Historical Journal*, xx (1977), pp. 59-76, especially pp. 62-5. See also Reitan, 'From Revenue to Civil List', pp. 571-88.

²¹⁸LC 5/149 p. 273. See also LC 5/150 p. 12.

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establishments, but larger than any other court prior to 1837.²¹⁹ The payment of this vast establishment, combined with the massive outlay on the grandiose building projects at Hampton Court and Kensington (which more than doubled the annual expenditure of the royal works²²⁰), cost, on average, £307,983 a year (**Fig. 6**). This made the court of William and Mary easily the most expensive of the later Stuarts.

This sudden expansion in the size of the household payroll and physical establishment did not, by and large, benefit James II's old servants, about half of whom lost their places at the beginning of the new reign. Some fled with their master to France. A few others were proscribed because of their Catholicism.²²¹ But the majority were simply purged - almost the only instance between 1660 and 1837 in which the word is appropriate - for their association with the old regime. In many cases, these individuals came from old court families: Apsleys, Bathursts, Granvilles, Oglethorpes, Wyvills and Yarboroughs.²²² Some found employment in the household of Princess Anne. In the main household they were replaced by Dutchmen in sensitive positions near the monarch and, often, Whigs, officers with Whig associations, or individuals who had played a key role in the Revolution in ceremonial and administrative positions. This was especially true in the bedchamber, at the green cloth and in posts involving supply in the chamberlain's and master of the horse's departments.²²³

The replacement of administrators, accounting officers and purveyors of long experience with new men had great significance for the court's administrative and fiscal standards. While the complaints of Sir Stephen Fox, a Tory who left his place at the green cloth soon after the Revolution, were hardly disinterested, there is considerable evidence for a decline in the administrative standards of the government generally and of the household in particular once 'Whig disaplins', as he put it, took over.²²⁴ Preoccupied with his crusade against Louis XIV, the otherwise conscientious William tolerated the revival of reversionary appointments and life tenures within his household. The sale of court office seems to have grown more common, or at least more flagrant.²²⁵ One of his 'Revolution Officers' (as they were

²¹⁹These figures reflect the unique situation of the dual monarchy only in part. While the Queen's privy kitchen was part of the main establishment, her chamber and stables attendants were paid on a separate establishment and are therefore not counted in the above figures.

²²⁰Bucholz, p. 27.

²²¹Barclay, 'Impact of James II', pp. 205-15; LS 13/198, entry of 11 March 1689; Add. MS 61423 f. 160v. See also 1 Will. & Mar., c. 9, 'An Act for the removing Papists, and Reputed Papists, from the Cities of London and Westminster...'.
²²²Bucholz, p. 27.

²²³*Ibid.*, pp. 27-8, 286 n. 139, 308 n. 79.

²²⁴For Fox's complaints, see Add. MS 51324 ff. 44v, 50r-v. For the general decline in standards, see H. Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977), p. 38; J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725* (1967), pp. 138-9; S.B. Baxter, *William III and the Defence of European Liberty 1650-1701* (New York, 1966), pp. 254, 285; J. S. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (New York, 1989), pp. 94, 139.

²²⁵Luttrell, iv, 62, 280, 281; CSPD 1700-2, pp. 90, 143; PRO, SP 34/36 f. 260; HMC *Buccleuch at*

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dubbed by another displaced Fox) turned out to be unusually corrupt, even by contemporary standards. In 1690 the new treasurer of the chamber, Sir Rowland Gwynne, was found to have embezzled at least £3,000 out of his department. The money was never recovered from Gwynne and had to be supplied by his successor, Lord Edward Russell.²²⁶

It was perhaps inevitable, given the inexperience and laxity of William's household administration, the size and expense of his establishment and the inadequacy of his financial settlement, that he would soon be unable to pay his servants. As early as June 1691, with the revenue anticipated to 1695 because of the war, the board of green cloth reported the servants below stairs to be nearly three quarters in arrears and the purveyors threatening to cut off supplies.²²⁷ By February 1695 these servants were sixteen months in arrears and in 'a Starving & Wretched Condition'.²²⁸ As the war dragged on and the Crown's financial situation worsened still further with the recoinage, the Treasury resorted, as it had under Charles II, to tallies of anticipation and fictitious loan.²²⁹

A degree of order and stability came to household finances in 1698, with the enactment of 9 & 10 William III, c. 23, the first Civil List Act. This legislation earmarked a series of taxes, intended to yield £700,000, to pay the King's domestic expenses.²³⁰ However, this figure was granted to support not only the royal household, but the whole of the nation's peacetime administration (less the revenue services), including the salaries of the ministers, judges and officers of the central administration, the diplomatic service, the maintenance of royal, parliamentary and public buildings, pensions, bounties and secret service. Actual household expenditure comprised only about 42% of the civil establishment, and, given the sometimes more urgent demands of these other services, the household often received less than this percentage during the early eighteenth century.²³¹ Moreover, as numerous historians have pointed out, the figure of £700,000 was based on no

Montagu House, ii, pt. ii, 634; *HMC Downshire*, i pt. i, 312; Add. MS 20101 f. 15; *ibid.* 40791 ff. 23, 28v; *ibid.* 61425 f. 7v; *ibid.* 61475 f. 74v; *CTB*, ix, 699; *ibid.* xiii, 427; *ibid.* xiv, 125, 257; Barclay, 'Impact of James II', pp. 206-7.

²²⁶LC 3/53 pp. 14-15; *CTB*, ix, 359, 361, 367, 393, 686; *ibid.* x, 201; Add. MS 5750 f. 13.

²²⁷LS 13/174 f. 72; H. Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977), p. 93.

²²⁸LS 13/174 f. 99r-v.

²²⁹*CTB*, ix, 1698, 1758, 1762, 1764, 1766, 1787, 1918; *ibid.* x, 21, 35, 44, 83, 124, 128, 200, 433, 507, 732, 1071, 1194-5, 1329, 1354; *ibid.* xi, 138, 148, 150, 183, 184, 187, 228; *ibid.* xii, 162, 209-10; LS 13/174 pp. 122-3, 128. For an explanation of tallies of fictitious loan, see P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit* (1967), pp. 351-2.

²³⁰Much of the following discussion is based upon Beattie, pp. 106-10 and Reitan, 'Civil List', pp. 318-37.

²³¹According to 'An Account of the Particular Heads of Expence in the Civil List', 10 Aug. 1699, the household was budgeted at £279,462 16s 8d out of a total civil expenditure of £660,491 2s 1d: *PP* 1868-9 (366) ii, 586-94; Bucholz, p. 46.

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reliable estimate of the King's actual expenses. Worse, the act contained no guarantee that the taxes which it earmarked would yield this figure or that parliament would take steps to meet any shortfall should they fail to do so. In fact, the legislators who drew up the first Civil List Act were so confident of its adequacy that they made provision to claim any surplus for the use of the public. Furthermore, in 1701 parliament passed 12 & 13 William III, c. 12 which appropriated £3,700 a week (£192,400 a year) out of the excise, regardless of overall civil list yield, as security on a loan of £820,000 for use of the navy, guards and garrisons and land forces.²³²

Fortunately, civil list yields during the remaining years of William's reign routinely exceeded £700,000. Moreover, the coming of peace provided an opportunity to reduce his household establishments. Unfortunately, the new establishments only managed to eliminate about 50 places (see **Fig. 1A** for 1699-1701) and cut expenditures by about £15,000. Moreover, they received the royal signature too late (October 1701 for the lord steward's department; December 1701 for the lord chamberlain's) to have much of an effect before the King's death on 8 March 1702.²³³ Despite a massive effort to repay arrears in 1698-9 (see **Fig. 5**), William III died owing his household servants and purveyors over £307,000, a full year's worth of payment on salaries and bills, and well over twice the household debt left by the spendthrift Charles II.²³⁴

Just as Anne embraced the foreign policy of her predecessor, so she attempted to implement his final thoughts on household reform. Immediately upon her accession in 1702, she was granted virtually the same civil list revenues with the same encumbrances as William III.²³⁵ In her speech of acceptance, she predicted that 'It is probable the Revenue may fall very Short of what it has formerly produced',²³⁶ and, indeed, not once in her reign did it yield the expected £700,000. Rather, it met expenditures in only three years out of twelve, and averaged but £584,329 a year. This, combined with additional deductions for the service of the public led to the Queen's having at her disposal during the period of her first ministry (1702-10) a mere £543,665 a year to pay the expenses of a civil list established at £666,765. The household was supposed to comprise £258,000 or 39% of this latter figure; in

²³²However, the King was allowed to keep any surplus beyond the sums of £700,000 and £192,400 (clause iv).

²³³LS 13/41; *CTB*, xvii, 115-22. For the King's deliberations at the Treasury board over these establishments, see *CTB*, xiii, 100-4; *ibid.* xiv, 45, 50-2; *ibid.* xv, 38, 49, 101; *ibid.* xvi, 63, 80-1, 112.

²³⁴Calculation based on *CTB*, xvii, 941-1078. The totals of arrears paid to William's servants, pp. 944-5, have been added to those still outstanding in 1711. As in the case of Charles II's household debt, given above, this figure does not include arrears owed to servants paid at the Exchequer. Portions of this debt remained outstanding well into the reign of George I: *ibid.* xxxii, 40, 104, 105, 597, 598, 599, 617; *CTP 1714-19*, pp. 82, 443, 453; *CTP 1720-8*, p. 252.

²³⁵1 Anne, c. 1.

²³⁶Boyer, i, 20. The following analysis owes much to Shaw's introductions to *CTB*, xviii, pp. ix-xvii; *ibid.* xix, pp. xxii-xxvi.

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practice, it often received less than its fair share of civil list revenues.²³⁷

Given the virtual impossibility of securing an augmentation of those revenues because of the expense of the war and the volatile party situation, it was imperative that the Queen and her household administrators restrain her expenses. Accordingly, her chamberlain's and steward's establishments were more stringent versions of those implemented at the end of the previous reign. Their most important innovation was the elimination of about 130 places, mostly in the departments of the lord chamberlain and master of the horse, leading to a saving of about £10,000 from the establishment of 1689.²³⁸ All told, Anne's court was the smallest between that of James II and Economical Reform (**Fig. 1A**).

The new court recalled the spirit of James II, too, in its revival of administrative and financial reform. One of the Queen's first instructions to her new board of green cloth was the warrant of 29 June 1702, prohibiting sale of office.²³⁹ This was followed by the elimination of fees for fixed salaries at the green cloth and among several court tradesmen. The Treasury also pursued the now traditional call for the completion and declaration of outstanding accounts and the return of old plate. In 1703, it demanded that, in future, all warrants for such plate be accompanied by an estimate of cost, as in the great wardrobe.²⁴⁰ Taken together, these provisions, like the new establishments, amounted to a less drastic attack upon the fundamental administrative and financial problems of the court than that launched by Anne's father. But in light of his fate, they represented a more prudent and potentially effective compromise between reform and frugality on the one hand, and the need to maintain the dignity - and opportunities for patronage - of the royal state on the other.

The Queen's resolve for good husbandry, ably abetted by Lord Treasurer Godolphin, and the economical starting point provided by the new establishments led to an annual average expenditure of £238,891, making Anne's court the least costly of any in the period, apart from that of her much-defaulting uncle (**Fig. 6**).²⁴¹ This, combined with relatively good civil list yields in 1702-4 and Godolphin's able management of available funds (including the application to the civil list of the

²³⁷Bucholz, pp. 47-8, 61.

²³⁸For the lord chamberlain's establishment, see LC 5/202 pp. 125-32, summarized in *CTB*, xvii, 426-8. Some of the hunting places eliminated from the latter were, in fact, merely transferred to the establishment of Prince George (Chamberlayne (1708), p. 637). For the lord steward's establishment, see LS 13/43. The latter added a household kitchen absent from the establishments of 1699-1701. Finally, the new establishments earmarked about 40 paying positions for elimination on the deaths of their holders.

²³⁹LS 13/258 p. 4; Burnet, v, 63 n. a.

²⁴⁰Bucholz, pp. 49-50. See Colvin, v, 47 for new ordinances for the works dating from 1705.

²⁴¹For Godolphin's influence, see Bucholz, pp. 50-1, 52, 70, 76-7. Among the Queen's household administrators, her groom of the stole, mistress of the robes, and keeper of the privy purse, the Duchess of Marlborough and her master of the horse, the Duke of Somerset, pursued reform of procurement procedures and of fees in their departments: see *ibid.* pp. 50, 239-40; MOH PB 1 f. 6v.

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proceeds from periodic sales of the Queen's tin), explains why her early years were not marred by the chronic financial difficulties experienced by her uncle and brother-in-law. But as the total civil expenditure increased and the civil revenue began to decline, the household portion of that expenditure came to be squeezed. Beginning in April 1704, and with ever-increasing frequency and urgency thereafter, household paymasters began to complain to the Treasury about insufficient funds and long arrears. There is evidence to suggest that the court's inability to pay its servants and suppliers vitiated some of the reforms noted above by leading them to resort to corruption to survive.²⁴²

These matters came to a head under the Oxford ministry. The civil list yield for the ministry's first full year in office (Michaelmas 1710 to Michaelmas 1711) was only £513,615, the lowest of the entire reign. Despite almost £130,000 of additional moneys derived from the continuing sale of the Queen's tin, her household received only £182,206 that year, barely 70% of its annual established expenditure. The Queen's last years saw continued complaints by paymasters and servants.²⁴³ Oxford's response was to propose the Civil List Lottery of 1713. This piece of legislation, 12 Anne, c. 11, allowed the Queen to mortgage £35,000 a year out of the civil list to pay off the interest on an immediate loan of £500,000, which was used to pay a year and a quarter's arrears. Clearly, this was a temporary measure. Rather than a permanent augmentation of the Queen's resources, it reduced them until the loan was paid off.²⁴⁴ Nor did it do anything to prevent subsequent arrears from accumulating, which they began to do before the end of the reign.²⁴⁵ It did set the precedent of parliament paying the Crown's civil list debts. That precedent would lead, eventually, to parliamentary scrutiny and, later still, reform of the household, inspired by parliament.²⁴⁶

The Early Hanoverian Royal Household 1714-1760

In 1714 George I was granted the same civil list settlement and the same ostensible yield of £700,000 as his predecessors.²⁴⁷ The following year he secured the grant of

²⁴²Bucholz, pp. 53-7.

²⁴³*Ibid.* pp. 59-60.

²⁴⁴*PH*, vi, 1227-32; Bucholz, pp. 60, 62-3.

²⁴⁵A proposed retrenchment in 1713 was abandoned due to departmental resistance. The next year Queen Anne died owing her household servants more than £153,000: Bucholz, pp. 60-3. The resulting arrears continued to be petitioned for and paid well into the reign of George II: see LS 13/176 pp. 168-70; *CTB*, xxxii, 39, 40-1, 51, 66, 69, 73, 93, 95, 194, 258, 359, 361, 603; *CTP 1714-19*, pp. 23, 25, 49, 50, 75, 93, 171, 172, 173, 433, 443; *CTP 1720-8*, pp. 13, 27, 99, 103, 183, 237, 252, 256, 274, 314, 428, 551; *CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 180, 181-3, 325; *CTBP 1731-4*, pp. 422, 600; *CTBP 1735-8*, pp. 61, 328, 430; Somerset Papers, PHA 322, Duke of Somerset to the Lords of the Treasury, 23 Feb. 1725, 16 Aug. 1728.

²⁴⁶Though the Whigs failed to carry a motion for an account of the debt in 1713, accounts of civil list yields and debt were produced for both the previous and the current reign during debates on the civil list in 1715: *PH*, vi, 1230-1; *CJ*, xviii, 78-114.

²⁴⁷1 Geo. I, c. 1. For the deliberations on George I's original civil list settlement, see *PH*, vii, 6-7.

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a further £120,000 to make up for the shortfall which had become so pronounced under Queen Anne. Moreover, the statute of 1715 guaranteed the King's income for the first time: if the taxes appropriated in the act failed to produce the hoped-for total of £700,000, parliament was committed to voting additional funds to supply the remainder.²⁴⁸ The Treasury and household administrators did not attempt to avoid this by means of a major reform at the beginning of the reign. Rather, after a dip in 1714-15 the household establishments grew steadily in size to almost 1,000 servants by 1726 (**Fig. 1A**).²⁴⁹ Issues to the household rose from £278,707 in 1714-15 to £305,804 in 1716-17. The following year saw a drop to £263,444 (see **Fig. 5**), but the civil list debt at Michaelmas 1718 still stood at £396,206 or about £100,000 a year since the King's accession.²⁵⁰

As in the past, financial crisis led the King to attempt both options available to the insolvent: retrenchment and augmentation of revenue. Unfortunately, the retrenchment of 1718 avoided a fundamental rethinking of household structure or expenditure.²⁵¹ Instead, it concentrated upon two areas. First, the Treasury sought greater control over the spending departments by requiring annual estimates of the coming year's expenditure. More specifically, it sought to restrain expenditures in the great wardrobe and works by drawing up new ordinances and setting spending limits of £13,000 and £14,400 a year respectively. Contracts were to be more closely regulated and, in the former subdepartment, a comptroller and a surveyor, both nominated by the Treasury, were to examine bills and estimates.²⁵² Secondly, there was an attempt to restrain outlays on the King's German courtiers. Schulenberg and Kielmannsegge were each given £3,000 and a kitchen in lieu of diet and other necessities. The following year saw the granting of a similar allowance in lieu of new furniture.²⁵³

The results of this, the last major retrenchment of the household until 1761, were mixed. The attempt to restrain the expenses of favoured courtiers seems to have reduced expenditures on these heads. On the other hand, the Treasury's regulation of the great wardrobe and works, though important as a precedent, did little to restrain their cost, as indicated by the routine issue by the Treasury of warrants to pass accounts for expenditures exceeding the above figures.²⁵⁴ Nor did the

²⁴⁸1 Geo. I, c. 12. For the genesis of the act, see *CJ*, xviii, 78-114; *PH*, vii, 57-60. In fact, the annual yield from these two pieces of legislation came to about £760,000: Beattie, pp. 108-9.

²⁴⁹This figure does not include the staff of about 75 German servants to 1715-16, about 25 thereafter, whom George I paid out of the privy purse: Beattie, pp. 258-60. For the compilation of the new establishments, see *CTB*, xxix, 731-4, 800-1; *LS* 13/176 pp. 31-6.

²⁵⁰Beattie, p. 114.

²⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 118-19, 127-9. For Treasury deliberations over the retrenchment, see *ibid.* and *CTB*, xxxii, 28, 42, 67-8, 72.

²⁵²Beattie, pp. 118-19; *CTB*, xxxii, 52, 67-8, 535; *CTP* 1714-19, pp. 48, 418; *CTP* 1720-8, p. 1; *CTBP* 1742-5, p. xli; Colvin, v, 40.

²⁵³Beattie, p. 80 n. 4, 127-8.

²⁵⁴See n. 76, above.

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estimates of the next year's expenditures do much to restrain them. The last seven years of the reign included four in which issues to the royal household exceeded £280,000 (**Fig. 5**). This contributed to a growing debt on the civil list which led, in turn, to appeals to parliament for extra funds in 1720, 1721 and 1724. In the end, over £1,300,000 was acquired by this means.²⁵⁵ But neither parliament, nor the Treasury, nor the household administrators used these occasions as opportunities to re-think the King's civil revenue or his household expenditure. As a result, the King's civil departments were amassing more debt by the time of his death in 1727.²⁵⁶

Nevertheless, the lessons of these occasions were not lost on Sir Robert Walpole. At the accession of George II in 1727 he secured the most liberal civil list settlement of the eighteenth century. This included a parliamentary guarantee of £800,000 a year and, for the first time, the King's right to keep any surplus which might arise. The result was a civil list which, in the words of its historian, 'would grow with the wealth of the country'.²⁵⁷ The generosity of this settlement, the new King's desire to provide for his servants as Prince of Wales, as well as his love of ceremony, may explain why George II's initial household establishment, almost uniquely, did not experience even the semblance of a reduction in personnel in its first year.²⁵⁸ Rather, the new King added about 40 officers and servants to his father's totals (**Fig. 1A**). This tendency is most marked in the lord steward's department, largely because of the addition of a Queen's privy kitchen and a household kitchen.²⁵⁹ This expansion, like that in 1689, did not necessarily mean that an incumbent's position was secure. The new King displaced a number of servants in the bedchamber and at the green cloth and replaced them with those who had served him previously.²⁶⁰

The generous civil list settlement, the length of the reign and the refusal of parliament to inquire into matters still considered personal to the King may help to explain a seeming decline or stagnation in administrative standards at mid-century. The board of green cloth appears to have met less frequently under the second Hanoverian than under the first. Indeed, the minutes for June 1742 contain the following entry: 'Nothing material occurring in the month of June no minutes were

²⁵⁵See 6 Geo. I, c. 18; 7 Geo. I, c. 27; 11 Geo. I, c. 17; Beattie, pp. 115-18; *PH*, vii, 856-9; *CJ*, xix, 355-7, 628-9; *ibid.* xx, 477, 489-93, 496-9, 659; *CTP 1720-8*, pp. 174, 303.

²⁵⁶The civil list debt stood at £491,156 at the King's death: Beattie, p. 118 n. 1. For arrears owed to George I's servants under George II, see LS 13/262 f. 21; *CTBP 1720-8*, pp. 501, 505; *CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 156, 158, 368, 403, 446; *CTBP 1735-8*, p. 112; *CTBP 1739-41*, pp. 15, 260; *CTBP 1742-5*, p. 13.

²⁵⁷1 Geo. II, c. 1; Reitan, 'Civil List', p. 320; *PH*, viii, 599-605. Parliament assumed that the King would set aside £100,000 for the Prince of Wales - something which he long refused to do: Beattie, p. 131. George II's civil list settlement eventually included portions for the royal princesses and £25,000 for the Duke of Cumberland: Reitan, 'Civil List', p. 320 n. 8. Finally, George II was granted an additional £70,000 for the support of members of the royal family by 9 Geo. II, c. 23.

²⁵⁸About 70 of the new court's servants have been traced to that of the Prince of Wales: Beattie, pp. 179-80.

²⁵⁹LS 13/49.

²⁶⁰Beattie, p. 179.

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taken'. The attendance of the clerks and clerk comptrollers, whose social and political prominence lent weight to the decisions of the board, fell off, and some of their responsibilities seem to have been assumed by the assistant clerks.²⁶¹ It is probably significant that when, in the next reign, the Treasury called for old accounts from the household departments, neither the treasurer of the chamber nor the master of the horse could find any for this period.²⁶²

Nor does the Treasury appear to have been effective in restraining expenditure. A series of inquiries into the practices of the great wardrobe undertaken between 1728 and 1730 demonstrated that previous reforms had failed, very largely because there was no outside control from the lord chamberlain's warrant to the declared account.²⁶³ The board's ultimate response was to create a comptroller of the great wardrobe, and to draw up a set of instructions very much like those to the comptroller of the treasurer of the chamber.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, great wardrobe expenditures continued to mount.²⁶⁵ The year 1730 saw a parallel attempt to reform the removing wardrobe, which led to a pious call on the lord chamberlain to reform abuses and increasing scrutiny of works accounts.²⁶⁶ A similar inquiry into the works in 1754 led to equally vague promises of greater attention to economy.²⁶⁷

It is no great surprise, therefore, to find that issues to George II's household consistently exceeded £300,000 during the first ten years of his reign (**Fig. 5**). Because this was reflected in high civil expenditures overall (often exceeding £900,000), and because George II's civil list fell short of the intended £820,000 during the early years of his reign, parliament was called upon for £115,000 in 1729.²⁶⁸ Household expenditures fell below the £300,000 mark after the death of Queen Caroline in December 1737. This resulted from the elimination of the Queen's privy kitchen (many of whose servants were nevertheless absorbed into other kitchens), the discontinuance of tables to the Queen's servants, and a general retreat into privacy by the King.²⁶⁹ Nevertheless, debt began to mount again in the late 1730s. By the early 1740s arrears of over a year became common.²⁷⁰ These

²⁶¹LS 13/116 f. 85v. See also ff. 86, 91, 94 for later, similar entries for the period 1744-6. It is noticeable that this Minute Book is, in reality, merely an entry book of memoranda and orders. There is little evidence of corporate deliberation. See also Beattie, pp. 96-7.

²⁶²*CJ*, xxxii, 729; *PH*, xix, 123-4, 127; *MOH LB A* p. 5; *MOH LB F* p. 98.

²⁶³*CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 11, 12, 20 and above, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

²⁶⁴*CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 114, 131. For the comptroller's attempts to reform the department, see *ibid.* pp. 168, 234, 237.

²⁶⁵The great wardrobe debt stood at £10,187 at Michaelmas 1735: see *CTBP 1735-8*, p. 54.

²⁶⁶*CTBP 1729-30*, pp. 320, 472, 474; *CTBP 1731-4*, p. 7.

²⁶⁷*Treasury Board Papers 1745-55* (List and Index Society, cxx, 1975), pp. 201-2.

²⁶⁸Reitan, 'Civil List', p. 320 and n. 8; *PH*, viii, 702-6, 755-60; Lord Hervey, *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, ed. R. Sedgwick (1931), i, 100-1.

²⁶⁹For the discontinuance of tables, see LS 13/177 f. 75v.

²⁷⁰See *CTBP 1739-41*, pp. 475, 496-7, 511, 579, 593; *CTBP 1742-5*, pp. 92, 158, 165, 167, 173, 204-

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difficulties resulted in another request for a parliamentary supply to pay off the King's debts in 1747. The resulting act, 20 George II, c. 36 led to the payment of £456,734. Thereafter, the promise of George II's civil list bargain began to pay off. His civil revenues produced an average of £823,956 during the last decade of the reign.²⁷¹ This, plus a new-found frugality,²⁷² left George II, uniquely, with a surplus at his death in 1760. It also left the old administrative system of the household more or less intact and largely unexamined as George III came to the British throne.

The Later Hanoverian Royal Household 1760-1837

It was the 'ruinously bad bargain' of George III's civil list which led to the first fundamental examination and overhaul of the royal household in almost a century and began a trend toward detailed parliamentary examination and effective Treasury control of household expenditure. In a fit of public spiritedness and overconfidence in his own domestic probity, the new King gave up the hereditary and temporary revenues to parliament in return for a provision of £800,000 a year out of the Aggregate Fund.²⁷³ Any surplus was to be returned to the public. Clearly, George III and his ministers had set themselves the task of restraining civil and household expenditure. And yet the new King's initial moves were ambiguous on the score of economy. He began by attempting to retain all or most of his grandfather's servants and to graft his own as Prince of Wales onto the existing structure. Moreover, the new King preferred greater formality and attendance than his predecessor.²⁷⁴ The immediate result was an establishment which was, by the end of 1760, slightly larger than that of George II. To take only the costliest example: the new bedchamber employed 19 gentlemen at £1,000 apiece and 15 grooms at half that.²⁷⁵

Similar extravagance was displayed initially in the appointments made in December 1760 in the lord steward's department. However, in the spring of 1761 a new (and heretofore obscure²⁷⁶) lord steward, William, Earl Talbot, asked the

5, 285, 299, 389, 406, 426, 448, 494, 603, 615-20, 630, 631, 640, 641, 642, 668, 676, 698, 718, 802, 817, 827; LS 13/177 f. 94. By the end of 1745 the debt in the cofferer's office, adjusted for money in his possession but not yet paid out, was £80,587, almost a year's expenditure: LC 13/177 f. 121r-v.

²⁷¹Reitan, 'Civil List', p. 320 nn. 8, 9.

²⁷²Beveridge, i, 337.

²⁷³Reitan, 'Civil List', p. 274; 1 Geo. III, c. 1. The Act granted £723,000 to the King out of the Aggregate Fund, as well as the right to assume the annuity of £50,000 to the Dowager Princess of Wales, the £15,000 to the Duke of Cumberland and the £12,000 to Princess Amelia when the holders died. See the analysis in Reitan, 'Civil List', pp. 323-37.

²⁷⁴For the new King's punctiliousness, see Beattie, p. 15; *Corr. of George III*, iii, 112; Somerset, pp. 234-6; Walpole, *George III*, i, 14. On the other hand, he also preferred to live quietly: *ibid.* p. 125; *Later Corr. of George III*, ii, pp. ix-x.

²⁷⁵For the setting up of the new household, see Walpole, *George III*, i, 18-23; *Walpole Corr.*, ix, 316, 320, 324, 343-4; *ibid.* xxi, 460 and nn. 14, 15.

²⁷⁶See Walpole, *George III*, i, 35-6; *Walpole Corr.*, ix, 343-4 and nn. 1-3.

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assistant clerk of the green cloth, William Bray, to launch an inquiry into the recent state of the department. Bray found that many offices had become sinecures; their holders sometimes attended only to look after their fees and the clerks of the green cloth, in particular, had neglected their duties of regulation and control.²⁷⁷ Talbot's response was to secure royal approval for a new establishment, dated 1 July 1761, which swept away the subdepartments of the acatry, bakehouse, household kitchen, larder, scalding house and poultry, as well as the offices of the grooms of the ewry; most of the yeomen, grooms and children in the kitchen; the child and salsaryman of the pastry; a yeoman, a groom and all of the pages and children of the scullery; the grooms of the woodyard; and the tailcartakers.²⁷⁸ The steward's department shrank from about 220 officers and servants at the end of George II's reign to just 140 in 1761 (**Fig. 1A**). This more than offset a slight expansion in the departments of the lord chamberlain and master of the horse and kept George III's household under 1,000 places throughout the first decade of his reign.

At the same time, Talbot increased the department's effective clerical staff,²⁷⁹ launched a rational reorganization of its books and papers, forbade household officers to supply their own subdepartments, discontinued payment for carriage on most items, changed the contract period for purveyors to the calendar year and transferred the payment of fees on bills to the Crown.²⁸⁰ In the master of the horse's department, a stables office was established, a comprehensive series of administrative records (precedent books, warrant books, letter books and daybooks) was begun, and new regulations were laid down for the payment of bills, the training of the pages of honour and, in 1763, the ordering of provisions.²⁸¹

Lord Talbot and his successive counterparts as master of the horse are not well-known figures, and their reforms were derided in their day,²⁸² but they presided over administrations which seem to have been far more active and rigorous than those of the previous reign. Nevertheless, the first two full fiscal years of the new reign saw household expenditures of over £368,000 apiece (**Fig. 5**), in part a result of the King's coronation and wedding. Though issues to the household dropped steadily to £287,130 by 1765-6 (**Fig. 5**), there was an inevitable accumulation of debt. As early as 1761-2 total civil expenditure averaged £985,231 a year. This figure fell to £908,563 a year in 1768-9, but despite a helpful surplus of £172,000 left over from

²⁷⁷Beattie, pp. 96-7.

²⁷⁸LS 13/55.

²⁷⁹The Establishment of 1761 added 2 additional clerk comptrollers of the green cloth, 2 clerks of the debentures, a clerk to the master of the household and a clerk comptroller of the kitchen, at least one underclerk, an assistant clerk in the spicery, 3 coal porters and a number of other menial servants: LS 13/55.

²⁸⁰This last led to a sharp fall in the price of provisions: *Lord Steward's Department List 1598-1870* (List and Index Society, clxxxvi, 1982), pp. 2-3; Beveridge, i, 321-41, especially pp. 339-40.

²⁸¹MOH PB 1 ff. 7, 9v, p. 44; MOH WB 1-5; MOH LB A-G; MOH DB 1-2; unmarked Day Book 1760-83.

²⁸²Walpole, *George III*, i, 35-6, 58-9; *PH*, xix, 133-4.

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George II's frugal last years, the civil list had accumulated £513,511 of debt (£245,307 by the household departments) by 1769.²⁸³ The result was the first of a series of requests to parliament for one-time payments in supply of the civil list debt, detailed below:

1769	513,511
1777	618,340
1784	60,000
1786	210,000
1802	990,053
1804	591,842
1805	10,458
1814	218,857
1815	<u>185,000</u>
Total	£3,398,061 ²⁸⁴

In previous reigns, these occasions had failed to provide the opportunity to scrutinize the civil list arrangements, and therefore the royal household, in detail, despite what might seem an obvious need, because of parliamentary reluctance to inquire into what were considered the King's private affairs.²⁸⁵ In 1769 the government partially conceded the principle of privacy by promising to provide, at the beginning of the next session, itemized accounts of expenditure.²⁸⁶ In 1777 Lord North was forced to go a bit further by providing such accounts *before* parliament would agree to redeem the civil list debt of £618,340 and provide a permanent augmentation of £100,000.²⁸⁷

Thus the road to Burke's Economical Reform had been paved in the 1770s. The

²⁸³Reitan, 'Civil List', p. 324; *CJ*, xxxii, 256. The debt in the lord steward's department alone was £89,040 by July 1768: LS 13/179 f. 57r-v. Payments to purveyors ran an average of 2 to 3 quarters in arrears between 1760 and 1778: Beveridge, i, 337.

²⁸⁴'Accounts of Public Income and Expenditure', *PP* 1868-9 (366) xxxv, ii, 598. In addition, 22 Geo. III, c. 82 authorized the King to raise £300,000 in Exchequer bills on the security of annual payments of £50,000 out of the civil list to pay civil list debt in 1782. The table is exclusive of permanent augmentations.

²⁸⁵See *PH*, vi, 1230-1; *ibid.* vii, 57-60; Lord Hervey, *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, ed. R. Sedgwick (1930), iii, 683-99; Beattie, p. 116 n. 2; Reitan, 'Civil List', pp. 320 n. 10, 321. Even the Commissions of Public Accounts of the reigns of William III and Anne abstained from criticism of the royal household: Barclay, 'Impact of James II', p. 224; see also *CTB*, ix, pp. cxlvi-cl; LS 13/175 ff. 88, 90. As late as 1831 a Committee of the House for examining the state of the civil list avoided the issue of household salaries 'not thinking it consistent with the respect due to His Majesty, to scrutinize the details of His domestic Household': 'Report from the Select Committee on the Civil List', *PP* 1830-1 (269) iii, 438.

²⁸⁶Reitan, 'Civil List', pp. 324-5; *PH*, xvi, 598-602, 843-52, 924-8; *CJ*, xxxii, 256, 465-603, 626-8, 729-30; Walpole, *George III*, iii, 227-30; *Corr. of George III*, ii, 131-2; *Grenville Papers*, iv, 508-15; MOH LB A pp. 4-5, 7.

²⁸⁷17 Geo. III, c. 21; Reitan, 'Civil List', pp. 325-6; *CJ*, xxxvi, 331-98; *PH*, xix, 103-88; LS 13/179 ff. 127, 132. The civil list debt included £311,325 owed in the household departments.

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political battle which raged around this issue between 1779 and 1782 is beyond the scope of this introduction.²⁸⁸ In any case, as both the din from the opposition and the debts of the civil list continued to mount, it must have become obvious to both the Treasury and household administrators that some sort of reform, similar to that proposed originally in February 1780 by Burke, was inevitable. In fact, there is evidence of a pre-emptive retrenchment as early as February 1782.²⁸⁹ In April the new Rockingham ministry began to demand information from department heads and to negotiate with the King over the provisions of Burke's bill.²⁹⁰ The six clerks and clerk comptrollers of the green cloth were abolished and, in July, a reduced interim establishment for the lord steward's department received royal approval.²⁹¹

Burke's bill 'for enabling his Majesty to discharge the Debt contracted upon his Civil List Revenues; and for preventing the same from being in Arrear for the future, by regulating the Mode of Payments out of the said Revenues, and by suppressing or regulating certain Offices therein mentioned' became law in July 1782.²⁹² It sought to restrain civil expenditures, and, thus, household expenditures,

²⁸⁸It may be followed in *PH*, xx, 1255-67, 1293-1305, 1318-83; *ibid.* xxi, 1-137, 145-54, 171-217, 229-309, 340-86, 538-70, 616-22, 714, 1223-92.

²⁸⁹See LS 13/281 ff. 40v-41v.

²⁹⁰Norris, pp. 155-8; LS 13/180 ff. 74, 77-78v, 79v; MOH LB A pp. 28-9; *Corr. of George III*, v, 450-5, 458-9, 463, 464, 489-90, 491-2, 494, 496-502; *ibid.* vi, 15, 54-5. For the King's subsequent involvement in Shelburne's reforms, see *Corr. of George III*, vi, 139-42, 187, 254, 291, 292, 295, 336-8.

²⁹¹LS 13/117 p. 62; LS 13/180 ff. 84v-85v; LS 13/60. That Rockingham presented the plan of the new establishment to the King indicates that it was substantially complete by the date of his death on 1 July, which was also, coincidentally, its effective date: LS 13/180 f. 89r-v.

²⁹²22 Geo. III, c. 82. The King first approached the House with a promise to offer for their consideration a 'Plan of Oeconomy through all the branches of the Public Expenditure', with specific

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by attacking them on a variety of fronts. First, it abolished, by name, a number of offices and departments, among which were the following household employees: 'the principal Officers of the Board of Works; the principal Officers of the great Wardrobe; the principal Officers of the Jewel Office; the Treasurer of the Chamber; the Cofferer of the Household; the Offices of the six Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth;...the Offices of the Master of the Harriers, the Master of the Fox Hounds, and the Master of the Stag Hounds'. Second, it required the Treasury to extend the abolitions to 'certain of the Offices dependent on or connected with the same' by 10 October 1782.

reference to 'a reform and regulation in his civil establishment' on 15 Apr. 1782. On 2 May a second royal message was accompanied by a statement listing a civil list debt of £295,818 (figure adjusted for funds present in but not yet assigned from the Exchequer. It included an unadjusted £186,563 accrued in the household departments: *CJ*, xxxviii, 971) and a Treasury plan for abolishing many of the household offices later enumerated in the Act, for a projected saving in the household of nearly £30,000. Burke had examined the household establishments in Apr. A committee of the house, chaired by him, was formed and a bill ordered for presentation which received the royal assent on 11 July: *CJ*, xxxviii, 970-3, 983, 1054, 1057, 1118, 1130, 1132, 1146, 1147; *PH*, xxii, 1269-75, 1395-6, 1412-16; *ibid.* xxiii, 121-7, 139-47; *LS* 13/180 f. 79; *Corr. of George III*, v, 459.

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The Treasury, now headed by Shelburne, took this provision quite seriously. In late July 1782 it requested accounts, estimates and copies of the household establishments before and after the late modifications.²⁹³ It also asked department heads to respond to clause 4 of the Act, which called for a more detailed plan of reform for each office.²⁹⁴ When these responses proved unsatisfactory, the Treasury appointed Thomas Gilbert to examine the submitted accounts, make investigations of each department, and devise a plan of reform. This led to a series of meetings with household clerical staff, exchanges of establishments, contracts and accounts and specific inquiries and responses. These exchanges, all of which took place by the end of the summer, demonstrate a remarkable show of apparent household co-operation.²⁹⁵ By the end of October, they had resulted in a series of reports on each department in which Gilbert described each officer's remuneration and duties - if any.²⁹⁶ Department heads were then asked to comment. It was at this stage that

²⁹³LS 13/180 ff. 86v-87v; Shelburne Papers, vol. 125, pp. 231-42, 259, 263-6, 303-8, 317-22; Colvin, vi, 9.

²⁹⁴Shelburne Papers, vol. 125, pp. 191-229; LS 13/180 ff. 90-91v; MOH PB 1 pp. 143-50; MOH LB A pp. 29-35.

²⁹⁵Shelburne Papers, vol. 162, Treasury Minute 1 Aug. 1782; LS 13/180 ff. 87v-95; MOH PB 1 p. 151; MOH LB A pp. 36-40; Add. MS 24134 f. 34.

²⁹⁶For the report on the lord chamberlain's department, see Shelburne Papers, vol. 125, pp. 353-71. For that on the lord steward's department, with comments from the board of green cloth, see LS 13/180 ff. 95-108; for the report on that of the master of the horse see MOH PB 1 pp. 152-64. See also Norris, pp. 179-82; Shelburne Papers, vol. 125, pp. 349-52; *Corr. of George III*, vi, 139, 140, 142.

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there was significant departmental resistance. Lord Steward Carlisle resigned, rather than enact the proposed reforms. But, in the end, departments had little choice but to comply.²⁹⁷ They were then asked by the Treasury to put Gilbert's proposals into effect by drawing up new establishments.²⁹⁸ With few exceptions, Gilbert's recommendations were followed. In addition to the positions named above, letters of dismissal were sent out in early November to the following officers:²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷Norris, pp. 182-3; Shelburne Papers, vol. 125, pp. 377-85; Colvin, vi, 10; *Corr. of George III*, vi, 232, 233, 292; Add. MS 24134 f. 32; LS 13/180 ff. 98v-100; LS 13/181 ff. 40-41v.

²⁹⁸LS 13/180 f. 101. For the new lord chamberlain's establishment, see LC 5/204 pp. 220-7; for the lord steward's, see LS 13/62; for that of the master of the horse, see MOH WB 2 pp. 1-16. For new ordinances for the government of the household departments, see Shelburne Papers, vol. 125, pp. 389-510.

²⁹⁹The letters for the lord steward's department were ordered to be sent out 2 Nov. 1782; those for the master of the horse's department are dated 7 Nov.; those for the lord chamberlain's department, 14 Nov.: LS 13/117 p. 73; LS 13/180 f. 104v; MOH PB 1 p. 164. For lists of suppressed officers and servants, see LS 13/117 pp. 71-3; LS 13/180 ff. 95, 121-2, 143v-144; MOH PB 1 pp. 168-9; MOH LB A pp. 55-6, 59-64. However, these lists must be used with caution, for not every office so listed was, in the end, suppressed. The above list has been checked against subsequent establishments and warrants of appointment.

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Lord chamberlain's department:

deputy secretary to the lord chamberlain
comptroller, deputy comptroller, clerks, and office keepers
to the treasurer of the chamber
cupbearers, carvers and sewers
sewers of the chamber
groom porter
sergeant at arms to the city of London
one clerk of the cheque and several messengers
historiographer royal
deputy examiner of plays
eight trumpeters
instrument keeper
chemist
moletaker
joiner of the privy chamber
locksmith
master and yeoman of the revels
three housekeepers
cofferbearers
clerk of the robes and wardrobes
the yeoman, one groom and the page of the robes
deputy yeoman of the removing wardrobe
vocal performer in extraordinary

Lord steward's department:

deputy cofferer
clerks of the debentures
assistant paymasters
clerk to the master of the household
two assistant clerks
yeomen, grooms and chamber keepers of the accompting
house
wine porters, and keeper of champagne wines in the cellar
gentlemen and yeomen harbingers
one under clerk of the kitchen
furner to the pastry
two scourers in the scullery
two coal porters in the woodyard
groom cartaker
turncock and keeper of the buckets

Master of the horse's department:

gentleman of the horse
avenor
three equerries

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one page of honour
assistant clerk of the stables
clerk of the avery
surveyor of the highways
riding surveyor
riding purveyor
one stable keeper
the sergeant and yeoman of the carriages
twelve grooms
one helper
bottlegroom
keeper of the race

At the same time, the esquire and yeoman saddler, sergeant, marshal and yeoman farrier, the stud farrier, purveyors and granitors, coachmaker, milliner and gentleman armourer lost their established salaries, reducing them to the status of purveyors paid for goods and services as needed. Taking into account positions that were added in 1782-3, the lord chamberlain's department experienced a net loss of over 80 places, the lord steward's department and that of the master of the horse about 30 apiece. Altogether, the 1782 Civil List Act and consequent retrenchments reduced the size of the household by over 140 places, to about 850 (**Fig. 1A**). The displaced officers were allowed to apply for compensation in fulfilment of clause xxxvi of the Act.³⁰⁰

Burke's Act consolidated the number of household paymasters into six: the lord chamberlain, the paymaster of the household (for the lord steward's department), the masters of the horse and robes, and, on a much smaller scale, the paymaster of the gentlemen pensioners and the master of the hawks.³⁰¹ This partial rationalization of household structure and financial arrangements was furthered by clauses within the act which required estimates from every household paymaster within 15 days of the end of the previous quarter, not to be exceeded by more than £5,000 without reason shown (clause iv); erected a new surveyor or comptroller of the works (under the lord chamberlain), with stricter rules for ordering work from that department (vi, viii-xii); established a similar officer for the gardens (vii); awarded the responsibility for the provision of jewels and furniture to the lord chamberlain (xiii-xiv); established new rules for the granting of pensions, royal bounty and secret service money (xvii-xxx); and divided the civil expenditure into eight classes (xxxi-xxxv), to be paid in strict numerical order as follows:

³⁰⁰Displaced officers had to apply personally to Gilbert. The salaries of suppressed offices were paid to 31 Dec. 1782; compensations were paid from the following day: LS 13/180 f. 109; MOH PB 1 pp. 164-5; MOH LB A pp. 43, 49. For lists of compensated officers, see LS 13/180 ff. 124v, 128r-v, 131r-v, 143v-144; MOH PB 1 pp. 168-70.

³⁰¹Henceforward, there were 4 household paymasters upon account: the lord chamberlain, paymaster of the household, master of the horse and master of the robes. The accounts for the chamberlain, horse and robes for the period 1782-1813 may be found in PRO, AO 1/427-36, AO 1/1458-65 and AO 1/2061-6, respectively. Quarterly accounts for the paymaster of the household are contained in PRO, LS 13/303-4. Gilbert had argued, unsuccessfully, for a single paymaster and supervisor: MOH PB 1 pp. 152-3; Norris, pp. 181-2.

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- I Pensions and Allowances to the Royal Family
- II Salaries to the Great Officers of Government
- III Salaries of Ministers at Foreign Courts
- IV Approved Bills of Tradesmen Serving the Household, etc.
- V Salaries of Household Servants
- VI Pension List (to be paid in order from least to greatest)
- VII Salaries of Officers Paid Directly at the Exchequer.
- VIII Salaries of Treasury Commissioners and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The idea behind clauses xxxi-xxxv was that the officers of the Treasury would have no choice but to ensure payment of all civil expenses before their own salaries could be satisfied. The act further enjoined that any salary, fee or pension left unpaid for two years was to become extinguished. Thus, the Treasury would have a vested interest in maintaining a sufficient economy to ensure payment of all bills and salaries (and thus their own), or to bring the deficit before parliament in a timely manner if unable to do so. Finally, to ensure that the new system began with a clean slate, Burke's act allowed the King to raise £300,000 in Exchequer bills on the security of the civil list revenue to pay off the current civil list debt (clause xxxviii).

With hindsight, it is easy to see the flaws in the act, and to attribute them to Burke's relative lack of familiarity with the intricacies of the central administration and the household.³⁰² But Economical Reform represents the first major rethinking of the civil and household departments and their relationship to each other, the Treasury and the nation since the reign of James II. More to the point, it must be said that those who did know the problems of the civil list and household administration and finance had, with the arguable exception of Lord Talbot, done very little to confront them. In 1782-3, much of the irrationality of the household's structure was cleared away. It is true that, despite the consolidation of paymasters, a large number of chamber officials (almost 170) were still paid directly at the Exchequer. But in other respects, the reforms of 1782-3 did at least begin to rationalize and unify the financial with the administrative structures of the household. That is, the ordering officer was now likely to be held responsible for accounts as well. This could not help but increase Treasury control in turn. Indeed, from this point on the surviving records demonstrate clearly the increased involvement and enhanced authority of the Treasury in the most minute aspects of household expenditure.³⁰³ Finally, and perhaps more ominously for household

³⁰²Burke requested and was allowed to examine the household establishments only in Apr. 1782: see the correspondence in LS 13/180 f. 79. Still, Shelburne complained: 'it is impossible to describe to you...how provokingly my time is taken up with the nonsense of Mr. Burke's bill. It was both framed and carried through without the least regard to facts': quoted in J. Cannon, *The Fox-North Coalition: Crisis of the Constitution, 1782-4* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 31; see also Lord E. Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards 1st Marquess of Lansdowne* (1876), iii, 330. For additional criticism, both contemporaneous and modern, of Burke's Act, see LS 13/180 ff. 90-91v; Shelburne Papers, vol. 125, p. 215; Norris, pp. 176-7; J. S. Watson, *The Reign of George III 1760-1815* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 247-8.

³⁰³For the Treasury approving or disapproving increases to establishments, quarterly estimates or accounts see LC 1/2 no. 14; LC 1/3 no. 8; LC 1/4 no. 118; LC 1/5 no. 305; LC 1/6 no. 337; LC 1/7 no. 449; LC 1/8 no. 545; LS 13/182 ff. 49-50; LS 13/184 pp. 21, 94, 113-15, 325-9; MOH LB C pp. 27, 70-

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officers in light of future developments, the debates of the early 1780s and the legislation of 1782 set the important precedent that, should the civil and household departments ever again need additional support from the nation, they would be subject not only to examination, but possible modification, by parliament.³⁰⁴

And yet, it was obvious by 1786 that Burke's reform was, at best, incomplete.³⁰⁵ It provided no spending targets, no estimate of possible expenditure against which to limit or measure actual expenditure. Nor had it gone very far to restrict the civil list to the King's household and personal needs. Indeed, the household itself was spread over five classes, four of which included non-household heads of expenditure as well. It relied upon a strict order of payment among those classes which was only as good as the Treasury's commitment to it, a commitment which was inversely proportional to the availability of alternative sources for funding the King's debts. It put too much faith in the savings to be made out of suppressed places and held out too much hope that the retrenchment of the civil government would reverse a tendency towards expansion. In fact, Burke's characteristic respect for property rights, combined with department heads' understandable concern for the fates of faithful, but now unemployed, servants meant that any potential savings were eaten up by the charity of compensation. Moreover, Burke's act had weakened seriously the King's financial position by appropriating £50,000 a year out of his civil list revenue to pay off the £300,000 in Exchequer bills voted in 1782. Finally, the international situation would soon begin to speed growth in both the size of the civil departments and the expense of provisions for the household.

In December 1782,³⁰⁶ July 1784³⁰⁷ and March 1786 the King was again forced to ask parliament for help with his debts, in the last case, to the tune of £210,000.³⁰⁸ On this latter occasion, an account of payments by class and an estimate of future expenses was called for by the House. The plan of 6 July 1786 established the household at £344,850 5s 10d, about one-third of a total civil expenditure of £1,035,876 10s 6d.³⁰⁹ Unfortunately, such an estimate could not be fool-proof because of the contingent (and so, unpredictable) nature of many household expenses, such as those for new buildings and repair of old, furniture, provisions of

1; MOH LB D pp. 68-9, 140-1, 253-9; MOH LB E p. 2, and n. 342, below.

³⁰⁴Indeed, from the 1790s various parliamentary committees and, eventually, parliament itself began to call for annual departmental accounts detailing the increase or decrease in expenditure of the previous year. This practice was made statutory in 1810 by 50 Geo. III, c. 117. The accounts themselves may be found in LC 1/3-8; LS 13/182-4; MOH LB B-F and MOH PB 1 pp. 266, 278-9.

³⁰⁵See the discussion in J. Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt: The Years of Acclaim* (New York, 1969), pp. 305-6.

³⁰⁶*CJ*, xxxix, 4, 675-7, 680-1, 683, 686-8, 692, 695, 697, 704.

³⁰⁷*CJ*, xl, 327-51, 450; *PH*, xxiv, 1238-43. In Aug. a motion for a plan to provide an estimate for the civil list was lost with the adjournment.

³⁰⁸*CJ*, xli, 452, 471-8, 638-46; *PH*, xxv, 1348.

³⁰⁹*CJ*, xli, 967-75. See also *PH*, xxv, 1348-62; LS 13/181 ff. 70-1; MOH LB A p. 90; *Later Corr. of George III*, i, 233.

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food and fodder for horses and necessary articles such as soap and candles. Moreover, a special class of contingent expenses, outside the statutory eight, had to be set up for items not anticipated there. Finally, the estimate was drawn up on the basis of peacetime prices - a condition which would not last long.

The period from 1786 to 1816 witnessed mounting debt, occasioned in part by the flouting of some provisions of Burke's Act (for example, the order of payments), in part by the rapid inflation of prices during the Napoleonic Wars. This led to another round of petitions from impoverished servants and tradesmen,³¹⁰ the frequent renegotiation of contracts to give the latter more favourable terms³¹¹ and further waves of parliamentary inquiry following the Peace of Amiens (1802-4) and the establishment of the Regency (1811-16). These investigations led to temporary additional payments as noted above (see also **Fig. 5**) and left unambiguous parliament's right to inquire into the King's household finances.³¹²

Specifically, it was a civil list debt which reached £895,969, adjusted for moneys in the Exchequer, on 5 January 1802 which rendered parliament's involvement necessary. The household debt, prior to adjustment (since the paymasters had not received these Exchequer funds) was £531,073, well over a year's expenditure.³¹³ The result was three successive parliamentary inquiries into the finances of the civil government.³¹⁴ These found the chief causes of the debt to lie with Class 3, the diplomatic service; Class 4, household bills; and the extra class for occasional payments. The first was explained by the burgeoning diplomatic activity caused by the war, the last by the fact that there were numerous charges simply unanticipated in Burke's scheme. As for the bills of the household, these had actually stayed within their estimated cost from 1787 to 1792. It was the inflation precipitated by the war that had caused them to rise from the estimate (for Class 4) of £118,000 to £194,533 by 1802. For example, the price of provender for the stables had more than doubled. The situation was exacerbated by the household's continuing

³¹⁰MOH PB 1 pp. 343-4, 347; MOH LB A pp. 281-2; MOH LB B pp. 32-3.

³¹¹Beveridge, i, 338-9; MOH PB 1 pp. 275, 335; LS 13/117 pp. 76, 77. Between 1789 and at least 1813 a series of books entitled 'Orders to Tradesmen: Allowances Above Contract Prices' was kept by the board of green cloth: see PRO, LS 13/312-14.

³¹²Pitt's successive Committees on Finance, the Commission on Public Expenditure and more *ad hoc* parliamentary inquiries into officeholding in 1800, 1801 and 1807-9 mostly avoided detailed inquiry into the household as not properly a public office: see LS 13/184 pp. 16-17, 19-20; however, cf. also LS 13/182 pp. 125-33, 207-10; LS 13/184 pp. 43, 49, 53, 57; MOH LB A p. 263; MOH LB B p. 31; MOH LB C pp. 169-79. From the passage of 50 Geo. III, c. 117, the household departments were required to submit annual accounts to parliament showing the augmentation or decrease of expenses over the previous year: LS 13/184 pp. 182-3.

³¹³Report from the Committee on Accounts Relating to His Majesty's Civil List', 15 March 1802, *PP* 1st Series, xi, 220.

³¹⁴The 1802 report is printed in *PP* 1st Series, xi, 193-226. See also MOH LB B pp. 52-5; G. Rose, *Considerations on the Debt of the Civil List* (1802); *CJ*, lvii, 121, 132, 275, 745-85; *PH*, xxxvi, 321-32, 372-406. For the 1803 report, see *CJ*, lviii, 264, 313, 595, 613, 624, 636, 651, 671, 1171-1200. For the 1804 report, see *CJ*, lix, 60, 147, 191-2, 382, 444, 624-75; *PD*, ii, 937-9; *Later Corr. of George III*, iv, 211. In 1804 the unadjusted household debt stood at £240,002, or almost 40% of the unadjusted civil list debt of £603,071.

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responsibility for charges which might be considered civil in nature and which rose dramatically with increased wartime activity, such as the government's stationery costs and the charge of furniture for government buildings.³¹⁵

Because the reports of 1802-4 found no inherent flaw in the system, and because the peace was anticipated to bring these heads of expenditure down to previous levels, the King was simply granted one-time payments of £990,053 in 1802 and £591,842 in 1804.³¹⁶ This explains the peaks in issues to the household departments in 1802-3 and in 1804-5 exhibited in **Fig. 5**. These reports did conclude that the civil list revenues were no longer adequate to meet civil expenditure, suggesting the compilation of a new estimate or the provision of a permanent augmentation. The former was submitted on 7 July 1804. It set household expenditure at £359,195 or 36.7% of a total civil expenditure of £979,044 a year.³¹⁷ This became the figure against which future expenditure would be measured. The committee of supply also recommended a permanent addition of £60,000 out of the Consolidated Fund to take into account this more liberal estimate; and that, in future, any debt of more than two quarters should be brought before parliament. This became the basis of 44 George III, c. 80.³¹⁸

As subsequent civil list inquiries were to reveal, the actions taken in 1802-4 did little more than sustain a deeply flawed system. Treasury control of household expenditure was still incomplete, the methods for procuring items such as furniture, jewels and new buildings at the least expense were still easy to circumvent, the price rise showed no sign of slowing down, many civil and public expenditures were still paid for by household paymasters (especially the lord chamberlain) and, as was to be revealed, the estimate of 1804 was no more realistic than its predecessor.³¹⁹ The provision of 44 George III which required that arrears be brought before parliament was avoided by applying proceeds from the droits of the admiralty and the surplus of the hereditary revenues in Scotland to long-term arrears.³²⁰ It was the advent of the Regency which finally led to rational solutions for these problems, not least because in forcing the rulers of Britain to confront the changed nature of the monarchy at the end of the reign of George III, the King's illness forced them to confront the changed circumstances of the monarch's household as well.

³¹⁵*PP* 1st Series, xi, 195-226; *MOH LB B* pp. 54-5; see also *LS* 13/183 pp. 228-37, a comparison of the price of 41 commodities purchased for the lord steward's department between 1803 and 1805.

³¹⁶*CJ*, lxx, 916.

³¹⁷*CJ*, lix, 670-5. The household figure comprises the King's privy purse from Class 1, the whole of Classes 4 and 5, compensations to household officers in Class 6, £12,504 in household salaries paid directly at the Exchequer in Class 7 and £4,384 in occasional payments paid by household paymasters.

³¹⁸*CJ*, lix, 382. For evidence of compliance, initially, in the matter of arrears, see *ibid.* lx, 141-2, 243, 244, 752-8.

³¹⁹This was apparent to the King's ministers by 1806: see *Corr. of George, Prince of Wales*, v, 421; *ibid.* vi, 81.

³²⁰See 52 Geo. III, c. 6, clause iii.

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Following the enactment of the Regency Act (51 George III, c. 1) and beginning in early November 1811, a series of conversations took place between Spencer Perceval, Lord Liverpool, the Prince Regent and his advisers about the future of the King's household under an unrestricted Regency. After much thoughtful debate about the nature and purpose of the royal household, it was decided to extend the arrangements first made in the Regency Act, providing a small household for the King at Windsor, nominated by and under the direction of the Queen and administered by a groom of the stole.³²¹ The main household was transferred to the direction of the Prince Regent. This was to be divided, in turn, between an effective household at Carlton House and a court, still official and subordinate to the department heads, but in fact made up of sinecures, at St. James's. After more negotiation, it was further decided that the household at Carlton House should absorb the Prince's existing household.³²² The result was a slightly larger main household (that is, omitting the establishment at Windsor) of about 880 servants (**Fig. 1A**). The King's household at Windsor was to be supported out of an additional levy of £70,000 (52 George III, c. 6, clause i). This legislation also transferred the Prince Regent's annual allowance of £50,000 to the civil list (clause ii). Finally, it required that any deficiency over £10,000 above the average of previous deficiencies be brought to the attention of parliament within one month of its occurrence (clause iii).³²³

In fact, the Regency brought a new series of parliamentary inquiries into public expenditure, sinecure offices, reversions and - as a direct result of the acrimonious deliberations over the above piece of legislation - the civil list.³²⁴ The government found itself increasingly on the defensive as opposition politicians demanded more detailed scrutiny of how civil list moneys had been spent. Reports were made in 1812, 1813 and 1815.³²⁵ However, their rigour was limited by the consistent failure

³²¹The Windsor establishments may be found in LC 1/4 no. 210; LS 13/184 pp. 252-3; MOH LB D pp. 8-9. For the process by which they were set up, see LS 13/118 ff. 42-4; LS 13/184 pp. 223-41, 250-6, 269-71. For the legislation establishing this household and its composition of officers, see 51 Geo. III, c. 1, clauses xiii-xiv; 52 Geo. III, c. 8.

³²²These negotiations may be followed in Add. MSS 38361 ff. 250-275v, 38362 ff. 1-37v, 38367 ff. 160-70, 38366 ff. 143-7; LS 13/118 pp. 42-4; *Corr. of George, Prince of Wales*, viii, 9-11, 232-3, 238-358. The new establishment for the department of the master of the horse, dated 6 Apr. 1812 is to be found in MOH EB 4. That for the lord steward's department, 7 Aug. 1812, is in LS 13/184 pp. 303-6 and LS 13/69.

³²³For passage of 52 Geo. III, c. 6, 'An Act for making Provision for the better Support of His Majesty's Household, during the Continuance of His Majesty's Indisposition', see *CJ*, lxxvii, 28, 31-2, 33, 42, 56-7, 79, 82, 84, 87, 106, 107; *PD*, xxi, 151-77, 187-92, 222-7, 331-75, 381-99, 405-8, 478. This session also saw a one-time grant of £100,000 'for defraying the Expences incident to the Assumption of the Personal Exercise of the Royal Authority by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent' (52 Geo. III, c. 7).

³²⁴*CJ*, lxxvii, 4, 7, 42, 57, 79, 81, 82, 84, 87; *PD*, xviii, 921-2; *ibid.* xxi, 331, 691-701; and n. 325, below.

³²⁵For the 1812 report, see *CJ*, lxxvii, 106, 164, 174, 275, 511, 791-829 and *PD*, xxi, 713-42, 749-51. For that of 1812-13, see *CJ*, lxxviii, 449-50, 504, 518, 526, 665-6, 674, 901-17 and *PD*, xxvi, 365-6, 376-94. For deliberations in 1814, see *CJ*, lxxix, 239, 373, 418, 433, 437, 474, 606-14; *PD*, xxviii, 725-39. For the 1815 report, see *CJ*, lxx, 38, 175, 240, 246, 264-5, 274, 278, 281, 282, 331, 334-5, 348-9, 398,

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of the opposition to secure for the committees which produced them the power to summon persons and papers. As before, the main matter was a comparison of actual expenditure with the existing estimate, this time from 1804. This revealed an excess of £858,000 over seven years to 1811, or £124,000 a year. Once again, most of the excess came in Class 4, especially the lord chamberlain's department, and specifically the works, provision of furniture and jewels.³²⁶ Of these expenditures, some were found to be contingent upon the establishment of the Regency, some (noted by the 1815 committee) on the recent visit by the allied princes.³²⁷ Above all, it was noted that 'the expenses of this Department are in general increased by charges of a public nature, which do not appertain to the King's Household; but rather to the administration of His Civil Government' - £117,000 out of a total expenditure over seven years of £393,000. These rose because of the continuing increase in prices, the uncertain nature of this kind of occasional expense, and the relative lack of oversight for these categories of expenditure. Similar conditions explained the excess in the department of the lord steward.³²⁸

Of the three committee reports, that of 1815 pursued the most thorough examination of the period into the household and civil list and it offered the most aggressive solutions to their problems.³²⁹ It recommended the transfer of allowances for members of the royal family to the Consolidated Fund, the removal from household responsibility of charges for civil matters (such as the provision of plate for foreign ambassadors, the expenses of the house of commons, house of lords and secretaries of state's offices and the repair of public buildings), an end to gratuities to inferior servants and the submission of timely quarterly estimates and accounts and supplementary estimates for any item over £1,000. It further proposed that nothing should be supplied without written authority from departmental ordering officers, that any excess should be paid out of the next quarter and that, if such an excess persist to the end of the financial year (5 January), it was to be brought before parliament within 30 days. Simultaneously, a separate inquiry into the works was undertaken by the Committee of Military Inquiry; this eventually resulted in the department's removal from the lord chamberlain's jurisdiction and the enactment of the additional reforms of 54 George III, c. 157. Finally, while urging greater Treasury control, the 1815 committee recognized its limits. They recommended that household accounts be examined by an independent auditor and

428, 452, 916-64 and *PD*, xxix, 209-30, 471-4, 723-6; *ibid.* xxx, 343-4, 616-45; *ibid.* xxxi, 198-216, 996-8.

³²⁶Though the lord chamberlain's expenses in Class 4 were estimated at £65,000 in 1804, they averaged £126,194 1805-10: *Add. MS 38366* p. 143.

³²⁷*PP* 1812-13 iv, 557; *CJ*, lxx, 918.

³²⁸*PP* 1812 (330) ii, 429-32. The department of the master of the horse came in under the estimate: see *ibid.*, p. 432; *MOH LB D* pp. 74-6.

³²⁹See *CJ*, lxx, 240, 246, 264-5, 281, 331 for the submission to parliament of an array of accounts and information about gratuities to servants, the procurement of furniture, plate, jewels and horses, the expenses of various members of the royal family and the prices of necessary articles as well as tables of civil list expenditure and debt.

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superintendent of the royal household.³³⁰ Many of these provisions were enacted in subsequent legislation, especially 56 George III, c. 46, 'An Act for the better Regulation of the Civil List'.³³¹

The power and the spur given to the Treasury to restrain costs led to additional reforms - not least because of its desire to avoid similar parliamentary attention in future.³³² Between November 1812 and July 1816, the Treasury worked with department heads to eliminate the last tables and payment in kind,³³³ to tighten procedures for the ordering of materials, the payment of bills, the submission of accounts and the award of compensation to retiring servants³³⁴ and to devise plans of retrenchment in the lord chamberlain's and lord steward's departments. The latter earmarked numerous positions for abolition on the deaths of their holders, for a projected saving of almost £17,000.³³⁵ Finally, pursuant to 56 George III, c. 46, a new estimate was drawn up and a new officer, the auditor of the civil list, was, in August 1816, appointed to examine accounts.³³⁶

It is true that compliance with these regulations was sometimes resisted or nominal.³³⁷ Moreover, none of them offered much in the way of immediate savings. Most of the anticipated reductions could come only when incumbents died,

³³⁰*CJ*, lxx, 916-21, 959; *ibid.* lxviii, 87; Colvin, vi, 95-7, 101-5. New ordinances for the works were drawn up in March 1815, and a new establishment signed in Apr.

³³¹For passage, see *CJ*, lxxi, 117, 157, 178, 245, 279, 316, 325-6, 329-30, 340, 365, 370-1, 375-6, 383, 392, 398, 403-4, 408, 424, 448, 462, 938-71; *PD*, xxxii, 953-6, 1055-6; *ibid.* xxxiii, 597-9, 1034-5, 1130-3; *ibid.* xxxiv, 185-238, 255-302, 789-806, 998-1004, 1095-9; *Letters of George IV*, ii, 62-3. In fact, the provision of furniture for parliament, government offices and ambassadors was removed from the lord chamberlain's purview only in 1828: LC 1/12 nos. 876, 900; LC 1/13 nos. 929, 934.

³³²For the Treasury's reluctance to go to parliament, see LC 1/9 no. 638; 1/15 no. 1184; *Letters of George IV*, ii, 158-9. For the resultant rise in Treasury assertiveness, see Roseveare, p. 69.

³³³LS 13/184 pp. 352-6, 370, 388-9, 418-23. In Nov. 1813 the Treasury approved Lord Steward Cholmondeley's scheme to save £1,953 immediately and £4,232 eventually on this head.

³³⁴LC 1/6 no. 379; MOH LB D pp. 215-17, 317-20; LS 13/118, entry of 5 May 1815. For evidence of resistance on the part of departments or tradesmen, see LC 1/7 nos. 449, 513.

³³⁵The lord steward's plan of retrenchment promised an immediate saving of £7,253 10s 9d and would, when the officers at St. James's eventually died, save an additional £6,164: LS 13/184 pp. 395-406, 410; Add. MS 38366 f. 171r-v. The lord chamberlain's plan offered 44 offices to determine at the deaths of their holders, for an eventual saving of £3,412 10s 7d: LC 1/6 nos. 393, 396, 410; LC 1/7 no. 432; LC 1/9 no. 637; Add. MS 38366 ff. 169-71. See also MOH LB D pp. 65-6, 72-5, 221-30, 251-2.

³³⁶For the auditor, see above pp. xxxvi-xxxvii and n. 83.

³³⁷In 1819, the Treasury complained that 'having compared the Estimates of the Expenditure of his Lordship's Department for several quarters they appear to be all framed merely with a view to the Expenditure of the whole sum allotted in the Parliamentary Estimate, and generally have been nothing more than a repetition of the same Items altho' the actual Expenditure has always varied considerably therefrom, and that the Estimate as thus rendered seem to their Lordships to be only pro forma and not the real calculation of the probable expenditure formed with a view of keeping it within the lowest possible bounds': LC 1/8 no. 520, Treasury to Calvert, 10 March 1819. See also *ibid.* no. 531.

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terminating their offices.³³⁸ In any case, it has been shown that most of the excess over previous estimates had resulted from cost overruns on provisions and other non-established items. The salaries in Class 5 had never been a particular problem. In fact, issues to household departments rose during the period of the Regency, averaging £493,403 from Michaelmas 1811 to Michaelmas 1819 (**Fig. 5**). But the Treasury's vigilance in moderating this increase, combined with the additional provision made by recent legislation, made unnecessary further appeals to parliament for relief from debt. The wave of parliamentary inquiries between 1812 and 1816 had led to the following permanent increases of the civil list:

52 Geo. III, c. 6	70,000
Surplus of exchequer fees applied by 23 Geo. III, c. 82	50,000
Surplus of Scottish civil list applied by 50 Geo. III, c. 111	<u>10,000</u>
	£130,000 ³³⁹

When added to the previously voted £960,000 this came to the sum of £1,090,000. Simultaneously, the gradual elimination of sinecure places and the enactment of stricter Treasury controls as delineated above did lead, in subsequent reigns, to reductions in household size and expenditure (**Figs. 1A and 5**).

The death of Queen Charlotte in 1818 necessitated a revision in the following year of existing arrangements at Windsor. The King's allowance was reduced to £50,000 and his staff of attendants cut accordingly. Supervision of this staff was given to the Duke of York, who was provided with an additional £10,000 a year.³⁴⁰ Altogether, the civil list now amounted annually to £992,000.

The death of George III in 1820 allowed for the re-uniting of previously separate elements of the household. Despite the urgings of the opposition, it did not lead to a major parliamentary examination of the civil list. Rather, George IV was voted £850,000 a year on the English civil list, more or less on the same basis as in 1816.³⁴¹ What examination of the civil list and household expenses did take place at the change of reign came from the Treasury. Before that could happen, however, the Treasury's right to make decisions for the household received one last challenge. The new King had apparently made known that, henceforth, he would make

³³⁸The Treasury's eagerness to achieve such savings is indicated by their request in March 1822 for returns as to the ages of compensated, pensioned or half-pay servants: MOH L B E pp. 508-9, 513-15. In fact, many of the offices so earmarked did eventually die out with their holders in the 1820s and 1830s.

³³⁹*CJ*, lxx, App., p. 916.

³⁴⁰59 Geo. III, c. 22; see also *CJ*, lxxiv, 95, 139, 151, 155, 164, 174, 186, 190, 231, 237, 250, 257, 290, 316, 1071-81; *PD*, xxxix, 296-322, 457-60, 552-612, 664-708, 1019-26, 1162-7, 1230-61; LC 1/8, no. 519; *Letters of George IV*, ii, 262-8.

³⁴¹1 Geo. IV, c. 1. During the debates leading to this measure several motions to establish committees to enquire into the civil list failed: see *CJ*, lxxv, 138-9; *PD*, new ser. i, 63-91, 198-227, 333-4, 343-5, 461-78, 523-30.

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decisions and give orders regarding the household establishments personally and directly to the department heads, that is, the lord chamberlain, the lord steward and the master of the horse. In particular, departmental finances were to 'be entirely subject to His Majesty's Control & government holding the Lord Chamberlain [or lord steward or master of the horse, as appropriate] responsible to His Majesty for the due and proper disposition of the Monies which may be allotted for the service of the Department'. The Treasury quickly pointed out that such an arrangement would violate well-established precedent. Moreover, the responsibility for such decisions had been granted to the Treasury Commissioners by a succession of parliamentary statutes since 22 George III, c. 82. This led Master of the Horse Montrose to acknowledge that 'an Act of Parliament, as long as it is in force, must be obeyed'. Whatever the King's reaction, nothing more was heard of the matter and the Treasury's grip on household finance was never subsequently challenged.³⁴²

Even before this matter was settled the Treasury asked department heads for estimates of probable future expenditure and their thoughts on necessary increases.³⁴³ Some of the latter were allowed, but the Treasury lords felt no qualms in trimming proposed establishments of any perceived extravagance.³⁴⁴ In the end, the King's decision in the midst of the agricultural depression of 1822 to donate £30,000 to the public service from his civil list forced the household back to 1816 level budgets.³⁴⁵ Because of the patchy survival of records for the lord chamberlain's and lord steward's departments after 1816, it is difficult to know the consequences of this decision for those departments but by mid-reign the clerk of the stables was writing ever more insistent letters to the Treasury about his difficulties in paying the tradesmen supplying his department. Towards its end, the King himself characterized the current state of his civil list as 'pitiful'.³⁴⁶

Nothing was done until the accession of William IV in 1830. The failure of the Wellington government to sustain its civil list proposals and thus, itself, in November of that year,³⁴⁷ led to a significant reappraisal of the civil list and its relationship to the household departments. Two successive parliamentary inquiries embraced the idea that 'the Civil List should be applied only to such Expenses as

³⁴²LC 1/8 no. 552; MOH LB E pp. 285-91, 293. For examples of the Treasury exercising control over expenditure, querying (and sometimes rejecting) accounts and estimates, etc., under George IV, see LC 1/9 nos. 601, 622, 671; LC 1/11 no. 767; LC 1/12 no. 900; LC 1/13 no. 986; MOH LB E pp. 265-6, 367-8, 390; MOH LB F pp. 487, 508, 510. The establishments at the beginning of the next reign were very clearly designed and modified by the Treasury, which eliminated posts and set levels of remuneration at will: see LC 1/14 no. 1048; LC 1/15 nos. 1150-1. For evidence of continued vigilance under William IV by both Treasury and auditor, see LC 1/14 no. 1094; LC 1/15 nos. 1116, 1118; LC 1/16 nos. 1233, 1234; LC 1/17 nos. 1316, 1319; LC 1/19 no. 1642.

³⁴³LC 1/8 nos. 550, 561; MOH LB E p. 269.

³⁴⁴MOH LB E pp. 274-81, 285-91.

³⁴⁵MOH LB F pp. 54-7; *Letters of George IV*, ii, 511 and n. 1.

³⁴⁶MOH LB F pp. 379, 381, 393-4; *Letters of George IV*, iii, 399: the King to Wellington, Royal Lodge, 25 Feb. 1828.

³⁴⁷*PD*, 3rd ser., i, 364-5, 429-71, 525-56.

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affect the Dignity and State of the Crown, and the proper maintenance of Their Majesties' Household'.³⁴⁸ The resulting act, 1 William IV, c. 25, provided for a civil list consisting of five classes:

I	Royal Family	110,000
II	Salaries of the Household	130,300
III	Expenses of the Household	171,500
IV	King's Charity, Special Services, Secret Services, etc.	23,200
V	Pensions	<u>75,000</u>
		£510,000

Apart from the King's privy purse of £60,000, household salaries and expenditures were consolidated into and formed the whole of classes two and three, respectively, for a total household establishment of £361,800.³⁴⁹ Superannuated servants and most governmental functions were transferred once and for all to the Consolidated Fund.³⁵⁰ Thus, an unprecedented degree of simplicity and rationality had been achieved in the household's financial arrangements. This seems to have had a beneficial effect: a glance at **Figs. 1A and 5** reveals that, after the coronation year, William IV's household fell steadily in size and, in expenditure, conformed more or less to his civil list provision, remaining flat for nearly the whole of the reign. The relative lack of documentation for the last twenty years of the period leaves in doubt whether this reign saw the administrative and financial problems of its predecessors. But if the evidence at hand is indicative, it would appear that those problems had been largely solved by the accession of Queen Victoria.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Report from the Select Committee on the Civil List', *PP* 1830-1 (269) iii, 437.

³⁴⁹ A few places, the most important of which was the master of the hawks, the total salaries of which came to an additional £1,683, were still paid at the Exchequer. William IV's Civil List Act also provided for new divisions in the financial year (31 March, 30 June, 30 Sept., 31 Dec., clause iii); the application of any surplus accrued by a class during a quarter to the next quarter's expenses, and that incurred in the course of a year to the whole of the civil list (vii); that whenever the total charge for the year should exceed £530,000, an account was to be laid before parliament (xiii); and that all payments out of the civil list were to be net and clear of all taxes (xiv). For the parliamentary, Treasury and departmental deliberations which went into this legislation, see *PP* 1830-1 (269) iii, 437-43; *CJ*, lxxxvi, pp. cclxii-cccxii, 54-5, 63, 64, 84, 128, 213, 415, 424-5, 437, 447, 460, 477, 484, 488, 514, 517; *PD*, 3rd ser. i, 797-8, 799-801; *ibid.* ii, 90-101, 152-89, 209-14; *ibid.* iii, 176-7, 959-77, 1102-13, 1144, 1253-5, 1371-85; *LC* 1/14 nos. 1048-9; *LC* 1/15 nos. 1150-1.

³⁵⁰ *PP* 1830-1 (269) iii, 437-9; *PP* 1831 (337) iv, 340-1; 2 & 3 Will. IV, c. 116; 3 & 4 Will. IV, c. 86.

³⁵¹ The reforms launched by Baron Stockmar dealt with the internal structure of the household, not its external financial arrangements or relationship to the government.