

**LIFE RECORDS OF HENRY MEDWALL, M.A.,
NOTARY PUBLIC AND PLAYWRIGHT;
AND JOHN MEDWALL, LEGAL ADMINISTRATOR AND SUMMONER**

By ALAN H. NELSON

In 1926 A.W. Reed published two short biographical notes on Henry Medwall, the author of *Fulgens and Lucrez* and *Nature*. Reed had identified some eight documents concerning Medwall, the earliest from 1492.¹ Quite separately, academic biographers had established that Henry Medwall was born about 1462, attended Eton College in the late 1470's, and King's College, Cambridge in the early 1480's.² More recently, Sheila Lindenbaum has brought all this material together in a short biography in the new *Manual of Writings in Middle English*.³

My own preparation of an edition of Medwall's two plays led me to examine the known evidence for Medwall's life and to search for new documents. A relatively comprehensive biography resulting from this investigation appears in the Introduction to *The Plays of Henry Medwall*.⁴ In the Appendix to the edition appears a list of forty documents, keyed to the Introduction by number. The present article gives full transcriptions of many of these documents, and summaries of those which are legal COMMON FORM⁵ and which therefore contain language which is of less interest because it is not peculiar to any individual case.

Henry Medwall, a native of Southwark, was born on or about 8 September 1461 [2-3]. He attended Eton College from 1475 to 1480 [3, 6, 7.c.1-2], then went on to King's College, Cambridge, where he studied arts until 1483 [7-9, 21]. Medwall's precipitate resignation from his King's scholarship on 13 June 1483 [7.a, 8.a] coincided exactly with the arrest of John Morton, bishop of Ely, by the future Richard III. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that by 1483 Medwall had already established himself as Morton's protégé.

Medwall witnessed college drama while a student at King's.⁶ He maintained informal contact with King's until 1485 [7.c.11-22], and may have assisted in a disguising presented on 2 February 1485 [7.c.19-22]. In August of the same year Richard III was overthrown by the future Henry VII. Henry appointed Morton chancellor in March 1486, then archbishop in October of the same year. Sometime thereafter, certainly by 1490, Henry Medwall became a notary public in Morton's archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth [18; cf.15-16]. In 1490 he was ordained to minor orders [17, 19]. The next year he received a degree in civil law from Cambridge, with credit for four years' study past his three years in arts [21]. In 1492 he was appointed to the living of Balinghem in the pale of Calais [22-23; cf.24-26], but he served *in absentia*, continuing to live in and around London.

Here he notarized documents [20] and wrote plays [35, 38] for the archbishop, and engaged in a certain amount of business on the side [27-30].

By the end of the decade Henry Medwall had gained personal control over virtually all archiepiscopal documents at Lambeth [31]. These documents were almost certainly kept in the new gatehouse now known as Morton's Tower.⁷ Shortly after Morton's death in 1500, however, Medwall lost his position on the staff at Lambeth, and lost his benefice as well: whether his resignation was truly voluntary is impossible to establish [32-34]. Nothing is known of Medwall's life after 26 July 1501 [34].

Henry Medwall's two surviving plays were written between 1486 and 1500, perhaps early in the 1490's. *Fulgens and Lucreas* was published by John Rastell about 1512 [35], *Nature* by William Rastell about 1530 [38]. John Bale published a note on Medwall in 1559 [39], John Pits another in 1619 [40], but both accounts apparently derive from the information appearing on the title-page of *Nature* [38]; hence these accounts probably add nothing of value to the earlier and more substantial documentation.

While Henry Medwall may qualify as the earliest English playwright whose name and career can be known with any certainty, his brother John may count as a summoner whose life can be documented with exceptional thoroughness. A summoner, or apparitor, was a minor legal servant who delivered summonses and sought out offenders on behalf of an ecclesiastical court.⁸ The summoner was also an investigator who could call the attention of the court to the activity of sinners, and who was in an excellent position to allow himself to be bought off. Late medieval writers took great pleasure in heaping abuse on the character of the summoner, as in Chaucer's outraged portrait in the *General Prologue*, and in the characterization of the summoner in the *Friar's Prologue and Tale*.⁹

One example of the unethical practices attributed to summoners is recorded in Robert Greene's cony-catching pamphlet of 1591, *A Notable Discovery of Coosnage* (Cozenage). The character in question only claims to be a summoner, but his ruse would not work if certain real summoners did not behave in the same manner:

There lives about this towne certaine housholders, yet meere shifters and coosners, who learning some insight in the civill law, walke abroad like parators [i.e. apparitors], sumners and informers, beeing none at all either in office or credit, and they go spying about where any marchant, or marchants prentise, citizen, wealthie farmer, or other of credit, either accompany with anie woman familiarly, or else hath gotten some maide with child, as mens natures be prone to sin. Straight they come over his fallows [i.e. trip him up] thus: they send for him to a taverne, and ther open the matter to him, which they have cunningly larned out, telling him he must be presented to the Arches, and the scitation shalbe peremptorily served in his parish church. The partie, afraid to have his credit crackt with the worshipfull of

the Citie and the rest of his neighbors, and grieving highly his wife should heare of it, straight takes composition with this cosener for some twentie markes . . .¹⁰

"The Arches" was the ecclesiastical court situated in the Church of the Blessed Mary of the Arches in Cheapside, London. This court, also called the Court of Canterbury, had jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical districts in metropolitan London which were controlled by the archbishop rather than the bishop of London.¹¹ (It was to this court that John Medwall was appointed summoner.) Greene, continuing his exposition, complains that false summoners "discredite, hinder, and prejudice the Court of the Arches, and the officers belonging to the same".

John Medwall was at least five years older than Henry, and preceded him to Eton, finishing perhaps in 1474 [1]. This was evidently the John Maidwell, a kinsman of Richard West and an acquaintance of Nicholas Mille, who figures so prominently in the lawsuit brought by Mille against West in 1476 [4-5]. In 1469 West had entrusted a large stock of cloth to Mille, but by 1475 West feared Mille was squandering the investment. Mille and West agreed that Maidwell should become Mille's associate, but this agreement failed to heal the breach between them. Maidwell ravished or more probably seduced Mille's daughter, Mille accused Maidwell of being in league with West and fled to sanctuary in Westminster, West threw Mille's family out of the house which West himself owned, and finally Maidwell was sent "over the sea", perhaps to be put out of the way until things cooled down. It is not known whether the affair was ever resolved or whether John Maidwell made good his pledge to marry Mille's daughter [5.c]. However, the John Medwall who was similarly over the sea in 1520 and 1523 [36-37] may well have been a son or grandson.

During the late 1470's and the first half of the 1480's John Medwall was involved in various business affairs, almost all of which seem to have involved sharp practices on the part of one party or the other [10-13]. On one occasion he was placed under arrest in London on a charge of resorting to "force and armes" [11]. Perhaps the most interesting document represents an attempt to recover over £30 from the abbot of St Saviour, Bermondsey, for whom Medwall acted as rent collector in Southwark and London. One of John Medwall's two sureties was "Henry Medwall, gentilman" [13].

Despite the unsavoury air surrounding many of his legal disputes, John Medwall retained a degree of respectability, for instance visiting King's College on the same occasion as Oliver Kyng, formerly royal secretary and subsequently secretary to Henry VII [7.c.14]. Contacts of this kind, or influence brought to bear by his younger brother, were the apparent cause of his appointment in 1487 as apparitor or summoner to the dean of the Arches, with jurisdiction in London, Southwark, and the suburbs [14]. John Medwall's Eton College training justified the appellation "literate" used in the letter of appointment and applied to certain other summoners over the years.¹² As a citizen of Southwark he was already well acquainted with this most notorious suburb, which housed the Bankside stews or

brothels.¹³ His experience as rent collector [13] must have added to his considerable knowledge of the territory under his jurisdiction.

No records survive to reveal how John Medwall behaved in his role as summoner. From other evidence we may be fairly certain that he went about his business on foot, carrying his white wand of office.¹⁴ John Medwall's profession of summoner carried about the same degree of social status as his brother's profession of notary.¹⁵ The two offices were closely linked in function, for John Medwall as apparitor was responsible for summoning offenders under threat of excommunication and arrest by writ of *Significavit*, while Henry Medwall as notary was responsible for issuing and attesting the same writs.¹⁶ Thirteen writs with Henry Medwall's notarial knot survive in the Public Record Office [20].

In 1489 and 1490 John Medwall was employed as a servant to King's College, perhaps in the capacity of legal administrator [7.d, 8.b]. Once again, the elder brother may have benefitted from influence exerted by the younger. In fact, though the brothers held offices of nominally equivalent status, their life careers were markedly different. John Medwall apparently had to seize opportunities haphazardly as they came his way, patching together a career and an income. Henry Medwall was identified by Morton very early on as a young man of high ability, and was given a post as soon as the first opportunity arose. Though Henry Medwall retained his relatively modest position of notary for the whole duration of his known career, this did not prevent him from moving in the highest circles [15-16], befriending an archbishop [35], exerting his influence on his brother's behalf [14], dabbling in commerce [27-30], controlling the archiepiscopal registry [31], and securing royal letters of protection against arrest [32].

Henry Medwall's two plays confirm the impression made by the documents of a man blessed with high intelligence, ready wit, and a knowledge of the goodness as well as the seaminess of human life. John Medwall conforms more to what we know of summoners from historical documents and literary sources: he was a man who lived an erratic and frequently troubled life, surviving by his wits in the middle world where legal activity shades off into vice.

NOTES

- 1 Arthur W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood, and the More Circle* (London, 1926), pp.101-4; and Henry Medwall, *Fulgens and Lucres: A Fifteenth-Century Secular Play*, ed. Frederick S. Boas and Arthur W. Reed, (Oxford, 1926), pp.xv-xvii.
- 2 Thomas Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses* (Birmingham, 1797); John Venn and John A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I (Earliest Times to 1751)*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-27); Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register, 1441-1698* (Eton, 1943); and Alfred B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500*, (Cambridge, 1963), hereafter cited as Emden, *B.R.U.C.*
- 3 "The Morality Plays", in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, vol.5, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, 1975), p.1378.
- 4 Ed. Alan H. Nelson (Ipswich, 1980).
- 5 "COMMON FORM" signifies a standard legal formula which is virtually identical in similar cases except that the name(s) of the particular party or parties are inserted to cover a particular case. Thus a brief summary will give as accurate a picture of the case as a full transcription.
- 6 This occurred in the Christmas season of 1482: see *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, Introduction.
- 7 Irene J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishopric of Canterbury Illustrated from Original Records*, Church Historical Society, New Series, 15, 2 vols. (London, 1933), I, pp.24-25.
- 8 Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, I, pp.432, 456-57, 480-81; II, pp.215-16. See also next note.
- 9 Louis A. Haselmayer, "The Apparitor and Chaucer's Summoner", *Speculum* 12 (1937), 43-57; Muriel Bowden, *A Commentary on the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1948), pp.262-73; and Arthur C. Cawley, "Chaucer's Summoner, the Friar's Summoner, and the Friar's Tale", *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 8 (1957), 173-80.
- 10 Sig. D3^r.
- 11 Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, I, pp.424-69.
- 12 Haselmayer, "The Apparitor", 51.
- 13 David J. Johnson, *Southwark and the City* (London, 1969). Further on prostitution and criminality in late medieval Southwark and London, see Arthur V. Judges, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (London, 1930); Ephraim J. Burford, *The Orrible Synne* (London, 1973), and *Bawds and Lodgings* (London, 1976); and Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (London, 1977).
- 14 Haselmayer, "The Apparitor", 45-46, 49, 53.
- 15 Haselmayer, "The Apparitor", 51-52.

16

Francis Donald Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: A Study in Legal Procedure from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 15 (Toronto, 1968). See also Christopher R. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1972).

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GENERAL NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTIONS

The following transcriptions generally conform to the conventions adopted for *The Plays of Henry Medwall*. Punctuation, capitalization, and word division have been normalized, abbreviations and suspensions are expanded silently, *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* are regularized according to modern convention, initial *ff* is printed as *F* or *f*, the plural ending is expanded to *es* in English (to *is* in 5.b), and thorn is given as *th*. Pointed brackets indicate a hole or other positive defect in the manuscript, square brackets indicate editorial reconstruction where the original has faded to illegibility (even under ultra-violet light), while parentheses indicate editorial emendations, including doubtful expansions. Numbers within square brackets indicate the approximate number of characters left out of a conjectural reconstruction. Interlinear corrections or additions are incorporated into the text without comment. In general the texts are all straightforward, and contain virtually nothing of interest that has been obscured by these conventions. In no case do corrections indicate second thoughts, or subsequent emendations by later scribes.

Entries are keyed by numbers in square brackets to the essay above as well as to the Introduction to *The Plays of Henry Medwall*. Each entry includes the date(s) of the document; a description of the document (where not self-evident); a full reference to the document; a note on any published notice or transcription; a brief commentary; either a full transcription, or a summary where the document is COMMON FORM; a translation, and further comment where necessary.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C.C.R. *Calendar of Court Rolls*
C.P.R. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*
E.C.P. *Early Chancery Proceedings*

The above are all PRO publications

Emden, B.R.U.C. *Alfred B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500* (Cambridge, 1963).
Emden, B.R.U.O. *Idem, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (1957-59).
LC *Liber Communarum* (King's College, Muniments)
MB *Mundum Book* (King's College, Muniments)
PRO Public Record Office, London

A brief *Glossary* appears at the end of the transcriptions.

[1] ? 1473-74. Bursar's Account Book 1473-75. Eton College Library MS 231, fol.15^x, under *Custus forensis*. Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register, 1441-1698* (Eton, 1943), p.229

A payment to Henry Byrd, porter of Eton College, doubtless because he took care of John Medwall during an illness: cf. no.6. Commons, or expenses for food, were calculated at 8^d per week.

Item Henrico Byrd hostiario pro communibus di. septimana Johannis Medewall: iiiij^d.

[Item, to Henry Byrd, porter, for commons, one half week, of John Medewall: 4^d.]

[2] 1 August 1474. Eton College Archives, Election Indenture Roll 1474. Richard A. Austen-Leigh, "Early Election Rolls, 1444-1503", *Etoniana* 12 (19 July 1911), 188.

Henry Medwall's first nomination to Eton as a king's scholar. Presumably Medwall was twelve at the time of this entry, and would turn thirteen in a little more than a month. If so, he was born in 1461. The festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary was not necessarily the exact day of Medwall's birth, but rather the nearest festival day of consequence.

H. Medwale etatis xij ann(or)um festivo Natalis Beate Marie de comitatu Surr' burgo Sowtehwerke.

[H(enry) Medwale, aged 12 on the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September), of the county of Surrey, borough of Southwark.]

[3] 14 July 1475. Eton College Archives, Election Indenture Roll 1475. Austen-Leigh, "Early Election Rolls", 189.

Henry Medwall's second nomination to Eton. Presumably, this time the nomination took effect.

Henricus Medwale etatis xiiij ann(or)um in festivo Natalis Beate Marie villa Suthwark.

[4] 6 October 1476 (date of endorsement). Petition to Chancery. PRO C.1/50/412. *E.C.P.*, II.

Nicholas Mille, citizen and tailor of London, petitions for release from an action of debt by Richard West, tailor of London, in collusion with John Maydwell, said action having been taken against Maydwell and Mille. Further on this case, see no.5.

To the right reverend fader in God Thomas Bisshop of
Lincoln chaunceller of Englund

Mekely besecheth your good lordship Nicholas Mille, citezine and
taillour of London, that where oone Richard West, taillour of London,
the xxiiij^{ti} day of Aprill the xvjth yere of the reigne of the kyng
our liege lord that nowe is (1476), delivered to your seyde besecher
and to oone John Maydwell a certeyn stokke of wollyn cloth and other
merchandise to the value of DCCCC li to have to theym jointly and it
to occupie at theyr libertie and to bye and selle therwith from the
foresaid xxiiij^{ti} day of Aprill unto the end of the terme of xij
yeres than next suyng, to thentent that the foresaid Nicholas your
besecher and the said John Maydwell shulde onys in the yere duryng
the said terme of xij yere make a just and true accompte unto the
said Richard, to his executours or assignees, as well of the said
stokke of DCCCC li as of thencrease that shuld come of the same
stokke, and that your said besecher and the said John Maydwell shuld
have the oone half of the said encrease for their parte to their owne
use, and the said Richard to have the other half of the said encrease
to his owne use, and over that atte (the) end of the terme of the
said xij yere the said Richard, his executours or assignees, to have
relyvere of the said stokke of DCCCC li, and for the more boldisshyng
of your said besecher to receyve the foresaid stokke, the said
Richard grauntid to hym and to the said John Maydwell that neither
he nor his executours shuld neither attach nor arreste your said
besecher nor the said John Maydwell nor either of theym, for bettyr
suertie duryng the said terme of xij yeres, the whiche graunte, with
the lyvere of the foresaid stokke of DCCCC li to thentent bifore
reherced, may more playnly appiere by endentures therof made bitwene
the said Richard West on the oone partie, and your said besecher and
the said John Maydwell on the other partie, wherof oone parte of the
said endentures ensealed with the seale of the said Richard West
remayneth with your said besecher redy to be shewed. And aftir the
livere made of the said stokke of DCCCC li in fourme bifore specified,
the said Richard West by subtilie ymaginacion and covyn had bitwene
hym and the said John Maydwell, intendencyng the uttir undoyng of your
said besecher, the xxv^{ti} day of Aprill the xvjth yere of the reigne
of the kyng aforeseid affermyd a pleynt of dette in the courte of our
lord kyng bifore oone of the shireffes of London ayenst your said
besecher and the said John Maydwell joyntly of the demaunde of M li.
And by force of the said pleynt the said Richard West hath caused to
attache and arrest after the custume of the cite of London alle the
stokke of alle the said merchandise to the value of DCCCC li whiche
was to theym by the said Richard West delivered, and also alle the
goodes and stuff of howshold that your besecher had within the cite
of London, the whiche draweth to the value of v^c li (i.e. £500) over
the said somme of DCCCC li. And the said Richard West thorough covyn
had bitwene hym and the said John Maydwell hath caused alle the said
goodes to be retourned attached as the goodes of the said John
Maydwell and of your said besechers jointly. For the whiche cause
your said besecher is withoutyn remedy bothe by cours of the comen
lawe and by lawe customary of the cite of London, for the said goodes
may not be discharged of the said arrest withoute the said John
Maydwell wolde appiere with your said besecher and sette suertie to

the seyd pleynt to aunswere the seyd Richard West, the whiche the seyd John Maydwell wolle not do forasmoche as he is of covyn with the pleyntyff in the seyd accion tamyng, and confesseth the seyd M li to be due by hym and by your seyd besecher to the seyd Richard West, whereas in verrey truthe your besecher shall make due prooffe byfore your lordship at any covenable tyme, that he oweth no peny to the seyd Richard. And withoute the more gracious ayde be shewed by your good lordship to your seyd besecher in the premisses, he is lyke to be uttirly undone ayenst right and conscience. That it may please your good and gracious lordship, the premisses tenderly considerd, to graunte a writte of *certiorari* to be directe to the meyre and shireffes of London, commaundyng theym by the same to certifie bifore the kyng in his chauncerie the cause of tharrest of alle the foreseid goodes of your seyd besechers, at a certeyn day by your lordship to be limited, that upon examination of the premisses bifore your lordship then and ther to be had, due rightwisnesse may be mynystred bitwene the seyd parties accordyng to reason and conscience, and that in the reverence of God and in the way of charite.

[Endorsement:] *Coram domino rege in cancellaria sua in octavis sancti Michaelis.*

[Before the lord king in his chancery, one week following the feast of St Michael, i.e. on 6 October 1476.]

[5] 1476. Petitions to Chancery. PRO C.1/59/165-8. *E.C.P.*, II.

Four petitions and replies, the same case as no.4. In 1469 Richard West delivered to Nicholas Mille a stock of cloth worth £400. Mille was to engage in trade with the cloth for twelve years, keeping a percentage of the increase for himself, and turning the balance over to West. By 1475 West had become dissatisfied with Mille's management of the stock, and persuaded him to accept John Maidwell, a "kynnesman" of West's, as his partner, living in his house, and trading from his shop. (Mille claims that Maidwell joined him not as a partner, but as a servant.) Within a year Maidwell "ravysshed and defoyled the daughter of the said Nicholas, for whiche cause the saide Nicholas putte the saide John Maydwell out of his hous". West tried to promote a reconciliation, Mille took sanctuary in Westminster, West put Mille's family out of the house (which belonged to West) "at ix of the clok in the nyght", and Mille finally agreed to a reconciliation on the condition that Maidwell would swear to marry Mille's daughter. Maidwell did so swear. However, the day after the reconciliation was confirmed, that is, on 25 April 1476, West sued Mille and Maidwell for the entire amount of the stock, which by this time was £1,000. Mille rejects the debt, but Maidwell accepts it. Mille argues that Maidwell is acting in collusion with West, and it is on this basis that Mille appeals to the chancellor rather than fighting the suit in common law.

Several additional petitions are of interest in this affair, as possibly shedding further light on Mille or West (all bear the C.1

prefix): 46/469; 48/52; 64/331, 910, 943, 967, 1003, 1100; 66/66; 67/196 (see *E.C.P.*, II, for summaries). See also *C.P.R.* (1467-77), pp.80 (West), 576, 578 (Mille).

The probability that John Maidwell or Maydwell is identical to the John Medwall named in other documents is enhanced by variant spellings of the name Medwall especially in nos.7.c.23 and 7.d, and by the fact that Richard West had connections in Southwark as well as in London (PRO C.1/48/52).

[5.a] PRO C.1/59/165

To the right reverend fader in <God Thomas Bishop>
of Lyncoln and chaunciller o<f England>

Mekely besechith your gode lordship Nicholas Mylle of London, taillour, that where he thurgh grete request and special labour made to hym by one Richard West of London, taillour, the xiiij day of Decembr the ixth yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the iijth (1469) covauntyd with the said Richard West by dede indentid, that is to wete that the same Richard shulde delivere to <the> seid Nicholas Mylle a stokke of wollen cloth to the valu of CCC li to bye and selle and merchaundise therwith fro the feste of Cristemes than next folwing to the ende of the terme of xij yeris <then ne>xt suyng, and ferthermore it was covauntyd that the said Nicholas Mylle shulde onys in the yere duryng the said terme make a just and true accompte unto the said Richard West aswell <of the> said stokke of CCC li as of the encrece that schulde come of the said stokke, and that the said Nicholas Mylle yerely shulde have the thridde parte of the encrece of the said stokke to his propur use, and the overplus of the increce, certeyn costis deductid, the said Richard West shulde have to his parte, and over that at the ende of the said xij yeris the said stokke of CCC li to be relyverid to the said Richard West or to his executoures, the said Richard West standing to no jobardy nor aventure of the said stokke nor of any parcell therof. After the whiche covauntyd in the forme aforsaid made, the said Richard West delivered to the said Nicholas Mylle at several tymes merchaundises to the valu of CClij li viij^s x^d ob q^a whereas by the forsaid covauntyd he shuld have delivered CCC li to your besecher. And afterward the said Nicholas your besecher merchaundised with the said CCC li and lij li viij^s x^d ob q^a by the space of v yeris, by the whiche tyme the parte of the increce that afferid only to the said Richard West drewe to CCxxx< -5- > q^a as it evidently apperid by accountis made yerely by your said bisecher unto the said Richard West duryng the said terme of v yeris. And in and uppon the said accountis makynge the <said Ric>hard West contrarie to gode conscience chargid your bisecher with alle the dettours, of whiche many be desperate, and your besecher kaime nevir le< -4- >¹ nor gete thaim by any mene < -10- >eward the said Richard West fraudelently and subtilly intending to defraude your besecher of the occupation of the said stokke of CClij li viij^s x^d ob <q^a before the terme o<f the said xij yeris, kame and said to the said Nicholas your besecher that ther was a kynnesman of the said Richard West whos name was John <Maydwell, and the said Richard> West willed and specially laboured

your besecher to take the said John Maydwell to be his partyngfelowe
 in byng and sellyng, and with that that the s~~a~~id Nicholas Mylle
 your besec~~h~~er wolde agre therto, and also to delivere to the said
 Richard West alle maner writings and indentur~~e~~s made~~d~~ bifore that
 tyme bitwene the said Richard West and < -28- >well the covenaut
 and lyvere of the first stokke of CCclij li viij^s x^d ob q^a as the
 account < -14- >e of the said stokke and of the increce of the sam~~e~~
 -30- sa~~m~~e Richard West said that he wold delivere by indenture a
 stokke of DCCCC li joyntely to the <said Nicholas> Mylle your
 besecher and to the said John Maydwell < -30- > West accounting in
 the same stokke of DCCCC li the first stokke of CCclij li viij^s x^d
 ob q^a to y~~o~~ur bese~~ch~~er first delivered and also the said gayne and
 increce of C < -24- the seid> Richard growing in the forsaid y~~e~~ris
 of the said first stokke of CCclij li viij^s x^d ob q^a. And also the
 said Richard West desired and willed that the forsaid N~~i~~cholas your
 beseche~~r~~ and the said John Maydwell shulde joyntely occupie the
 forsaid stokke of DCCCC li by the terme of xij y~~e~~ris and therwith
 bye and selle jointlye the terme bigy~~n~~ning the xxiiij daye of
 A~~p~~rill the xvj yere of the reigne of the kyng~~e~~ oure soverayn lord
 that now is duryng to the ende of the said terme than next folwing.
 And ferthermore the said Richard Wes~~t~~ desired and willed t~~h~~at the
 said Nicholas Mylle your besecher and John Maydwell shulde yerely
 accounte justely and trully of the same stokke and of the increce of
 the same during the terme of x~~i~~j y~~e~~ris to the said Richar~~d~~ or to
 his executoures, and that the said Nicholas Mylle and John Maydwell
 shulde have the one half of the said increce for their parte to
 the~~r~~r owne use and the said Ric~~h~~ard to~~g~~e have th~~e~~ other~~e~~ half of
 the said increce, certeyn costis deductid, to his owne use. And
 ovir that at the ende of the terme of the said xij y~~e~~ris the said
 Richard West his executoures or assignes to have relyvere of the
 said stokke of DCCCC li. And for the more boldisshing of the said
 Nicholas your besecher to receive the said stokke jointlye with the
 said John Maydwell in the forme bifore specified, the said Richard
 West grauntid to the said Nicholas Mylle and John Maydwell that he
 nor his executoures shulde neither attache nor arreste the said
 Nicholas Mylle nor the said John Maydwell nor any of them for bettir
 suerte duryng the said terme of xij y~~e~~ris. And the said Nicholas
 Mylle your besecher, gefyng fulle confidence to the said promyse,
 seyng the desire of the said Richard West and also at that tyme not
 knowing that the said John Maydwell was confetrid and of covyn with
 the said Richard West to hurte and utterly undo your seid besecher,
 agreid and assentid to take the forsaid stokke of DCCCC li jointlye
 with the said John Maydwell and it to occupie in suche fourme as is
 bifore specified and desired by the seid Richard West, wherupon a
 paire of indentures were made bitwene the said Richard West upon the
 one parte and the said Nicholas your besecher and the said John
 Maydwell on the other parte, witnessyng the covenautis and agreement
 in the forme bifore specified of whiche indentures the date is the
 forsaid xxiiij^{ti} day of Aprill the xvj yere of oure lord kyng that
 now is. And one parte therof insealid with the seale of the seid
 Richard West remayneth with the said Nicholas Mylle your besecher
 redy to be shewid. And after the said indentures made, the said
 Richard West thurgh crafte and covyn hadde bitwene hym and the said
 John Maydwell, the xxv day of Aprill the xvj yere of the reigne of

oure said lord the kyng that now is, affermed a playnte of dette ayenst the said Nicholas Mylle and John Maydwell jointly bifore the sherefis of London of the demaund of a M *li*. A<nd> by vertu of the said playnte the said Richard West hath causid to attache and arreste alle the said stokke and merchaundises whiche he hadde delivered to the said Nicholas Mylle and John Ma<ydwe>ll, and also the said Richard West causid to arreste alle other godis that the said Nicholas Mylle your besecher hadde or was possessid of, al the which godis extende to the valu of <a M -14- and> CCCC *li*. And the said Richard West hath causid alle the said godis to be returned attached as the godis of the said Nicholas Mylle and of John Maydwell joyntly, for the whiche <cau>se the said Nicholas your besecher is without remedie by the cours of comyn lawe, for the said godis may not be discharged of the said arrest but yf so were that the said John Maydwell wold appere jointly with your said besecher and sette suerte to answeere to the said Richard West in his said playnte of the demaunde of a M *li*, and that the said John Maydwell wille not do forasmoch<e> as he is of covyn with the said Richard West in tamynge of the said playnt. And also the same John Maydwell confessith and affermeth that he and the said Nicholas your besecher oweth to the said Richard West a M *li*, whereas in verry trouthe youre bisecher shal make due profe bifore your lordship that he owith no peny to the said Richard West. And thus by sinistr<e an>d subtil meanes your bisecher is likely to be utterly undoon withoute the more gracious socoure and eyde be to hym shewid by your gode lordship. Therefore that it may please your gode lordship the premisses tenderly <c>onsiderid to graunte a writte *sub pena* to be directid to the said Richard West hym commaunding by the same to apere bifore the kyng in his chauncerie at a certeyn day and upon a certeyn payne by your lordship to be lymytid, that upon examynacion of the premisses before your lordship than and ther to be had, due rightwisnes may be mynistred bitwene the said parties accordyng to gode reason and conscience, and that in the reverence of God and in the wey of charite.

Plegii de premissis: Johannes Hane de London, gentilman
 [Guarantors to the above:] Willelmus Graunte de eadem, yoman

¹ Document damaged. No letter precedes the *l*; nevertheless, (*p*)*legge* or (*a*)*le* (for *ally*, i.e. 'business partner') may be intended.

[5.b] PRO C.1/59/166

[The right-hand side of this document, at most a sixth of its width, is badly faded, often entirely illegible even under ultraviolet light. Many readings can be restored by comparison to no.5.a. Vertical bars mark the breaks between lines of text; readings at the very end of some lines are less reliable than the bulk of the transcription.]

This is thansweer of Richard West oon to the bille
 of Nicholas Mille

The seid Richard seith that the mater conteyned in the seid bill is

insufficient and non certeyn to put hym to answer, and also with that, the same mater is mater determinable by the comen lawe and not in this court, wherof he hath allowance. And over that saith that up[on] comunicacion had | betwene the seid Richard and Nicholas, it was agreed betwene them that the seid Nicholas shuld be servaunt to the seid Richard and dwell in an howse of the seid Richard and to have of hym a stokke of marchaundise and to serve hym truely [by] feet of marchaundise [and therwith to utt]er and occup[ie in] the seid howse, | wherupon it [MS: is] was covenanted between them by the seid deed endented, made the seid xiiij day of Decembr the seid ixth yeere, that the seid Richard shuld delyver unto the same Nicholas a stokke of CCCC li in wollen clothe or such reasonable clothe as the seid Nicholas shuld requere, the said Richard [-10-]¹ | penyworthes as cowde be thought for redy money or els for dayes by th<e a>dvice of the seid Nicholas, which stokke of CCCC li the seid Nicholas shuld have and occupie and therwith to bie and sell from the fest of Christenmes then next ensuyng unto thende and terme of xi[j yere next fo]lwyng, | and that the seid Nicholas shuld oones in the yeer duryng the same terme make a juste accompt unto the seid Richard of the seid stokke and of thencrease which God shuld fortune to come of the same, of which encrees the seid Nicholas shuld have the third part for his labour to his owne [use, and the overplus] | of the same encrease over the resonable costes deducte, that is to sey xl by yeer for the howse rent of the same Nicholas and xx^d wekely for the boorde of the seid Nicholas and a servaunt or apprentice with other costes necessarie by wey of marchaundise, shuld allwey remeyn unto thu[se and profit] of | the seid Richard as in the same endenture pleynly appereth, withoute that that it is specified or comprised in the same endenture that the seid Nicholas shuld at thende of the seid terme relyver the seid stokke unto the seid Richard or his executors or that the seid [Nicholas] shuld [sta]nd [to n]o jeo[pardy or] | aventure of the seid stokk or eny parcell therof. And over that the seid Richard seith that the seid Nicholas was but his servaunt therin by the seid tyme and soe was reputed and taken, and that incontinent after the makyng of the seid endenture the seid Richard chargid the said Nicholas [-15- that] | he shuld not lend nor jeopardde any part of the seid stokk to eny person but to such as he at his perile wold stond to withoute the speciall licence of the seid Richard, withoute that that the seid Richard made any other covenant with the said Nicholas for the seid stokke of CCC[C li than wa]s before [agreed] | by the seid Richard. And after the seid endenture soe made and within the seid v yeere specified in the seid bille, the seid Nicholas leved rioutously, wastyng and largely dispendyng grette part of the seid stokke, and over that he came plegge and suerte for dyverse persons in right grete somes. And [after that he] | had soe indaungered hymselfe, than he made a generall deed of gifte of all the seid goodis he had to oon Piers Pekham as it appereth by the same deed enrolled before the maire of London, by colour wherof the seid Piers claymed to have the seid stokke. And [be]for tha [-10-] ende of [-15-] | Sir Thomas Stalbroke, knyght and alderman of London, made the seid Nicholas to be arrested upon a pleynt of dett of an C li, and over that he was endetted by wey of suerte to Sir William Tailleur and to Percyvale Serjaunt of London in CC1 [-5-] li. And the seid Richard,

seyng [the jeopardye and losse he was lyke] | to stond in and have by the seid Nicholas, seid to the same Nicholas, 'I see well that my stokk wasteth and decresseth fast through thy mysygydyng and that th(o)u hast grettly endaungered thy self, wherfore and thou see no bette abowt, I woll have my stokke ayen'. [Then] the [said Nicholas said, 'Then] | am I but utterly undoo and ye sett uppon me, but and ye be my good master I trust in God to overcome al this'. And ferther seid, 'Sir, ye have a kynnesman called John Maydewell with whom I have byn well acqueynted, and of longtyme he servith² to geder. And yf ye wold pres[erve your seid stokke, allow] | us both to occupie your seid stokk joyntly and make us up an hoole stokk of DCCC *li* and soe late hym and me joyntly dele togeder with the hoole. I shall not doe therin but by his advise, and I trust in God we shall soe doo that shall be to your wele and owres both'. And the seid Richard, [specially knowing the] | trowth and wysdom of the seid John Maydewell, agreyng to the same, made them up a stokke of DCCC *li* and was contented that they ij togeder shuld jointly occupie the seid stokke of DCCC *li*, takyng for ther labour the iij^{de} part of thencrease of the same, and the seid Richard to [have the overplus of the] same | encresse, deducte therof certein costis, by force wherof they occupied the same stokk jointly nygh by the space of a yeer then next folowyng. And this notwithstanding, the seid Nicholas, allwey purposyng and imagynyng to desceive the seid Richard, craftely and pryvely [-25-] to Westminster, and conveyed with hym lxviij longe clothes greyned and ungreyned to the value of CCCCLxxvj *li* or ther abowte, and a bagge of greyne to the value of xl *li* or ther abowte, lxiiij yerdis of blake velougher to the value of xxx[v] *li* [and also dyverse sommes] | of money by hym receyved of the same stokke by the space of a quarter of a yeer then next before, and theer toke the privalage of the same seintwarie, and theer abood and yett doth. And anon after his comyng thider sent unto London be nyght by his ij sonnes to his wif, theer to [carry away privily all the rest of] | the seid stokk. And then his wif, perceyvynge ther seid entent, seid, 'Allas, what thinkith my husbond and yee to doo? Will ye shame your self and undoo this man that hath put in us this grete truste, and by whom we have had our levyng for long tyme?' And seid, 'Sonnes, I charge you on my [life to take away no more] | goodis, for ye have borne hens to moch, and yf ye doo, I woll goo into the strete and make an opyn crie uppon you that all the world shall knowe your untrew delyng'. Wherfor they then lefte. Bifore which departyng of the seid Nicholas to seintwarie, he for certeyn un[-8- actions of the] | seid John Maidewell, kepte the seid John Maidewell oute of the seid howse and shopp and wold not suffre hym to come in theer, and in the meane tyme conveyed the seid goodis to seintwarie as is befor expressed. And then the seid John Maidwell, heryng and understanding [the untrew] | delyng and mysbehavyng of the seid Nicholas, cam to the seid Richard and shewed all this mater unto hym and prayed hym for the salvacion of that was lefte of the seid goodis and stokk to see sume meane for hymself in that behalf or els all wold be lost. Wherupon the se[id Richard, seeing the] | jeopardie of losse of this grett goodis which shuld be to his grette losse and undoyng yf noo hasti remedie were purveyed therfor, went to Westminster to the seid Nicholas and entreted hym full lowly to come home and to bring ayen the seid goodis soo conveyed to the seid

[seintwarie. But for] | eny entretyng or prayer he wold in no wise therto agree of less then the seid Richard wold take to hym and to the seid John Maydewell an C *li* of redy money to the seid stokke of DCCC *li* and then by endenture to graunte and delyvere the seid hoole stokk of DCCCC [*li* to the use of the seid] | Nicholas and John Maidwell to have and occupie the same from the seid xxiiij day of Aprile this presente yere unto thende and terme of xij yeeres then next ensuyng, yeldyng therof yeerly to the seid Richard a juste accompte, takyng for ther labour the oon half of thencrece [of the seid stokke, the] | seid Richard the other half of the same encrease, certeyn costis of the part of the seid Richard deducte, that is to saye iiij^s iiiij^d every week duryng the seid yeris for the expensis in howsehold of the seid Nicholas and John Maydwell for them and ther servautes. And the seid Richard, seyng [he could in no wyse] | bring and geet the seid Nicholas and his seid goodis oute of the seid seyntwarie, and considryng in his mynd his greet jepardie of losse of the seid goodis, which was like to be his grete undoyng, and also remembryng all thuntrewe delyng of the seid Nicholas, was fayn of veraye necessite to [-16-. And] | therupon the seid endenturs beryng date the seid xxiiij day of Aprile weer made up accordyng, and the seid Richard West delyvered to them C *li* [redy] money by the handes of John Clerke to make up the seid stokke of DCCCC *li*. And therupon the seid [Nicholas] sent all [of the seid] | goodis by hym soe bifore conveyed to seintwarie as is before seid to the seid shopp to London, and his seid sonnes came thider and tooke upon them the rule therof for the part of the seid Nicholas, and the seid Nicholas taried stille himsilfe in seintwarie and wold in [no wyse come forth] | to the seid appoyntement. And the seid Richard, seyng and also percevyng all this by the demeanyng forseid that the seid Nicholas ment untruly and ferther to diceyve the seid Richard (as) [be]fore,³ feryng also the greete jeopardie he stood in than, and also for the suerte of the seid | stokke, withoute eny advise of lerned counsell affermed the seyde pleynt of M *li* to thentent his seid stokk myght be put in saufgard and suerte, and no more to be enbesiled or conveyed to eny seyntwaries plaies. Wherin he trustith to God, all the premisses discretly | considred and understond, he hath neither offended reason nor good conscience; and ferthermore he seith he is redy to doo herin at all tymes as good conscience requireth. Withoute that that the seid Richard West fraudelently and subtilly entended to defraude the seid | Nicholas of the occupacion of the seid first stokke, and withoute that the seid Richard West first labowed or named the seid John Maidwell to be partyngfelow with the seid Nicholas in the occupacion of byyng and sellyng with the seid stokk, and withoute that the said | Richard West and John Maidwell weer confedered and of covyn to utterly to undoo the seid Nicholas Mille, and withoute that the seid goodis attached by the seid pleynt weer of such value as the seid Nicholas in his seid bill hath surmitted. All which maters the | seid Richard West is redy to prove as to this court shall be though(t) convenient, and prayeth to be dismissed with his resonable costis and damages for his wrongfull vexacion in this behalfe.

¹ Many letters are slightly visible, suggesting *osicch* or *osuch* (long s). Clearly Richard West claims that he owes no penyworth or

paid every penyworth of money.

² Obscure; perhaps *suith*, i.e. *sueth*, begs to be employed.

³ Faded; perhaps *sore*.

[5.c] PRO C.1/59/167

This is the replicacion of Nicholas Mille to the
answere of Richard West, tallour

Furst he saith that the mater conteigned in the said answeere is not sufficiant in the lawe ne in conscience to be replied unto. And where the said Richard West saith that uppon certeyn communication hadde bitwene them that the said Nicholas shulde be servaunt unto the said Richard and dwelle in an hous of the said Richard and to have of hym a stokke of merchaundise and to serve hym truely by fete of merchaundise and that to utter and occupie in the said hous, therto the said Nicholas saith that it was never agreed bitwene hym and the said Richard that the said Nicholas shulde be servaunt to the said Richard nor to dwelle in a hous of the said Richard, for what tyme the said Richard West delivered to your said besecher the said first stokke of CClij li viij^s x^d ob q^a according to the condicions as the said Nicholas hath alleged in his saide supplicacion, the said Nicholas dwellid in an hous in Can(del)wikstrete sette in the parish of Seint Martyn Orgar¹ whiche he fermed of one Richard Wilby now dede, wherein he occupied the said stokke at his owne liberte by the space of xij monethis and more according to the said condicions comprised in his said indenture alleged in his said supplicacion; and aftir that the said Nicholas Mille toke an hous in the parish of Alhalwen the More in London¹ of the said Richard West for termes of yeres by dede indentid, yelding to the said Richard West by the yere as moche as any other man wold yeve therfore, that is to wete, iij li xvj^d. And so after the takyng of the said place the said Nicholas remeid thider and ther dwellid and occupied his said stokke. And notwithstanding the said Richard West than dwellyng in the said parish of Alhalwen, the said Nicholas was taken and reputed as neighbourh of the said Richard, and the said Nicholas was there at lotte and scotte and was in questis aswell of the wardemote as in other,² and over that chirchewarden in the said pariss, and also yave bordyng--that is to say mete and drynke--to oone of the pariss clerkis of the said parish chirche oone day in every weke, without that that the said Nicholas was servaunt to the said Richard West or dwellid in any hous of the said Richard West in any other fourme than the said Nicholas hath bifore rehersed. And wheras the said Richard West saith that it is not comprised in the said indentures that the said Nicholas shulde at the ende of the said terme relivere the same stokke unto the same Richard West or his executours, that he shulde stonde to no jeopardy or aventure therof, the said Nicholas saith that how be it that it is not comprised in the said indentures, the said Richard West wold not enseale the said indentures but yf the said Nicholas wold leve out of the said indentures the said covenant of restitution of the forsaid stokke at thende of the said terme, and that the said Richard West shulde

bere no jeopardy therof, and also that the said Nicholas shulde
 promyse of faith and trouthe to the said Richard West, the said
 terme fynissed, to yelde unto the saide Richard West the said hole
 stok ayen, and that the said Richard shulde bere no jeopardy therof,
 to thentent that ther shulde no usure be undirstonde in the said
 bargayn. Also where the said Richard West saith that the said
 Nicholas lived riotously, expending and wasting the said stokke, and
 bycame plegge for diverse people in diverse grete sommes, and so
 hadde indaungerid hymself, and aftir made a dede of yifte to Pers
 Pekham, by colour of the whiche the said Pers claymed the said
 stokke; therto your said bisecher saith that he was never riotour
 nor waster, but lived honestly and waresly of his expensis, and ever
 was reputed and named of honest conversacion and goode gyding, as
 due prove shalbe made bifore your lordship. And also the said
 Nicholas bicame no suerte ne endaungerid hymself for no man but for
 the said Richard West to certain clothmakers in grete sommes for
 cloth of them by the said Richard bought, of whiche bondis your
 said besecher is not yet dischargid, and also for oone Sir Harry
 Bodrugan, knyght, unto oone Thomas Stalbroke, in a certeyn somme of
 money, for paiement wherof your said besecher douted to be troubled,
 wherfore your saide besecher made the saide dede of yift unto the
 said Pers Pekham, to thentent that the said stokke and alle other
 godes of the said Nicholas shulde not be attachid ne aminished for
 the dette of the said Harry, but that the said Pers shulde se the
 said stok savid and hymself and alle other men to be paied and con-
 tent of alle suche duetes as the saide Nicholas oweth unto them.
 Wherfore at suche tyme as your saide besecher was arrest at the sute
 of the said Sir Thomas Stalbroke for the duete of the said Sir Herry,
 he wolde never make no meanes nor labour unto the said Sir Thomas for
 paiement therof, but abode stille in prison unto the tyme he was
 dischargid ayenst the said Sir Thomas withoute any peny paying or
 mynissing of his said stokke. And what tyme your said besecher was
 in prison as is bifore reherced, the said Richard West came to the
 hous of the said Nicholas and there toke away the keyes fro his wyff
 and his servauntes, and putte in his owne servauntes, and ther bought
 and solde at their owne liberte and lent dyverse parcelles of whiche
 the said Nicholas hadde never accompt. And hadde not be the faith-
 fulle and trewe delyng of the said Piers Pekham, the said Richard
 West wold have taken away alle the goodes of the saide Nicholas,
 whiche were moche more in valew than the said furst stokke of CCCLij
 li viij^s x^d ob q^a. Withoute that that the said Nicholas levid
 riotously and was of mysgyding or become plegge or indaungerid hym-
 self in any other fourme than he hath before surmitted in his saide
 replicacion, except for the said Sir Herry Bodrugan unto diverse men
 of whiche he is dischargid sithen he came to seintwarie. And withoute
 that that the dede of gifte was made to the said Piers Pekham to any
 other intent or that the said Piers claymed the said stok in any
 other wise than is by the said Nicholas before allegged. And whereas
 the said Richard West saith that the said Nicholas desirid the said
 Richard West that the said John Maydwell shulde be his partyner and
 he to delivere to them a stok of CCCC li more than the saide Nicholas
 hadde before, and after the delivere of the same stok the said
 Nicholas, intending to deceive the said Richard West, went prively to
 the seyntwarie of Westmynster and conveyed with hym lxviij longe

clothes grayned and ungrayned to the valew of CCCClxxvj *li*, lxviiij
 yerdis of blak velvet to the valew of xxxv *li*, a bagge of grayne to
 the valewe of xl *li*, and dyverse sommes of money resseyved of the
 said stokke; therto the said Nicholas your besecher saith that what
 tyme the said Richard West sawe that he couthe not opteyne to have
 alle the goodes of the said Nicholas by coloure of his saide stok of
 CCCLij *li* viijs^s x^d ob q^a, the said Richard West, purposyng and
 imagening to disceive the said Nicholas, came to the said Nicholas,
 he than beyng in prison at the sute of the said Sir Thomas Stalbroke,
 knyght, as is before rehersed, and there desired the saide Nicholas
 and specyally entretid hym to have the said John Maydwell to be his
 partyner, and he wolde delyvere to your saide besecher CCCC *li* more,
 and therupon the saide Nicholas receyvid the said John Maydwell
 into his hous, and there occupied with the saide Nicholas by the
 space of xij monethes and more or the said Richard West hadde
 parfourned fulle CCCC *li* whiche he promisid, for whiche tyme the
 saide Nicholas rewarded the saide John Maydwell for his labour at
 his owne propur coste and charge, as he ought to rewarde his servaunt
 and not for his partyner. And the meane season the saide John
 Maydwell ravysshed and defoyled the daughter of the saide Nicholas,
 for whiche cause the saide Nicholas putte the saide John Maydwell
 out of his hous, and after that the saide Richard West and one
 Richard Comber entretid hym to resceive the saide John Maydwell into
 his hous ayen withoute any more clamour or noyse, and to occupye the
 saide stok joyntely accordyng to the saide condicions, whiche to do
 the saide Nicholas utterly refused. Than the saide Richard West
 desired relivere of the saide stokke of CCCC *li*, whereto the saide
 Nicholas was agreable, and delivered to the saide Richard West in
 contentacion of parcell of the saide CCCC *li* a bagge of grayne to
 the value of xl *li* or ther aboute and truly intendid to have delivered
 hym the remenaunt of the saide stokke of CCCC *li*. And forasmoch as
 the saide Nicholas wolde nought delyvere to the saide Richard West
 any other clothes but suche as he hadde of hym, the saide Nicholas
 removed out of his hous lxvij clothes into a warehous whiche the
 saide Nicholas hired of one John Kempe in the parish of Seint Mighell¹
 in the ryall of London, where the saide clothes lay longe after that
 the saide Nicholas hadde take saintwarie of Westmynster. Whiche
 lxvij clothes were none of the clothes delivered to hym by the saide
 Richard West, but the saide Nicholas hadde bought thaym of dyverse
 clothemakers, that is to say, of John Clerk of Cogsale, Thomas Henley,
 John Bocher, John Foxe, and Thomas Wyseman. And so after that the
 saide Nicholas went to a place of his owne at Chikwell in the counte
 of Essex, entending to have taried there by the space of iij dayes
 forto have overseyn his werkemen, at whiche tyme the saide Richard
 West, by covyn hadde bitwene hym and the saide John Maydwell, undir-
 standing that the said Nicholas was oute of towne, came sodenly into
 the hous of the said Nicholas, and there bare away alle the clothe
 and other merchaundises of the said Nicholas with alle his stuffe of
 householde, and putte out of the saide hous the said Nicholas wyff,
 his children, and alle his servauntes, at ix of the klok in the
 nyght, and therupon entred a playnt of dette ayenst the saide
 Nicholas and the saide John Maydwell joyntely of a M *li*. And whan
 the said Nicholas hadde understanding that his saide goodes were
 borne away and that he hadde no goodis sufficient to helpe hymselfe,

considering the saide playnt of a M li hanging ayenst hym and the saide John Maydwell, and also because that the saide Nicholas was not oonly endettyd for clothes whiche he hadde bought for hym silfe, but also for suche bondes as he hath made for the saide Richard West and for the saide Sir Herry Bodrugan, for whom he is sith discharged ayenst al maner persones as is aforesaide, for fere of imprisonment went to the said seintwarie. And after that the saide Nicholas sent for the said lxvij clothes to Westmynster to thentent that he wolde selle thaym and with the mony therof comyng content his creditours their duetes. Without that that the saide Nicholas desired the said Richard West that the saide John Maydwell shulde be his partyner, and without that that the said Nicholas entended to deceyve the saide Richard West or toke the privelage of the saintwarie aforsaide unto the tyme that the saide Richard West hadde borne away alle his goodes as is before rehersed, and without that that the saide Nicholas hadde conveyed any goodes to Westmynster before the saide playnte of a M li affermed ayenst hym and the saide John Maydwell, or any more goodes than the saide lxvij clothes, except a bagge of grayne and vj yerdis of velvet. And whereas the saide Richard West hath surmytted in his saide answere that he, seyng the grete losse and jeopardye whiche he was in, came to Westmynster and entreted the saide Nicholas to come and brynge ayen the saide goodes so conveyed to Westmynster, and therto the saide Nicholas wolde never agree unto the tyme the saide Richard West hadde graunted for to delivere unto the saide Nicholas and the saide John Maydwell a C li in redy money and then by endenture to graunte the saide hole stok of DCCCC li unto the saide Nicholas and John Maydwell in the maner and fourme as the saide Richard West hath allegged in his saide answere, and therupon delivered a C li in redy money, and notwithstanding this the said Nicholas bode stille in seintwarie and wolde not come oute, and therupon the saide Richard West conceivid the grete jeopardie that he stode in before and the untrue deling and demeing of the saide Nicholas, affermed the saide playnte of a M li to thentent that his stokke myght be surete and not enbasiled; therto the saide Nicholas saith that the said Richard West came to Westmynster to the saide Nicholas and hym entreted to come home ayen and he wolde relivere alle suche goodes as he hadde borne away oute of the hous of the said Nicholas condicionaly that he wolde take the saide John Maydwell to be his partyner, whiche the said Nicholas refused; notwithstanding, by the meanes of the said John Clerke of Cogsale the said Nicholas graunted condicionaly that the saide John Maydwell shulde wedde the doughter of the saide Nicholas whiche he hadde defoyled, to the whiche desire the said John Maydwell agreed and graunted and therto made faith and promyse in the chapter hous of Westmynster aswell to the saide Nicholas and his wyff as to the saide Richard West, John Clerke, Richard Comber, and Thomas Vocatour. And so, uppon the saide communication, the said Richard West delivered to the saide Nicholas by the handes of the saide John Clerke an obligacioun of a C li and not a C li of money, in whiche obligacioun oone John Trewe, dyer of Cogsale, was bounde unto the said Richard West, and the same obligacion is not yet paieable unto Cristemes shall come xij monethes. Uppon whiche obligacion the saide Richard West made unto the saide Nicholas a letter of attourney to recovere the saide C li. And than, after the same aggrement and faith and promyse made by the saide John

Maydwell, there was made a paire of endentures of that that the said Richard West hadde delivered to the saide Nicholas and John Maydwell DCCCC *li*, whiche DCCCC *li* the saide Nicholas and John shulde have and occupye and therwith bye and selle joyntely duryng the terme of xij yeres in maner and fourme as the saide Nicholas declarith in his saide supplicacion, and at thende of the saide terme of xij yere to make relivere ayen of the hole stokke as it aperith by the same endentures sealid by the saide Richard West whiche the saide Nicholas your besecher hath redy to shewe. And than therupon the saide Nicholas sende home ayen alle the saide clothes and the saide Richard West brought ayen suche goodis as he bare away, and so according to the saide covenantes the saide Nicholas receivid the saide John Maydwell into his hous and suffrid hym to have the demenyng and guyding of the saide goodes, and the saide Nicholas putte never his sones to tak reule of the shoppe, but the saide Nicholas putte alle his faith and credence in the same John Maydwell, and chargid his sonnes to be to hym as subgettis and servautes as they were. And alle suche money as was received for clothe and other merchaundises fro Ester hiderto to the valew of CC *marce* or ther aboutes the saide John Maydwell by the consente and wille of the saide Nicholas alwey resceivid and a L *li* or ther aboutes of the dettours of the saide Nicholas. And by covyn hadde bitwene the said Richard West and the said John Maydwell, the said John kept alle the saide money with the whiche the saide Nicholas entendid to have payde his dettis. And over that, after the saide newe endentures sealed and the olde endentures were cancelled, the saide Richard West entred anoder playnt of a M *li* ayenst your saide besecher and the said John Maydwell by collusion hadde bitwene hym and the saide Richard West, in maner and fourme as your saide pouer oratoure hath allegged in his saide supplicacion. In prove of whiche collusion, your saide pore besecher saith that the saide Richard West, sithen the saide playnte affermed, delivered unto the saide John Maydwell a certeyn stokke of merchaundise, with the whiche the saide Richard West hath sent over the see the saide John Maydwell, as due prove shalbe made before your lordship. Al whiche maters and everich of thaim the saide Nicholas is redy to prove as this courte wolle awarde, and praieth that the said Richard may be compellid to relivere all the saide goodis to the saide Nicholas ageyn, or to yelde hym goodis in like valew.

¹ Candelwickstreet is now Cannon Street; the other sites are nearby. See Henry A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918), under Cannon Street, Martin (St.) Orgar, All Hallows the Great, Michael (St.).

² Mille is arguing that he is a full and responsible citizen who has paid taxes, served on judicial inquiries, and so forth.

[5.d] PRO C.1/59/168

[The right-hand portion of this document has been torn away; much of the remainder is legible only under ultraviolet light.]

This is the rejoyndre of Richar<d West>
to the replicacion of Nicholas <Mille>

The seid Richard seith that the seid replicacion is uncertein and insui
dyses, moneis, and conveyances of new affirmatyfly allegged by the se<
[by] colour and maynteigne with hys seid bille of compleyntis and not <
West by hym therin allegged, the same Richard is redy to prove as <
resonable costis and damages for his wrongful vexacion in this be<

[6] 1479-80. Eton College Archives, Audit Roll 1479-80, m.5, at
Custus scolarium. Wasey Sterry, *Times* (15 April 1936), 11.

Payment to the widow of William Bemond, doubtless of Eton, for
taking care of Henry Medwall during an illness: cf. no.1. This was
Medwall's final year at Eton.

Et in denariis solutis uxori nuper Willelmi Bemond pro communibus
Henrici Medwall infirmi per iij septimanas et Radulphi Sharp per
ij septimanas: iij^s iiiij^d.

[And in money paid to the wife of the late William Bemond for the
commons of Henry Medwall, sick for three weeks, and of Ralph Sharp,
sick for two weeks: 3^s 4^d.]

[7] 8 June 1480 to 13 June 1483; also, scattered entries to 2
February 1495. King's College Cambridge, Muniments, *Liber Communarum*.

Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, consulted not the original but a nineteenth-
century manuscript extract called "Clark's Year Lists", also among
the muniments. Surviving *Libri Communarum*, or Commons' Accounts,
have been bound together into a series of numbered volumes. The
accounts are not foliated, but arranged by term and week. In the
extracts below, M = Michaelmas term, ND = Christmas, P = Easter, and
JB = John the Baptist (24 June).

[7.a] LC (6.1) JB+2 to LC (7.1) P+10

(Henry) Medwall's name (also spelled Medewall, Medewalle)
appears in weekly lists of *Scolares* from 8 July 1480 to 13 June
1483, initially as the last of fourteen names, finally (during the
last two weeks) as the first. Medwall seems to have been present
throughout with two exceptions: for 21-29 April 1482 he is set down
for half commons; 3-9 July 1482, for nil commons.

[7.b] LC (6.1) JB+2 to LC (7.1) P+10

(Henry) Medwall's name (also spelled Medewalle) appears regularly
(but with occasional absences) during the entire period of his

scholarship (see no.7.a) in weekly lists headed *In cisacione*, that is, "For assizes". weekly charges over and above the regular commons allowance. Medwall's charges run from nil or one farthing per week to a maximum of 4^d.

[7.c]

Medwall's name, variously spelled, appears occasionally under *Allocandum per Collegium* (henceforth *Coll.*), i.e. "Money spent by the College"; or *Allocandum pro Extraneis* (henceforth *Ex.*), i.e. "Money spent on Non-members". Prior to 8 July 1480 and after 13 June 1483, Medwall appears as a guest, of either the college or a member of the college. During the period of his scholarship he is named as a sponsor of guests.

1. 8-9 June 1480. LC (6.1) P+9 *Coll.*

Item unus scholaris Etone in prandio cum scholaribus et in cena per ij dies: iiiij^d.

[Item, one scholar of Eton, for dinner with the scholars and supper, for two days: 4^d.]

Like other scholars entering at various times during the year, Medwall was brought from Eton and treated as a guest of the college until he was officially enrolled at King's. As a young prospective scholar he dined with the scholars; more distinguished guests dined with the fellows.

2. 10-16 June 1480. LC (6.1) P+10 *Coll.*

Item Medwall scholaris Etone per totam septimanam: xiiiij^d.

[Item, Medwall, scholar of Eton, for the entire week: 14^d.]

3. 17-23 June 1480. LC (6.1) P+11 *Coll.*

Item Medewall per totam septimanam: xiiiij^d.

4. 6 December 1481 (feast of St Nicholas). LC (6.2) M+9 *Ex.*

Et in prandio cum scholaribus unus per Medewall: ij^d.

[And for dinner with the scholars, one (guest) at the instance of Medwall: 2^d.]

5. 7 July 1482. LC (6.2) JB+2 *Ex.*

Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis unus ex induccione Medewall: iij^d.

[On Sunday for dinner with the fellows, one introduced (as a guest) by Medwall: 3^d.]

In this case Medwall's guest ate with the fellows rather than with Medwall and his fellow scholars.

6. 15 August 1482 (feast of the Assumption). LC (6.2) JB+7 *Ex.*
 Et cum scolaribus unus per Bowes, Philpot, et Medewall: j^d ob.
 [And with the scholars, one (guest) of Bowes, Philpot, and Medwall:
 1½^d.]

Bowes and Philpot were fellow scholars.

7. 6 October 1482. LC (7.1) M+1 *Ex.*
 Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis unus per Medwall: ij^d.

8. 2 February 1483 (feast of the Purification). LC (7.1) ND+6 *Ex.*
 Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis unus per Goldyng et alius per
 Medewall: viij^d.

9. 14 May 1483. LC (7.1) P+6 *Ex.*
 Die Mercurij in prandio cum sociis unus per Medewall: ij^d.

10. 18 May 1483 (Whit Sunday). LC (7.1) P+7 *Ex.*
 Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis . . . Et alius cum scolaribus per
 Medewall: j^d.

11. 10, 15 August (feast of the Assumption) 1483. LC (7.1) JB+7 *Ex.*
 Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis Medewall per Ricardum Hoge kyns:
 ij^d.
 Die Veneris in prandio cum sociis . . . Et Medewall per Gundys: iiiij^d.

These were Medwall's first visits as a guest after his departure
 on 13 June 1483. Hoge kyns and Gundys were fellows. Also present on
 the 15th were servants of John Morton and Oliver Kyng.

12. 27 December 1483 (feast of St John the Evangelist). LC (7.2)
 ND+1 *Ex.*
 Eodem die in cena cum sociis Medewalle per Newton: ij^d.

13. 4 April 1484 (Passion Sunday). LC (7.2) ND+15 *Ex.*
 Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis Medewall per magistrum Pedefer:
 ij^d.

Pedefer was a senior fellow: see Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, Pettifer, Richard.

14. 9 May 1484 (feast of the Translation of St Nicholas). LC (7.1)
 P+3 *Coll.*
 Die Dominica festo Sancti Nicholai in prandio cum magistro
 Prepositore magister Oliverus Kyng: viiiij^d. Et Johannes Abell: iiiij^d.

Item cum sociis magister Ednam, magister Combe, Simon Clerk, magister Fyn, magister Furneyce, famulus Johannes Abell, iij bedelli, Willelmus Wright, iij^{or} famuli magistri Oliveri Kyng, Johannes Medewall, et famulus magistri Fyn: v^s iij^d.

Note the presence of John Medwall and of Henry as well - see next entry - among a very distinguished and politically significant group of scholars. See Emden, *B.R.U.C.* and *B.R.U.O.*, for biographies of Kyng, Abell, Ednam, Combe, Fyn, and Furneyce.

15. 9 (same day as previous entry) and 12 May 1484. LC (7.2) P+3 Ex.
Die Dominica . . . In cena Medewall per Newton: ij^d.

Die Mercurij in cena cum sociis Medewall per Ricardum Hogekeyns: ij^d.

16. 5 August 1484. LC (7.2) JB+6 Ex.

Die Jovis in cena cum sociis Medewall per magistrum Goldynge: ij^d.

17. 24 August 1484. LC (7.2) JB+9 Ex.

Die Martis in cena cum sociis Medewall per Harris: ij^d.

18. 5, 6 December 1484 (eve and feast of St Nicholas). LC (7.3)
M+10 Coll.

Die Dominica in cena cum sociis . . . Medewall: (2^d).

Die Lune in prandio . . . Medewall . . . et tres mimi: (4^d each).

Eodem die in cena cum sociis . . . Medewall: (2^d)

19. 6 January 1485 (Epiphany). LC (7.3) ND+1 Coll.

Et Medewall in prandio cum sociis: iij^d.

20. 14 January 1485. LC (7.3) ND+2 Coll.

Die Veneris in prandio cum sociis . . . Medewall: (2^d).

21. 27 January 1485. LC (7.3) ND+4 Coll.

Eodem die in cena cum sociis Willelmus Wolward et Medewall: iij^d.

22. 2 February 1485 (feast of the Purification). LC (7.3) ND+5 Coll.

In cena in die Mercurij . . . Careaway et Medewall: (2^d each).

Item Ricardus Smyth cum uxore et Godefridus Charles cum uxore sua cum iij servientibus viij^d.

This day was the occasion of a "disguising". Medwall may have been in charge. Women were present. This was apparently Medwall's last visit to the college for a period of over six years.

23. 21 August 1491. LC (9.5) JB+9 Coll.

Die Dominica in prandio magister Maydwall . . . et clericus magistri Maydwell: (6^d).

Et (pro) vj columbellis pro magistro Maydwall: (2½^d).

Medwall had only recently been awarded a degree - see no.21. Perhaps this explains the gift of the six pigeons.

24. 8 September 1491. LC (9.5) JB+11 Coll.

Die Jovis in prandio cum sociis . . . magister Medewall . . . dominus Kyte et duo cantatores: (4^d each).

Kyte, a contemporary of Medwall, was in charge of the king's revels in 1511 and 1512: see Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, Kite, John.

25. 15 September 1491. LC (9.5) JB+12 Coll.

Die Jovis in prandio cum sociis magister Medewall, magister Morgon, et alius: ix^d.

26. 2 February 1495 (feast of the Purification). LC (10.1) ND+6 Coll.

In die Dominica in prandio . . . famulus magistri Medwall . . . Nox et tres mimi: (4^d each).

Nox was a painter who was associated with college entertainments in 1494-95 and 1495-96: LC (10.1) ND; LC (10.2) ND, ND+1, ND+2, ND+6.

[7.d] LC (9.5) M to ND

(Johannes) Maydwall, also spelled Maydwalle, Maidwall(e), Maydwell(e), Maidwell(e), listed under *Servientes* from 25 September to 31 December 1490; absent from subsequent accounts for the 1490-91 academic year. That this was indeed John Maydwall, i.e. Medwall, is evident from no.8.b.

[8] 1482-83, 1489-90. King's College Cambridge, Muniments, Mundum Books.

[8.a] MB (8.1)

Henricus Medwall(e) listed as scholar for three terms of the 1482-83 academic year, Michaelmas, Christmas, and Easter, the latter for 2^s 6^d rather than the routine 3^s 4^d. The reduced amount reflects Medwall's highly unusual departure before the end of term. Medwall is listed second of fourteen and thirteen respectively for the first two terms, first of fourteen for Easter term, and is absent from the

final term's list.

[8.b] MB (8.3)

Johannes Maydwell listed under *Servientes* for all four terms of the 1489-90 academic year, with a remuneration of 6^s 8^d per term.

[9] August 1482. King's College Cambridge, Muniments, Manuscript Inventory (miscellany) ca. 1452-, fol.74^r. Emden, *B.R.U.C.*

Henricus Medwall listed 13th of 24 in an undated and untitled list. By comparison to lists in the *Liber Communarum* (no.7.a) it is clear that this list dates from about 24-30 August 1482: LC (6.2) JB+9.

[10] ? Between 1481 and 1483. Petitions to Chancery. PRO C.1/52/256-8. *E.C.P.*, II.

John Medwall (Medewall) claims, in response to an action of debt, that he discharged his bond to Thomas Sheryngham partly by a direct payment, partly by a payment to John Cave. Sheryngham replies that he did not authorize the payment to Cave, and does not recognize it as discharging the debt to himself.

[10.a] PRO C.1/52/256

To the reverent fader in God the Bisshop of
Lincoln chaunceller of England

In the most humble wyse besecheth your good and gracious lordship your poore and contynuall oratour John Medwall tenderly to consider that whereas he of late by his escripte obligatory was bounde unto oon Thomas Sheryngham in the summe of iiij *marce*, payable at a certeyn day in the seid obligacion expressed, wherof anon, after the seid day expired, your seid oratour payed unto the seid <Th>omas xx^s, and for the residue of the seid iiij *marce* the seid Thomas willed and speciall(y) desired your seid oratour to pay hit unto oon John Cave, cetezen and bedmaker of London, and than your seid supplyant shuld have delyvere of his seid obligacion. Wnerupon of verry trust and confidence that your seid oratour had in the seid Thomas, (he) hath payed and trully contented the seid residue of iiij *marce* to the seid John Cave accordyng to the desire of the seid Thomas, levyng still in his hondes his seid obligacion. And often tymes sythen the seid contentacion of the seid money your seid oratour hath required and desired the seid Thomas to have delyvere of his seid obligacion as right and good conscience requiren. Which to do he utterly hath refused and yet doth. And moreover, of his

grete injury and wrongfull disposicion hath of late commenced an accion of dette afore the kynges justices of his comen benche ayenst your seid oratour of the hole summe of iiiij marce, there wrongfully intending to recover the same of your seid oratour withoute your good and gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalve. That it wold therefore please your seid lordship in consideracion of the premisses to graunte unto your seid oratour a writte *sub pena* to be direct to the seid Thomas, commaundyng hym by the same to appere afore the kyng in his chauncery at a certeyn day and under a certeyn peyn by your lordship to be lymyted, there to answer to the premisses, and ferthermore to do and resceyve as shall be juged by your seid lordship accordyng to right and conscience. And this for the love of God and in the wey of charite.

Plegii de premissis: Thomas Harmer de London, yoman
Willelmus Spycer de London, yoman

[Endorsed:] *Coram domino rege in camera sua in crastino ascensionis domini.*

[Case to be heard the day after Ascension day.]

[Second endorsement:] *Dies datus est partibus infrascriptis ad producendum testes ad probandum in materia infracontenta huicmodo usque crastinum sancti Johannis Baptiste.*

[A day is assigned to the parties named herein for producing witnesses with a view to proof in the matter contained within, to wit, the day following the feast of John the Baptist, i.e. June 25.]

1481, 1482, and 1483 all seem to fit the dates implied by the address and the endorsements.

[10.b] PRO C.1/52/257

This is the answer of Thomas Sherynham unto the bill of John Medewall

The said Thomas saith that the said bill is insufficient to put hym to answer. And moreover (he) saith that he willeth the said John Medewall that if John Cave brought unto the said John Medewall the said escript obligatorie wherinne the same John Medewall was bound inne unto the said Thomas in the said iiiij mark, that than upon the delivere of the same escript unto the said John Medewall, the same John to paie unto the said John Cave the said residue of the said iiiij mark above the said xx^s beforne payed, and ellis no peny therof to paie unto the said John Cave. And the said Thomas saith in dede that the said John Cave never hadde nor [MS: ner] brought the said escript obligatorie unto the said John Medewall. And so if the said John Medewall payd any peny [MS: altered from money] of the said residue unto the said John Cave, which the said Thomas knoweth not, the said John Medewall paieth it of his own free will and auctorite, and not be the will and desire of the said Thomas. Withoute [MS: with ouste] that that the said Thomas ever willed or desierid the

said John Medewall to paie the said residue unto the said John Cave in any other forme or maner than he hath beforne alleged. And with(out) that that the said John Medewall paid the said residue or any peny therof unto the said John Cave be the will, desiir, or comaundement of the said Thomas. And moreover, that the said Thomas saith that he desierith not to have any peny of the said Medewall but only the said residue of the said iiij mark, the said xx^s wheche is yet owyng unto the said Thomas. All whiche maters the said Thomas is redi to prove as this court will award, and praieth that he may be dismyssid out of this court with his resonable expensis for his wrongfull vexacion in this behalf.

[10.c] PRO C.1/52/258

This is the replicacion of John Medwall to the
ansuer of Thomas Sheryngham

The seid John seith in all thyng as he seid in his seid bill, and that all the mater conteyned in the same bill is gode and true in every poynte. And that the seid Thomas desyred and willed the seid John Medwall to paie unto the seid John Cave the seid resydue of the forseid iiij marce withoute eny condicion, and that then he shold have delyverance of the seid oblygacion. Withoute thatte that the seid Thomas willed the seid John Medwall t<h>at if the seid John Cave brought unto the same John Medwall the seid oblygacion that then, uppon the delyvere therof unto the same John Medwall, the seid John Medwall sholde paie unto the seid John Cave the seid residue of the forseid iiij marce in maner and fourme as the seid Thomas Sheryngham in his seid ansuer hath alleged. All whiche maters and everyche of theym the seid John Medwall is redy to prove as this court will award hym, and theruppon prayeth as he prayed in his seid bylle.

[11] ? Between 1483 and 1485. Petition to Chancery. PRO C.1/64/458. E.C.P., III.

John Medwall seeks release from a charge of debt and from prison. He accuses Robert Banaster of collusion with Thomas Banaster, his brother, a sheriff of London, to charge Medwall falsely with the theft "with force and armes" of goods and chattels which he ought to have conveyed safely to Banaster from John Grenfeld. John Medwall fears that a London jury will find against him because he does not have the freedom of the city. Cf. C.1/46/227: "A Southwark jury will seldom pass against a Southwark man".

To the right reverent fader in God and my right good and gracious lord the Bysshop of Lincoln and Chaunceller of England

Mekely besecheth your good and gracious lordship your poore oratour John Medewall that whereas oon John Grenfeld late had in his possession and keypyng in London dyvers goodes and c<ate>lles of oon Robert Banaster to thuse and behofe of the same Robert, and afterward

the same John Grenefeld, soo beyng therof possessed, required your seid oratour there to take the same goodes and catelles [MS: catellex] with hym and from thens to bryng theym into such places as he myght kepe theym sauf and suerly to thuse and behofe of the seid Robert Banaster. By reason of which request your seid oratour toke the same goodes with hym and theym kept sauf to thuse of the seid Robert Banaster accordyng to the seid requeste made unto hym by the seid John Grenefeld. And hough be it gracious lord that your seid oratour afterward delyvered unto the seid Robert Banaster all the seid goodes and catelles which he had in his keypyng unto thuse of the same Robert as large prove therof can be made, yet soo it is nowe gracious lord that the seid Robert Banaster hath taken a pleynt of trespas before the shirreves of London ayens your seid oratour and therby hath caused hym to be arrested in London and to be kept in prison there by reason of the same surmytting untruly by his declaracion made upon the same pleynt that your seid oratour with force and armes shuld have taken away aswell the seid goodes and catelles which he hath delyvered to the seid Robert Banaster as is above rehersed, as other goodes and catelles which your seid oratour never had in his keypyng and possession, intendyng by the subtyll meanes of hymself and of oon Thomas Banaster his brother beyng oon of the sergeauntes of London soo to embrace a jury within the seid citee of London wherby that he may have your seid oratour condempned unto hym in the seid accion ayenst all right and good conscience. Wherefore inasmoche as your seid oratour is a man foreyn and noo free man of the seid citee soo that he may not wage his lawe in the seid accion by the custumes of the seid citee for to discharge hym therof in that behalve but nedes therof must abyde a tryall of a jury of the seid citee with whom your seid oratour is noo thynge acqueynted nor beknowen to his utter undoyng withoute your gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalve. Please it therefore your good and gracious lordship the premisses tenderly considered to graunte a writte of *certiorare* [sic] to be direct to the seid shirreves of the seid citee of London commaundyng theym by the same to certifie upon the seid mater afore the kyng in his chauncery at a certeyn day by your lordship to be lymyted there to be ruled and demed as right and good conscience shall require, for the love of God and in the wey of charyte.

[Endorsed:] *Coram domino rege in cancellaria sua in xv^a Pasche proxima future.*

[Case to be heard two weeks after Easter (presumably on a Monday).]

[12] ? 12 January 1484; endorsed for 6 February 1484. Petition to Chancery. PRO C.1/66/413. *E.C.P.*, III.

John Medwall, administrator to the late John Multon of the parish of St Margaret in Southwark, former churchwarden, petitions for the recovery of £27 which Multon spent many years before securing tenements for the church, in particular a messuage called "the Hart" (one of the Bankside brothels).

To the right reverent fader in God and his good and gracious lord the Bischof of Lincoln and Chaunceller of Ingland

Mekely besechit your good and gracious lordship your continuall orator John Medewall, administrator of the goodis and catallis that wer of on John Multon, late of the Parich of Sent Margaret in Suthwerk in the Counte of Surr(ey) and in his live on of the chercwardennys of the same cherc, wich John Multon, in his live, att the instance [MS: instamce], prayer, and request of Rauff Morton, John Browne, William Carpenter, John Hunte, John Sent, Thomas Marten, William Frere, and Hewe Alston, att that tyme parochenys of the same parich, and att the prayer and instance [MS: instamce] of the more part of all other parochenys and inhabitaunce att that tyme dwelling and inhabitaunt within the seid parich, spendid and paid abowte the reparacion of certeyn tenementes to the seid church at that tyme perteynyng, and in ples to diverse personys abowte the recovery of a mese in Suthwerk aforeseid callid the Hart, xxvij li and more mony to the use and behoff of the parochenys and chercwardenys aforeseid as for the right of the seid cherche and to the use and behoff of the seid cherche, the seid parochenys than promyttyn to the seid John Multon trew payment of the seid xxvij li to be hadd by the chercwardenys of the seid cherche for the tyme beyng, when so ever the seid xxvij li wer asked by the seid John Multon, his executors, or administrator. And afterward the seid John Multon, befor that he was paiid or content of the seid xxvij li or ony percell therof, died. And often tymys sethen the deth of the seid John Multon the seid John Medewall as administrator of the goodis and catallis of the seid John Multon hath required Richard Bracy, Thomas Gryme, Richard Colyns, and Robert Trott, now beyng chercwardens of the same cherc, and diverse other personys wich sethen the deth of the seid John Multon hath ben chercwardens of the seid cherc, and diverse and many other parochenys of the same parich, to pay and content to the seid John Medewall the seid xxvij li so by the seid John Multon of grete confidens and truste that he hadd in and to the seid parochenys of repayment of the seid xxvij li acordyng to ther promyssis aforeseid, and att ther especiall requeste and prayer for the cause aforeseid by the seid John Multon expendid and paiid. And the seid Richard Bracy, Thomas Gryme, Richard Colyns, and Robert Trott, now chercwarden(s) of the cherc aforeseid, and the parochenys now of the same pariche beyng, that to doo refusen, and att all tymys have refusid, and yett refusen, agyen all good faith, trought, and consiens. For the seid chercwardens that now ben have goodis sufficient in ther handis of the parochenys aforeseid, growyng of the seid tenement(s), to content and paye the seid xxvij li and more. And your seid besecher have no remedy therfor by the course of the comyn lawe. Wherfor, the premissis considerid, that hit wold pleasith your good lordship to directe a writt of *suppna* [sic] to the seid liij personys that now ben chercwarden(s), commaundyng them by the same to appere afor the kyng ower soveran lord in his court of chauncery att a certen day by your seid lordship to them to be lemyttid, by the same ther to answer to your seid besecher in and to the premissis, and ther to obey and recayve as the seid court of the chauncery them schall award or deme as trought and consiens

schall require.

Plegii de premissis: Willelmus Langton de Suthwerk in Comitatu
Surr', sadeler
Thomas Colt de Suthwerk in Comitatu Surr',
taillour

[Endorsed:] *Coram domino rege in cancellaria sua die Veneris,*
videlicet sexto die Februarij.

1484 was the only year from 1475 to 1485, the tenure of the bishop of Lincoln as chancellor, in which 6 February fell on a Friday.

[13] 1486, between 6 March and 6 October. Petitions to Chancery.
PRO C.1/81/49-50. E.C.P., III.

John Medwall petitions John Morton, bishop of Ely and chancellor, claiming reimbursement from the abbot of Bermondsey. Medwall agreed to keep a mass of Jesus (a votive mass), and to collect rents in London and Southwark, for 10 marks per year; but his costs for repairing properties have run to £30 10^s 10^½^d. The first of two sureties is "Henry Medwall, gentelman". The abbot replies by requesting dismissal of the suit on the grounds that it is a matter for common law and not for the court of Chancery.

[13.a] PRO C.1/81/49

To the right reverend fadre in God Bisshop
of Ely, Chauncellar of Ingland

Shewith unto your good lordship your humble suppliant and dayly oratour John Medwall that wheras the abbot of Barmondsey now beyng bargyned and accovenaunted with your said oratour to kepe a masse of Jhesu bifor Saint Saviour of Barmondsey with other help of men and children at the charge of your said oratour,¹ wherfor the said abbot graunted by mouth to pay unto your said suppliant v *marce* yerly. And sone after that the said abbot covenaunted with your said oratour by mouth to be his rent gaderar yn London and Southwerk, to have ye<r>ly for that occupation other v *marce* of lawfull money. Wherapon your said oratour keped the said masse at his cost by the space of a yer and di. and vj wekys, and also was his rent gaderar by the space of an hole yer. Moreover, at the request of the said abbot your oratour paid for reparacions of his rentes in money the som of xxx *li* x^s x^d ob mor than he receyved for his occupation of the said masse and the said rent gadering. Wherapon the said abbot discharged your said oratour of the said occupacions, sayyng that he shuld be wele and truly payd of suche money as was due unto him by the said occupacions. Wherapon your said oratour hath often tymes required the said abbot of payment of the said xxx *li* x^s x^d ob, the whiche to doo he utterly refusyd and yet refusyth, ayenst all conscience and

law, to the utter destruccion of your said oratour. In whiche case your said oratour ys without remedy by any course of the comyn law yn so mouche that he (hath) no wrytyng of the said covauntes, and allso hath at the request of the said abbot payd mor than he receyved as is afor said. And yf your said besechar shuld take any accion ayenst the said abbot for his said duty, the said abbot wuld wage his law that he ought not the said duty unto your said besechar. Wherfor please it your good lordship the premissis tenderly to consider and to graunt a writt *sub pena* to be directed unto the said abbot, commaundyng hym to apper bifor the <king in> his chauncellary, ther to answer to the premissis therin to doo according to law and conscience. And this for <the lo>ve of God and in the way of charite.

Plegii de premissis: Henricus Medwall, gentilman
Willelmus Comiser, gentilman

[Endorsed:] *Coram rege in cancellaria die Sabbati.*

¹ The mass of Jesus was probably a votive mass. Saint Saviour was the name of the monastery; evidently the mass was held at the high altar. Perhaps John Medwall was assisted by the men and boys, who may have formed a choir; alternatively, John Medwall may have been required to assist the men and boys, perhaps in connection with the school. As John Medwall was not a priest, he must have arranged for a genuine priest to conduct the mass.

[13.b] PRO C.81/50

The onswer of the abbot of Barmondsey
to the bill of John Medwall

The seid abbot seith that the seid bill is incerten and insufficient to be onswered unto. And as to or for any dette or dutie supposed to be due by the seid bill, (he) seith that if eny such were due, it is mater determynable by the comen lawe of this realme and not in this court of the chauncery. Wherfore he praith to be dismissed therof out of this court unto the comen lawe, with his resonable costes for his wrongfull vexaccion yn that behalf.

[14] 29 January 1487. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton, I, fols. 10^{r-v}. Christopher Harper-Bill, Edition of the Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486-1500, University of London Ph.D. Thesis, 1977, p.163.

Archbishop Morton's commission to John Medwall, *literatus*, as apparitor (i.e. summoner) in the deanery of the Arches, in London, with the normal powers relating to testamentary business within the city of London, the borough of Southwark, and the suburbs, and with power to cite any persons within the deanery of the Arches to appear before the dean or his deputy in any case, *ex officio*, promoted or

at the instance of parties, which pertains to the ecclesiastical courts and to the archbishop's jurisdiction. COMMON FORM.

[15] 18 August 1489. Ratification of Peace Treaty between England and Portugal. PRO E.30/1696. Transcribed by Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera*, 3rd ed. (The Hague, 1739-45), XII. 4.5.

Treaty, with notarial testification by Henry Medwall, clerk, Winchester diocese, witnessed at Windsor Castle by Henry VII and various ecclesiasts and noblemen, including archbishop Morton and the royal secretary Oliver Kyng. Medwall's testification is COMMON FORM, but unlike the testification in no.18, makes no reference to Medwall's employment by the archbishop. Perhaps Medwall was performing here as notary to the chancellor rather than to the archbishop - Morton held both offices. It is also remotely possible that Medwall had not yet joined the archiepiscopal staff, but was serving under Oliver Kyng. Here and elsewhere Medwall states that he is from the Winchester diocese. In Medwall's day, this diocese included Southwark.

[16] 18 August 1489. French Roll. PRO C.76/178, m.3 (19), 2 (20), 1 (21). *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, ed. William Campbell (London, 1873-77), II, p.474. (Campbell gives the date incorrectly as 10 August.)

Enrolled copy of no.15.

[17] 10 April (Easter Saturday) 1490. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton, II, fol.139^v. Emden, *B.R.U.C.*

Henry Medewall, Winchester diocese, ordained acolyte (the first degree of the priesthood) in the cathedral of Christchurch, Canterbury, by John Morton, archbishop. COMMON FORM. The entry is dated Saturday, 9 April 1490; in fact, 9 April 1490 was Good Friday, and ordinations must have been conducted on Saturday the 10th.

[18] 5 July 1490. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton, I, fol.23^v. Harper-Bill, Register, p.179. Letter, without Medwall's testification, transcribed in David Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae etc.* (London, 1737), III, pp.632-4; translated by Harper-Bill, Register, pp.177-9.

Registered copy of Henry Medwall's notarial testification of

archbishop Morton's letter to the abbot of St Albans accusing the monks of sexual profligacy and despoliation of monastic properties, including a shrine. COMMON FORM. Cf. no.15. For a full discussion of this case, see David Knowles, "The Case of St Albans Abbey in 1490", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 3 (1952), 144-58.

[19] 18 September 1490. Bishop's Register. Cambridge University Library, Ely Diocesan Records MS EDR G/1/6 (Register Alcock), fol. 229^f. Emden, *B.R.U.C.*

Henry Medwall, Winchester diocese, ordained secular (i.e. non-monastic) deacon, by letters dimissory to the title of Bermondsey monastery. Ordination was conducted in Downham Manor Chapel, near Ely, bishop of Ely John Alcock presiding. COMMON FORM. Presumably Medwall was ordained subdeacon between 10 April (no.17) and 18 September, but the record of this ordination has apparently not survived. As there is no record of his ordination, Medwall may not subsequently have advanced to the full priesthood, and therefore may never have held the power to conduct mass. The letters dimissory technically imply that Medwall held a benefice within the jurisdiction of the monastery of Bermondsey; however, such letters had become a formality, and may imply a more distant connection with the sponsoring institution. Cf. no.13.

[20] 22 February 1491 to 8 November 1499. Significations of excommunication, with endorsements. PRO C.85/23/20, 22, 29, 30, 32, 34, 39, 44, 45, 46A, 46B, 47, 48. Harper-Bill, Register, p.125.

Thirteen significations of excommunication (out of a total of 55 from 1486 to 1502) personally endorsed by H.M., with a notarial knot. Differences between the two types of knot, in spite of apparent similarities, may raise questions about the identity of the notary; however, comparisons of letter forms in the initials suggest that they are all Henry Medwall's device. Apparently he first used the angular knot (20), then the rounded (20-32), then the angular (34-48). Francis Donald Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1968), p.85, n.74, suggests that the H.M. endorsements are by Henry Mompesson; the dates fit Medwall's tenure perfectly, however, and do not fit Mompesson's: see Emden, *B.R.U.O.*, Mompesson, Henry.

The significations themselves are COMMON FORM, and of no particular interest except for 46A and 46B, which are for John Goldyng, almost certainly the King's College Fellow named in nos. 7.c.8, 15. Goldyng was responsible for the production of Christmas plays at King's in 1482: see *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. Nelson, Introduction. See also Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, Goldyng, John.

[21] 1491. Cambridge University Archives, Grace Book B, p.36. Transcribed in *Grace Book B, Part 1, Containing the Proctors' Accounts and Other Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1488-1511*, ed. Mary Bateson, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Luard Memorial Series, 2 (Cambridge, 1903), pp.31-2.

Grace, or waiver of statutory requirements, granting Henry Medwall a degree in civil law.

Conceditur Henrico Medwall ut forma iij annorum in artibus et studium iiii annorum in jure civili stent sibi pro completa forma ad intrandum in eodem jure.

[Granted to Henry Medwall that the course of three years' duration in Arts and the study of four years in Civil Law be reckoned to him as the completed course for proceeding to the degree in the same (i.e. Civil, not Canon) Law.]

On 18 September 1490 Medwall was untitled (no.19), but on 21 August 1491 he was called *magister* (no.7.c.23). Medwall's degree was granted not for advanced study within the University, but for equivalent study or practical experience elsewhere. Medwall may have spent two years in Cambridge after vacating his scholarship in 1483 (see nos. 7.c.11-22). Perhaps he remained in Cambridge while Richard held the throne, then moved to London after the accession of Henry VII on 22 August 1485. Medwall's degree may have been awarded in 1491 at the urging of archbishop Morton.

[22] 27 August 1492. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/573, m.12 (9). C.P.R. (Henry VII), I, 404.

Presentation of Henry Medwall, clerk, to the church of Balinghem, Thérouanne diocese (pale of Calais), vacant by the death of the last incumbent. Patron, the king. Letters directed to John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury. COMMON FORM. Although the church of Balinghem was in the king's gift, all benefices in the king's gift which yielded £20 or less per year were placed at the disposal of the chancellor; thus it is probable that Medwall owed this living to Morton rather than to Henry VII. Medwall drew an income from this church across the channel, but did not serve in person; rather, he remained at Lambeth Palace.

[23] 28 August 1492. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton, II, fol.153^r. Arthur W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama* (London, 1926), p.102.

Master Henry Medewall instituted to Balinghem. COMMON FORM. Institution signified episcopal or archiepiscopal confirmation of a presentation: see no.22.

[24] 17 September 1493. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/575, m.7 (30).
C.P.R. (Henry VII), I, 448.

Presentation of Henry Medwall, clerk, to Neweton (Suffolk),
Norwich diocese, in the king's gift, void by death of previous
incumbent William Hill. COMMON FORM. This presentation was not
confirmed: see nos.25-26.

[25] 8 March 1494. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/575, m.16 (21).
C.P.R. (Henry VII), I, 457.

Presentation of Hugh Day, clerk, to Neweton, Norwich diocese,
in the king's gift, void by death of previous incumbent William
Hill. COMMON FORM. This presentation superseded the presentation
to Medwall (no.24).

[26] 18 March 1494. Bishop's Register. Norwich Cathedral
Archives, Norfolk Record Office, Central Library, Norwich, REG 7
(Goldwell), Book 12, fol.176^r.

Hugh Deye, clerk, in the person of William Aylof, instituted to
Neweton. COMMON FORM. This institution confirms the presentation
recorded in no.25, and reveals that the presentation of Medwall,
recorded in no.24, was not confirmed. William Aylof was Dey's lawyer
and represented him at the institution ceremony.

[27] 8 November 1494. Close Roll. PRO C.54/355, m.12d. C.C.R.
(Henry VII), no.812.

Harry Medewall, clerk, and Robert Duplage, tailor of London,
discharged of an obligation of £47 by John Bracebrigge, draper of
London. Memorandum of acknowledgement by Bracebrigge, 13 November
1494.

Scripto irrotulato Bracebrigge

Knowe all men that where Harry Medewall, clerk, and Robert Duplage,
taillour of London, were bounde to me John Bracebrigge, draper of
London, in an obligacion of xlviij li sterlinge, I the seid John
Bracebrigge knowlege me to be content and paide of the seid xlviij li
sterlinge be diverse parcellys, and therof acquite the seid Harry
Medewall and Robert Duplage and either of them by this presentes.
In witnes wherof I have put to my seale the viij day of November the
yere of our Lorde anno M.cccclxxxiiij and the xth yere of the reigne
of King Harry the vijth.

Et memorandum (est) quod predictus Johannes Bracebrigge venit in cancellariam regis apud Westmonasterium terciodecimo die Novembris anno presenti et recognovit scriptum predictum et omnia contenta in eodem in forma predicta.

[Memorandum that the aforesaid John Bracebrigge appeared in the king's chancery at Westminster on the thirteenth day of November in the present year (1494), and acknowledged the above-mentioned writing and everything contained in it in form aforesaid.]

The name of Robert Duplage occurs frequently in *E.C.P.*, II and III. The Bracebrigge family had associations with King's College, Cambridge: see Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, Brassbryge, William; and King's College Muniments, LC (7.2) JB+11. Medwall may have acted as a commercial partner to Duplage, or perhaps merely as a co-signatory.

[28] April 1499. John Heron's Household Accounts, Exchequer. PRO E.101/414/16, fol.107^V. Henry Medwall, *Fulgens and Lucreces: A Fifteenth-Century Secular Play*, ed. Frederick S. Boas and Arthur W. Reed, (Oxford, 1926), p.xvi.

Sir Henry Medwall and William Arnold indebted to the royal household treasury to the extent of 10 marks. Due Michaelmas (29 September) 1499.

Sir Henri Medewall and William Arnold er bounden in an obligacion to pay at Michell(mas): x marce.

As in no.27, Medwall may have been a commercial partner, or merely a co-signatory. The title "Sir" is a translation of the clerical honorific *Dominus*, and does not signify that Medwall had been knighted.

[29] 1 October 1499. John Heron's Household Accounts, Exchequer. PRO E.101/415/3, fol.178^V. Boas and Reed, *Fulgens and Lucreces*, p.xvi.

Previous obligation continued, then cancelled 30 April 1500.

Sol(utio). Sir Henry Medwall and William Arnold owe by an obligacion: x marce. [Cancelled:] *Ultimo die Aprilis anno xv^o*.

This is not a new obligation, but a continuation of no.28. Medwall settled this obligation before the death of Morton on 22 October 1500. The date of the original entry, 1 October 1499, is noted on fol.168^F.

[30] 1. October 1499. John Heron's Household Accounts, Exchequer. British Library MS Add. 21480, fol.56^r. Boas and Reed, *Fulgens and Luces*, p.xvi.

Fair copy of no.29.

Sol(utio). Sir Henry Medwall and William Arnold owe by obligacion: x marce. [Cancelled:] *Ultimo die Aprilis anno xv^{mo}*.

The date of the original entry, 1 October 1499, is recorded on fol.51^r.

[31] ? January 1501. Petition to Chancery. PRO C.1/238/2. Previously transcribed by Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, pp.239-40.

Suit by Thomas (Goldstone), prior of Christchurch Canterbury, for recovery of archiepiscopal documents from Henry Medewall.

To the reverent fader in God the bisshop of Salysbere
and chaunceller of Engelond

Mekely besechith your good lordship your contynuel oratour Thomas priour of the Chirche of Criste of Caunterbury, ordynarie of all the spirituall jurisdiction in the provynce of Caunterbury by reason of the cee of Caunterbury now beyng voide by the disseas of the most reverent fader in God John late cardynall and archiepisshop of Caunterbury. That whereas the seid priour and all other his predecessours priours of the seid church in the right of the same chirche by all the tyme out of myende have hadde ymmediatly after the disseas of every archiepisshop of Caunterbury, the seid cee so beyng voide, all ordynarie and spirituall jurisdiction withyn the provynce, and that the seid priour and all his predecessours priours of the seid chirche by all the seid tyme have usid to make, depute, and ordeigne all commissaries, officialles, registres, scribes, somnours, and all other officers and mynysters concernyng the seid spirituall jurisdiction: by reason wherof all bokes, registers, evidences, recordes, escrites, and mynymentes concernyng the seid spirituall jurisdiction as well beyng in the keypyng of all commissaries and officialles as in the keypyng of all registres, scribes, or other officers or ministers whatsoever they be concernyng or belongyng to the seid ordynarie and spirituall jurisdiction, of right belong and perteyne and ought to belonge and apperteyne to the seid priour duryng the tyme of vacacion of the seid cee of Caunterbury. So it is that meny and dyvers bokes, registers, evidences, recordes, escretes, and minymentes concernyng and belongyng to the seid ordynarie and spirituall jurisdiction byn come to the handes and possession of on Henry Medewall. And oftentimes sithen the disseas of the seid lord cardynall your seid oratour hath required the seid Henry to delyvere unto hym all the seid bokes, registers, evidences, recordes, escretes, and mynymentes, which to do the seid Henry hath alwey refusid and yeit doith refuse.

And forasmuche as the nomber and certeynte of all the seid bokes, registers, evidences, recordes, escretes, and mynymentes be to your seid oratour unknownen, and they be not in eny chiste lokked, bagge or boxe ensealid,¹ your seid oratour is without remedy by the course of the comen lawe. Wherefore that it may please your good lordship the premissis tenderly considered to graunt a writte *sub pena* to be directid to the seid Henry, commaundyng hym by the same to appere before the kyng in his chauncery at a certeyn day and under a certeyn peyn by your lordship to be lymetid, he there to do answer and receyve in the premisses as theruppon shall be considered accordyng to right and good conscience. And this for the love of God and in the wey of cherite.

Plegii de premissis: Edwardus Lichefeld de London, gentilman
Humfrius Gay de eadem, gentilman

[Endorsed:] *Coram domino rege in cancellaria sua in octavis Purificacionis Beate Marie proxime futuris.*

[Case to be heard a week after the feast of the Purification, i.e. on 9 February 1501.]

¹ This phrase is COMMON FORM, and simply means that the plaintiff is unable to specify the precise objects he wants because he has been denied access to them.

[32] 27 February 1501. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/587, m. 22 (5). *C.P.R.* (Henry VII), II, 226.

Letters of protection from arrest, etc., for one year for master Henry Medewall, alias Henry Medwall, clerk. Additional copies to be supplied as needed by the lord chancellor (Henry Dean). By the king himself (*Per ipsum Regem*). COMMON FORM. Presumably the letters of protection were a consequence of the suit in no.31, but the exact connection is not known.

[33] 29 June 1501. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/588, m. 6 (16). *C.P.R.* (Henry VII), II, 236. Transcribed in part by Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p.105.

Presentation of John Rothley, bachelor of law, to Balinghem, in the king's gift, void by the voluntary resignation (*per liberam resignacionem*) of Henry Medwall, clerk, last incumbent. Presentation directed to Thomas, prior of Christchurch Canterbury, the see being vacant. COMMON FORM.

[34] 26 July 1501. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton [and Dean], II, fol.169^r. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p.103.

Institution of master John Rotheley to Balinghem, void by the voluntary resignation of Henry Medwall, chaplain, last incumbent. COMMON FORM. Dated four days after the translation of Henry Dean to the archbishopric on 22 July. This is the last document from which we may be certain that Medwall was still living. It is the first document which refers to Medwall as chaplain. Apparently no will or inquisition post mortem survives by means of which the date of Medwall's death can be established.

[35] ? 1512. Title page of *Fulgens and Lucrez* (London: John Rastell, no date).

Here is conteyned a godely interlude of Fulgens cenatoure of Rome, Lucrez his daughter, Gayus Flaminius, and Publius Cornelius, of the Disputacyon of Noblenes, and is devyded in two partyes to be played at two tymes. Compyled by mayster Henry Medwall, late chapelayne to the ryght reverent fader in God Johan Morton, cardynall and archebyssshop of Caunterbury.

Though Medwall may have died before the publication of this play, "late chapelayne" technically signifies only that he no longer was chaplain to Morton, not that he himself was dead.

[36] 1514. Register of Freemen, London Mercers' Company. Names of All the Freemen of the Company, [from] 22 Edward III [1347], not foliated.

Record of John Medwall's entry into the Mercers' Company.

Anno M v^c xiiii.

John Medwall, late apprentice to John Stile, mercer: iij^s iiij^d.

This John Medwall may have been a son or grandson of Henry Medwall's brother. See also no.37.

[37] 28 November 1520; 21 May 1523. London Mercers' Company, Accounts Book 1453-1527. Previously transcribed by Laetitia Lyell, ed., *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527* (Cambridge, 1936), pp.503, 568.

Memorandum concerning the keeping of disorderly houses by members of the Mercers' Company dwelling abroad, with a note that

John Medwall should be warned that he must vacate the English House at Antwerp, of which he is keeper, Easter, 1521. Apparently Medwall did not vacate his post, for he offered a letter of support in 1523.

[37.a] Fol.278^v

Moreover, that ye do call byfor you all suche persones of oure said felyshipp as be hostes to Englysshemen, and that ye do commaunde theym that they remeve not from theyre dwelling places to kepe any ostry in any other place martly as dyvers of theym use to do, to the grete damage of oure said felyshipp. And suche as will not obaye your said commaundment, that ye discharge theym of keypyng any more hostry whereas ye may lett theym. *Item* that ye gyve warnyng unto John Medwall, keper of the Inglysshe hous at Andwerp, that he departe oute of the same at Estir next comyng. And that ye do to be provided som other honest person for the same.

This entry continues with general warnings to apprentices not to dwell in private houses, where dwell 'aswell other menes servantes as other evyll disposed persones, and there kepe many misrules . . .'

[37.b] Fol.321^r

John Medwall

Moreover at the said Courte a lettre was redd whiche was to opteyn the favour of the Compeny for John Medwall keper of the Inglysshe hous for the contynuaunce of the same, whiche ys referred unto the Synxson marte at the comyng hom of oure shippes.

"Synxson marte" was the Whitsun mart, especially important in Antwerp. In 1523 Whitsunday fell on May 24.

[38] ? 1530. Title page of *Nature* (no place, name, or date; evidently London: William Rastell).

A goodly interlude of *Nature* compyld by mayster Henry Medwall, chapelyn to the ryght reverent father in God Johan Morton, somtyme cardynall and archebyshop of Canterbury.

[39] 1559. John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytannie* . . . *Catalogus*, Part 2 (Basel, 1559), pp.71-2. (Original orthography.)

Henricus Medvval
Ex officinis Lond(ini)

Henricus Medvual, homo perinde illustris atque bonarum artium

noticia clarus, autoritate quadem uel iustissima, nunc saltem exigit in nostrorum scriptorum referri numerum. Erat autem praedicto archiepiscopo, Ioanni Mortonono, a sacellis atque consuetudine domestica; et inter alia multa, in uulgari sermone ac poesi docte et eleganter concessit,

De natura, Comoediam, Lib.1. Cunctipotens ille, qui omnem fabricam

Caeterarum eius editionum nihil uidi. Claruit anno salutis humanae 1490, sub rege Henrico septimo.

[*Henry Medwall: From the London (domestic) office.*

Henry Medwall, a man both renowned and famous for his knowledge of the liberal arts, by any judgement even the most exact, now at any rate claims to be included among the number of our (British) writers. He was one of the chaplains to the aforementioned archbishop John Morton and of the domestic kind; and, among many other (works), he compiled, learnedly and elegantly, in vernacular language and verse:

Nature, a comedy, in one volume: "Thalmyghty God that made eche creature".

I have seen nothing of his other publications. He flourished in the year of human salvation 1490, under King Henry VII.]

Bale does not list Medwall in the "Ipswich" edition of 1548. The translated title, *De natura*, is followed by a Latin version of the opening line of the play, restored in the above translation.

[40] 1619. Joannes Pitseus (John Pits), *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis: De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus, tomus primus*, (Paris, 1619), p.678. (Original orthography.)

De Henrico Medvvallo

Henricus Medvvallus nobilissimis in Anglia parentibus ortus, stemma suum litteris et virtutibus mirifice illustrauit. Erat autem sacerdos saecularis, et Ioanni Mortonono Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi a sacellis, eique multum charus ac dilectus. Fecerat sane hunc amorem morum similitudo proborum, et eruditio fere par atque aequalis. Nec dubium est, quin hic noster Medvvallus multas lucubrationes egregias posteris reliquerit, sed pleraque posterorum incuria perijsse videntur. Solum constat adhuc extare quandam eius Poësim uulgari lingua valde eleganter compositam, et postea Latinam factam, cui titulum fecit

Comediam de natura, Librum vnum. Cunctipotens ille qui omnem fabricam.

De alijs nihil habeo certi. Vixit anno partus Virginei 1490, sub Anglorum Rege Henrico Septimo.

[*Concerning Henry Medwall.*

Henry Medwall, born of very noble parents in England, wonderfully illumined his ancestral lineage by his writings and his virtues. He was a secular priest, and one of the chaplains of John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, and very dear to and beloved by him. A likeness in moral rectitude and a degree of erudition nearly identical

created this love (between them). It is not to be doubted that this our Medwall left many outstanding works to posterity, but the most part seem to have been lost through the carelessness of posterity. There remains at this date only a certain poem composed very elegantly in the native tongue, and afterward translated into Latin, to which he gave the title

The Comedy of Nature, One Volume. Cunctipotens ille qui omnem fabricam.

Concerning the others I have no certain knowledge. He lived in the year 1490 after the Virgin Birth, under the king of the English, Henry VII.]

Pits's reference to a translation of *Nature* into Latin is almost certainly based on a misunderstanding of no.39. Pits evidently had no independent knowledge concerning Medwall, and probably had not seen a volume of *Nature*. There are a number of reminiscences of no. 39 in no.40, and though there is some additional information this could be merely inference.

GLOSSARY

aminished diminished
aventure risk
boldisshyng emboldening, encouragement
catallis chattels
certiorari a writ to secure records of a case for inspection by a superior court
confetrid allied together in a conspiracy
covenable suitable
covyn conspiracy
dayes payment on a specified future day, i.e. credit
disseas decease
enbesiled embezzled
enbrace corrupt, persuade by illegal means
feet, fete act (of merchandising)
fermed of rented from
greyne(d) scarlet grain, a dye; dyed
incontinent immediately
jobardy jeopardy, risk
lett hinder, prevent
li pound(s) sterling
limited set, established
lyvere delivery
marce mark(s), two-thirds of a pound
martly by way of business
mese message, parcel of land
ob half-pence
of less then unless that
ordynarie one who has jurisdiction in his own right
ought oweth
partyngfelowe business partner
pleynt complaint
promyttyn promising
q^a farthing
relyvere redelivery, return
ryall district
seintwarie sanctuary
sub pena writ commanding the presence of a defendant before a court
tamyng having been entered upon
usure usury
utter expose for trade, i.e. sell
ymaginacion plotting