

**Cornwall and the Kingdom:
Connectivity, Cohesion, and Integration,
c. 1300-c. 1420**

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Samuel John Drake, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Dated:

Abstract

Cornwall has long stood out as one of the least understood corners of Britain. The peninsula appeared simultaneously both detached and yet integrated, with these dual aspects of the county seemingly contradictory. This thesis seeks to reconcile late medieval Cornish distinctiveness with the peninsula's integration. At every point the county emerges as idiosyncratic, with a powerful body of Cornish proprietors dominating its affairs and a potent lordship fused with the structures of the shire. Myths, saints, government, and lordship all endowed the notion of Cornwall with authority in the minds of its inhabitants, forging its people into a commonalty. Contemporaries even believed that Cornwall had existed 'since the time of King Arthur'. Yet Cornwall and its residents also depended on their place in the realm, with the Cornish simultaneously viewing their county as 'a schere of Engeland'. Consideration is therefore given to the influence exercised by comital, ducal, and regnal lordship in Cornwall, with emphasis placed on the way in which the earldom-duchy and Crown together rendered the politics of the county part and parcel of those of the wider realm. Attention is then directed away from Cornwall as defined by its boundaries to consider the social and geographic mobility of the county's inhabitants, analysing connectivity between Cornwall and the wider realm. A multitude of Cornishmen and women were drawn beyond the Tamar by the needs of the Crown, warfare, lordship, commerce, the law, and the Church. By the fourteenth century the Cornish had become interwoven into pan-English networks of communication and movement, contributing to every sphere of the kingdom's collective life. Indeed, the county and the kingdom emerge as interdependent, with Cornwall holding an integral place in the realm while remaining strikingly distinctive.

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Sam Drake, London

List of Abbreviations

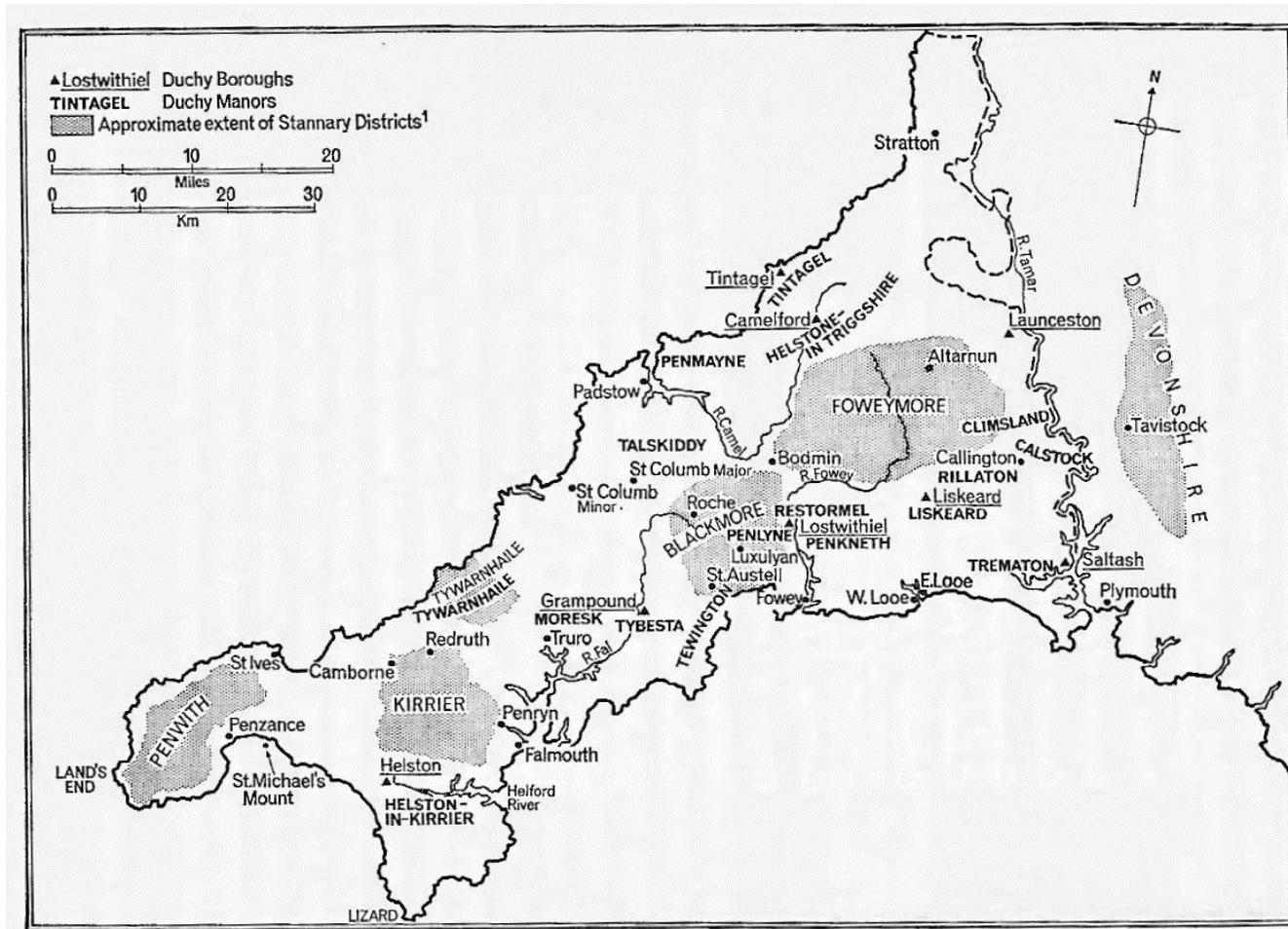
<i>BL</i>	<i>British Library, London</i>
<i>BRUO</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500</i> , 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-9)
<i>Carew</i>	R. Carew, <i>The Survey of Cornwall by Richard Carew</i> , ed. J. Chynoweth, N. Orme, and A. Walsh, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s. 47 (Exeter, 2004)
<i>CChR</i>	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1226-1516</i> , 6 vols, HMSO (London, 1903-27)
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296-1454</i> , 38 vols, HMSO (London, 1892-1947)
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1272-1452</i> , 18 vols, HMSO (London, 1911-39)
<i>CIM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1219-1422</i> , 7 vols, HMSO (London, 1916-68)
<i>CIPM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1272-1427</i> , 20 vols, HMSO (London and Woodbridge, 1908-2003)
<i>Cornish.Wills</i>	<i>Cornish Wills, 1342-1540</i> , ed. N. Orme, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s. 50 (Exeter, 2007)
<i>CP</i>	G. E. Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage...</i> , ed. V. Gibbs et al, 12 vols in 13 (London, 1912-59)
<i>CPMR</i>	<i>Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls</i> , ed. A. H. Thomas and P. E. Jones, 6 vols (Cambridge, 1924-61)
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1292-1477</i> , 42 vols, HMSO (London, 1893-1916)
<i>CRO</i>	<i>Cornwall Record Office, Truro</i>
<i>CS</i>	<i>The Caption of Seisin of the Duchy of Cornwall (1337)</i> , ed. P. L. Hull, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s. 17 (Torquay, 1971)
<i>DCNQ</i>	<i>Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries</i>
<i>DCO</i>	<i>Duchy of Cornwall Office, London</i>
<i>DCRS</i>	<i>Devon and Cornwall Record Society</i>
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EETS</i>	<i>Early English Text Society</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Escheators</i>	<i>List of Escheators for England and Wales</i> , compil. A. C. Wood, List and Index Society, 72 (London, 1971)
<i>FA</i>	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids, 1284-1431</i> , 6 vols, HMSO (London, 1899-1920)
<i>FF</i>	<i>Cornwall Feet of Fines</i> , ed. J. H. Rowe, 2 vols, Devon and Cornwall Record Society (Exeter and Topsham, 1914-50)
<i>GL</i>	<i>Guildhall Library, London</i>

- HOP* *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. J. S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe, 4 vols (Stroud, 1993)
- HW* *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London 1258-1688*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, 2 vols (London, 1889-90)
- JRIC* *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*
- LB* *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London, A-L*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, 11 vols (London, 1899-1912)
- LMA* *London Metropolitan Archives, London*
- MPs* *Return of Members of Parliament*, 2 parts in 4 vols (London, 1878-91), i part 1
- NCMH* *The New Cambridge Medieval History, VI, c. 1300-c. 1415*, ed. M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000)
- ODNB* *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. H. Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford, 2004)
- PROME* *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. and trans. P. Brand, A. Curry, C. Given-Wilson, R. E. Horrox, G. Martin, W. M. Ormrod and J. R. S. Philips, 16 vols (Woodbridge, 2005)
- RBP* *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 4 vols, HMSO (London, 1930-3)
- Reg.Brantingham* *The Register of Thomas de Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter (1370-1394)*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 2 vols (London, 1901-6)
- Reg.Grandisson* *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (1327-1369)*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 3 vols (London, 1894-9)
- Reg.Stafford* *The Register of Edmund Stafford (1395-1419): An Index and Abstract of its Contents*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1886)
- Reg.Stapeldon* *The Register of Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter (1307-1326)*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1892)
- RESDCornwall* J. Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300-1500* (Cambridge, 1970)
- RFS* *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c. 1200-1815*, ed. R. Bonney (Oxford, 1999)
- SCKB* *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, ed. G. O. Sayles, 7 vols, Selden Society, 55, 57, 58, 74, 76, 82, 88 (London, 1936-71)
- Sheriffs* *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, List and Index Society, 9 (London, 1898)
- TRHS* *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

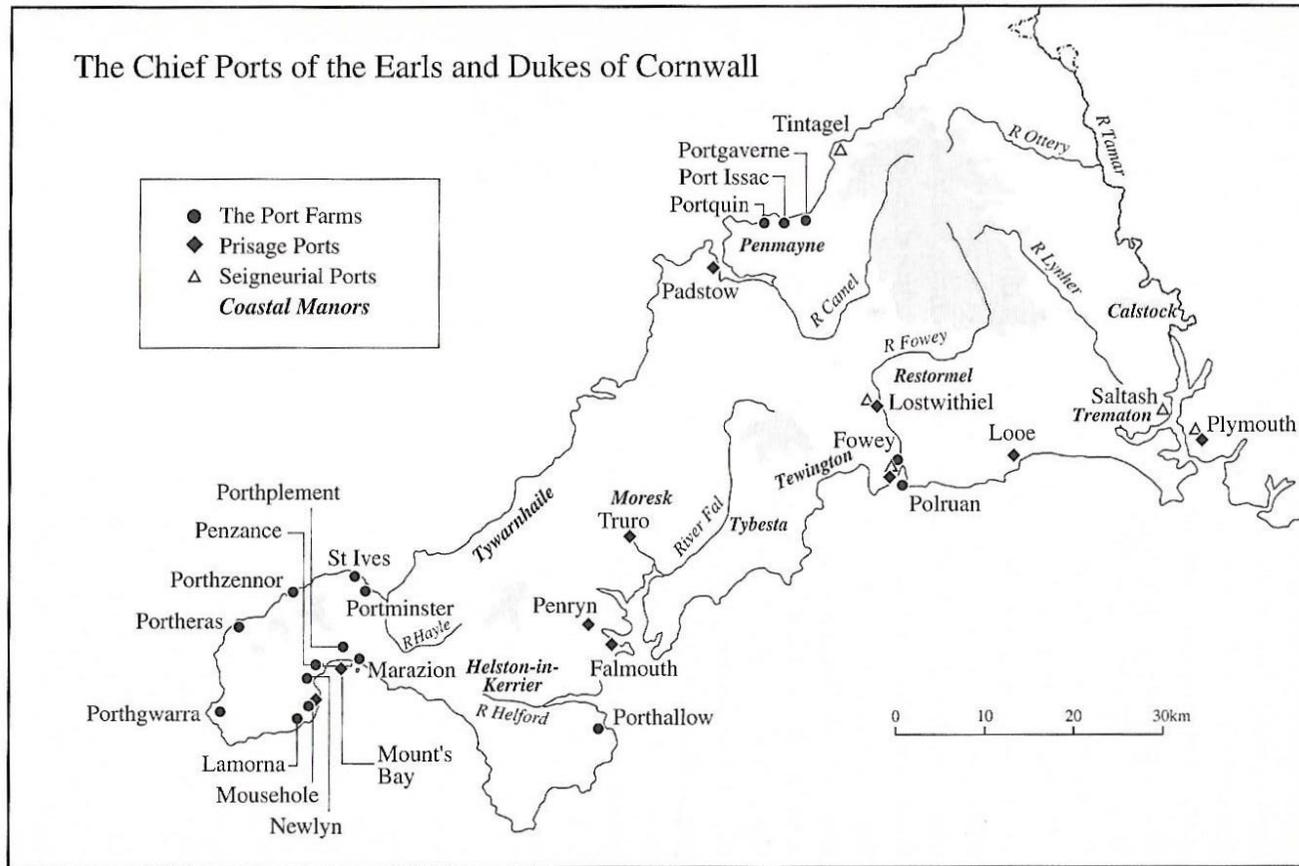
- Vita* *Vita Edwardi Secundi, The Life of Edward II...*, ed. W. R. Childs (Oxford, 2005)
- YB* *Year Books 30 and 31 Edward I to 7 Richard II*, ed. M. S. Arnold et al, Ames Society, Rolls Series, and Selden Society (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1863-1989)

All unpublished documents to which reference is made are preserved in the National Archives of the UK unless otherwise stated.

Map 1: Late Medieval Cornwall

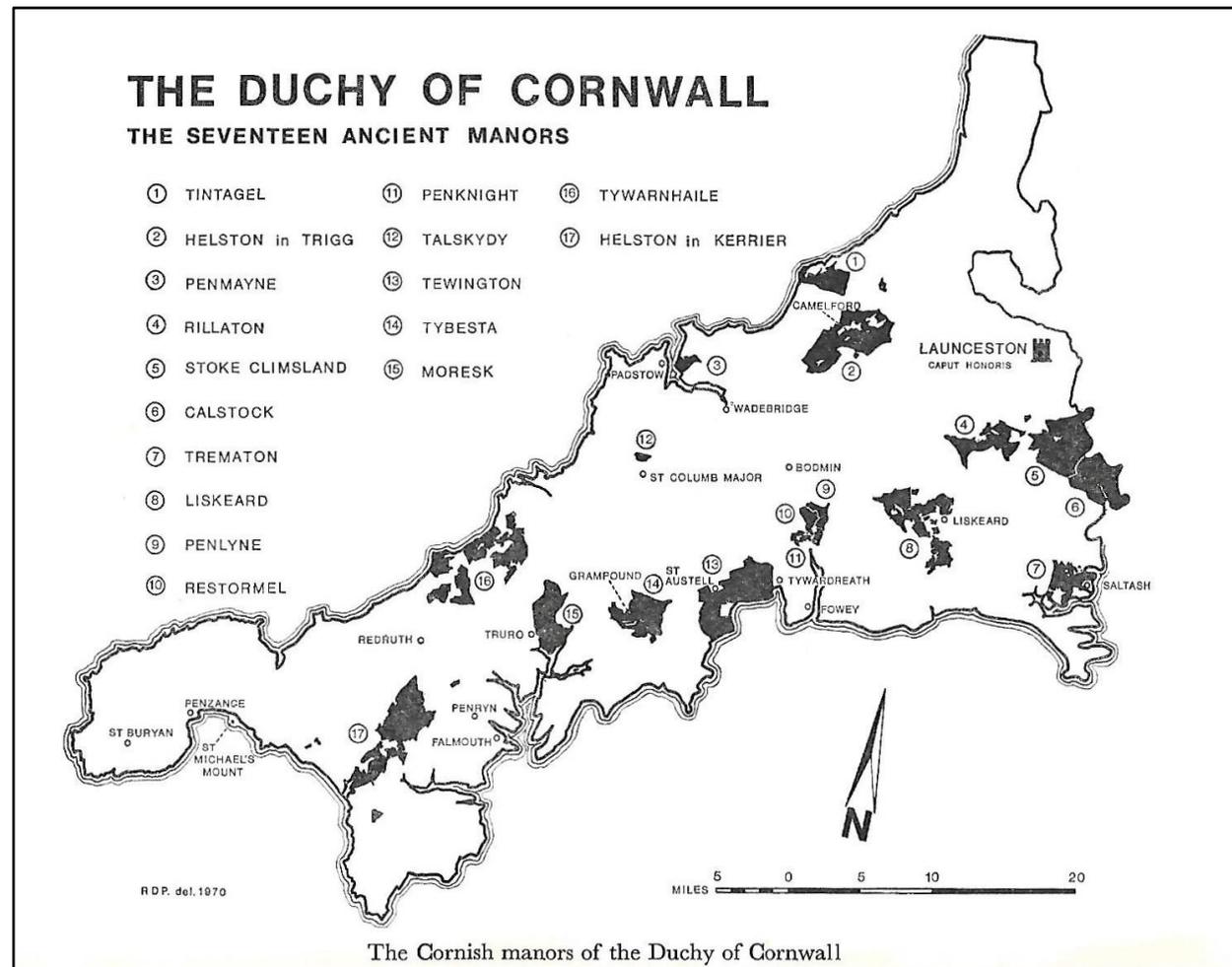


Source: J. Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300-1500* (Cambridge, 1970), p. xiv.



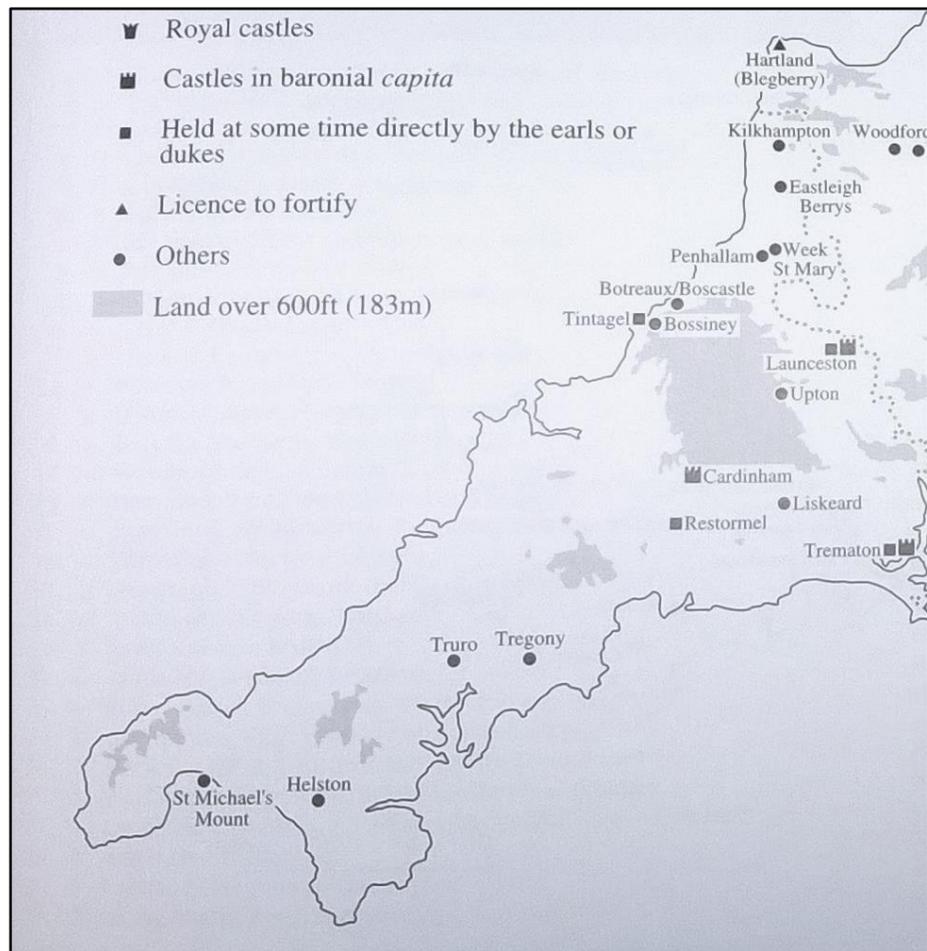
Map 2: *The Chief Ports of the Earl-Dukes of Cornwall*

Source: *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, ed. M. Kowaleski, DCRS, n.s. 44 (Exeter, 2001), p. xii.



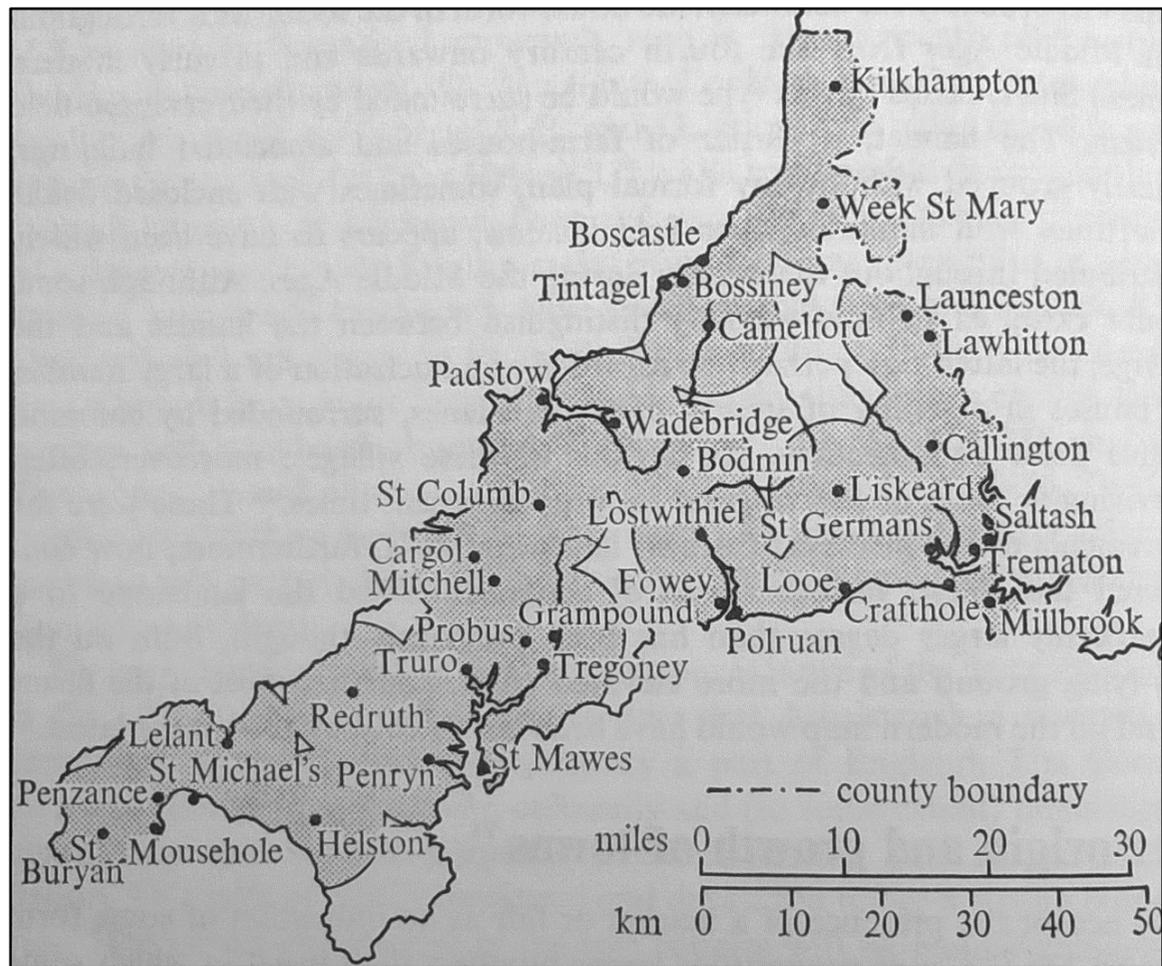
Map 3: *The Seventeen Assessionable Manors of the Earldom-Duchy of Cornwall*

Source: *The Caption of Seisin of the Duchy of Cornwall (1337)*, ed. P. L. Hull, *DCRS*, n.s. 17 (Torquay, 1971), frontispiece.



Map 4: *Cornwall's Castles to c. 1300*

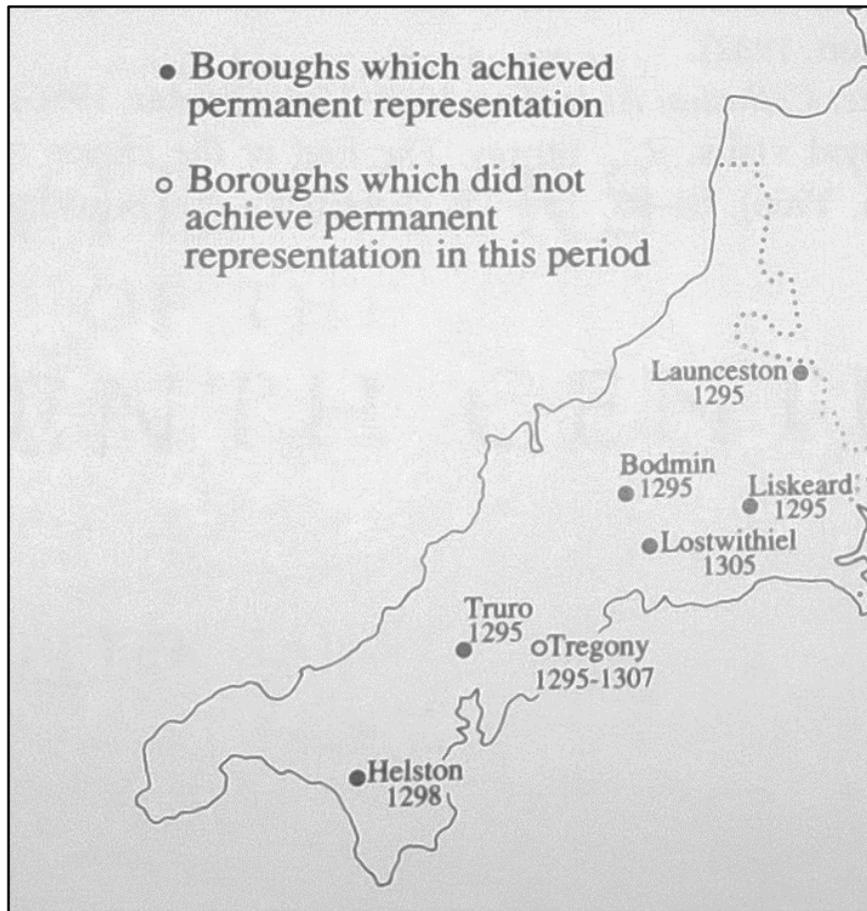
Source: R. A. Higham, 'Castles, Fortified Houses and Fortified Towns in the Middle Ages', in *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, ed. R. Kain and W. Ravenhill (Exeter, 1999), pp. 136-143 at 137.



Map 5: *Cornish settlements which had been styled boroughs or had markets by the middle of the fourteenth century*

n.b. the shaded areas were within five miles of a borough or market.

Source: M. F. Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall* (Leicester, 1975), p. 70.



Map 6: *Cornish Parliamentary Boroughs*

Source: N. Orme, 'Representation and Rebellion in the Late Middle Ages', in *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, ed. R. Kain and W. Ravenhill (Exeter, 1999), pp. 144-146 at 145.



Map 7: Ancient Highways in Cornwall

Source: G. B. Grundy, 'Ancient Highways of Devon', *Archaeological Journal*, 98 (1941), pp. 131-164, between pp. 162 and 163.

Introduction: a Little Understood Land

A contradiction lies at the heart of Cornwall. To some, this idiosyncratic peninsula stands amongst the shires of England as an integral if distinctive part of the country at large. But to others, it exists – or deserves to – as a country unto itself: one rendered distinct by language, law, culture, genetics, and even nature, in the form of the mighty Tamar. Cornish nationalists have therefore marshalled the county's history in the cause of separatism, forcing accounts of the medieval peninsula into a teleological 'grand narrative' of repression and marginalisation which sees plucky little Cornwall subjugated by an overbearing England.¹ By 1497, so this account goes, the people of Cornwall could tolerate their servitude no longer, rising in revolt under the leadership of the 'Cornish Braveheart' Michael Joseph An Gof.² We may well wonder about the accuracy of this construct, however, as the events surrounding 1497 proved by no means typical. Neither did the Cornish seek to extricate themselves from the realm. Instead, they marched on London to affect change, for they believed implicitly in regnal government.³ Cornwall remains a little understood land.

To some extent this narrative of oppression simply stems from a long tradition extolling Cornish otherness, one which emphasised the contrasts between Celtic Cornwall and Anglo-Saxon England. Racial fault-lines have certainly permeated much of the academic literature concerning the county. L. E. Elliott-Binns – in what remains the only comprehensive study of medieval Cornwall – laced his work with phrases such as 'the Cornish people never forgot that they were a conquered race'.⁴ While accepting that Cornwall held a place in England, a fact disputed by a veritable cottage-industry of nationalist literature, he wholeheartedly embraced the isolationist argument, writing that Cornwall could 'be likened to a backwater' left 'self-contained and serenely apathetic' during the middle ages.⁵ Though not without merit, his book now shows its age.

¹ P. Payton, *Cornwall* (Fowey, 1996), pp. 86-148.

² Payton, *Cornwall*, p. 125.

³ *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, 1485-1537*, trans. D. Hay, Camden Society, third series 74 (London, 1950), pp. 90-99.

⁴ L. E. Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall* (London, 1955), p. 63

⁵ Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, p. 70; *Cornwall, One of the Four Nations of Britain*, ed. W. C. H. Rowe and E. R. Nute (Cornwall, 1996, revised 2012).

L. E. Elliot-Binns hailed from a long tradition of historians and antiquaries who made Cornwall their special study. A. L. Rowse perhaps remains the best known of the former and continues to cast a long shadow over Cornish history. By specialism an early modernist, the county's 'awakening' from 'the long sleep of the middle ages' forms a recurring theme of his *Tudor Cornwall*.⁶ While Charles Henderson (1900-33) was a far greater champion of the medieval peninsula, he approached many of his topics from the perspective of the parish.⁷ The peninsula's antiquary tradition proved no less strong, ranging from the ever-curious William Worcestre to William Borlase's *Antiquities*.⁸ Yet Sir Richard Carew stands pre-eminent amongst these men, as his 1602 *Survey of Cornwall* was truly pioneering.⁹ Cornwall has undoubtedly generated a great deal of literature, but many of the older histories are 'very unreliable' and few works have sought to understand the county as a whole.¹⁰

The last forty-five years have seen a significant growth of academic interest in Cornwall. John Hatcher's seminal *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall* has shed much new light on the late medieval county. Nevertheless, his work is confined mainly to the economic sphere and chiefly to the peasantry at that, an assessment which holds true also for Harold Fox's study of the county's agrarian history.¹¹ The foundations of the peninsula's thriving economic life have also been treated by other authors. John Hatcher's monograph studying the tin trade supplemented G. R. Lewis' work on the stannaries, while Maryanne Kowaleski's research on Cornwall's maritime character has highlighted the significance of the sea trade.¹²

Turning to the peninsula's religious history, Joanna Mattingly's work on Cornish guilds and the physical structure of many churches has proved

⁶ A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall, Portrait of a Society* (London, 1941), p. 16.

⁷ C. Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History*, ed. A. L. Rowse and M. I. Henderson (Oxford, 1935).

⁸ W. Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. J. H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969); W. Borlase, *Antiquities, Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall*, 2nd Edition (London, 1769).

⁹ *Carew*.

¹⁰ Elliot-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, p. v.

¹¹ *RESDCornwall*; H. S. A. Fox, 'Devon and Cornwall', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, III, 1348-1500*, ed. E. Miller (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 152-174, 303-323, 722-743.

¹² J. Hatcher, *English Tin Production and Trade before 1550* (Oxford, 1973); G. R. Lewis, *The Stannaries, A Study of the Medieval Tin Miners of Devon and Cornwall* (Truro, 1908); *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, ed. M. Kowaleski, *DCRS*, n.s. 44 (Exeter, 2001).

invaluable.¹³ But Nicholas Orme remains the most powerful and prolific researcher of the Church in Cornwall, covering a multitude of religious topics.¹⁴ Considering Celtic influences, Oliver Padel's publications on the Cornish language, the county's place-names, and the peninsula's culture provide the standard accounts of these subjects.¹⁵ Beyond this, Mark Stoyle has argued that the Cornish comprised a people in their own right.¹⁶ Writing in 1999, he suggested that the early-modern Cornish rebellions arose from the county's inhabitants being divided from the rest of England by identity and race, subjects to which we will return. Within the world of politics, Christopher Tyldesley has analysed the interactions between the Crown and the localities of Cornwall and Devon in 1377-1422, comparing and contrasting Ricardian and Lancastrian kingship.¹⁷ This proved a fruitful approach, but the scale of assessing two shires limited his chronological sweep. Hannes Kleineke has likewise considered law, lawlessness, and parliamentary representation in fifteenth-century Cornwall alone.¹⁸ Finally, Mark Page's work on royal and comital government in the thirteenth century provides essential background to developments in the late middle ages and affords points of comparison.¹⁹

Although there have therefore been many recent contributions to Cornish history, each of them has – to a greater or lesser extent – had a narrow focus. No overarching study of the county has been written for over sixty years. Of greater significance, however, stands the fact that many of these works remain more concerned with the peninsula's peculiarities than with the way in which Cornwall cohered with the rest of the kingdom. The county appears simultaneously both detached and yet integrated, with these dual aspects of the peninsula seemingly contradictory. Indeed, little consideration

¹³ J. Mattingly, 'Stories in the Glass – Reconstructing the St Neot Pre-Reformation Glazing Scheme', *JRIC* (2000), pp. 9-55.

¹⁴ N. Orme, *Victoria County History of Cornwall, II, Religious History to 1560* (Woodbridge, 2010).

¹⁵ O. J. Padel, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names* (Penzance, 1988).

¹⁶ M. Stoyle, 'The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall', *Journal of British Studies*, 38 (1999), pp. 423-444.

¹⁷ C. Tyldesley, 'The Crown and the Local Communities in Devon and Cornwall from 1377 to 1422' (Unpubl. Univ. Exeter PhD, 1978).

¹⁸ H. Kleineke, 'Why the West Was Wild: Law and Order in Fifteenth-Century Cornwall and Devon', *The Fifteenth Century, III, Authority and Subversion*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 75-93.

¹⁹ M. Page, 'Royal and Comital Government and the Local Community in Thirteenth-Century Cornwall' (Unpubl. Univ. Oxford D.Phil, 1995).

has been given to the multifarious connections which linked the men and women of Cornwall into the wider realm.

The following study considers the multitude of bonds which stretched sinuously across the Tamar between c. 1300 and c. 1420, which had the effect of reconciling late medieval Cornish distinctiveness with the county's integration. By considering how a regionally idiosyncratic part of the body politic functioned, this thesis also aims to provide a window onto the broader regional and social operation of the realm.²⁰ Cornwall's history is employed as a prism refracting issues of identity and mobility, legal consciousness and good lordship. The aim is to reconcile and extend the political and social frontiers of the realm, explaining how England cohered and of what the kingdom consisted. The unity of the period rests on the fourteenth-century expansion of royal government and the resultant growth of source material, both of which prove revealing of the changing nature of Cornish integration. In considering a previously neglected corner of the realm, the aim is to contribute to our understanding of both Cornwall and the kingdom.

Beginning as an internal study of the peninsula before broadening its perspective to encompass the county's interactions with the wider realm, the thesis opens by looking at the gentlemen, government, and identity of Cornwall. It provides an overview of the fourteenth-century county, outlining its economy, lordship, and landed society. A prosopographical analysis of local government and comital-ducial offices then highlights the way in which shire and franchise overlapped. Both discussions set the scene for a consideration of social network theory, Cornish identity, and the forces for county cohesion. Even though Cornwall was hallowed by history, the identities of the county and kingdom emerge as interdependent. Consideration is then given to the influence exercised by comital, ducal, and regnal lordship

²⁰ For other regional studies: M. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism, Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983); C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity, A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992); R. H. Hilton, *A Medieval Society, The West Midlands at the end of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1966); C. Liddy, *The Bishopric of Durham in the Late Middle Ages, Lordship, Community and the Cult of St Cuthbert* (Woodbridge, 2008); S. J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England, The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991); A. J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses, Lay Society, War, and Politics, 1450-1550* (Oxford, 1990); N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); *idem.*, *Scenes from Provincial Life, Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986); S. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Chesterfield, 1983).

in Cornwall, with emphasis placed on how together the earldom-duchy and Crown rendered the politics of the peninsula part and parcel of those of the wider realm. Lordship and royal government proved to be intertwined, with both propagating notions of Cornish integration.

Attention is then directed away from Cornwall as defined by its boundaries to consider the social and geographic mobility of the Cornish people. Connectivity between Cornwall and the wider realm, a concept resting on the twin pillars of communication and movement, forms the focus of this discussion. Consideration is given to the movement of people, goods, and ideas brought about by the needs of the Crown, warfare, lordship, commerce, the law, and the Church. Connections which transcended Cornwall stand out as ubiquitous, for by the fourteenth century the people of the peninsula had become interwoven in pan-English networks of association, contributing to every sphere of the realm's collective life. All these strands will then be drawn together to consider the county's identity, its place in the kingdom, and the nature of England itself. Cornwall can only be understood when placed in a context extending beyond the Tamar.

A brief word needs to be said about the sources for this study. The unrivalled survival of documentation produced by the English chancery, exchequer, and law courts sheds much light on the county. Comital-ducal records, especially the ministers' accounts, prove equally invaluable for studying the operation of lordship in the peninsula.²¹ An unbroken series of episcopal registers for the diocese of Exeter forms another crucial strand of evidence, detailing the work of the Church in the county and much more besides. Fourteenth-century Cornwall is unfortunately not blessed with an extensive gentry-family archive – that of the Arundells of Lanherne only grows voluminous in the fifteenth century; but many views from the locality survive, not least those brought to the government's attention through petitioning.

Cornwall and the kingdom, then, formed an interdependent whole in the fourteenth century, as the peninsula constituted no 'land apart'. Instead, the county held an integral place in the realm while remaining strikingly

²¹ See, *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296-7*, ed. L. M. Midgley, 2 vols, Camden Society, Third Series 64, 68 (London, 1942-5).

distinctive. And in reconciling these twin strands of Cornwall, this study also seeks to refine our understanding of England at large.

I

Cornwall: its Gentlemen, Government, and Identity

1. The Very Ends of the Earth: an Overview of Fourteenth-Century Cornwall

‘Not only the ends of the earth, but the very ends of the ends thereof’.¹ Bishop Grandisson’s lament of Cornwall in 1327 as a wilderness, scarcely integrated into the realm, typifies many interpretations of the medieval county. Richard II’s government even used the peninsula as a place of exile, employing Tintagel Castle as a prison for John Northampton and the earl of Warwick, the demagogue mayor of London and the king’s political opponent respectively.² Indeed, Cornwall stands in the furthest south-western corner of the kingdom, remote from the heartlands of England. On three sides the sea envelopes the peninsula, with the Tamar demarking the greater part of its border on the east. The county forms a defined geographic space, but one which contains striking variation between granitic moorland and sub-tropical valleys.

Despite Bishop Grandisson’s colourful observations, Cornwall was well connected by national highways to the rest of the realm. The *Via Regalis Cornubiensis* ran from the far west of the county along its spine through Bodmin, Launceston, and across Polston Bridge into Devon, from whence it charted a course via Exeter to London.³ This served as the county’s major and much used road artery. The fact that this highway stretched along Cornwall’s rocky-spine added to the quality of the road surface, with little top-soil to remove before reaching hardwearing stony sub-soils.⁴ A busy main southern route likewise linked Fowey, Looe, and beyond, crossing the Tamar by ferry at Little Ash, near Saltash.⁵ Once leaving these main routes, however, it became only too apparent that Cornwall comprised a county of less passable lanes. Travel by land proved by no means easy, as branching estuaries had to be crossed by ferry or further upstream, while steep-sided valleys slowed

¹ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 97-98; *RESDCornwall*, 1.

² *CCR 1381-1385*, 485; *CCR 1396-1399*, 161.

³ C. Henderson and H. Coates, *Old Cornish Bridges and Streams* (Truro, 1928), pp. 11-12; CRO, BLAUS/42; *The Map of Great Britain circa A.D. 1360, Known as the Gough Map*, ed. E. J. S. Parsons, with F. Stenton, *The Roads of the Gough Map* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 21-22, 36; G. B. Grundy, ‘Ancient Highways of Cornwall’, *Archaeological Journal*, 98 (1941), pp. 165-180.

⁴ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 13, 38-39; Conversation with David Blight, Cornish Highways Engineer, 15 November 2013.

⁵ *Reg. Stafford*, 245; Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 30-33; CS, 118.

journeys.⁶ Even so, itineraries within and beyond the county's bounds emerge as commonplace.

Vessels also thronged the sea which enveloped Cornwall, for all Bishop Grandisson's bewailing of its endless, rarely navigable nature. Although the rugged Cornish coast proved challenging, most large-scale transport went by water in medieval Europe.⁷ The county's safe-havens therefore formed linchpins in many sea-lanes, with the ocean operating as an enabling space. Vessels from places as diverse as the Mediterranean and the Baltic sailed to and from Cornwall, while much coastal shipping navigated between Cornish harbours and from these ports on to Southampton and London.⁸ Maritime shipping also dovetailed with riverine transport, as many Cornish rivers had far greater navigable ranges than today.⁹ A well-developed, heavily used, and increasingly dense 'transport system' connected Cornwall by both land and sea to the rest of England and beyond.

Nonetheless, a fleeting glance suggests that Cornwall remained impoverished. The 1334 lay subsidy recorded moveable wealth varying from less than £5 per square mile up to £9, with comparable figures for parts of East Anglia standing at over £30.¹⁰ The government excluded tinner's operations from parliamentary taxation, however, making the county appear over-poor, particularly as these privileges were sometimes abused. In 1343, for instance, 'rich men and others... who assert that they are stannary men when they are not' had limited their tax liabilities.¹¹ With smuggling also rife in the peninsula, we may well wonder whether the county's residents had perfected the art of undervaluation. While Cornwall certainly did not enjoy the honour of being the wealthiest shire, it proved more prosperous than these figures suggest and this wealth was to burgeon.¹²

John Hatcher has stressed the strength and diversified nature of the late medieval Cornish economy, which rested on farming, mining, fishing,

⁶ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 17, 23.

⁷ *CPR 1422-1429*, 447-448.

⁸ *Havener's Accounts*, *passim*.

⁹ *CCR 1399-1402*, 475.

¹⁰ *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. R. Glasscock (London, 1975), p. xxvii.

¹¹ *CPR 1343-1345*, 165.

¹² N. G. Pounds, 'Taxation and Wealth in Late Medieval Cornwall', *JRIC* (1971), pp. 154-167; W. M. Ormrod, 'The Crown and the English Economy, 1290-1348', in *Before the Black Death, Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century*, ed. B. M. S. Campbell (Manchester, 1991), pp. 149-183 at 155-157.

and shipping.¹³ As with every shire of England, agriculture emerges as essential to Cornwall's wealth. The peninsula's mild climate extended growing seasons and the coasts proved reasonable for the production of wheat and barley, with foodstuffs exported to London and elsewhere.¹⁴ The granitic moorland which covered large tracts of the peninsula proved far less suited to arable agriculture. Instead, farmers typically employed these 'zones' for rough grazing or simply left them as wasteland, resulting in a 'patchwork pattern' of cultivation.¹⁵ Cornish land use thus stood out as distinctive and so too did the organisation of its estates. 'It is questionable whether [the earldom-duchy's manors] can be called manorialised at all', for by the fourteenth century demesne agriculture had been replaced by conventional tenure.¹⁶ The earl-duke leased out land for seven years at a time, with the price of the lease being determined at the court of assession; comprising an annual fixed rent and a fine, the value of which fluctuated depending on demand. Despite all this, the peninsula was by no means ideally suited to agriculture.¹⁷

The metals which lay under the county's craggy moors perhaps proved more significant than cultivation on these hillsides. Lead, copper, silver, gold, and a host of other metallic minerals occur in Cornish rocks, with tin standing pre-eminent amongst these ores. Cornwall's prosperity rested in no small part on the latter, with thousands of folk involved in its extraction and processing.¹⁸ A whole host of industries developed to support tinning, notably the preparation of peat charcoal for smelting.¹⁹ Tin production represented an immensely powerful interest. Complex credit networks funded the tin industry, with merchants both within and without the county transporting large amounts of this metal to London. A thriving export trade also existed between the peninsula, the Low Countries, Northern France, and

¹³ J. Hatcher, 'A Diversified Economy: Later Medieval Cornwall', *EcHR*, 22 (1969), pp. 208-227; *RESDCornwall*, *passim*.; P. Schofield, 'The Arundell Estates and the Regional Economy in Fifteenth-Century Cornwall', in *Town and Countryside in the Age of the Black Death, Essays in Honour of John Hatcher*, ed. M. Bailey and S. Rigby (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 277-297.

¹⁴ Below, p. 196.

¹⁵ Fox, 'Devon and Cornwall', pp. 307-308, 152, 159-161.

¹⁶ *RESDCornwall*, 52-54; J. Hatcher, 'Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall', *Agricultural History Review*, 18 (1970), pp. 1-16; it remains unclear whether other manors employed conventional tenure, *The Cornish Lands of the Arundells of Lanherne, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. H. S. A. Fox and O. J. Padel, *DCRS*, n.s. 41 (Exeter, 2000), p. lviii.

¹⁷ *RESDCornwall*, 9.

¹⁸ Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 47.

¹⁹ Fox, 'Devon and Cornwall', p. 162; *CPR 1461-1467*, 482.

beyond.²⁰ Tin stands out as an internationally significant commodity, one which contributed to the county's character while connecting Cornwall to national and pan-national exchange networks.

The great majority of tin was shipped from the county. Maritime industries formed another pillar of Cornwall's wealth, with Cornish vessels transporting a multitude of commodities including tin, fish, hides, salt, and wine.²¹ South-western fisheries also experienced a marked expansion in this period, stimulating shipbuilding.²² 'Wreck of the sea' could yield considerable profits at times, while smuggling and 'piracy' emerge as endemic in the waters around the county, making some Cornishmen rich.²³ Cornish ports also served as trans-shipment stations and safe havens, injecting yet more money into the peninsula as vessels incurred costs for victuals and so on when they docked. Each aspect of Cornwall's wealth emerges as interconnected, with textile manufacture and quarrying rising to prominence in the fifteenth century. The Cornish economy remained both buoyant and diversified, creating a multitude of links to other parts of the realm.

The county's boroughs formed hubs of commercial activity. Cornwall saw the 'proliferation' of small boroughs within its midst, as the government taxed eighteen of them in 1334 and it seems that as many as thirty existed.²⁴ Many were new towns, 'plants of exotic growth... fostered by great landholders as profitable sources of revenue'.²⁵ The earldom-duchy owned nine of these, while the local gentry oversaw many others and the bishops of Exeter enjoyed lordship over Penryn.²⁶ Most urban settlements stood astride the county's main roads or at sites advantageous for shipping, as these towns represented the convergence of mercantile and seigniorial interests. Yet the reasons behind such a high density of boroughs remain obscure. Perhaps the places resulted from Cornwall's dispersed settlements, leaving areas of 'no-

²⁰ Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 51.

²¹ *Havener's Accounts*, *passim*.

²² M. Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *ECHR*, 53 (2000), pp. 429-454.

²³ C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England* (Oxford, 1925); *A Calendar of Early Chancery Proceedings Relating to West Country Shipping, 1388-1493*, ed. D. Gardiner, *DCRS*, n.s. 21 (Torquay, 1976); *RESDCornwall*, 32-35.

²⁴ *Lay Subsidy*, p. 29; M. Beresford and H. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: A Hand-List* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 76-83; A. Preston-Jones and P. Rose, 'Week St Mary: Town and Castle', *Cornish Archaeology*, 31 (1992), pp. 143-153.

²⁵ Henderson, *Essays*, p. 19.

²⁶ M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages, Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (London, 1967), pp. 399-414.

man's land' which could be profitably turned over to burghal tenure.²⁷ Whatever the case, when taken alongside Cornwall's numerous 'organic towns', the peninsula played host to a striking density of boroughs, accounting for over a fifth of its tax yield in 1334. The government reckoned Bodmin to be the richest of these urban centres, with £200 of movable property.²⁸ Truro came second, with over £120 to its name, but the Crown assessed Tintagel at just over £6 and Camelford at a mere £4. Even so, each settlement relied upon royal charters securing their tenurial and commercial practices, as trade in Cornwall carried on in much the same way as every other part of the realm. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Cornish burgesses also emulated townsmen across the realm by establishing guild-merchants to regulate commerce in these boroughs.²⁹

Overall figures for the county's late medieval population, however, remain notoriously unreliable. In 1948, Josiah Russell employed the 1377 poll tax returns to suggest that some 51,411 people inhabited Cornwall, but more recent studies have pushed his numbers higher.³⁰ These revised figures do not of course represent the high-watermark of Cornwall's medieval population, as by 1377 the Black Death had ravaged the county. Cornwall's dispersed settlements did not mitigate its effects, as once believed.³¹ In fact, the contraction and subsequent stagnation of the county's population concerned the Black Prince himself, and in 1359 he complained that the stannaries suffered 'partly owing to the lack of workers since the pestilence'.³²

When we turn from the county's economic to its political history, we find a story marked by instability and at least a degree of turbulence. Although King Stephen had created Alan de Bretagne earl of Cornwall back in 1140, he then stripped the dignity from him soon afterwards. No single dynasty dominated the earldom subsequently and the title often reverted to the king, who then re-created the dignity for another favourite, as did Henry III for his

²⁷ M. Beresford, 'Dispersed and Grouped Settlement in Medieval Cornwall', *Agricultural History Review*, 12 (1964), pp. 13-27.

²⁸ For all urban figures, see *Lay Subsidy*, pp. 29-35.

²⁹ *Placita de Quo Warranto*, ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley (London, 1818), pp. 108-111; *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, compil. S. Letters, 2 vols, List and Index Society, Special Series, 32-33 (Chippenham, 2003), i, pp. 76-85; J. Mattingly, 'The Medieval Parish Guilds of Cornwall', *JRIC* (1989), pp. 290-329; Pounds, 'Wealth', 164.

³⁰ J. C. Russell, *British Population History* (Albuquerque, 1948), p. 132; J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530* (London, 1977), pp. 11-15.

³¹ *RESDCornwall*, 102-104.

³² *RESDCornwall*, 103-104; *RBP*, ii, 157-158.

younger brother, Richard of Cornwall, king of the Romans from 1257.³³ Earl Richard and his son held the lordship in 1225-72 and 1272-1300 respectively, but Edmund however was to die without issue at the turn of the century and so the title then reverted to his cousin and heir, King Edward I. This heralded the most turbulent period in the earldom's history. For the next thirty-seven years the title bounced back and forth between the Crown, Piers de Gaveston, Queen Isabella, and John of Eltham. In 1337, however, Edward III elevated the lordship to a dukedom and vested it upon his eldest son, known to posterity as the Black Prince. The prince then governed the county punctiliously for nearly forty years, in contrast to the tumultuousness of earlier years. On the prince's demise in 1376 his son, Richard of Bordeaux, succeeded him and all honours then merged with the Crown on Richard's accession to the throne as Richard II, where they remained until his deposition in 1399. Following the Lancastrian Revolution, however, the title came into the hands of Henry of Monmouth, who later held it as Henry V, for the lordship had close connections with the Crown.

The earl-duke had the good fortune to oversee a county which was not truncated by any significant liberties, and one which saw no other lay magnate hold noteworthy lands within its bounds.³⁴ Indeed, the earl-duke himself held some seventeen manors across Cornwall, along with nine boroughs and a host of advowsons. He also enjoyed extensive rights over the peninsula. His prerogatives included the right to appoint the sheriff and to take the profits of the county court and to hold eight and one third of the peninsula's nine hundreds. He was, in fact, chief lord of all the knights' fees within Cornwall, being the universal landlord.³⁵ All of which yielded great profits, with the duchy's gross income standing at over £4,500 in 1337.³⁶ Indeed, Edward III codified ducal rights in the Great Charter of the duchy in this year. This document contained many 'built-in bulwarks against change', including the stipulation that the estates never be dismembered. Henceforth, the title was to devolve to the eldest son of the sovereign at birth, reverting to the Crown in

³³ *CP*, iii, 427-439; G. Ellis, *Earldoms in Fee, A Study in Peerage Law and History* (London, 1963), pp. 113-116; N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1947).

³⁴ *Quo Warranto*, pp. 108-111; *FA*, i, 208-218.

³⁵ *RESDCornwall*, 5-6; Below, chapter two.

³⁶ *CS*, lviii.

the absence of a rightful duke.³⁷ By the terms of its descent, Edward III forever bound together the duchy and the Crown, drawing Cornwall into the kingdom.

Yet the earl-duke's perennial absenteeism stands out as one of the most significant aspects of Cornwall's lordship. While this influenced the operation of every part of lordly rule, it by no means removed the county from seigniorial power. Instead, the structures of the earldom-duchy formed a network of control across the length and breadth of the peninsula. The 'duchy palace' in Lostwithiel stood at the administrative heart of the earl-duke's Cornish estates, housing his exchequer, the coinage and shire halls, and the chief gaol of Cornwall's stannaries.³⁸ Combined with seigniorial castles, these formed physical manifestations of lordly power, the source of which resided hundreds of miles away. With comital-ducal officials, they enabled the earl-duke to administer his estates and uphold his rights throughout the county.³⁹

Tin emerges as the most valuable of all the earl-duke's prerogatives, with the fiscal importance of this metal resulting in tanners being granted extensive royal concessions. The earliest surviving stannary charter of 1201 confirmed ancient tanning rights to 'free bounding', that is the right to freely search and dig for tin, and released tanners from royal and manorial justice in all cases save 'life, limb, and land'.⁴⁰ Edward I issued a further charter in 1305 which exempted tanners from normal taxation, including tenths and fifteenths, but introduced a tax on tin itself known as coinage duty, which became fixed at 40s. per thousandweight (1,000 lb.).⁴¹ Remarkably, the authorities did not define what constituted a 'tanner' until 1376, when Edward III classified these men as labourers in tin workings themselves.⁴² Tanners thus remained answerable to their earl-duke-king, being linked into the structures of the

³⁷ *CChR 1327-1341*, 399-400, 436-437; *RESDCornwall*, 5-6.

³⁸ N. G. Pounds, 'The Duchy Palace at Lostwithiel, Cornwall', *Archaeological Journal*, 136 (1979), pp. 203-217; A. Saunders, 'Administrative Buildings and Prisons in the Earldom of Cornwall', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages, Essays presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 195-216.

³⁹ Cf. G. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 58-84.

⁴⁰ Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 48; Lewis, *Stannaries*, pp. 137-138, 158-159; Below, pp. 212-213.

⁴¹ *CChR 1300-1326*, 53-54; Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 48; J. F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property, 1290-1334, A Study in Medieval Financial Administration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp. 118-120.

⁴² Lewis, *Stannaries*, pp. 96-99; *PROME*, v, 347-348.

kingdom and enjoying a direct line of communication to some of its foremost men.

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For all the earl-duke's mineral wealth, it remained a truism in the peninsula, as elsewhere in England, that land held the main key to wealth and power. In the case of Cornwall, the bulk of that land was held by those lesser landholders whom we term the gentry, a group loosely defined as 'all lay, non-baronial landholders who enjoyed an income of £5 per annum or more from freehold property'.⁴³ The landed proprietors of Cornwall are deserving of our close attention because they exercised much influence over county affairs.

Royal levies on knights' fees provide some of the best cross-sections of the county's propertied lineages.⁴⁴ For the first of these in 1302, Edward I levied an aid at 40s. per fee for the marriage of his daughter, with the surviving lists for Cornwall recording some eighty-one tenants-in-chief paying this tax.⁴⁵ If we exclude the Religious, the nobles, and the king, who were lords of a different sort, we then are left with a figure of seventy-five Cornish landholders. Forty-four years later, Edward III levied an aid for the knighting of the Black Prince, the returns for which give a list of seventy-eight proprietors, revealing few changes of family names.⁴⁶ The most substantial nobles to make an appearance were the earls of Warwick and Gloucester and the Black Prince himself. Gentlemen owned nearly seventy-three per cent of Cornwall's assessed manors, with just under seventeen per cent in the hands of magnates and a little over ten per cent under the control of the Religious.

Turning to a different class of documents, a list drawn-up in 1344-5 by Edward III's government for the extension of military service stands amongst the most useful sources for gauging the size of the Cornish gentry. This named 128 *homines ad arma* aged between sixteen and sixty who owed service in Cornwall, a number considerably greater than that suggested by

⁴³ Payling, *Nottinghamshire*, p. 3; P. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 9-11.

⁴⁴ In 1302, 1306, 1346, and 1428.

⁴⁵ *FA*, i, xxii, 195-202; M. Jurkowski, C. L. Smith, and D. Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales, 1188-1688* (Richmond, 1998), p. 26.

⁴⁶ *FA*, i, xxiv-xxvi, 208-218; Jurkowski et al, *Lay Taxes*, pp. 47-48.

levies on knights' fees in the county.⁴⁷ While we should be mindful of the fact that underassessment remained rife even in the 1344-5 list, this figure of 128 folk provides a benchmark for the size of the entire Cornish gentry.

Whether all these individuals resided in the county, however, remains another matter. Licences to crenellate manors are perhaps the surest way of identifying Cornish residency, but only six such for the county survive.⁴⁸ Of these, one was for Sir Ralph Bloyou, whom the king permitted to crenellate his 'dwelling places' in Cornwall and Dorset, suggesting that he dwelt in both counties. The Crown conceded the others to Sir William Bassett, Sir Ranulph Blanchminster, Sir John Dauney, and Sir John l'Ercedekne all of whom resided principally in Cornwall. Yet some Cornish estates were held by men who did not dwell in the peninsula. The Dinhams of Hartland resided in Devon, for instance, as did the Pomeroy and Ferrers, despite the fact that all these lineages held considerable estates to the west of the Tamar.⁴⁹ Men largely resident in Devon evidently owned numerous manors in Cornwall; equally, it can be said that men largely resident in Cornwall had interests across the county boundary.⁵⁰ A few dynasties proved active in both shires, among them the Huishs and Chaumpernouns.⁵¹ Ties stretched far beyond Cornwall's near neighbour, however. Roland Coykyn held lands in the peninsula but hailed from distant Somerset, while the Wylintons oversaw two Cornish manors from their seat in Gloucestershire. Cornwall's propertied society emerges as by no means hermetically sealed, and if we make these adjustments then the number of resident gentry becomes somewhat diminished. All the same, it is striking that the majority of those who owned land in the peninsula resided in Cornwall and were Cornish.

Contemporaries, however, referred to the proprietors who made up what we call the gentry by a variety of terms in any one of three languages.⁵² While the French *chivaler* translated into the Latin *miles* and the English

⁴⁷ C47/2/39/12; CPR 1343-1345, 414-415; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England, A Study in Liberty and Duty* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 190-199.

⁴⁸ CPR 1327-1330, 541; CPR 1313-1317, 262; CPR 1334-1338, 75, 77, 79, 238.

⁴⁹ CPR 1334-1338, 558; see, H. Kleineke, 'The Dinham Family in the Later Middle Ages' (Unpubl. Univ. London PhD, 1998).

⁵⁰ Page, 'Comital Government', p. 129; BL, Harley MS 1192 f. 46.

⁵¹ CCR 1337-1339, 387; Appendix II.

⁵² Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 30; K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 268-278; T. B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in *Fifteenth Century England, 1399-1509, Studies in Politics and Society*, ed. S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffith (Manchester, 1972), pp. 86-128 at 86, 96.

knight, *gentil homme* had no clear Latin counterpart until the fifteenth-century *generosus*. Below the *miles* stood the *armiger* and *valletus*, terms which in 1300 proved to be synonymous. Across the fourteenth century, however, the two diverged, with *valletus* later rendered as *yoman* in English, but a lowly *yoman* could not be considered a *gentil homme*.⁵³ On the other hand, esquire became the preferred English translation of *armiger*, with these men holding a place in gentle society. Contemporaries, in fact, grouped together knights (*militēs*) and esquires (*armigeri*) as men-at-arms (*homines ad arma*), because together they made up the mounted elite.

Magnate absenteeism and Earl Richard's dispersal of Cornwall's two baronies – Cardinan and Vautort – resulted in county leadership falling to the richest and most important resident knights.⁵⁴ Although Mark Page found that thirty-five knightly families were active at any one time in thirteenth-century Cornwall, by the latter years of Edward I's reign this number had dwindled somewhat.⁵⁵ A military summons of 1300 named twenty-eight Cornishmen who enjoyed yearly incomes of at least £40, a figure which by Edward II's reign had come to represent the minimum required for knighthood.⁵⁶ This much is indicated by a royal summons to a great council of 1323-4, in which the sheriff testified that all twenty-five named Cornishmen enjoyed annual incomes of at least £40.⁵⁷ By this date 'economic difficulties... had slimmed the ranks of those who could afford to be *militēs*', explaining the fall in the number of Cornish knights from thirty-five in the thirteenth century to around twenty-five in the first half of the fourteenth.⁵⁸

Knights, however, formed but the pinnacle of gentle society. In 1352, Edward III found that some forty-seven Cornishmen enjoyed yearly incomes of £20 or more, with these men representing both the knights and greater esquires of the county.⁵⁹ Taken together, then, all these documents suggest that around twenty-five knights, *militēs*, stood at the head of Cornwall's pre-1348 landed society, below whom existed a squirearchy, those referred to as

⁵³ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 6-7, 16-17; Coss, *English Gentry*, pp. 216-238.

⁵⁴ M. Page, 'Cornwall, Earl Richard, and the Barons' War', *EHR*, 115 (2000), pp. 21-38 at 33.

⁵⁵ Page, 'Comital Government', pp. 122-123.

⁵⁶ C47/1/6/7-8, excluding the Religious and Devonians.

⁵⁷ Appendix I, two more were Devonians.

⁵⁸ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 10.

⁵⁹ BL, Harley MS 1192 f. 50; *Carew*, 52; three more were Devonians; many avoided knighthood, C47/1/12/26; C47/1/13/15-16.

armigeri, of at least 128 families and probably many more. Of the latter, thirty or so enjoyed annual incomes of £20 and upwards, with the rest of lesser means.

Yet propertied society did not maintain its earlier shape and structure. In 1413, the Statute of Additions recognised the existence of gentleman as the lowest gradation of gentility, the structure of which henceforth comprised knights who enjoyed yearly incomes of £40 or more, esquires with £10 or more to their names, and gentlemen with incomes of £5-10.⁶⁰ Equally, there came to exist those wealthy freeholders below the rank of gentleman who had assumed the ‘airs and graces’ of gentility, those whom we term the ‘parish gentry’. Many have argued that the Black Death formed the principal agent of change here.⁶¹ The plague and its subsequent visitations inaugurated a period of high mortality which increased the rate of familial extinctions. Established estates therefore fragmented, with much of this divided land purchased by ‘new men’. ‘New’ proprietors thus accumulated estates and emulated their social betters, re-drawing the broadened bounds of gentility.

The discontinuous nature of our source material, however, renders quantifying these changes impossible. The returns to a feudal aid of 1428 list as many as 800 landholders in Cornwall, a figure which at first glance suggests a considerable expansion of landed society. It is virtually impossible, however, to say if lesser landowners of equivalent standing and means to these had existed a century before when the lists of the 1320s and 1340s had been compiled.⁶² The problem is that we cannot be sure that we are comparing like with like. The returns to a parliamentary subsidy of 1450 provide us with another strand of evidence. In this year, the government taxed those proprietors who enjoyed landed incomes of £2 or more per annum, along with those who received yearly salaries of £3 and upwards. The resultant roll names seventy-five Cornishmen who enjoyed incomes which qualified them

⁶⁰ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 18-20, 29; Coss, *English Gentry*, pp. 216, 237.

⁶¹ C. Dyer, *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 126-172, especially 132-139; Coss, *English Gentry*, pp. 233-237; Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 25-29; S. J. Payling, ‘Social Mobility, Demographic Change, and Landed Society in Late Medieval England’, *ECHR*, 45 (1992), pp. 51-73; J. L. Bolton, ‘The World Upside Down’. Plague as an Agent of Economic and Social Change’, in *The Black Death in England*, ed. W. M. Ormrod and P. F. Lindley (Stamford, 1996), pp. 17-78 at 48, 62-63.

⁶² *FA*, i, xxvii-xxviii, 220-243; Jurkowski et al, *Lay Taxes*, pp. 85-86; Richard Carew preserved a partial copy of a feudal aid of 1401, *Carew*, 39r-44v.

as gentle: twenty-nine received £5 yearly; nine enjoyed between £5 and £10; twenty-three received £10-£20; eight were in receipt of £20; and six had more than £40 to their names.⁶³ Yet despite appearing comprehensive, these figures actually represent acute underassessment as many resisted paying this ‘novel’ tax.⁶⁴ Given the difficulties of the evidence, we simply cannot quantify the changing shape of landed society. What is beyond doubt, however, is that among the gentry of fifteenth-century Cornwall were many proprietors who enjoyed the newly recognised rank of gentleman.⁶⁵ ‘Cornish gentlemen’, so wrote Richard Carew, ‘can better vaunt of their pedigree, than their livelyhood’.⁶⁶

By 1450 it seems that the peninsula played host to a mere six knightly lineages, perhaps only two of whom were headed by men who had assumed the dignity of knighthood itself.⁶⁷ This knightly decline proved to be the result of both a fall in the number of those who were knighted and the failure of many leading local lineages in the male line.⁶⁸ Familial extinctions saw some knightly estates dismembered or carried by heiresses into the hands of new families. K. B. McFarlane, however, identified the other side to this, which was that the fewer and fewer dynasties who survived amassed greater and greater landholdings through inheritance.⁶⁹ The latter process is visible in Cornwall too. Of the thirty-eight proprietors whom the sheriff assessed for military service in 1346, the heads of the houses of Botreaux and l’Ercedekne stand out as the richest, enjoying yearly incomes of £100 apiece; the next six wealthiest lineages – the Arundells, Blanchminsters, Carminows, Reskymers, Sergeauxs, and Soors – each received £60; the Ingepennes enjoyed £50 a year and the Chaumpernouns £40; the rest had £30 or less to their names.⁷⁰ A century later, the families of Arundell and Colshull enjoyed annual incomes of £200 and £120 respectively; the Bonvilles received £66; and the Bodrugans, Courtenays, and Whalesbrews each possessed £40; with the rest

⁶³ E179/87/92; Royal Institution of Cornwall, HC/43.

⁶⁴ R. Virgoe, ‘The Parliamentary Subsidy of 1450’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55 (1982), pp. 125-138; Jurkowski et al, *Lay Taxes*, pp. 102-104.

⁶⁵ For instance, *CPR 1429-1436*, 198.

⁶⁶ *Carew*, 63r.

⁶⁷ E179/87/92.

⁶⁸ The numbers of knights decline across the realm, A. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 83-84; Powicke, *Military Obligation*, p. 178.

⁶⁹ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p. 59.

⁷⁰ C47/2/41/5, Blanchminster appears in the £60 ‘group’ without an income.

having £20 or less.⁷¹ Despite the dangers inherent in comparing taxes, it does appear that wealth had coalesced into fewer hands. It is equally striking that by 1450 so many of the lineages present in the fourteenth century no longer enjoyed eminence in the county. Evidently Cornwall felt the twin processes of landed fragmentation and agglomeration, as did every English shire.

While part of the English gentry, Cornwall's proprietors formed a distinctive group. In the fourteenth century, their homogenous wealth – ranging from £100 downwards – rendered them a group of flattish composition. No Cornish equal emerges of the Berkeleys of Gloucestershire or the Stanleys of Lancashire, both of whom dominated their respective shires.⁷² 'Cornish homogeneity' profoundly influenced every aspect of the county's life, from the nature of office-holding to lawlessness, as will become apparent. The relative poverty of the peninsula also resulted in more modest incomes and land values than in some parts of the realm. Thus an estate which yielded £50 yearly in Cornwall required the exercise of a more exacting and geographically expansive lordship than one in the wealthier Thames Valley. Leading Cornishmen did indeed hold lands stretching across the county, rather than compact estates. We may well also wonder if gentility started at a lower level of income. The peninsula's modest prosperity resulted in families of comparatively slender resources – in 1450 the government found that over 150 people received just £2 a year – standing out as the richest folk in their locality.⁷³

At the same time, the presence of tin resulted in small parcels of property yielding vastly greater wealth than otherwise equivalent acreages.⁷⁴ Many of Cornwall's proprietors emerge as tin-owning gentlemen, possessing tin workings and enjoying toll tin: the right to take a percentage of the value of metal found beneath their estates.⁷⁵ Indeed, tin raised some families, amongst them the Trenewiths, to positions of great wealth and power.⁷⁶ Other Cornish gentlemen were salt-water lords who invested in shipping, with the

⁷¹ E179/87/92.

⁷² Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 3-4, 64-68; Bennet, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 215-223.

⁷³ E179/87/92; Cf. J. Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 32-61; P. Contamine, 'The European Nobility', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, VII, c. 1415-1500*, ed. C. Allmand (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 89-105.

⁷⁴ *Carew*, 64v.

⁷⁵ *Arundells of Lanherne*, p. xciv.

⁷⁶ Below, p. 189.

Michelstows, for instance, proving masterly shipmen who by this means gained a place in gentle society.⁷⁷ For all the significance of these other assets, land, however, remained the key to power in the peninsula. And for all their peculiarities, Cornish landholders shared the gentry's universal interest: augmenting their estates.

A land market operated west of the Tamar, as elsewhere, a fact well-illustrated by Sir Robert Tresilian's rapid accumulation and even more rapid loss of estate. Tresilian was a successful lawyer. He acquired much of his property, however, by a favourable marriage to Emmeline Huish.⁷⁸ In Cornwall, again as elsewhere, marriage emerges as 'the most common way in which substantial areas of land changed hands'.⁷⁹ The rise and rise of the Arundells of Lanherne certainly bears testament to this. Remfrey Arundell's marriage to Alice de Lanherne before June 1268 brought the manor of Lanherne itself to the family. A series of good marriages further increased the family's holdings, connecting them with leading Cornish lineages including the Carminows, Lambournes, l'Ercedeknes, Luscodes, Nandsladrons, and Soors.⁸⁰ The Carminows could likewise boast of relations with the Arundells, Beaupeles, Botreauxs, Heligans, Glynnns, and Pomeroyes to name but a few.⁸¹ Seemingly all Cornish gentlemen were cousins, as Richard Carew claimed.⁸²

Nonetheless, families could fall as well as rise. In the later fourteenth century, the Bodrugans experienced a crisis with no direct legitimate heir in the male line. The Bodrugan estate therefore passed to a legitimate grandson through the female line instead of to an illegitimate son, William Bodrugan; a move that gave rise to a great deal of litigation.⁸³ They were not the only dynasty to experience problems. Sir William Chaumpernoun, for example, died without male issue in 1357, with his estates divided subsequently between Sir Ralph Carminow and John Sergeaux, the husbands of his two

⁷⁷ CRO, AR/15/1; *CPR 1381-1385*, 405; *West Country Shipping*, pp. 80-84; S. J. Drake, 'The Michelstow Family, (per. c. 1350-c. 1454)', *ODNB* (2016), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/107361?docPos=1> (accessed 15 May 2016).

⁷⁸ Below, pp. 222-223.

⁷⁹ C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Later Middle Ages, The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (London, 1987), p. 10.

⁸⁰ CRO, AR/1/192/1; AR/20/11; *Arundells of Lanherne*, pp. xiii-xxiv, clvi.

⁸¹ J. L. Vivian, *The Visitations of the County of Cornwall, Comprising the Heralds' Visitations of 1530, 1573, and 1620* (Exeter, 1887), pp. 72-75.

⁸² *Carew*, 64v.

⁸³ *FF*, ii, 13, 29-31, 34-35; H. Matthews, 'Illegitimacy and English Landed Society, c. 1295-c. 1500' (Unpubl. Univ. London PhD, 2012), pp. 113-114.

daughters.⁸⁴ The Carminows themselves saw their line extinguished in 1396 when their heiress, Joan, died a minor, with the family patrimony shared between their in-laws from the houses of Arundell and Trevarthian.⁸⁵ The Sergeauxs followed the Carminows into extinction in the male line at around this time, while Sir Warin l'Ercedekne's four daughters stood as his heiresses.⁸⁶ By 1402, l'Ercedekne's lands had been carved up by their husbands who hailed from the families of Arundell, Trevarthian, Courtenay, and Lucy. Extinctions of this kind help to explain the dwindling number of Cornish knights. They also emphasise the inter-connected nature of the Cornish elite.

Local marriages proved common enough in medieval England, however, constituting 'insufficient proof that the Cornish were a breed apart'.⁸⁷ Indeed, nuptials also yielded links to other parts of the realm. The Arundells acquired extensive lands in Devon through marriage, and ties created through matches introduced major new figures into Cornwall. John Colshull's marriage to Sir Robert Tresilian's widow made the London vintner a major Cornish proprietor overnight, while the marriage of the Essex lawyer Sir William Marny to a Sergeaux heiress implanted him into county society.⁸⁸ The Ingepenes of Berkshire also established themselves in the peninsula through an advantageous marriage, as did Sir John Herle of Worcestershire and Northumberland. Cornish dynasties owned property to the east of the Tamar as well, with the Botreaux family holding estates in Devon, Somerset, and Hampshire, while the Blanchminster, lords of Scilly, possessed lands in Yorkshire.⁸⁹ The estates of Sir John Treiagu, lord of Fentongollan, even came into the hands of the Londoner Richard Causton.⁹⁰ The Cornish gentry evidently comprised a distinctive group while still maintaining legion connections with other parts of the realm: they held a place amongst the elite of England, drawing the county into the kingdom.

⁸⁴ SC8/38/1867; *RBP*, ii, 57.

⁸⁵ CRO, AR/1/192/2; AR/1/192; *Arundells of Lanherne*, p. xvi.

⁸⁶ *CIPM*, xviii, 15; *HOP*, ii, 506-507; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols, HMSO (London, 1890-1915), v, p. 470; *CP*, i, 187-188.

⁸⁷ Page, 'Comital Government', p. 14.

⁸⁸ *FF*, ii, 44, 49; *HOP*, ii, 633-635; J. Maclean, *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*, 3 vols (London, 1873-9), ii, pp. 504-505.

⁸⁹ Appendix II.

⁹⁰ *RBP*, i, 5-6.

The Church stands out as the county's other great landholder. The diocese of Exeter encompassed the whole of Cornwall and it is unsurprising to find the bishop owning estates across the peninsula.⁹¹ Cornwall's religious houses also possessed considerable assets in the county, with the priors of Bodmin and Tywardreath exercising lordship over the boroughs of Bodmin and Fowey respectively.⁹² The prior of Bodmin also held the office of hundredal bailiff-in-fee in Pydershire, while all these houses owned estates and advowsons in the county.⁹³ Yet none of them rivalled the wealth and political clout of the abbeys of south-eastern England, such as St Albans and Canterbury Cathedral Priory. Possession of assets, however, gives a narrow view of the Church's activity, as religion was interwoven with every aspect of medieval life. The bishops of Exeter administered Cornwall as an archdeaconry of its own, overseeing a peninsula divided into parishes devoted to a multitude of local saints. Cornwall, then, formed an integral part of the diocese of Exeter, the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and wider Christendom, one which still followed many local practices. The Church, in fact, stands out as an important avenue through which the county interacted with the wider realm.⁹⁴

Diocesans still proved conscious of Cornish peculiarities. So it was that in 1329 Bishop Grandisson observed 'a language, too, exists in the furthest parts of Cornwall, comprehensible not to the English but to the Britons'.⁹⁵ In 1336, he preached a sermon in St Buryan which had to be translated into Cornish by Henry Marsely, rector of St Just-in-Penwith.⁹⁶ Cornwall stood unique in England as possessing its own language, a Celtic tongue which had some similarities to Breton and Welsh. By the fourteenth century, however, only half the county's residents are thought to have spoken Cornish. The Fowey-Padstow isogloss linguistically transected Cornwall, with English spoken by those who resided east of this divide, and bilingual Cornish and English spoken by those who lived to its west, in the 'furthest parts' of the peninsula.⁹⁷ Although there can be little doubt that the Cornish

⁹¹ *FA*, i, 208-218.

⁹² *Quo Warranto*, pp. 108-111; see Orme, *Religious Houses*.

⁹³ SC6/816/11 m. 13r; DCO 4.

⁹⁴ Below, pp. 229-253.

⁹⁵ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 98; See, M. F. Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall* (Leicester, 1975).

⁹⁶ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 820-821.

⁹⁷ M. Spriggs, 'Where Cornish was Spoken and When: A Provisional Synthesis', *Cornish Studies*, 11 (2003), pp. 228-269.

language proved a significant local marker, linguistics emerges as no impediment to county folk who sought their fortunes elsewhere in the realm. Neither did the peninsula form one coherent linguistic ‘block’, while even the Cornish-speaking parts of Cornwall could communicate in English. We must also remember that multilingualism remained the norm in medieval England, with French and Latin current and English itself heavily regionalised.⁹⁸ In point of fact, Bishop Grandisson’s officials rendered his Latin sermon into English, French, and Cornish. Language, therefore, did not cleave the county from the kingdom, despite contributing to Cornwall’s singular character.

Yet the churchmen of the day still stand amongst the most critical observers of the county and its people. Bishop’s Grandisson’s lament of Cornwall as ‘the very ends of the earth’ serves as a prime example. His register also contains the letter which Adam de Carleton tendered on resigning as archdeacon of Cornwall in 1342, after over thirty-five years in office. Carleton not only complained that the Cornish language prevented him communicating with the county’s inhabitants, but went on to bemoan that ‘the folk of these parts are quite extraordinary, being of a rebellious temper, and obdurate in the face of attempts to teach and correct’.⁹⁹ Complaints concerning Cornwall and its people formed a veritable genre of their own. William of Malmesbury, for instance, claimed that the Cornish were ‘an infected race’ and Froissart described their brutality on the battlefield.¹⁰⁰ Although the county merited mention on many more occasions, we may well wonder about the circumstances of these comments. Resignation letters, after all, are not renowned for their fair reporting. Neither do all assessments of the peninsula emerge as critical, with Richard Germyn writing in 1481 to his employer, William Stoner; ‘as to your tenaunts in Cornwale, thei be as trew unto you as y can understond as any tenauntes that ye have’.¹⁰¹ External observers evidently perceived Cornwall as a coherent whole, with the Cornish

⁹⁸ J. A. Jefferson and A. Putter, ‘Introduction’, in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066-1520), Sources and Analysis*, ed. J. A. Jefferson and A. Putter (Turnhout, 2013), pp. xi-xxiv.

⁹⁹ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 957-958; *RESDCornwall*, 1-2.

¹⁰⁰ W. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. R. Mynors, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998-9), i, pp. 216-217; J. Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. and trans. G. Brereton (Harmondsworth, 1968), p. 93.

¹⁰¹ *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols, Camden Society, Third Series 29-30 (London, 1919), ii, p. 120.

also having a powerful notion of their county.¹⁰² For all its idiosyncrasies, however, the peninsula depended upon its place in the realm.

There can be little doubt that administratively Cornwall formed an integral part of the kingdom. While the earl-duke wielded much power over the peninsula, nearly all the offices of local government remained directly accountable to the king.¹⁰³ The common law also regarded the people of the peninsula as English, with the county holding a place on the assize circuits. In the *Quo Warranto* proceedings of 1302, for instance, leading Cornish lay and spiritual proprietors secured regnal confirmation of their liberties, for the Crown's judicial reach emerges as all-encompassing.¹⁰⁴ The king likewise levied parliamentary taxes in the peninsula, with Cornwall contributing to tenths and fifteenths, as elsewhere. Indeed, the county stands out as exceptionally well represented in parliament, returning two shire MPs. A further six boroughs sent representatives, with the result that some fourteen Cornish spokesmen sat in the House. The Cornish likewise owed military service to their king, with thousands of Cornishmen fighting in regnal wars. The people of Cornwall, in fact, contributed to every sphere of the kingdom's collective life.

But what of the realm in which Cornwall held a place? England played host to one of the most potent governments of the European late middle ages.¹⁰⁵ By the fourteenth century the king's central offices – the chancery, exchequer, and so on – were well-developed and oversaw the realm's local administration. The latter operated in every locality, projecting regnal might into the furthest corners of the kingdom. Indeed, outside Cheshire and County Durham, the kings of England enjoyed universal jurisdiction throughout their lands. Their mighty fiscal machine also permeated every part of the realm, raising funds for extensive regnal warfare. In levying taxes, however, kings were compelled to summon parliament to give consent to these subsidies. Representing the commonalty of the whole realm, the House of Commons spoke with a powerful voice. The uniformity of English judicial, fiscal, and

¹⁰² Below, chapter 3.

¹⁰³ Below, chapter 2.

¹⁰⁴ *Quo Warranto*, pp. 108-111; D. W. Sutherland, *Quo Warranto Proceedings in the Reign of Edward I, 1278-1294* (Oxford, 1963), p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ For the best overviews, G. L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation, England 1360-1461* (Oxford, 2005); J. R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford, 2010); W. M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke, 1995).

representative structures pulled the kingdom together, forging the realm into a unit of common human endeavour. Mark Ormrod viewed all this as rendering England ‘one of the very few medieval kingdoms that deserve to be called ‘states’’.¹⁰⁶ Gerald Harriss’ *Shaping the Nation* similarly extolled the strength of the kingdom, while John Maddicott’s work on the English parliament has emphasised the way in which the House came to serve as the mouthpiece of the kingdom’s collective concerns.¹⁰⁷ England, then, formed a strikingly integrated realm, one which enjoyed an unequalled degree of homogeneity.

Yet such a picture proves by no means complete. Rees Davies has criticised the concept of the medieval state, providing a powerful corrective.¹⁰⁸ He placed emphasis on the fact that the surviving evidence chiefly concerns the workings of regnal government, making the king appear all-powerful. Royal authority was neither absolute in Cornwall nor elsewhere, however, as a multitude of ‘private’ powerbrokers and administrations operated in every locality. But in contrast to the voluminous archives of the Crown, the records of these many other lords have long since disintegrated, distorting our vision of the realm. The king, in fact, relied upon other structures and agents of power – earls, knights, bishops, and mayors – to enforce his writ across the land as he wielded limited coercive might of his own. Hence, the concept of a ‘state’, with all the associated paraphernalia and overweening authority, ill fits late medieval England. While this is not to deny that the kingdom played host to a mighty medieval government, the realm also contained many political contours and powerbrokers beyond that of the king’s administration.

When set within a powerfully governed but more heterogeneous kingdom, Cornwall’s contradictory existence appears less irreconcilable. The peninsula, in fact, held an integral place in England while remaining strikingly distinctive. Consideration now turns to office-holding, as these posts both bound the realm together and helped bestow coherence upon Cornwall itself.

¹⁰⁶ Ormrod, *Political Life*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*; Maddicott, *English Parliament*.

¹⁰⁸ R. R. Davies, ‘The Medieval State: The Tyranny of a Concept’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 16 (2003), pp. 280-300.

2. Office-Holding in a Wild Spot

‘Cornwall’, so the Venetian ambassador wrote, is ‘a wild spot where no human being ever comes, save the few boors who inhabit it’.¹⁰⁹ We may well wonder about the accuracy of this statement, for by the fourteenth century the tendrils of royal government had long stretched into every corner of the realm. The men who held the main county offices – in the thirteenth century called the *buzones* – stood as the Crown’s agents in the locality, but everywhere the impact of the king’s rule proved to be moderated by the intermeshing of magnate and ‘local’ interests. Shire and local administration is far from an unploughed field, however, as the main offices have received extensive study.¹¹⁰ The following chapter will instead consider the personnel of these posts, outlining the role played by both Cornishmen and ‘incomers’ in county administration.¹¹¹ Emphasis is placed on the way in which the twin structures of shire and franchise helped Cornwall itself to cohere, while also connecting the peninsula to the rest of the kingdom. Attention will then be given to the degree to which the county comprised a palatinate.

The Sheriff-Stewards

The sheriff stood out as the oldest local office with the broadest responsibilities. Although shrieval power had been eroded since the Anglo-Norman period, the post still retained an impressive range of responsibilities. Within his bailiwick the sheriff enjoyed administrative omni-competence, with the preservation of regnal rights and the return of writs forming the mainsprings of his duties.¹¹² In Cornwall, however, the earl-duke held the office in fee, despite the fact that the county had paid King John and Henry III for charters enshrining shrieval elections, charters which Earl Richard later

¹⁰⁹ *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, 38 vols in 40, HMSO (London, 1864-1940), i, p. 312.

¹¹⁰ The Sheriff: W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester, 1927); R. Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff, English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2003); The MPs: Maddicott, *English Parliament*; The JPs: B. H. Putnam, ‘The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into the Justices of the Peace’, *TRHS*, 4th series, 12 (1929), pp. 19-48; A. Musson, *Public Order and Law Enforcement, The Local Administration of Criminal Justice, 1294-1350* (Woodbridge, 1996); The Escheator: S. T. Gibson, ‘The Escheatrics, 1327-41’, *EHR*, 36 (1921), pp. 218-225; The Coroner: R. F. Hunnisett, *The Medieval Coroner* (Cambridge, 1961); also, *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, ed. J. F. Willard et al, 3 vols (Cambridge, Mass., 1940-50).

¹¹¹ Cf. R. Gorski, ‘A Methodological Holy Grail: Nominal Record Linkage in a Medieval Context’, *Medieval Prosopography*, 17 (1996), pp. 145-179.

¹¹² Morris, *English Sheriff*, chapters seven to nine.

repudiated.¹¹³ Until 1376 the earl-duke, therefore, appointed a deputy to act on his behalf, also employing this man as his steward in Cornwall.¹¹⁴ The latter official stood at the apex of the local administration of comital-ducal prerogatives, overseeing all seigniorial manors, stannaries, and boroughs, along with Cornwall's havenry and county court.¹¹⁵ While the sheriff-steward received a handsome annuity, some £60 under the earldom and £40 during the Black Prince's tenure, those who held this post perennially failed to raise the enormous dues required of them.¹¹⁶

Cornwall was by no means the only county to be overseen by a seigniorial sheriff; the shrievalties of Lancashire, Rutland, Westmorland, and Worcestershire were likewise held in fee.¹¹⁷ Successive earls and dukes of Lancaster appointed the sheriff of Lancashire, for instance, but they did not combine this office with another seigniorial post.¹¹⁸ In the palatinate of Durham, the bishop concurrently bestowed the shrievalty and escheatorship on the same man.¹¹⁹ Yet in Durham both offices remained in the gift of the bishop alone, whereas in Cornwall the sheriff-steward rendered account to the exchequers of both the earl-duke and the king.¹²⁰ Long terms and the regular appointment of 'outsiders' characterised all seigniorial shrievalties. This proved just as true for Cornwall. Between 1300 and 1376 some twenty-four people held the shrievalty-stewardship, with Thomas de la Hyde of Staffordshire and John Dabernon of Bradford, Devon, standing pre-eminent for lengths of tenure, some sixteen years apiece.¹²¹ Just under half of those who held the office hailed from east of the Tamar, with 'incomers' serving as sheriff-steward for fifty of these seventy-six years; but to what did they owe their appointments?¹²² The duchy of Lancaster at times allowed the locality some say in shrieval appointments, while in Durham episcopal lordship

¹¹³ Page, 'Barons' War', 22, 27-28.

¹¹⁴ SC6/811/3 m. 1r; *Ministers' Accounts*, i, pp. xxix-xxx; *RESDCornwall*, 5; aside from in 1336 and 1342-7.

¹¹⁵ *RESDCornwall*, 42-45.

¹¹⁶ *CIM 1307-1349*, 83; *CCR 1333-1337*, 399-400; *RBP*, ii, 62, £20 as sheriff and £20 as steward; many former sheriff-stewards were indebted, E372/177 m. 23v.

¹¹⁷ Gorski, *Sheriff*, pp. 33-34.

¹¹⁸ R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1265-1603*, 2 vols (London, 1953-70), i, pp. 10-11, 45, 59.

¹¹⁹ Liddy, *Durham*, pp. 132-139.

¹²⁰ *RBP*, iv, 34-35, 88.

¹²¹ Albeit not continuously; for individual biographies, see Appendix II.

¹²² Gorski, *Sheriff*, pp. 46-47; Liddy, *Durham*, pp. 133-135.

proved to be unfettered.¹²³ The inner workings of such patronage are forever lost in Cornwall. Yet dictated the personnel of this post.

During the fourteenth century, the parliamentary Commons requested repeatedly that the king change sheriffs annually. They also sought the appointment of men who resided in the county in which they held office, enjoying an annual freehold income of at least £20.¹²⁴ As the earl-duke held the shrievalty in fee, Cornwall's representatives presumably stood by as observers to this politicking. In 1371, the parliamentary Commons' incessant lobbying paid dividends, when the House presented a combined petition concerning the shrievalty and escheatorship. Three years earlier the Crown had conceded that the escheator should enjoy an annual landed income of at least £20, and once this was accepted of the escheator 'it seemed reasonable' to expect the same of the sheriff.¹²⁵ The Commons therefore used concessions related to the former office to force the Crown's hand over the latter, also securing the introduction of annual appointments. In Cornwall, however, these changes were delayed until 1376, the year of the Black Prince's death. From this date, Richard II cleaved the two offices, replacing the sheriff annually while retaining control of the stewardship. Given Richard's reputation, the absence of arbitrary authority proves surprising. It is perhaps to be explained by the fact that he had a whole kingdom to govern, using the shrievalty to draw leading gentlemen into the magistracy and secure their acceptance of his rule.

Between 1376 and 1405 a further twenty-two men held the shrievalty, two of whom served three times, seven held the office twice, and the rest served once only. All but three originated from Cornwall, though of these three exceptions all possessed a stake in the county through marriage. An interesting contrast is that, whereas before 1376 sheriffs also held posts which were in the gift of their seigniorial masters, such as constablerships of castles, after that year the men who held the shrievalty proved more likely to serve the county in parliament. This shift was driven by the rise to prominence of Cornishmen. It certainly seems fair to talk of a 'shrieval elite' from 1376

¹²³ Somerville, *Lancaster*, i, p. 59; Liddy, *Durham*, p. 136.

¹²⁴ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 107-111.

¹²⁵ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 110.

onwards, for scions of leading local lineages often held this post, amongst them Sir Richard Sergeaux and Sir Ralph Carminow.

Each sheriff-steward served on a multifarious collection of regnal-lordly commissions in Cornwall. Indeed, the office elevated these individuals to leading positions in the peninsula, rendering them bulwarks of their comital-ducal-royal masters. It formed a lasting point of contact between the county and the wider realm. The post also led to relatively obscure Cornishmen and ‘outsiders’, including Henry Trethewey and Dabernon respectively, interacting with the peninsula’s wealthiest proprietors and many other folk besides, rendering only too apparent the county’s links beyond the Tamar. On the other hand, the sheriff-steward’s power presented countless opportunities to advance local agendas, with leading proprietors often employing the post for their own corrupt ends.¹²⁶ Sir John Treiagu, for example, used the office to seize lands and generally engage in gangsterism.¹²⁷ Yet it would be unfair to view all these officials as completely nefarious, as the post also proved essential to the maintenance of the commonweal. Throughout the century, then, the sheriff-steward held a leading position in Cornwall’s administration and collective life, also connecting the men and women of the peninsula into the politics and personnel of the wider realm.

The MPs

Since the 1290s the Crown had issued writs instructing each sheriff to cause to be chosen two knights from his shire and two burgesses from each borough to attend parliament with authority to speak for their locality.¹²⁸ From the period between 1295 and 1405 ninety-seven returns for Cornwall have survived, but the names of only one member each are recorded for the years 1340, 1352, 1353, and 1371. Hence, just under 100 men are known to have represented the county in this period, and while many served on multiple occasions, half sat only once. Perhaps as many as sixteen parliaments were attended by two MPs from the county who had never sat in the House before, with this becoming less prevalent as the century went on. At least nine knights

¹²⁶ Cf. Gorski, *Sheriff*, pp. 102-125.

¹²⁷ Below, p. 116.

¹²⁸ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 119.

of the shire had prior experience though attendance as parliamentary burgesses, notably Sir John Treiagu, who had sat for Truro in 1304-5.

Although the great preponderance of those who sat for Cornwall were Cornish, some fifteen hailed from east of the Tamar. Richard Bakhampton, John Moveroun, and John Kentwood stand out as comital-ducal officials who might have owed their election to seigniorial patronage. Nonetheless, there is no evidence of a concerted lordly policy to pack parliament, though this does not necessarily imply an absence of coercion.¹²⁹ Even so, the great majority of those returned proved well qualified by landownership or birth. Prominent proprietors certainly sat in the House, including the six times returned Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne. Knightly lineages achieved no stranglehold on the county's representation, as a steady stream of less prominent Cornish gentlemen also made their way to parliament. Over two thirds of Cornwall's MPs held other posts in county administration, attesting to their active involvement in the peninsula's affairs. From 1377, the Crown often appointed men who had sat in the House to other county offices, as the government believed that parliamentarians who enjoyed the support of their fellow Cornishmen possessed the clout to defend royal interests in the peninsula.¹³⁰

To concentrate on the knights of the shire, however, presents a limited view of the county's representation, as Cornwall contained one of the highest densities of parliamentary boroughs in the kingdom. Bodmin, Helston, Launceston, Liskeard, Lostwithiel, and Truro each returned two men to the House, resulting in fourteen Cornish spokesmen sitting in parliament, at least on paper.¹³¹ Upwards of 400 burgesses are known to have sat for Cornwall's towns, even though returns remain incomplete and writs of expenses sparse.¹³² Nonetheless, we know enough about urban members to offer some general observations. Those who sat for Cornwall's boroughs mainly stand out as being of lesser substance than the county's MPs. Some were men of commerce, such as William Pasford, a Lostwithiel merchant who represented

¹²⁹ Cf. Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 123; J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322, A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 51-52.

¹³⁰ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 36.

¹³¹ *HOP*, i, 295-317; in 1295 Tregony replaced Lostwithiel; in 1298 neither Launceston nor Lostwithiel sent returns.

¹³² M. McKisack, *The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1932), p. 75.

Launceston and Lostwithiel three times between 1326 and 1332.¹³³ Others were men of law, with the lawyer John Syreston representing five boroughs between 1382 and 1390. Burgesses could enjoy long parliamentary careers, pre-eminent amongst them being the nineteen-times returned John Cokeworthy.¹³⁴ From 1355, multiple boroughs often chose the same men in an attempt to reduce expenses, with Helston, Liskeard, Lostwithiel, and Truro selecting John Hamley in this year.¹³⁵ Hamley, in fact, was of gentle stock, with a steady stream of younger sons of leading lineages and minor gentlemen also returned by these towns. Cornish boroughs emerge as willing to look beyond their own residents for their MPs, with the result that during his career one man might well sit for several Cornish towns. Again, there appears to have been no magnate policy to manipulate returns, with the selection of earldom-duchy officials and their kinsmen – such as Matthew Dabernon – the result of the integration of these families into the county rather than lordly meddling.

Indeed, a multitude of influences for which we cannot account governed urban and county elections, precluding any assessment of Cornish opinion through analysis of members' interests. Consider, for instance, the career of the Cornish lawyer and ducal servant John Tremayne, who sat in parliament for Cornwall on some eleven occasions between 1344 and 1369. Whether his repeated election was the result of the Black Prince's machinations or the county's belief in Tremayne's powers of advocacy is unclear, and it has to be said that there is no evidence of the former. Moreover, if we are actually to suppose local backing, we have to ask the further question of whether his return represented support for the prince or whether the commonalty of the county sought the voice of a trusted ducal agent to add weight to their criticisms.

Whatever the case, parliament served as the greatest political forum in the kingdom, with its burgeoning influence guaranteeing continued attendance by the most influential Cornishmen.¹³⁶ Despite being a fusion of fact and fiction, the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* recorded widespread co-

¹³³ *MPs*, 75, 95, 98; *CCR 1330-1333*, 291.

¹³⁴ *HOP*, ii, 620-621.

¹³⁵ *HOP*, i, 297.

¹³⁶ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 126; Maddicott, *English Parliament*, pp. 352-366.

operation between the various strata of parliament.¹³⁷ John Maddicott has highlighted the way in which the once rigid divisions between the knights and the burgesses broke-down early in the century, after which time they often collaborated.¹³⁸ Cornwall perhaps serves as the example *par excellence* of this interchange, as the actual membership of these two groups overlapped. At least a tenth of Cornwall's MPs first entered the House as burgesses, and a minimum of five men sat for Cornish towns after being returned as knights. Boroughs and county emerge as closely connected, sharing expertise. Christopher Tyldesley argued that by 1420 county society perceived itself to be represented by knights and burgesses, both being elected by a group of men 'representing every facet of Cornish propertied society both lay and ecclesiastical'.¹³⁹ Indeed, from the 1320s onwards urban and county representatives shared many interests, with their very personnel overlapping. Hence, parliament formed an essential interface between the county and the Crown, encouraging the people Cornwall to think in terms of collective Cornish concerns. The county's parliamentarians petitioned the king often, not least concerning law and order.¹⁴⁰

The JPs

The office of keeper of the peace arose in the thirteenth century, initially being concerned with military matters. It soon acquired a quasi-judicial role, leading the keepers to become an essential cog of shire administration by Edward II's reign.¹⁴¹ The second Edward empowered commissioners to 'enquire by sworn inquest of felonies and trespasses, and to arrest and imprison the indicated' until the case could be brought before justices.¹⁴² Pressure from the parliamentary Commons and the desire to police the realm resulted in the Crown conceding a range of extra powers from 1327, notably the ability to determine cases.¹⁴³ Bertha Putnam argued that these rights were only won for good in the 1360s, transforming keepers of the peace into justices of the

¹³⁷ *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1846), pp. 20-21.

¹³⁸ Maddicott, *English Parliament*, pp. 335, 342-343.

¹³⁹ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 54.

¹⁴⁰ Below, p. 164.

¹⁴¹ A. Harding, 'The Origin and Early History of the Keepers of the Peace', *TRHS*, 5th series, 10 (1960), pp. 85-109 at 102, 106; Coss, *English Gentry*, pp. 167-168.

¹⁴² Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 128.

¹⁴³ Putnam, 'Keepers of the Peace'; Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 128-131.

peace.¹⁴⁴ Anthony Musson's revisionist study has amended this analysis, highlighting the many ways in which the gentry performed judicial functions in the shires before being afforded determining powers, along with the overlap between peace commissioners and commissioners of oyer and terminer, assize, and gaol delivery.¹⁴⁵ We must not forget that the king stood at the heart of the criminal justice system in England. A devolved system of justice operated under regnal supervision, with the Crown linking peace commissions to itinerant circuits of royal assize and gaol delivery – Cornwall held a place on the south-western circuit – staffed by justices of the central courts.¹⁴⁶

The king always issued Cornwall's peace commissions in line with general commissions of the peace in the kingdom as a whole but, as with every shire, the Crown sometimes altered the membership of the county bench between times. Across the century the Cornish bench also grew in size, again reflecting 'national' trends. Until 1338 no Cornish commission contained more than four men, but in this year the pressures of war prompted the Crown to appoint thirteen proprietors to the bench, with numbers falling back to five or six for the next thirty years. From 1369 commissions again expanded, averaging nine members until 1405. In 1382, however, the government sought the service of some fourteen men to quash disturbances resulting from the Great Revolt. A very similar picture emerges for Gloucestershire, whereas in Durham the bishop issued commissions 'sporadically'.¹⁴⁷

It proved rare for noblemen to head the bench in Cornwall, as no magnate resided in the peninsula; nobles sat in only 1382-5, 1387-9, and 1397-9. County gentlemen and lawyers instead dominated Cornish commissions. Upwards of 120 men served on the bench between 1300 and 1405, with perhaps eighty hailing from Cornwall itself. Many of these folk stand out as local lords who also held a profusion of other positions in the peninsula but, as ever, a mix of the richly and poorly endowed held office,

¹⁴⁴ Putnam, 'Keepers of the Peace', 25-45; J. B. Post, 'The Peace Commissions of 1382', *EHR*, 41 (1976), pp. 98-101.

¹⁴⁵ Musson, *Public Order*, pp. 79-82.

¹⁴⁶ E. Powell, 'The Administration of Criminal Justice in Late-Medieval England: Peace Sessions and Assizes', in *The Political Context of Law*, ed. R. Eales and D. Sullivan (London, 1987), pp. 49-59; Musson, *Public Order*, pp. 95-122.

¹⁴⁷ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 133-134; Liddy, *Durham*, p. 141.

with the latter growing more prominent as the century went on. Leading proprietors, amongst them Sir William Botreaux, sat often on the county bench, increasingly being joined by folk of lesser means, including John de Aldestow. Local lawyers, in fact, proved to be well represented in the last quarter of the century, undertaking most of the day-to-day work. Cornishmen, however, achieved no monopoly on law enforcement west of the Tamar. Twenty-one comital-ducal stewards served as JPs, with the Crown issuing a commission ‘by bill of the [Black] prince’ himself in 1349.¹⁴⁸ The king too made his judicial reach felt, appointing Justice William Shareshull to the quorum in 1344, one of the earliest appointments of an inner circle of royal justices to a commission.¹⁴⁹ In the last quarter of the century, the Crown routinely appointed justices from the central courts to the Cornish bench, while throughout the century peripatetic justices of gaol delivery tried felons indicted by the county’s JPs.¹⁵⁰ The Cornish bench formed an essential interface between Cornwall and the wider realm, tying the county into England’s legal system.

Cornwall’s peace commissions therefore formed an arena for both ‘local’ and ‘national’ rivalries. A prime example of the former is to be found in February 1381, when Richard II removed all Cornishmen from the bench in an attempt to end a virulent feud between the family of Sergeaux on the one hand, and of Carminow and Trevarthian on the other.¹⁵¹ Lawlessness was no Cornish peculiarity, as in Gloucestershire and Suffolk the bench likewise proved to be riven with local faction at times.¹⁵² The high politics of the realm also intruded upon Cornish commissions in 1312, 1314, 1330, 1381, 1387-8, and 1397-9. While nobles and kings regularly interfered in appointments to the bench – the counties of Hereford, Norfolk, and Yorkshire stand as testament to this – the scale of intervention in Cornwall is striking.¹⁵³ The

¹⁴⁸ *CPR 1348-1350*, 383.

¹⁴⁹ B. H. Putnam, *The Place in Legal History of Sir William Shareshull, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, 1350-1361, A Study of Judicial and Administrative Methods in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 25-26.

¹⁵⁰ For example, JUST3/170 m. 11.

¹⁵¹ Tyldesley, ‘Local Communities’, p. 139.

¹⁵² Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 131; Virgoe, ‘The Crown and Local Government: East Anglia under Richard II’, in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay and C. M. Barron (London, 1971), pp. 218-241.

¹⁵³ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 131-132; Virgoe, ‘East Anglia’, p. 234; S. Walker, *Political Culture in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. J. Braddick (Manchester, 2006), pp. 83-85; also S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 245-246.

perennial absenteeism of the earl-duke provides part of the explanation, as it bestowed greater *de facto* powers upon the office. The scarcity of private franchises in the peninsula also resulted in JPs transacting more judicial business than would otherwise have been the case, as did the county's distance from the central courts.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the Cornish bench stands out as being exceptionally mobile, sitting in as many as sixteen different locations across the peninsula, further increasing its reach and workload.¹⁵⁵ Peace commissions, then, proved essential to the Cornish magistracy's muscle, providing proprietors with a significant and growing say in the affairs of their county. Yet as a royal office, one tied to the assize and gaol delivery circuits, the county bench also enabled the earl-duke and especially the king to exercise their judicial prerogatives in Cornwall, increasingly so across the century.¹⁵⁶

Table 1: *The locations of county peace sessions in Richard II's Reign*

Bodmin Launceston Lostwithiel	The sessions were held most often in these three towns.
Helston Lelant Liskeard Marizion St Columb Major Truro	The JPs met on several occasions in each of these six settlements.
Camelford Grampound Penryn Saltash Stoke Climsland St Colan St Germans	There are single references to proceedings in each of these seven locations.

Source: Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 76.

The Escheators

In contrast to that of the JPs, the power of the escheator was to wane. The latter post was concerned with the feudal prerogatives which arose from the

¹⁵⁴ *Quo Warranto*, pp. 108-111; Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 75-77.

¹⁵⁵ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 68-78.

¹⁵⁶ For the assizes, Powell, 'Peace Sessions and Assizes'.

king's position as lord paramount.¹⁵⁷ In 1300, the Crown oversaw a realm divided into two great escheatrics north and south of the Trent, with Cornwall and Devon forming a sub-unit within the southern escheatry, one which the sub-escheator Richard de Clare managed during the 1310s.¹⁵⁸ In 1323, however, Edward II re-organised the office by creating eight bailiwicks, one of these comprising the western counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset.¹⁵⁹ Sir Robert Bilkemore, a Bedfordshire-man, held this post from 1323 to 1327 when the Crown appointed him escheator south of the Trent. In this year the Crown chose to re-establish the northern and southern bailiwicks. In 1341, however, Edward III aligned escheatrics with shrievalties. The king appointed John Dabernon, the Black Prince's feodary, escheator in this year, fusing the two offices. While some early tensions were to erupt over royal and ducal rights, this connection endured until 1368.¹⁶⁰ In this year, Edward III separated the offices again, three years later combining Cornwall and Devon in one escheatry, a unit which remained in place until 1395. In this period of a quarter of a century, fourteen men held the post, of whom only four were Cornish, including the prosperous tin merchant Roger Juyl. The rest hailed from Devon, with John Hawley, the mayor and notorious 'pirate' of Dartmouth, holding the post in 1390-1. In 1395, Richard II once again made Cornwall a bailiwick in its own right, appointing the Cornishman Sir Henry Ilcombe escheator. In 1401, however, Henry IV re-coupled the post again with that of Devon.

Competing demands upon the escheatrics produced this complex history. Although S. T. Gibson viewed the 1323 re-organisation in the light of Edward II's victory over the dissident earls, these reforms are more likely to have arisen from Bishop Stapeldon's drive to boost income.¹⁶¹ The parliamentary Commons petitioned the king repeatedly concerning corruption, qualifications, and the annual appointment of escheators, issues

¹⁵⁷ S. L. Waugh, 'The Origins and Early Development of the Articles of the Escheator', *Thirteenth Century England*, V, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 89-113; S. L. Waugh, 'The Escheator's General Inquest: the Enforcement of Royal Lordship in the Late Fourteenth Century', in *Foundations of Medieval Scholarship: Records Edited in Honour of David Crook*, ed. P. Brand and S. Cunningham (York, 2008), pp. 11-24.

¹⁵⁸ SC8/275/13734.

¹⁵⁹ Gibson, 'Escheatrics', 218-219; *English Government at Work*, ii, pp. 163-165; *CFR 1319-1327*, 251-252.

¹⁶⁰ *CCR 1346-1349*, 447, 565.

¹⁶¹ Gibson, 'Escheatrics', 219.

to which the Crown provided few remedies.¹⁶² The earl-duke proved similarly interested in Cornwall's escheatrics, for he served as the county's universal landlord. As a result, the Black Prince secured the appointment of his own retainers to this post in order to guarantee his rights.¹⁶³ By contrast, the escheator of Gloucestershire and Hereford rarely experienced magnate meddling of this kind.¹⁶⁴ Even so, the office in Cornwall emerges as a less prestigious one than that of sheriff or JP, with the Cornishmen who held the post from 1371 of comparatively humble stock.

The Coroners

Mirroring the escheatorship, the power of the coroner grew increasingly modest across the century. The king had established the post back in 1194 to 'keep the pleas of the Crown', with the holding of inquests upon dead bodies and the organising of outlawries promulgated in the county court forming the keynotes of the coroner's duties. County coroners, amongst them William Tregudek, at times indicted alleged murderers as well, before justices of gaol delivery tried these criminals.¹⁶⁵ To secure the enforcement of royal rights, the government regularly divided the peninsula into four districts, with one coroner overseeing each.¹⁶⁶ Cornwall's coroners were elected in the county court, being answerable to both the Crown and the commonalty in much the same way as every other shire.¹⁶⁷

The parliamentary Commons showed rather less concern about coroners than about the posts we have already discussed. All the same, they periodically raised concerns about qualifications for office and the execution of duty.¹⁶⁸ Some sixty-three men are known to have served as coroner in Cornwall between 1298 and 1409, fifty-two of whom held no other office. Virtually all these folk were of modest means, with the Crown ordering the removal of no fewer than thirty-two because they held insufficient estates. The office was seemingly little sought after. This much is indicated by the

¹⁶² Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 136-137.

¹⁶³ The Black Prince did not wield as much power over the county's escheator as the bishop of Durham in his palatinate, Liddy, *Durham*, pp. 132-139.

¹⁶⁴ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 135-141.

¹⁶⁵ JUST3/120 m. 23r.

¹⁶⁶ Hunnisett, *Coroner*, pp. 1-4, 100-115; Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 111.

¹⁶⁷ Hunnisett, *Coroner*, pp. 150-151; Cf. Liddy, *Durham*, pp. 155-156.

¹⁶⁸ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 141.

fact that although the government ordered Noel Paderda's removal in 1379, he remained in post until after 1386. Leading proprietors clearly valued the shrievalty, MPs, and peace commissions, with the escheatorship and coronership of lesser appeal. Nonetheless, the offices of coroner and escheator extended the magistracy, expanding the links between the county and the Crown. Such posts enabled the government to draw into its service men such as William le Poer, a coroner and parliamentary burgess, tying the kingdom together the more tightly.

The Taxers, Arrayers, and Minor Officers

Of the other offices of county administration less need be said, as many remained the preserve of the sub-gentry. The office of tax collector, however, is worth a little attention. The people of Cornwall were subject to the obligation to contribute to parliamentary taxation, as were the people of every other part of the realm.¹⁶⁹ The greater gentry are invariably found serving as the county's chief taxers, with the earldom-duchy nearly always securing the appointment of the steward to these commissions as well. Cornwall again followed the 'national' trend of commissions expanding in size; the Crown appointed two chief taxers to levy the 1327 lay subsidy, whereas six men headed the collection of the 1379 poll tax.¹⁷⁰ Taxation also demonstrates the depth of royal government. In 1327, for instance, the county's two leading tax collectors appointed two or three sub-taxers for each of Cornwall's parishes, with the latter officials then overseeing juries of parishioners who valued the goods of over 6,000 individuals.¹⁷¹ Cornwall evidently contributed to England's mighty fiscal machine, with the payment of subsidies leaving Cornishmen and women in little doubt that they held a place in the realm. At the same time, taxation emerges as a collective Cornish initiative, for the locality assessed itself.¹⁷²

Commissions of array were also important to Cornish life, as the county formed part of the frontline when hostilities erupted with France. Before 1370 the Crown employed a bilateral system of defence, with arrayers

¹⁶⁹ The stannary-men were exempted, Willard, *Taxes*, pp. 21-22, 118-120; Jurkowski et al, *Lay Taxes*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁷⁰ *CPR 1327-1330*, 173; *CFR 1377-1383*, 144.

¹⁷¹ E179/87/7; E179/87/37.

¹⁷² Cf. Liddy, *Durham*, p. 164.

mobilising men and keepers of the maritime lands commanding these forces.¹⁷³ During this time two or three Cornishmen served as arrayers, with keepers generally drawn from elsewhere. The knights Philip de Columbers and Hugh Courtenay, for instance, held the latter post in 1338.¹⁷⁴ By 1375, however, the Crown held arrayers responsible for both mobilising and commanding men. Cornish proprietors thus grew increasingly involved in organising their own defence, again under regnal direction. Commissions grew in size accordingly, with thirteen Cornishmen and the duchy's steward overseeing the county's home-guard in 1385.¹⁷⁵ Such appointments served to emphasise the intertwined nature of county and kingdom security.

Beyond this, the Crown issued a striking profusion of temporary commissions on which leading Cornishmen served. These gentlemen not only sat on commissions of oyer and terminer, but they often requested that investigations be launched in the first place. Regnal government thus grew increasingly pervasive as a result of both 'consumer demand' and royal ambition. Indeed, the 1360s and 1370s saw Cornwall's commonalty assert its control over local posts, with Cornish proprietors rising to prominence in the administration of their own shire. In so doing, they emulated their peers in every other part of England and forged yet closer links with the Crown. County administration had even deeper roots than this survey has shown, as many of the more substantial officers employed deputies.¹⁷⁶ Office-holding, then, formed a focus of collective Cornish interaction, one which at the same time forged legion links with the rest of the kingdom. In Cornwall, shire and franchise also stand out as being interwoven, greatly influencing the operation of both.

The Stewards

The steward stood at the head of the earldom-duchy's local administration, concerning himself with the management of his master's extensive prerogatives. The steward was appointed by the earl-duke to the shrievalty as

¹⁷³ J. R. Alban, 'English Coastal Defence: Some Fourteenth-Century Modifications', in *Patronage, the Crown, and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R. A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 57-78.

¹⁷⁴ *CPR 1334-1338*, 139; *CPR 1338-1340*, 134.

¹⁷⁵ *CPR 1381-1385*, 588.

¹⁷⁶ For instance, *CPR 1381-1385*, 499.

well until 1376.¹⁷⁷ From this year, the duke separated the two posts and Edward III divided the duchy's estates between Richard of Bordeaux and the latter's mother, Princess Joan.¹⁷⁸ Richard II's reign saw some nine men appointed to the stewardship, six of whom held other offices in the county. Three were Cornish while another one, John Colshull, possessed a stake in Cornwall through marriage, with the rest hailing from east of the Tamar. England's powerbrokers valued the stewardship because of its influence over Cornwall. During Richard's turbulent reign the position became a pawn in the high politics of the realm, with the king and his adversaries alike securing the appointment of their own candidates. Although the Cornish gentry also sought the office, the Crown removed Sir Richard Sergeaux from post in late 1377 after he had brazenly mobilised the stewardship in the furtherance of his own interests. Aside from Sir Robert Tresilian, steward in 1377-8, it was only in 1402 that another Cornishman attained the office, though Sir John Arundell, who was appointed, then remained in post until 1430. The stewardship evidently remained the preserve of 'outsiders' and those at the pinnacle of Cornish society, with both groups forming a personal point of contact between the county and the wider realm. Indeed, all those who held the stewardship also served on a diverse range of regnal commissions in the county, as royal and lordly government overlapped.

The Receivers

Jointly pre-eminent with the steward stood the receiver of the earldom-duchy, whose 'cardinal duty' was to account for the money due from lordly reeves and bailiffs.¹⁷⁹ He also oversaw the payment of fees, handling thousands of pounds a year. While the division of work between the steward and receiver remains unclear, after 1337 the latter's name looms large in the accounts and he received a £20 salary for his labours.¹⁸⁰ From this year, some sixteen men are known to have served as receiver, seven of whom held other offices in the county. It seems, therefore, that the position grew in prestige. Of these sixteen only three emerge as Cornishmen, amongst them the local powerbroker Ralph Trenewith. Two more were Devonians, but the rest hailed from further afield

¹⁷⁷ Aside from in 1336 and 1342-7.

¹⁷⁸ *RESDCornwall*, 47, 137-138, until Joan's death in 1385.

¹⁷⁹ *RESDCornwall*, 44.

¹⁸⁰ *RBP*, ii, 213.

and John Kendale, who served between 1348 and 1365, came from as far off as Westmorland. Although the majority of holders executed the office personally, Tideman de Lymbergh, the Black Prince's Hanseatic merchant, relied upon his attorney, John Conyng. The earl-duke generally appointed people with financial expertise to the receivership, for raising its dues proved an unending challenge. Even so, all these officers exercised a great deal of influence in the county, bestowing yet greater administrative coherence upon Cornwall.

The Haveners

The havener was one of the officials who rendered account to the receiver. Stella Campbell and Maryanne Kowaleski have both studied this office thoroughly, demonstrating that the havener's task was to collect dues arising from the earl-duke's maritime prerogatives. As a reward for his services, the earl-duke paid a 10 mark salary and granted the havener a robe worth 13s. 4d.¹⁸¹ In 1396, Richard II permanently annexed the office of weigher of tin and keeper of the tinnens gaol to this post. Twenty-one men served as havener between 1300 and 1400, with four holding the office jointly. Only four originated from Cornwall, including the obscure William Talcarn, as the great majority of these officials held places in the household of the king or earl-duke. Indeed, seventeen sat on no other commissions in the county, rarely visiting their bailiwick. From 1397 to 1399, it seems that the position had become a mere sinecure, with the duke of Aumerle holding the havenership and deputising its duties to his officials. By contrast, Thomas Fitz Henry served the Black Prince 'on the ground' for thirty-six years, acquiring the epithet Thomas 'Havener'.¹⁸² The operation of comital-ducal patronage evidently created numerous contacts to the east of the Tamar.

The Stannaries

The stannaries proved of paramount importance to the earl-duke, with the coinage of tin yielding over £2,600 in 1337 alone.¹⁸³ Despite this, their administration remains somewhat obscure. It seems that the chief stannary

¹⁸¹ S. M. Campbell, 'The Haveners of the Mediaeval Dukes of Cornwall and the Organisation of the Duchy Ports', *JRIC* (1962), pp. 113-144; *Havener's Accounts*; *RBP*, ii, 186-187.

¹⁸² *CPR 1385-1389*, 585.

¹⁸³ *CS*, lvi.

official in Cornwall was interchangeably titled ‘controller of the stannaries’, ‘keeper of the stannaries’, ‘controller of the stampage of tin’, and ‘controller of the coinage’.¹⁸⁴ These designations stemmed from the physical stamp used to mark the tin presented at coinage sessions, proving that tax had been paid.¹⁸⁵ Throughout the thirteenth century the position had normally been held by the steward, but the earl-duke more often separated the offices in the fourteenth.¹⁸⁶ For example, while Thomas de la Hyde held both positions from 1304, the Black Prince separated them, appointing a series of household men as controllers. Richard II followed the same policy as his father, employing William Ledes, his loyal official, as controller of the stannaries in both Cornwall and Devon. As a result, few Cornishmen held this post.

The controller of the stannaries oversaw all aspects of stannary administration, being responsible for promulgating mining laws, imprisoning felonious tanners, and supervising the payment of coinage duty.¹⁸⁷ He also appointed a bailiff apiece to supervise the peninsula’s four stannary districts; Blackmore, Tywarnhaile, Penwith and Kerrier, and Foweymore. These bailiffships remained the preserve of the sub-gentry, with their duties involving the collection of toll tin and the supervision of the stannary courts.¹⁸⁸ The latter tribunals chiefly concerned themselves with disputes arising from tin production, in 1337 yielding just over £17 in fines.¹⁸⁹ While the Black Prince also intermittently employed a receiver of the stannaries, the earldom-duchy played no direct part in tin production.¹⁹⁰ L. E. Elliott-Binns viewed stannary administration as an independent entity in Cornwall, an *imperium in imperio*.¹⁹¹ The earl-duke ‘formed the fountain head’ of all stannary administration, however, with his steward and receiver in Cornwall

¹⁸⁴ *CCR 1313-1318*, 178, 396-397; *CPR 1330-1334*, 54, 494; *RBP*, i, 71; *CPR 1389-1392*, 83; E101/263/28; Lewis suggested that a warden oversaw the stannaries, *Stannaries*, pp. 38, 86-87; but there is little evidence of this office in the 1300s, aside from in the parliament of 1376, *PROME*, v, 347-348; Elliott-Binns argued that the warden and controller were one and the same, *Medieval Cornwall*, pp. 126-127, and *CCR 1405-1409*, 447 seems to support him; however, the earl-duke may have served as overall warden, deputising the role of controller.

¹⁸⁵ *CCR 1318-1322*, 254.

¹⁸⁶ *Ministers’ Accounts*, i, p. xxiv.

¹⁸⁷ Lewis, *Stannaries*, pp. 86-87.

¹⁸⁸ For instance, DCO 4; SC6/817/4 m. 15r; *Ministers’ Accounts*, i, p. xxiv; Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 52; Below, pp. 212-213.

¹⁸⁹ CS, lvi; also, E101/264/2.

¹⁹⁰ *RBP*, ii, 56, 187.

¹⁹¹ Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, p. 127.

overseeing the stannaries.¹⁹² In 1358, the Black Prince even commanded the controller of the stannaries and the receiver not to coin tin without the ‘advice and presence’ of the sheriff-steward.¹⁹³ The stannaries evidently formed part of the earldom-duchy, itself being fused with the shire.

The Castles

The earldom-duchy likewise held Cornwall’s four chief castles – Launceston, Restormel, Tintagel, and Trematon – with these structures forming a network of administration, control, and defence.¹⁹⁴ The earl-duke appointed a constable to each and in the case of Launceston this man generally managed the gaol, while the constable of Restormel often held Restormel Park.¹⁹⁵ All these castellans received livery robes to the value of 13s. 4d. along with an annuity, some 20 marks for Launceston but only 50s. 8d. for the others.¹⁹⁶ While at times the earldom-duchy assigned considerable sums for the maintenance of these fortifications, Tintagel proved to be particularly dilapidated.¹⁹⁷

Some thirteen men are known to have held Launceston during this period, with the castle annexed to the sheriff-stewardship from 1331 to 1337. All except three of the constables held other offices in the county and only five were Cornishmen, including Sir John Petit. Fourteen men held Restormel, four of whom hailed from Cornwall, and nine of them also held other offices in the peninsula; as was the case with Launceston, the castle and the sheriff-stewardship proved to be attached from 1315 to 1331. Some fifteen men served as constable of Tintagel, four originating from the peninsula and twelve serving in other county posts. Bishop Stapeldon and John Holand, earl of Huntingdon, both held this fortification at different times, but as men of high rank, they employed deputies. In 1337, however, the castle chaplain had the keeping of Tintagel without wages.¹⁹⁸ Finally, Trematon saw fourteen

¹⁹² Lewis, *Stannaries*, p. 86.

¹⁹³ *RBP*, ii, 149.

¹⁹⁴ I. D. Spreadbury, *Castles in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly* (Redruth, 1984), pp. 14-35; there was a long-running dispute over Trematon’s ownership, Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, pp. 161-162.

¹⁹⁵ *RBP*, ii, 186; SC6/816/11 m. 1r; *CPR 1334-1338*, 383.

¹⁹⁶ SC6/811/7 m. 2r; E372/152B m. 9; SC6/1094/13; *CIPM*, iii, 548; Tintagel was held without fee for a time, *RBP*, ii, 14.

¹⁹⁷ SC8/327/E796; SC6/811/12 m. 1r; SC8/327/E818; *RBP*, ii, 2, 9.

¹⁹⁸ *CS*, 142.

castellans pass through its gates, five of them Cornishmen and seven holding no other position in the county. Evidently some of these men enjoyed great stature, employing under-constables to perform their duties, whereas others emerge as being of little substance. All, however, held significant places in the administration of the shire-franchise.

The Feodaries and Minor Estate Offices

The duchy also employed a full time feodary whose duties involved collecting feudal incidents which pertained to the duke, and who received 4*d.* a day.¹⁹⁹ The office encompassed both Cornwall and Devon, with the Black Prince expanding the commission of one holder, Robert Wisdom, to include the whole south west. From 1341 to 1368, Edward III and the Black Prince combined the officers of feodary and escheator, in this way protecting both their prerogative rights.²⁰⁰ The prince's loyal servant John Dabernon held both posts to 1354, while two feodaries, Henry Cokyn and Henry Nanfan, hailed from the peninsula. No Cornishmen of rank held this post.

In point of fact, a remarkable profusion of offices existed in the administration of the earldom-duchy. Some of these can be touched on briefly. The earl-duke appointed a bailiff-errant to assist with raising the large sums yielded by his lordly rights. Although Cornishmen such as William Trethewey sometimes held this post, the earl-duke more often granted it to members of his household, including the prince's servant John Cook, who received 2*d.* daily.²⁰¹ A parker oversaw each of the earl-duke's many parks in the peninsula, with a similar mix of Cornishmen and 'incomers' holding these posts.²⁰² The earl-duke also intermittently appointed a 'keeper of the prince's game', with men such as Sir John Carminow and Sir Theobald le Hunte holding this post, as it proved of greater importance than mere parkers.²⁰³ Numerous stannary officials also served the earldom-duchy, amongst them the chief pesage (weigher) of tin and the keeper of the tinnars gaol.²⁰⁴ Seigniorial administration likewise depended on deputies and temporary

¹⁹⁹ *RBP*, ii, 164.

²⁰⁰ *RBP*, ii, 184.

²⁰¹ *RESDCornwall*, 45-46; *RBP*, i, 11; *RBP*, ii, 209.

²⁰² *RBP*, ii, 65.

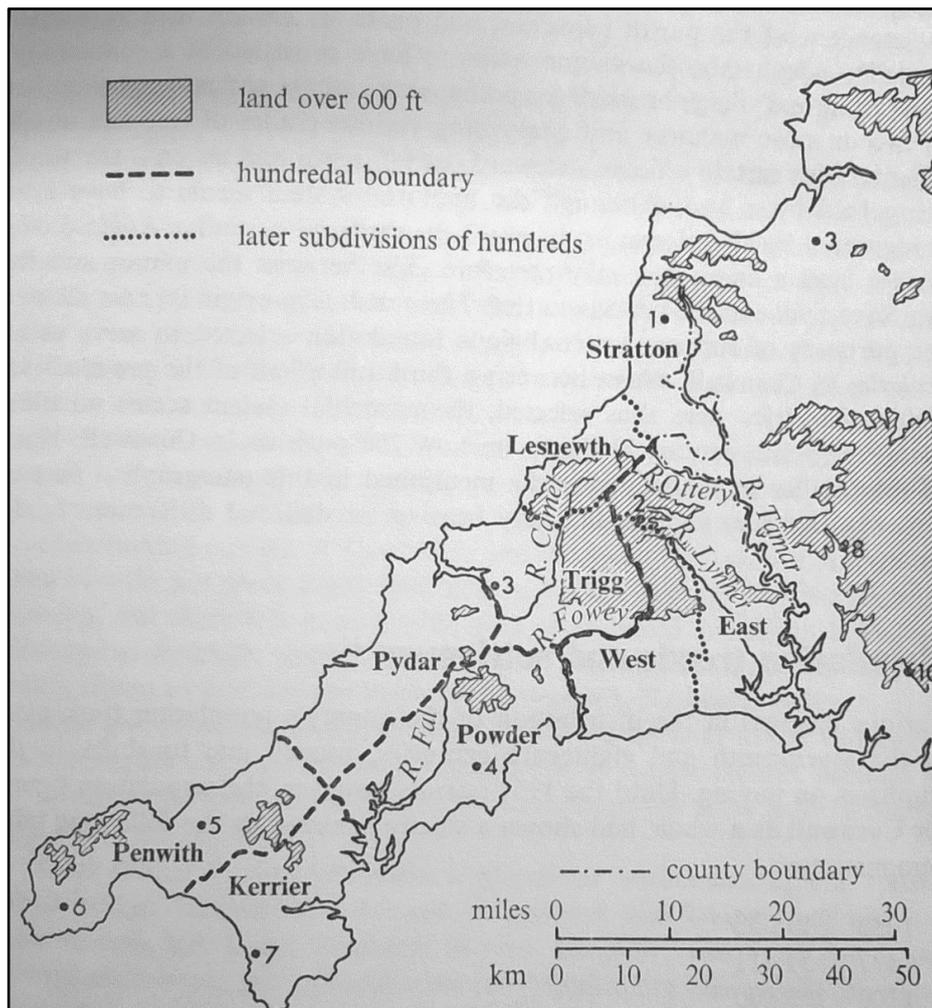
²⁰³ *CFR 1327-1337*, 277; *RBP*, ii, 14; *RESDCornwall*, 46.

²⁰⁴ *SC6/811/18 m. 1r*; *RBP*, ii, 185.

commissioners. John Dabernon, for instance, appointed the Cornishman John Treveri as his lieutenant, while the Cornish lawyer John Tremayne served on a varied collection of temporary lordly commissions.²⁰⁵ Finally, comital-ducual clerks recorded the financial endeavours of all these officers in the ministers' accounts, which the earl-duke then had audited thoroughly.²⁰⁶ The earldom-duchy's well-developed administrative structure enabled the lordship to influence every part of the peninsula.

The Hundreds:

Map 8: *The Hundreds and Physical Features of Cornwall*



Source: M. F. Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall* (Leicester, 1975), p. 39.

Comital-ducual power was spread across Cornwall's nine hundreds: Eastwivelshire (East), Kerrier, Lesnewth, Penwith, Powdershire, Pydershire,

²⁰⁵ *RBP*, i, 92; *RBP*, ii, 57, 116, 207; *RESDCornwall*, 45-46.

²⁰⁶ *RESDCornwall*, 46-47.

Stratton, Triggshire, and Westwivelshire (West).²⁰⁷ The earldom-duchy held eight and one-third of these, with the remaining two-thirds of Penwith in the possession of the Arundells of Lanherne.²⁰⁸ A bailiff headed the administration of every hundred, with each unit comprising a number of frankpledge tithings, groups whose members were mutually responsible for good order.²⁰⁹ The government employed hundreds for a range of administrative and military functions, having bailiffs levy fines on felons who breached regnal peace, for instance.²¹⁰

Each hundred also possessed its own court, which was organised by the sheriff and overseen by the hundredal bailiff. During these monthly sessions, cases were held between private parties as well as by tithing. In Cornwall, as in the rest of the realm, cases of trespass and suits of debt-detinue accounted for most of the business.²¹¹ Although each suit was enacted without the royal writ, the government still supervised hundreds when twice a year the sheriff undertook his tourn, during which he received the view of frankpledge. These 'law hundreds' attracted much greater crowds and in 1334, for instance, the government imprisoned John Carminow and others for assaulting William Lambourne and his fellows while the sheriff held one such view at Kerrier.²¹² Hundredal officials also indicted Cornish felons for trial before justices of gaol delivery, as the Crown oversaw criminal justice in Cornwall.²¹³

Justice, as ever, yielded an income from fines and in 1337 Cornwall's hundreds generated over £130.²¹⁴ Each bailiff paid the earldom-duchy a farm for his office in the expectation of making a profit from the fines which he levied during the course of his duties, encouraging racketeering.²¹⁵ The

²⁰⁷ O. J. Padel, 'Ancient and Medieval Administrative Divisions of Cornwall', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 131 (2010), pp. 211-214.

²⁰⁸ *CIPM*, iii, 457-458; *CChR 1327-1341*, 399-400; *Ministers' Accounts*, i, p. xxiii; SC8/18/900; 'Three Courts of the Hundred of Penwith, 1333', ed. G. D. G. Hall, in *Medieval Legal Records*, ed. R. F. Hunnisett and J. B. Post (London, 1978), pp. 170-196 at 171; P. A. S. Pool, 'The Penheleg Manuscript', *JRIC* (1959), pp. 163-228.

²⁰⁹ See H. M. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, An Outline of Local Government in Medieval England* (London, 1930); H. M. Jewell, *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot, 1972), pp. 162-164.

²¹⁰ KB27/241 m. 103r.

²¹¹ SC2/161/74 mm. 12-23v; SC2/161/75; 'Three Courts', pp. 173-174; Cam, *Hundred Rolls*, p. 181.

²¹² *CPR 1330-1334*, 527.

²¹³ For example, JUST3/121 m. 13.

²¹⁴ CS, lviii.

²¹⁵ Cam, *Hundred Rolls*, p. 143; CRO, AR/2/463 m. 5r.

Statute of Lincoln in 1316 stipulated that hundreds should be managed by 'suitable people', that bailiffs should have sufficient land, and that the farm of hundreds should be 'reasonable'.²¹⁶ This statute was to remain a dead letter, however, for the parliamentary Commons petitioned repeatedly regarding oppressions and over-large farms, notably in 1376.²¹⁷ In a petition of c. 1377, the Commons of Cornwall in particular complained about hundredal racketeering.²¹⁸ Three-quarters of a century earlier, Edward I had imprisoned William Wysa and stripped Eastwivelshire from him, as Wysa had taken bribes to release criminals, amongst other things.²¹⁹

Each of Cornwall's hundreds was held in fee and from 1337 the ministers' accounts record the names of these bailiffs, chiefly Cornishmen who generally appointed Cornish under-bailiffs, though 'incomers' regularly made an appearance. G. D. G. Hall argued that the public or private nature of hundreds turned on the rights to take profits, the rights to hold court, and whether or not a hundred had been endowed with additional judicial responsibilities.²²⁰ Cornwall's hundreds enjoyed no extra powers, yet the earldom-duchy's prerogatives initially make them all appear private. Hundredal officials had the names of distrained felons enrolled on the ministers' accounts, including a 6*d.* fine for the sword used to kill Sir Richard Sergeaux's son, Richard, in 1349-50.²²¹ In 1334, Michael Trenewith the elder mainprised Odo de St Colan, bailiff of Penwith, guaranteeing that Odo would faithfully serve the king and John Arundell, chief bailiff, paying the profits of the hundredal court as fully as the sheriff or Arundell required.²²² Penwith's profits, then, went to the Arundells and the earldom-duchy, but as the sheriff and steward were indivisible until 1376 both the king and earl-duke in practice oversaw the hundreds of Cornwall. From 1377 to 1399, moreover, the lordship was vested in the Crown itself, as it had been on many occasions since 1300. As a result, the officials of neither the king nor earl-duke were excluded from any Cornish hundreds, as hundredal government formed an

²¹⁶ *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. A. Luders et al, 11 vols (London, 1810-28), i, pp. 174-175; *PROME*, iii, 209.

²¹⁷ *PROME*, v, 377.

²¹⁸ SC8/102/5080.

²¹⁹ *CCR 1318-1322*, 283-284.

²²⁰ 'Three Courts', p. 172.

²²¹ DCO 5.

²²² CRO, AR/3/115.

essential component of shire-franchisal administration.²²³ Comital-ducal and regnal administrations emerge as intertwined, with both rooted deep in the peninsula. It now remains to draw these strands into a conclusion.

*

There can be little doubt that Cornwall stood amongst the great seigniorial enclaves of the realm. To what extent, however, did the peninsula constitute a county palatine? The ‘purest’ form of palatinate possessed immunity from regnal taxation, as a result not returning members to parliament. All franchisal officials owed their allegiance to the lord of the liberty, not to the king, with each palatine possessing its own chanceries and exchequers. Palatinate courts also enjoyed jurisdictional finality, while the lord of the liberty served as the universal landlord, holding rights to minorities and forfeitures. Durham, Cheshire, and, from 1351, Lancaster all formed palatinates, but what about Cornwall?²²⁴

Although the fourteenth-century Cornish peninsula possessed some of the attributes of a county palatine, franchisal powers fell short of full palatinate status. Under the earldom, the county of Cornwall remained enfranchised and paid subsidies much like any other shire.²²⁵ No court in the peninsula enjoyed jurisdictional finality in civil or criminal matters either, as the county held a place on the royal assize and gaol delivery circuits.²²⁶ Cases could also be called into and reviewed in the court of king’s bench through writs of certiorari and writs of error. The king likewise directly appointed nearly all local government officials in Cornwall, in sharp contrast to Durham and Cheshire. On the other hand, the earl held rights to the shrievalty, minorities, and felons’ goods, along with a multitude of other prerogatives,

²²³ *Quo Warranto*, pp. 108-111.

²²⁴ G. Barraclough, *The Earldom and County Palatine of Cheshire* (Oxford, 1953); H. M. Cam, ‘The Evolution of the Mediaeval English Franchise’, *Speculum*, 32 (1957), pp. 427-442; Liddy, *Durham*, pp. 1-24; P. Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 11, 100-102; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 146-147; J. Scammel, ‘The Origin and Limitations of the Liberty of Durham’, *EHR*, 81 (1966), pp. 449-473; K. Stringer, ‘States, Liberties and Communities in Medieval Britain and Ireland’, in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles*, ed. M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 5-36.

²²⁵ For example, E179/87/7; E179/87/37.

²²⁶ For example, JUST1/1349 mm. 13r-18r; JUST1/1390 mm. 10r-11r; JUST3/120 m. 23.

for he was the county's feudal overlord and dispensed equitable justice from his council.²²⁷

In 1337, Edward III elevated the lordship to a dukedom held by the Black Prince by issuing the Great Charter of the duchy.²²⁸ While this document appeared to exclude the king's government from west of the Tamar, the return of the king's writs so that no 'minister of the king's shall enter therein' was more honoured in the breach than the observance. Indeed, at the core of the duchy's semi-regalian powers stood those of the ancient earldom, which had not enjoyed palatinate status. After 1337, Cornwall remained on the royal gaol delivery and assize circuits, the latter hearing both criminal and civil cases, while the king regularly sued out commissions of oyer and terminer in the county.²²⁹ The Crown likewise continued to appoint nearly all the officials of local government, also overseeing the county's defences while levying taxes in the peninsula and summoning MPs from Cornwall and its towns.²³⁰ In fact, the duchy's very existence depended upon the king. The commonalty of Cornwall could, and did, call upon royal power to circumvent ducal prerogatives, while regnal government proved essential to lordly authority.²³¹ Nonetheless, the duke's rights still stand out as expansive, with the duchy forming a liberty of note. Offices not directly in the gift of the duke proved susceptible to his lordly influence. He also enjoyed the honour of universal landlord in Cornwall and exercised much judicial clout in the peninsula, not least through his appointments to the shrievalty.²³² The Great Charter thus codified and extended the earldom's prerogatives, but the county remained only quasi-palatinate. Cornwall's royal lordship, in fact, resulted in the earldom-duchy serving as a channel for regnal authority, as the king himself often held the county. Even when in the hands of other royal lords, the Crown afforded these men and women the full scope of its government.

²²⁷ Below, pp. 164, 186-188; *CIPM*, iii, pp. 456-458, 475-477; *Ministers' Accounts*, i, pp. xxiii-xxxi; Cf. A. Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning in Late Medieval England', in *Medieval Petitions, Grace and Grievance*, ed. W. M. Ormrod, G. Dodd, and A. Musson (York, 2009), pp. 156-172.

²²⁸ *CChR 1327-1341*, 399-400, 436-437; *RESDCornwall*, 5-7.

²²⁹ For example, JUST1/1426A m. 21r; JUST1/1476 m. 70r; JUST1/124 m. 3r; JUST3/9/2 m. 3; JUST3/153 m. 7.

²³⁰ *RBP*, iv, 88.

²³¹ *CCR 1343-1345*, 78.

²³² *RBP*, ii, *passim.*; *CCR 1346-1349*, 203, 565, 466.

So it was that the earldom-duchy's privileges proved less sharply defined in reality than rhetoric.

Indeed, the substance of palatinates was not founded upon charters alone. Franchises were only effective when lords and subjects alike collectively adhered to the structures of their liberty. The people of Cheshire, for instance, sought constantly to defend 'Cheshire law' from royal intervention, refusing to be brought before Crown courts.²³³ In Durham, the palatinate remained potent only so long as the bishop and his subjects honoured franchisal rights. In the fifteenth century, however, the Durham local elite waged a sustained campaign to bring about regnal intervention between the Tyne and Tees. Durham's liberties proved more susceptible 'to serious challenge from within than without'.²³⁴ In contrast to the 'true' palatinates, the people of Cornwall called endlessly upon royal justice and grace, as did the earl-dukes themselves. All were aware that the lordship enjoyed expansive rights, regularly mobilising these prerogatives to manage the county, but powerbrokers and peasants alike proved equally cognisant of the fact that Cornwall held a place amongst the shires of England.

Officials of the earldom-duchy and royal government, in fact, often proved to be the same people acting in different capacities. Franchise and shire complemented and drew strength from each other, with 'Cornwall' forming an amalgam of the two. This much is indicted by a petition of c. 1338, in which the Commons of Cornwall requested that Edward III order the duke and his council, along with the chancellor and treasurer of England, to appoint a more suitable sheriff.²³⁵ The officers of the peninsula stood directly accountable to the king and his ministers, as well as to the duke and his household, while also having a 'public' responsibility to the county commonalty. Shire and franchise formed an indissoluble whole, 'Cornwall'.

The peninsula comprised no 'land apart', however, as the structure of royal offices formed a framework of power enabling the Crown to project its might into the furthest corners of the county. These posts also gave rise to the same concerns as elsewhere in England, with the local people of the peninsula seeking the same royal assurances concerning local office as their fellows

²³³ Barraclough, *Cheshire*, p. 22.

²³⁴ Liddy, *Durham*, pp. 208-211, 235.

²³⁵ SC8/193/9648.

from across the realm. Parliament served as the forum in which these issues were collectively raised, with each strand of government having a potent integrative effect. The earldom-duchy, of course, nuanced every aspect of Cornish government, with the earl-duke appointing his own officials and influencing the personnel of royal administration alike. Yet the lordship emerges as another channel connecting Cornwall to the rest of kingdom, with the earl-duke closely involved in England's high politics. All these seigniorial and royal posts were therefore intertwined, pulling the realm together.

Comital-ducal and regnal power, however, was not simply imposed upon the peninsula. The people of Cornwall actively requested the intervention of the king and the earl-duke in their affairs through petitions, commissions, and so on, while many proprietors sought office. All the residents of the peninsula depended upon the workings of shire-franchisal administration. Conversely, the king and earl-duke relied upon the local influence of Cornish proprietors to execute commissions. In appointing Sir Ranulph Blanchminster to the county bench in the 1330s, for instance, the Crown simultaneously bestowed 'public' authority on him and sought to harness his 'private' clout to the king's cause. Blanchminster's lordship over the Scilly Isles and possession of Evor Castle there rendered him all the more mighty, as a clause attached to this fortification compelled him to maintain twelve men-at-arms to keep the peace on Scilly.²³⁶ As the century went on, office-holding increasingly drew Cornish gentlemen, the Crown, and the earldom-duchy together, to their mutual benefit. In 1300, fourteen officials can be identified as heading shire-liberty administration, while by a century later this figure had grown to twenty-four. On those occasions when the government summoned a parliament, levied a subsidy, and issued a commission of array those figures would rise to thirty-two and fifty-two at the beginning and end of the century respectively. Peter Coss viewed this as part of the process by which the gentry itself was forged, with proprietors coming to view themselves as essential partners in government with the Crown.²³⁷ The Cornish gentry, the Crown, and the lordship formed a triumvirate of common interest, all being involved in the collaborative business of government.

²³⁶ *CPR 1301-1307*, 538.

²³⁷ Coss, *English Gentry*, pp. 165-201.

Yet tensions still abounded between and within each ‘group’. The petition of c. 1338, for instance, suggests that at that time the Black Prince and his subjects in the peninsula were in a state of some disagreement. Cornish proprietors and many more folk besides were also responsible for committing disorders in the county, as violent self-help supplemented and supplanted formal procedures in turn. Medieval government never enjoyed absolute power over the localities. In reality, however, models of perpetual discord or eternal amity prove unsustainable, as the peninsula was neither a perennially ‘wild spot’ nor a perfectly harmonious place. Instead, Cornwall played host to conflict and consensus in turn, with the county-franchise and kingdom operating as interrelated units of co-ordination which sought to resolve these tensions.

The county’s pre-eminent dynasties maintained a leading presence in Cornwall’s administration throughout the century. Many gentlemen of lesser means also served, drawing a considerable and growing body of Cornishmen into the magistracy. Nevertheless, the office-holding elite and the gentry class were not completely co-existent, as some knightly lineages rarely served, amongst them the Prideauxs and Mohuns, while lesser gentlemen attained only a few leading posts. Christian Liddy has argued that the operation of magnate patronage in Durham resulted in a ‘fractured office-holding community’, with leading posts the preserve of episcopal candidates only.²³⁸ Such a division proves far less apparent in Cornwall, for although ‘outside’ men more often staffed the earldom-duchy – especially during the Black Prince’s tenure – the county elite remained well represented. Cornishmen, in fact, are found rising to prominence in county administration from the late 1360s onwards. In asserting themselves thus, they emulated their peers in every other shire.

Cornish proprietors held no monopoly on power to the west of the Tamar, however. Both the king and earl-duke employed these office-holding gentlemen expressly to enforce comital-ducal-regnal government in the peninsula. They also introduced hundreds of ‘outsiders’ into Cornwall to protect their prerogatives. As a result, numerous Devonians were active in Cornwall’s administration, and a number of Cornishmen active in the

²³⁸ Liddy, *Durham*, p. 172.

administration of Devon. The king likewise required that professional justices be in attendance on the county bench if the determining power was to be exercised, while the earldom-duchy appointed folk from every corner of England to its offices in Cornwall. In this way, the structures and personnel of Cornwall and the kingdom formed an interdependent whole.

Shire and franchise, then, stand out as strikingly intermeshed in Cornwall. Office-holding encouraged intra-Cornish cohesion, creating a point of social and political convergence for the whole range of Cornish society. At the same time, these posts integrated the county into the wider realm by connecting Cornwall's residents to their king, earl-duke, and fellow Englishmen alike, both institutionally and personally. Administration alone, however, does not explain Cornwall's identity and place in the kingdom.

3. Since the Time of King Arthur: Gentry Identity and the Commonalty of Cornwall¹

Identity is a construct forged by people and in politics through a two-way interaction between pressures from above or outside and appreciation of ties established more locally. It is a subject essential to understanding the actions and lives of individuals and groups, yet identity is intangible, ever-changing, and ‘hardly ever totally knowable’.² While historians can employ a variety of sources – such as wills and manuals outlining proper behaviour – to tease-out self- and group perceptions, assessing the way in which these influenced identities is no simple task. For those who study the late medieval gentry, the absence of personal correspondence and diaries, which perhaps contain the most eloquent statements of self-perceptions and communal loyalties, renders this difficult subject all the more challenging. Bloodless financial and administrative documents provide scant evidence for such a multifaceted phenomenon. As a result, gentry identity remains a vexing and highly contested subject.³

Until the 1990s the prevailing orthodoxy among those working in medieval and early modern local studies maintained that there was such a thing as the ‘county community’. Although there is no pithy definition of this entity, it assumes a range of solidarities across the county shaped by networks of kin, local government, parliamentary representation, and so on. Each revolved around the county, contributing to a marriage of gentry and county identity. In 1994, however, Christine Carpenter offered a substantial critique of this concept, instead suggesting a model based on ‘social network theory’, an analysis of the relative strength and density of links between different

¹ A version of this chapter was awarded runner-up in the IHR’s Pollard Prize and will appear in *Historical Research*.

² M. Rubin, ‘Identities’, in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. R. Horrox and W. M. Ormrod (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 383-412 at 383.

³ For the county model, Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 21-40; Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 106-167; R. Virgoe, ‘Aspects of the County Community in the Fifteenth Century’, in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 1-13; for social network theory, C. Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community in Medieval England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), pp. 340-380; for judicious overviews, Walker, *Political Culture*, pp. 68-80; Coss, *English Gentry*, pp. 202-215; also, M. Rubin, ‘Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages’, in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. J. Kermode (Stroud, 1991), pp. 132-150, especially 134-135; more broadly, J. D. Marshall, *The Tyranny of the Discrete, A Discussion of the Problems of Local History in England* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 80-107.

members of the gentry, nobility, and agents, such as lawyers.⁴ Undoubtedly the county model needed nuancing, for it invited us to believe that for hundreds of years the shire stood unchallenged, all but unchanging, and largely self-contained. Since it was through the shire structure that the Crown governed England, it was naturally the case that shires figured prominently in all royal administrative documents. Even so, the county did not merit total destruction. Christine Carpenter's reasoning for utterly abandoning the idea of the county rested upon her work on Warwickshire, a fissiparous shire with no defined natural borders and a powerful resident magnate.⁵ It needs to be stressed that Warwickshire constituted a by no means typical county, if such a thing existed. To analyse the shape and density of Warwickshire's social networks, moreover, she relied heavily upon deed evidence, a class of documents with an uncertain survival rate.⁶ By inferring network densities from charters alone, erroneous conclusions might be drawn. Connections between different networks, 'friends of friends', also present problems. In the confined world of a county's landed society such bonds emerge as legion, but how many degrees of separation might be still significant?⁷ We simply have no way of knowing and should be mindful of the fact that what has been lost was more important than what has survived.

This discussion proposes to explore Cornish gentry self-perceptions as a way into the subject. Even if it involves going against trends in present-day scholarship, it will argue that the county as a unit enjoyed substance. Yet this is not to overplay its primacy, for identity emerges as multi-layered and ever-changing, comprising 'a cluster of co-existing attributes'.⁸ The county formed but one strand of gentry identity, the totality of which was shaped by a richly interwoven range of loyalties and associations. Each represented a different 'boundary of the mind', a different layer of identity, with all influencing the self-perceptions of Cornwall's proprietors.⁹

⁴ Carpenter, 'Community', 366-368, 377-380.

⁵ Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, pp. 25-28, 345, 360-398.

⁶ Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, pp. 281-346, especially 291-292.

⁷ Carpenter, 'Community', 360.

⁸ Rubin, 'Identities', p. 410.

⁹ Cf. S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, 2nd Edition (Oxford, 1997), pp. 234-236, 335.

Cornwall contrasts greatly with Warwickshire in all sorts of ways and, as a result, we may well question the extent to which deed-based social network theory illuminates the identity of Cornwall's landed lineages. Correspondence hints at possibilities of interaction which deeds by themselves do not reveal. Consider, for example, two letters sent by the Black Prince in 1351 to Sir John Trevaignon and Sir John Arundell. In both of these, the prince made clear that he would not countenance these gentlemen accompanying him on campaign as their 'bearing has been and still is so outrageous and offensive to us, our subjects, ministers, and tenants, as well as to your neighbours in the parts of Cornwaille, as to be improper and unsuitable'.¹⁰ Despite originating from a moment of acute tension, these letters provide some hint of social complexities now lost. Indeed, informal interactions which took place during hunting trips or when gentlemen called upon friends and relations have left virtually no trace. Richard Carew wrote that Cornish gentlemen 'converse familiarly together, & often visit one another'.¹¹ For this reason, it proves impossible to quantify and qualify networks based on the analysis of deeds alone. There is also a danger that in vesting social networks with absolute authority we impose an interpretation upon the evidence, one which fails to consider the complexities of medieval society. Christine Carpenter does not prove her case that network theory should replace the county model. Nonetheless, her case for studying social networks remains compelling, as these formed one strand of gentry identity.

If we bear in mind the limitations of network theory, and if we remember too the great differences between Warwickshire and Cornwall, we may find it worthwhile to return to the county model. It must be admitted that this too has limitations. *Communitas comitatus* has often been rendered as 'county community' by historians, but the notion conjured by this anglicised idiom is vague and devoid of meaning, while at the same time suggesting a common interest too coherent and monolithic. Perhaps the crux of the issue is the form of community envisaged. On the one hand, some communities, such as those of certain peasant villages, were tightly woven, yet on the other

¹⁰ *RBP*, ii, 9-10.

¹¹ *Carew*, 64v.

the county emerges as more expansive and diffuse.¹² All the same, the county still had a meaning, forming a permanent institution which influenced the lives of those who lived under its auspices. In acknowledging the different forms of community, we should perhaps employ a different terminology. ‘Community’ should be left for small groups, while we should cautiously favour the term ‘commonalty’ for the more expansive form of collective interactions represented by the county, a term often employed by contemporaries. ‘Commonalty’ in this respect suggests a sense of shared values, a collective sense of purpose, and a common organisation, which embraced the entirety of the Cornish gentry along with local earldom-duchy officials. It also encompassed their families, and with them the web of mutually-supporting connections, both private and public, which bound these folk together. Of course, ‘commonalty’ remains shorthand for an infinitely complex and by no means perfectly defined or definable organism, which embraced the gentry more loosely and abstractly than ‘the county community’ of old. Nonetheless, at the core of the commonalty of Cornwall stood the leading Cornish proprietors and local administrators who interacted in the face-to-face world of the county, finding identity and fulfilment in its structures.

The county emerges as by no means the sole call upon the loyalties of the local elite, however, for wider and narrower solidarities operated simultaneously. To start with the former, a case can certainly be made for south-western regionalism in this period. Although this region’s boundaries remain nebulous, bonds strengthen from Exeter westwards. This loosely defined area formed a ‘zone of common human activity’, comprising ‘a flow of ideas and people, gossip... and influence’.¹³ It was neither watertight nor perfectly homogenous, yet many regional solidarities operated. Considerable economic ties linked this region, with tin occurring under the craggy moors of both Cornwall and West Devon.¹⁴ Shipping concerns likewise connected these counties, with joint trading ventures and ‘piracy’ engaged upon by

¹² Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p. 219; Virgoe, ‘County Community’; Rubin, ‘Small Groups’, pp. 134-135; Walker, *Political Culture*, pp. 70-71.

¹³ E. Royle, ‘Introduction: Regions and Identities’, in *Issues of Regional Identity, in Honour of John Marshall* (Manchester, 1998), pp. 1-13.

¹⁴ Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 2-3, 21.

Cornishmen and Devonians.¹⁵ Moreover, the landed societies of these two shires to some extent overlapped. Several trans-county dynasties – amongst them the Huishs and Chaumpernouns – held estates and offices on both sides of the Tamar, while numerous Cornishmen and Devonians served in the administration of each other's shires. Cornwall and West Devon also shared a penchant for lawlessness which took little account of formal borders.¹⁶ Both counties shared many interests, not least fear of French activity, with the two of them jointly lobbying parliament at times.¹⁷ Certainly the Crown appreciated their interconnected nature, grouping the two together for some administrative functions.¹⁸ Seigniorial power leached across this supposed frontier as well, with the earldom-duchy's lands stretching into Devon. Both counties were also brought together in one diocese, centred on Exeter, which provided yet greater coherence to this area.¹⁹ In many ways, then, these two shires shared an outlook and way of life, for they faded into each other. All of which gives appearance of a distinctive regional society.

Yet regional cohesion should not be overplayed. The south west remained a diffuse society, with little to gather these strands together. Exeter proved to be too small and distant from Cornwall to act as a provincial capital, and neither lordship nor royal government drew this amorphous and expansive area together.²⁰ Powerful centrifugal forces divided the two shires and, as a result, south-western regionalism exercised little pull on the imaginations of its inhabitants, having less meaning than, for example, the 'North Country' at the opposite end of England.²¹

At the other end of the spectrum stood a profusion of lesser solidarities, as sub-county localism proved to be a potent force in Cornwall, as in every county. Powerful individual sentiments remained significant and in 1346, for instance, the burgesses of Padstow claimed that John Billioun 'bears himself as king in the county of Cornwall'.²² One's family name and

¹⁵ C241/172/3; C131/207/25; *CPR 1385-1389*, 165.

¹⁶ Kleineke, 'Why the West Was Wild'.

¹⁷ *PROME*, iii, 389.

¹⁸ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 3.

¹⁹ Below, p. 245.

²⁰ Below, pp. 205-206.

²¹ Walker, *Political Culture*, pp. 73-74.

²² *CPR 1345-1348*, 235-236; A. Black, 'The Individual and Society', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350-c. 1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 588-606.

patrimony also weighed on personal sentiments. Familial relations were likewise connected closely to social networks and neighbourliness, shaping the outlook and identity of the county elite. Taxation proved important too, with the stannaries of Devon under a lighter regime than those of Cornwall. Even in Cornwall the stannaries did not form a monolithic entity, being administered as four bailiwicks; Tinnars west of Truro were to lobby Edward I separately in 1302, and the endorsement on the petition ordered the barons of the exchequer to investigate their grievances.²³ In the same way, the county's maritime character forged marine cultures of various forms and strengths, for both tin and sea fashioned distinctive ways of life. The gentry, in fact, stand out as tin-owning gentlemen and salt-water lords. A profusion of petty boroughs likewise helped foster smaller urban societies, and with many guilds in Cornwall's towns even these identities emerge as sub-divided. Deeply localised factors greatly influenced Cornish identities. So it was that in 1361 a dispute between the tenants of Carnedon and Rillaton manors concerning boundaries was 'so high' that the sheriff found himself unable to achieve a settlement.²⁴

More substantially, the county's nine hundreds – and their constituent tithings – played a significant role in regulating daily life, with the Commons of Penwith and Kerrier petitioning the king separately in 1416, and the endorsement on the petition empowering the king's council to investigate extortions committed there, under the authority of parliament.²⁵ Geographical divisions, in fact, reinforced Cornwall's hundreds. The peninsula's immensely varied topography, and indeed geology, were undoubtedly of great consequence. Both rendered the Lizard and Penwith particularly distinctive areas, but branching estuaries sub-divided large parts of the county, while sharply contrasting granitic moorland and sub-tropical valleys forged units of quite different characters.²⁶ On an even grander scale, the peninsula's sheer length diluted the shire identity, rendering interactions between those who resided at opposite ends of Cornwall the more challenging. Cornish topography encouraged sub-county localism by creating

²³ *CPR 1301-1307*, 539; SC8/315/E168; Lewis, *Stannaries*, pp. 85-90.

²⁴ *RBP*, ii, 180.

²⁵ SC8/104/5161.

²⁶ H. S. A. Fox, 'Urban Development', in *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, ed. R. Kain and W. Ravenhill (Exeter, 1999), pp. 400-407 at 402.

distinctive areas within the peninsula's bounds. The Fowey-Padstow isogloss also linguistically transected Cornwall, with English spoken by those who resided east of this divide, and bilingual Cornish and English spoken by those who lived to its west.²⁷ In the *Ordinalia* Cornish-language mystery play, *Passio Christi*, the jailor's servant complained:

‘From here to Trigg,
upon my faith, a worse master
I could not encounter him!’²⁸

Some folk, then, identified with western Cornish-speaking Cornwall. The bishopric of Exeter also administered the peninsula as an archdeaconry in its own right. The parish, however, emerges as a more cohesive entity with which the populace identified. Even parishes were sub-divided between different guilds, however, while many gentlemen possessed their own household chapels.²⁹ Such lesser solidarities powerfully and immediately affected the lives and identities of the Cornish; this is Nigel Saul's ‘county of communities’.³⁰ Each formed a different ‘boundary of the mind’, but these proved simultaneously broader and narrower than the county. Nonetheless, neither supra- nor sub-shire solidarities robbed the county altogether of significance.

Cornwall, by dint of being surrounded on three sides by the sea, stood better defined than virtually any shire, coherently fusing county with topography. Water in the form of the Tamar even delineated its eastern border, and while this river proved far from impermeable it emerges as psychologically significant, creating a bounded territorial space. The author of the so-called Charter Fragment, the only surviving secular work of middle Cornish, thought in terms of the whole county and highlighted this river's importance when he promised a wife without equal ‘from here to Tamar Bridge!’.³¹ William Worcestre too was very conscious that in crossing the

²⁷ Above, pp. 39-40.

²⁸ *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, ed. and trans. E. Norris, 2 vols (Oxford, 1859), i, lines 2274-2276; Correspondence with O. J. Padel, 02.02.2016.

²⁹ Mattingly, ‘Parish Guilds’.

³⁰ Saul, *Sussex*, pp. 60-61; Coss, *English Gentry*, p. 209.

³¹ *The Middle Cornish Charter Endorsement*, ed. L. Toorians (Innsbruck, 1991), pp. 6, 28; Correspondence with O. J. Padel, 02.02.2016.

Tamar he entered *comitatus provincie Cornubie*.³² This border stands out as truly ancient, for Athelstan had fixed the boundary of Cornwall at the Tamar in the tenth century and in so doing, William of Malmesbury claimed, removed ‘an infected race’.³³ The peninsula, in fact, had been absorbed into the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms even before Athelstan’s reign, with Domesday demonstrating the way in which Cornwall formed a functioning shire as early as 1086.³⁴ By the fourteenth century the county had achieved institutional longevity and legitimacy.

The county, like others, had a corporate personality and could legally sue and be sued: institutionally it emerges as the shared responsibility of all its members.³⁵ By far its most important institution proved to be the county court, which typically met in the great shire hall within the ‘duchy palace’ in Lostwithiel.³⁶ By the fourteenth century the judicial functions of this body had waned, as legislation of 1278 resulted in debts larger than 40s. being pursued elsewhere, while the rise of JPs further broke its ‘exclusive hold’ on county affairs.³⁷ Nevertheless, Cornwall’s distance from the central courts augmented its judicial importance and it remained the most prestigious tribunal in the county, with an ‘immutable schedule’ meeting every twenty-eighth Monday.³⁸ The court roll of 1333 reads like a Cornish gentry ‘Who’s Who’, with the great majority of Cornwall’s leading proprietors and sundry other folk engaged in litigation in the county court.³⁹ In fact, this tribunal’s functions proved essential and a surge of disorder followed its armed disruption in 1326.⁴⁰ The county court also acted as the forum for selecting Cornwall’s MPs. With parliament’s burgeoning influence, this articulation of collective Cornish interests grew increasingly significant.⁴¹

³² Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 22, 30.

³³ Malmesbury, *Regum Anglorum*, i, pp. 216-217; S. Foot, *Athelstan: The First King of England* (London and New Haven, 2011), pp. 81-82, 164, 253.

³⁴ Foot, *Athelstan*, p. 164; *Domesday Book, X, Cornwall*, ed. C. and F. Thorn (Chichester, 1979).

³⁵ Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 70.

³⁶ CS, 4-5; R. Palmer, *The County Courts of Medieval England, 1150-1350* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 8-9.

³⁷ Palmer, *County Courts*, pp. 31, 237-261; J. R. Maddicott, ‘The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-Century England’, *TRHS*, 5th series, 28 (1978), pp. 27-43 at 41-42.

³⁸ *PROME*, iii, 100; Palmer, *County Courts*, pp. 22-24.

³⁹ SC2/161/74 mm. 1-11.

⁴⁰ *CPR 1324-1327*, 238-239.

⁴¹ Maddicott, ‘County Community’, 39, 42; Coss, *English Gentry*, p. 202.

Fourteenth-century election turnouts are impossible to chart, however, as the government only instructed that lists of those attesting the return be compiled from 1406, with even these finishing *et plurii alii*.⁴² Even so, in 1411 some sixty-six men drawn from the whole range of Cornish society attended, including many of the county's landed powerbrokers, a rich seam of lesser gentlemen, the mayors of five boroughs, the priors of Bodmin and Launceston, and even a few 'pirates'.⁴³ Cornish parliamentary lobbying demonstrates the breadth of interests represented, with the county sending petitions regarding everything from justice to defence, so revealing the court's broad base, which drew the commonalty of Cornwall together.⁴⁴ As Simon Walker cautioned, it is a mistake to underestimate the court, for it was there that 'statutes were proclaimed, petitions drafted, county rates fixed, and visiting justices of assize informed of the disposition of the county'.⁴⁵ The chief local office-holders therefore regularly attended its sessions and acquired considerable influence over its deliberations. The court also served as a forum for complaint, with John Bedewynde, the sheriff-steward, selecting this venue to denounce Edward II's evil policies relating to tin.⁴⁶ Evidently the decline in the court's judicial function did not impinge upon its role as a channel for the two-way transmission of information between the king and his Cornish subjects.⁴⁷ Despite this, John Maddicott's assessment of the court's pre-eminent role in shaping county opinion is not altogether sustainable as 'no single locus' of the shire existed.⁴⁸ A great deal of county business – administrative and otherwise – occurred in varying 'public' and 'private' venues across Cornwall.

Still, the county underwrote many aspects of local administration, with the result that the shire impinged upon the consciousness and sentiments of the main administrators.⁴⁹ The king taxed the realm by county and this proved to be a communal exercise, with the shire assessing itself. The Crown also organised defence by shire, forging the local elite – and much of the

⁴² Carpenter 'Community', 347; Maddicott, 'County Community', 30.

⁴³ C219/10/6 m. 9; Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 54; *HOP*, i, 294.

⁴⁴ For an analysis of these petitions, see below, pp. 164-166; *PROME*, iii, 100; *PROME*, vi, 89-90; SC8/102/5068; Maddicott, 'County Community', 33.

⁴⁵ Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 72.

⁴⁶ Below, pp. 106-107.

⁴⁷ Maddicott, 'County Community', 34; Coss, *English Gentry*, p. 210.

⁴⁸ Maddicott, 'County Community', 43; Carpenter, 'Community', 346.

⁴⁹ Above, chapter two.

county's male population – into a home-guard, with an *esprit de corps*. Fear of France made this particularly pressing, as the peninsula formed part of the frontline when conflict erupted from 1337 onwards. Every major local office was defined by the county and these officials were often Cornishmen. The sheriff of Cornwall in particular served as 'a symbol of the shire's identity'.⁵⁰ The Crown's increasing governmental demands, in fact, enhanced the institutional significance of the county during the fourteenth century. In Cornwall, this is best demonstrated by the county bench. From modest beginnings, by the last quarter of the century this tribunal had amassed wide judicial powers, being manned by a considerable number of the greater gentry and many gentlemen of lesser means, who sat in as many as sixteen different locations.⁵¹ In serving in the sessions of the peace these proprietors acted, in one sense, as the 'embodiment' of their shire and, along with quarter sessions, these tribunals played a significant role in articulating county sentiment.⁵² The expansion of government also drew an increasing proportion of the landed elite into the magistracy, fusing the aspirations of traditional powerbrokers and the newly gentrified alike around the county. The power of this entity reached right down the social scale, for even the peasantry were made aware of its force when the sheriff undertook his tour. Pressure from above forged 'Cornwall' into a collective project, as people acted together in response to government.⁵³

On the other hand, 'Cornwall' formed a joint-stock enterprise in which all the peninsula's powerbrokers held a stake. At the core of this group stood the shire establishment of leading local lineages, known as the *buzones* in the thirteenth century, who took the 'lion's share' of local office.⁵⁴ The generation to generation service of Cornwall's knightly dynasties served to foster a long-established social solidarity, a 'backbone' of personnel in the county, and an outlook both within these families and without which saw familial might and shire service as intertwined. While extinctions and 'new blood' prevented these proprietors achieving an absolute monopoly, in

⁵⁰ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 164.

⁵¹ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 75-76; for office-holding solidarities, Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 21-40; Coss, *English Gentry*, p. 210.

⁵² Walker, *Political Culture*, pp. 72, 94.

⁵³ Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 229, 244, 319.

⁵⁴ Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 71.

contrast to Gloucestershire a great many dynasties held office throughout the century; the Arundells, Bevilles, Bodrugans, Botreauxs, Carminows, l'Ercedeknes, Peverells, Reskymers, Sergeauxs, Trenewiths, and Trevarthians.⁵⁵ Local service emerges as a matter of duty, a *cursus honorum*, with offices much sought after; there is little evidence of eligible gentlemen taking measures to avoid service, with the Crown only granting six exemptions between 1295 and 1405.⁵⁶ The scope of their shire defined the power of the Cornish elite, fostering a broader identification with their county.

Considering harmonious collectivism alone presents a severely restricted view of the shire, however, for the county's true strength lay in its quasi-coercive powers. The shire played a powerful role in restraining and attempting to resolve tensions generated by 'a diverse collection of lesser groupings in its midst'. In fact, the shire establishment played a regulatory and mediatory role, one formalised in the county court as 'the will of the whole 'community of the county''.⁵⁷ These men brought their moral and practical authority to bear upon malefactors and victims alike, with the aim of effecting a settlement. At times physical force proved necessary, and in 1309 Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne, one of the conservators of the peace, mobilised a 'great *posse*' to rescue the sheriff-steward, who had been besieged by 'divers' stannary-men who sought to murder him.⁵⁸ This cohesive and coercive duality endowed the notion of 'Cornwall' with authority in the minds of its residents.

Yet administrative documents provide few clues to county sentiment; small wonder, considering that the type of material which survives by no means lends itself to the study of identity. A rare example of a clue in such a document is to be found in the thirteenth century, when the county paid thousands of marks to King John and Henry III for charters securing rights to elect their own sheriff, emphasising the concern felt for local office.⁵⁹ Strikingly, the county again petitioned the king for the honouring of these

⁵⁵ Cf. Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 160-161.

⁵⁶ *CPR 1330-1334*, 456; *CPR 1334-1338*, 169; *CPR 1340-1343*, 44; *CPR 1345-1348*, 82; *CPR 1354-1358*, 141; *CPR 1391-1396*, 187; Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 150.

⁵⁷ Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 74.

⁵⁸ *CPR 1307-1313*, 173.

⁵⁹ Page, 'Barons' War', 22, 27.

charters in 1302, Earl Richard and his successors having repudiated the documents.⁶⁰ Here we are afforded striking evidence of the collective memory of the county. Equally suggestive is a border dispute between Cornwall and Devon in 1386. Residents of both counties complained that ‘dissensions’ had arisen as the boundary between the two was ‘in places not ascertained’. As a result, the government appointed a commission to determine the county’s ‘metes and bounds’.⁶¹

A rich seam of petitions, some twenty-six, from the ‘Commons of Cornwall’ provides the strongest evidence for county identity.⁶² Despite the danger that these petitions actually represent sectional interests, their phrasing leaves little doubt that the county existed in the minds of contemporaries.⁶³ Numerous petitions tell us about ‘those political issues that still tended to unite, rather than divide’ and show that the shire elite ‘were thinking and acting precisely in these county terms’.⁶⁴ The county evidently formed a unit of collective government and grievance. John Trevisa, the fourteenth century Cornish-born translator of Ranulph Higden’s *Polychronicon*, stated overtly that ‘Cornewayle is a schere of Engelond’.⁶⁵ His writings reiterated the substance of the county – Trevisa felt a deep loyalty to Cornwall – and demonstrated the way in which contemporaries thought in terms of shires. Hence, the county’s resonance was founded in part on the sheer antiquity of its origins and diversity of functions.

The absence of many private franchises within its midst rendered the notion of ‘Cornwall’ yet more coherent. Indeed, the one significant franchise which operated in the county, namely the earldom – later the duchy of Cornwall – actually reinforced the county identity by overlapping with it. When the Black Prince journeyed to the peninsula in 1354, he was met at the

⁶⁰ SC8/323/E562.

⁶¹ *CPR 1385-1389*, 255.

⁶² For an analysis of these petitions, see below, p. 164; *PROME*, v, 347; *PROME*, vi, 89-90; SC8/102/5080.

⁶³ Coss, *English Gentry*, p. 212; Cf. Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 73.

⁶⁴ W. M. Ormrod, ‘Murmur, Clamour and Noise: Voicing Complaint and Remedy in Petitions to the English Crown, c. 1300-c. 1460’, in *Medieval Petitions, Grace and Grievance*, ed. W. M. Ormrod, G. Dodd, and A. Musson (York, 2009), pp. 135-155 at 155; G. Dodd, *Justice and Grace, Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 254-266 at 266.

⁶⁵ J. Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden...*, ed. C. Babington and J. A. Lumby, 9 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1865-86), ii, p. 91; J. Beale, ‘Mapping Identity in John Trevisa’s English *Polychronicon*: Chester, Cornwall and the Translation of English National History’, *Fourteenth Century England, III*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 67-82 at 72.

county border by John Killigrew, a local landholder, who, ‘by custom’, had to ‘carry with the prince at the prince’s entry into Cornewaille’.⁶⁶ Killigrew’s duties marked the county’s symbolic submission to its lord and master, as the earl-duke enjoyed the position of feudal lord in the peninsula, one to whom all in the shire owed homage and fealty. His power stood all but unchallenged, for no other magnate held significant lands west of the Tamar. At the same time, the earl-duke was responsible for the good condition of all in Cornwall, with lord and liberty mutually dependent. Although seigniorial power stretched into Devon too, the franchise emerges as more ‘perfect’ in Cornwall, and Keith Stringer argued that the larger the franchise the more potent its centripetal forces.⁶⁷

With rights over stannary, hundredal, and county court jurisdictions, along with the shrievalty, the earldom-duchy’s judicial power stands out as commanding, but the peninsula still remained subject to statute and common law. While liberty, lordship, and community did not prove as co-dependent in Cornwall as the marcher lordships of Wales, the earldom-duchy further enhanced county solidarities.⁶⁸ Lordly influence empowered the county court – overseen by both the king and earl-duke – rendering it a more important arbiter of justice and perhaps resulting in it serving as an embryonic parliament. It certainly met in the ‘duchy palace’, allowing for an initial airing of complaints which could be referred to parliament proper. The lordship further extended the *cursus honorum* of local office, providing a powerful selection of posts which, along with the offices of the shire, proved essential to county governance. The shrievalty and stewardship were, in fact, fused until 1376, with the men who held this potent dual post standing as the personification of the county-franchise itself. The earl-duke’s perennial absenteeism heightened lordly dependence on these positions, magnifying the importance of such offices. Comital-ducal power was therefore exercised on a territorial basis, partly through the shire’s structures, rendering the notion of Cornwall yet more powerful.

Physical manifestations of comital-ducal authority might also prove significant, for castles, parks, mills, and hedges were all planted on the

⁶⁶ *RBP*, ii, 69.

⁶⁷ Stringer, ‘Liberties and Communities’, p. 26.

⁶⁸ Stringer, ‘Liberties and Communities’, p. 27; R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 220-221.

Cornish landscape, serving as perpetual and palpable reminders of the county's lordly connections.⁶⁹ The physical apparatus of the earldom-duchy's power proved of great importance, standing as material testament to lordly eminence in the county. The 'duchy palace' in Lostwithiel served as the lordship's institutional heart; and towering over the borough, set within a diadem of seigniorial parkland, loomed Restormel Castle, the grandest in Cornwall, and home to the earl-duke's steward. Every Easter the burgesses of Lostwithiel embarked upon an elaborate show, selecting one of their number to play the part of duke and robing him in majesty 'to sett fourth the Royalties of *Cornwall*, and the honor of that Dukedome'.⁷⁰ While the architectural setting of the earldom-duchy emerges as truly imposing, it was also fused with the structures of the shire, for the county court regularly met in the great hall within the 'duchy palace'.⁷¹ Shire and franchise shared the most important administrative space in the peninsula, the grandest building in the county, a bond between them immortalised in stone. The 'duchy palace' also served as the centre of stannary administration, which played such an important role in managing the county's wealth. Moreover, this complex often played host to visiting royal justices, fusing regnal, lordly, and local powers within this imposing structure, to the mutual benefit of all.⁷² It also formed a repository of shared memory, housing a multitude of documents relating to the shire, the earldom-duchy, and perhaps even private muniments.⁷³ The 'duchy palace', then, stood as the physical embodiment of shire-franchisal power, of 'Cornwall' itself.

Seigniorial power undoubtedly nuanced Cornish identity. To the Black Prince, 'the county of Cornwall' and 'his duchy of Cornwall' were one and the same.⁷⁴ A petition to Edward III's parliament of 1376 from the *commune del counte de Cornewaylle* was followed just two years later by one to Richard II's – who directly held Cornwall – from *voz communes de duche de Cornewaill'*.⁷⁵ The county commonalty and seigniorial government

⁶⁹ *RESDCornwall*, *passim.*; Cf. Liddy, *Durham*, pp. 17-19, 233-234

⁷⁰ J. Norden, *A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London, 1728), p. 41.

⁷¹ *CS*, 4-5; Pounds, 'Duchy Palace'; *HOP*, i, 311; A. Musson, 'Court Venues and the Politics of Justice', *Fourteenth Century England*, V, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 161-177.

⁷² Cf. Musson, 'Court Venues', pp. 169, 177; it sometimes required repair, *RBP*, ii, 18.

⁷³ *RBP*, ii, 48-49.

⁷⁴ For example, *RBP*, ii, 9, 16, 18, 49.

⁷⁵ *PROME*, v, 347; *PROME*, vi, 89-90.

emerge as strikingly interdependent. A sense of place underpinned both, with the petition in the latter year claiming that the French and Spanish ‘threatened’ to ‘return next season to the said duchy... and seize and claim the said land as their own’. The 1504 Cornish saint’s play, *Beunans Meriasek*, had the duke’s character parade in splendour while proclaiming:

‘I am duke in all Cornwall
as was my father
and high lord in the land
from Tamar to Lands End’.⁷⁶

Seigniorial power still waxed and waned depending upon the abilities of the lord and the county’s faith in him, while at times tensions erupted between the lordship and the commonalty. In 1347, for instance, ‘the people’ of the ‘duchy’ complained that there were more ‘under-bailiffs and others’ who meddled in the prince’s name than ‘necessary’.⁷⁷ No model of perpetual acrimony is sustainable, however, as the commonalty of Cornwall often called upon the intervention of their lordly master, in relation to matters varying from the conduct of his officials to storm damage. Individual Cornish petitioners, from leading gentlemen such as Sir John l’Ercedekne right down to ‘poor liege tanners’ including John Skeweyk, likewise requested that the earl-duke personally intercede on their behalf, for all in the peninsula knew that they resided in his grace.⁷⁸ The underlying strength of lordship cannot be doubted. Hence, the shared commitment of the Cornish elite and county magnates to the fused structures of shire and franchise enhanced and refined county identity.

The nature of Cornish society rendered this indissoluble franchise-shire all the more potent. The absence of any great boroughs or cities in the peninsula, and the resultant absence of urban economic and political muscle, created a vacuum which was filled by the institutions of lordship and county. Magnate absenteeism and the modest means of the Cornish gentry also proved significant, as even the greatest men in Cornwall enjoyed yearly incomes no greater than £100, being *primi inter pares*. Local office therefore

⁷⁶ *Beunans Meriasek, The Life of St Meriasek, Bishop and Confessor*, trans. W. Stokes (London, 1872), lines 2205-2208; Correspondence with O. J. Padel, 29.01.2016.

⁷⁷ *RBP*, i, 151.

⁷⁸ *RBP*, ii, 19, 28-29; Below, pp. 164, 186-188.

held a more important key to power, as leading proprietors were unable to dominate the county with influence derived from their landed wealth alone. The Cornish elite emerge as closely bound together, for this lack of ‘distance’ between their grandest members and those of minor means rendered them a homogenous group by influence, wealth, and outlook. In fact, the shared foundations of their prosperity – reliant as it was upon land, sea, and tin – fostered formidable collective interests, in the defence of which they often mobilised their county-franchise.⁷⁹

On the other hand, this homogeneity resulted in scions of leading local lineages trying to differentiate themselves from petty gentlemen. This too strengthened the county’s structures, as the ‘shire was the arena where local status was confirmed and augmented’. For the shire establishment, their ability to ‘bear the rule’ of the county proved their credentials, while for lesser gentlemen involvement in county administration marked them out as superior to the mere parish gentry.⁸⁰ Local office also proved essential to the maintenance of the commonweal. In 1340, for example, the commonalty of Cornwall requested that Edward III launch an investigation after malefactors prevented Sir Ralph Bloyou ‘doing what pertained to his office’ as keeper of the peace.⁸¹ Good governance by county proprietors proved pivotal in securing the co-operation of their tenants, underpinning the gentry’s collective control of the populace.⁸² Strikingly, the great majority of Cornwall’s greatest dynasties only held land in the peninsula, with their estates spread widely across the county. With gentry identity inexorably bound to their estates and the county which encompassed them, these folk therefore had a feeling of traditional authority and ‘place’ in Cornish affairs.⁸³

In medieval England, where public and private authority often proved to be fused together, these administrative functions were entwined with lateral bonds of neighbourliness, kinship, and association. Neighbourliness, in fact, often proved far more potent than government. The Cornish gentry emerge as strikingly inter-related, with Richard Carew’s claim that ‘all Cornish

⁷⁹ *PROME*, vii, 217-218, 269-270.

⁸⁰ Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 75.

⁸¹ *CPR 1338-1340*, 486.

⁸² Coss, *English Gentry*, pp. 180, 186-187.

⁸³ Cf. Wright, *Derbyshire*, pp. 6-7.

gentlemen are cousins' certainly having substance.⁸⁴ Ties of kinship and marriage were many and varied, with each family connected to another by a profusion of immediate and more distant relations, producing a web of associations which stretched across the county. While not exclusively confined to Cornwall, these links stand out as highly concentrated in the peninsula, providing the county with added coherence. All Cornwall's knightly dynasties were acquainted and related, while a great swathe of the county's numerous other gentle families knew each other, at least by repute. Many proprietors also itinerated around the peninsula, allowing for meetings between people who resided at opposite ends of Cornwall. Hence, *ad hoc* meetings and informal lines of communication abounded. Cornish gentlemen often visited one another and conversed 'familiarily together'; they also hunted and hawked together, while family celebrations and feasts resulted in yet further interactions.⁸⁵ What is more, county men often held joint assets, regularly witnessed each other's property transactions, and frequently served each other as feoffees and executors.⁸⁶ The existence of the county commonalty relied upon these endless informal interactions, not upon all these individuals coming together in one fixed place at one fixed time. Office-holding also contributed to this inter-connectedness, for once an individual had entered into the burden of county administration he was likely to meet all the peninsula's notables and many more proprietors besides. Kindred, neighbourliness, social interactions, office-holding, and wealth bound the shire establishment together, forging an immensely strong socio-political-economic network at the core of the county. The Cornish gentry all held a stake in their shire and commonalty, having strong vested interests in the sound administration of their county, their *home*.

For all the cohesive forces of county society, the gentry proved to be the most fractious part of the local populace, regularly engaging in violent self-help. This was particularly true of the bellicose Cornish knightly elite, who had a penchant for lawlessness.⁸⁷ Although violent disorder had the potential to weaken the solidarity of Cornish society, a countervailing

⁸⁴ *Carew*, 64r.

⁸⁵ *Carew*, 64v; *CIPM*, v, 168.

⁸⁶ For instance, C131/11/11; C131/215/4; C241/118/288; CRO, AR/4/415; AR/15/1; AR/20/2; AR/20/11; ME/529; *Cornish Wills, passim*..

⁸⁷ Below, pp. 118-129.

influence was provided by the informal ties which held local proprietors together.⁸⁸ Max Gluckman compellingly argued that the number and variety of such ties determined the cohesion of a group as a whole. In Cornwall, these bonds stand out as multifarious. This made it all but impossible for the commonalty to mobilise into two permanently hostile camps, for ‘people who are friends on one basis are enemies on another’.⁸⁹ These divided loyalties, where folk were simultaneously ‘allies’ of both plaintiff and defendant, exerted great pressure on the protagonists to reach a settlement. This is not to suggest that feuds never erupted, as patently they did, but rather that these cross-ties constrained and ultimately destroyed any quarrel which arose. While ‘peace’ involved more violence than we would expect, the potential for cohesiveness still existed as there was ‘peace as well as war in the threat of a feud’.⁹⁰ Indeed, the paradox emerges that in one sense disorder encouraged cohesion, forcing the county commonalty to come together in applying pressure or arbitration for a settlement. The structures of the county also played an essential role in this process. Not only were local offices used corruptly and malevolently, so encouraging disputes, but the county’s coercive powers helped achieve peace by forcing a resolution. In 1333, for instance, several Cornish gentlemen investigated Sir John Treiagu, a former sheriff-steward, for ‘oppressions by colour of his office’.⁹¹ The shire, then, drove both fission and fusion in its society, rendering it all the more significant.

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Local customs, culture, myths, and legends provided ‘Cornwall’ with further meaning. Whereas Geoffrey of Monmouth’s mythical twelfth-century history credited Brutus with the foundation of Britain, his brother-in-arms, Corineus, is said to have established Cornwall.⁹² The Cornish could claim common descent from Corineus, their progenitor, who chose the county as he loved

⁸⁸ M. Gluckman, ‘The Peace in the Feud’, *Past and Present*, 8 (1955), pp. 1-14; M. Gluckman, *Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 109-116; N. Saul, ‘Conflict and Consensus in English Local Society’, in *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. J. Taylor and W. Childs (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 38-58.

⁸⁹ Gluckman, ‘Peace’, 2.

⁹⁰ Gluckman, ‘Peace’, 13

⁹¹ *CPR 1330-1334*, 440.

⁹² G. of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1966), p. 72.

wrestling the giants who inhabited the peninsula. This collective origin myth bound people and place together, marking out the Cornish as a quasi-people. Yet Monmouth's contribution to Cornish sentiment, whether intentional or not, went far beyond this. He afforded Cornwall great prominence in his *History*, with his fictional Cornish dukes playing a major role in the narrative.⁹³ Establishing the extent to which courtly pseudo-historical literature shaped the outlook of contemporaries is difficult, but these stories influenced John Trevisa, William Worcestre, and Richard Carew.⁹⁴ The duchy's actual history became seamlessly fused with its fictional past, deftly grafting the lordship onto Cornwall and vesting the shire-franchise with greater legitimacy. Richard Carew wrote that '*Cornwall*, as an entire state, hath at divers times enjoyed sundry titles, of a Kingdome, Principality, Duchy, and Earldrome'.⁹⁵ Tintagel's stony bulk stood as monumental testament to this.

King Arthur himself, however, stood out as the legendary figure who most caught the Cornish imagination. Although a pan-Brittonic hero, Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur's life emerges as intertwined with Cornwall, and the far south-west was referred to as *terra Arturi*.⁹⁶ In fact, there is reason to believe that there was widespread Cornish belief in the historical reality of Arthur. Richard Carew wrote that Arthur was 'a Cornishman by birth, a king of Britaine by succession', and William Worcestre recorded that Arthur was conceived in Tintagel.⁹⁷ More pertinently, when the Carminows found that they bore the same arms as the Scropes, in the resulting case the Carminows claimed that they had borne them 'since the time of King Arthur' (*depuis le temps de roy Arthur*) and that Cornwall formed 'a large land long ago bearing the name of a kingdom' (*un grosse terre et jadyz portant le noun dune roialme*).⁹⁸ John Trevisa too

⁹³ O. J. Padel, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Cornwall', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 8 (1984), pp. 1-28; J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century, Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 19-39.

⁹⁴ Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, v, pp. 337-339; Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 20-21, 94-95; Carew, 76v-79r.

⁹⁵ Carew, 76v.

⁹⁶ *De Miraculis Sanctae Mariae Laudunensis*, ii, 15-16, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 156 (1880), cols. 961-1018 at 983; O. J. Padel, 'The Nature of Arthur', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 27 (1994), pp. 1-31 at 5.

⁹⁷ Carew, 61v; Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 20-21, 94-95.

⁹⁸ *De Controversia in Curia Militari inter Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor...*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, 2 vols (London, 1832), i, pp. 50, 214.

believed in this legendary king and Merlin, leaping to their defence in the face of Ranulph Higden's questioning of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*.⁹⁹ Written accounts of Arthur's life circulated in the county, with Sir Ranulph Blanchminster bequeathing to Alice Huish a copy of the Brut Chronicle, which contained the mythical Arthur story, in 1348.¹⁰⁰ Arthurian legend proved to be particularly powerful in Cornwall, as these courtly romances interlocked with oral folkloric traditions. Local landmarks, such as Arthur's Quoit, were named after the king and he also appeared in an early sixteenth-century Cornish miracle play of the life of St Ke.¹⁰¹ Remarkably, in 1113 a conversation arose in Bodmin between some visiting canons of Laon and a Cornishman over whether or not Arthur had died. The Cornishman maintained that he was alive while the Frenchmen unwisely scoffed at the suggestion, resulting in a near riot *cum armis*.¹⁰² Arthur certainly does not emerge as a uniquely Cornish myth, however, and by the late middle ages Arthurian lore had declined into 'an impoverished allusion' in the county, sustained by local landmarks and international literary culture.¹⁰³ Even so, belief in his legend provided the Cornish with a unifying figure, a shared hero, and a powerful imagined solidarity. The people of Cornwall believed that their peninsula had once been governed by this most illustrious monarch, with a 1428 copy of the Brut even claiming that the 'Cornysch seyeth thus, 'that [Arthur] leuyth... And schall' come & be a kyng a3e''.¹⁰⁴

The peninsula's linguistic and cultural distinctiveness further augmented collective group identity. The Cornish language, despite being spoken in only half the county, marked the peninsula out as unique in England. Leading gentlemen were undoubtedly alive to the distinctiveness of their shire, with some families, amongst them the Carminows and Reskymers, employing Cornish in their family mottos.¹⁰⁵ Others employed canting

⁹⁹ Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, i, p. 421; v, pp. 337-339; Beale, 'Mapping Identity', 78-81.

¹⁰⁰ *Cornish Wills*, 28.

¹⁰¹ O. J. Padel, 'Evidence for Oral Tales in Medieval Cornwall', *Studia Celtica*, 40 (2006), pp. 127-153 at 130-133; Padel, 'Arthur', 26-29; O. J. Padel, 'Christianity in Medieval Cornwall: Celtic Aspects', in N. Orme, *Victoria History of the County of Cornwall, II, Religious History to 1560* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 110-125 at 114.

¹⁰² *Sanctae Mariae*, col. 983.

¹⁰³ Padel, 'Oral Tales', 152.

¹⁰⁴ *Arthur: A Short Sketch of his Life and History in English Verse*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, *EETS*, o.s. 2 (London, 1864), p. 19.

¹⁰⁵ R. M. Nance, 'Cornish Family Mottos', *Old Cornwall*, 1, i (1925), pp. 18-21; *idem.*, iii (1926), p. 29; *idem.*, iv (1926), pp. 26-27; *idem.*, vii (1928), pp. 27-28.

heraldry, with the Arundells including a depiction of a wolf on their seal, punning on the name of their manor, Trembleath, ‘the farmstead of the wolf’.¹⁰⁶ Cornish proprietors were proud of their county’s peculiarities.¹⁰⁷ Cornish naming practices also bolstered county sentiment, as a great many gentry families had toponymic surnames which contributed to the marriage of people and place: ‘By *Tre*, *Pol*, and *Pen*, You shall know the *Cornishmen*’.¹⁰⁸ A profusion of local practices further reinforced this picture, with a specific Cornish husbandman way of riding, many parcels of land divided into Cornish acres, and coarse grains grown on these, used to brew a distinctive ‘thycke’ ale ‘lyke wash as pygges had wrestled dryn’.¹⁰⁹ The circulation of stories of sunken kingdoms, of Tristan, Iseult, and King Mark rendered this distinctiveness even more manifest.¹¹⁰ The Cornish did not form a monolithic entity, however, for the division between the gentry and the peasantry stood out as a chasm, as it did in every shire. All the same, gentry-distinctiveness and the distinctiveness of the folk whom they governed bolstered belief in ‘Cornwall’.

Closely allied to these local practices stand the myriad cults of saints in the county. Bishop Grandisson thought little of them. Nonetheless, these saints stand out as a distinctly Cornish phenomenon. Proprietors attended and presented to churches dedicated to them, with a remarkable tenth of these sacred sites containing the body of its saint.¹¹¹ The elite often joined these holy men and women in death, for they too were buried in these churches. Everywhere reminders of Cornwall’s saints punctuated the landscape, with churches, crosses, and holy wells strewn across the county.¹¹² All exercised a strong pull on Cornish belief. In 1448, for instance, Reginald Mertherderwa of Camborne left money for the erection of nine new stone crosses, while an ancient cross in St Buryan was named after King Dungarth, the last

¹⁰⁶ CRO, AR/20/3; AR/20/7; AR/20/18, my thanks to O. J. Padel for these references; D. E. Ivall, *Cornish Heraldry and Symbolism* (Perranwell, 1987), pp. 72-75.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Rubin, ‘Identities’, p. 387.

¹⁰⁸ *Carew*, 54v-55r; *Arundells of Lanherne*, pp. cxxiv-cxxxvii; Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall*, pp. 56-61.

¹⁰⁹ *Carew*, 66v; CRO, AR/3/5; AR/1/192; A. Boorde, *The First Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, *EETS*, extra series 10 (London, 1870), pp. 122-123.

¹¹⁰ Worcester, *Itineraries*, p. 98; Padel, ‘Oral Tales’.

¹¹¹ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 585; ii, 819; *Nicholas Roscarrock’s Lives of the Saints: Devon and Cornwall*, ed. N. Orme, *DCRS*, n.s. 35 (Exeter, 1992); N. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, 2000); Padel, ‘Christianity’, pp. 111-112.

¹¹² Padel, ‘Christianity’, pp. 119-120; A. Preston-Jones and A. Langdon, ‘St Buryan Crosses’, *Cornish Archaeology*, 36 (1997), pp. 107-128.

independent king of Cornwall, fusing spiritual and temporal memory within a physical monument.¹¹³ As Oliver Padel has written, ‘the physical geography of early Christianity caused the names of many of the obscure saints to become fixed in the later patterns of parishes and settlements’.¹¹⁴ While no all-powerful saint oversaw the county, no equal of St Cuthbert and the *Haliwerfolc* in Durham, these Cornish saints undoubtedly served as a sacred source of the county’s identity, with Cornwall forming ‘the land of the saints’.¹¹⁵ The *Ordinalia* overtly used the county as a point of reference, with a rhetorical flourish by a Marazion smith who was forging nails for the Cross:

‘I do not know a smith in all Cornwall
who may blow with bellows,
certainly, any better!’¹¹⁶

Cornwall’s hundreds also tracked the Celtic administration of the county and retained their ancient nomenclature, while a profusion of places, hill forts, inscribed stones, and megaliths stand out as truly ancient.¹¹⁷ Each of these ageless markers served as a powerful reminder of Cornwall’s different past and distinctive present, being rendered all the more significant by the continued circulation of stories and saints’ lives. Thus this romantic Cornwall of imagination, with its collective mythology, hagiography, and customs had true meaning to its inhabitants.

Evidently woven within the mutually supporting structures of shire and franchise was the world of imagination, a sense of shared past and present, fuelling county sentiment. ‘Cornwall’ resonated with the Cornish gentry, as it formed no mere administrative division, instead, standing out as a unit with an historic identity. Yet such an entity did not prove perfectly crystalline in its form, for Cornwall’s elite varyingly termed it a *pays*, *terre*, *counte*, *schere*, and *duche*, with these proprietors speaking at certain times for the *hominibus*, *gentz*, *bones gentz*, *commonalty*, and *communes* of

¹¹³ *Cornish Wills*, 77.

¹¹⁴ Padel, ‘Christianity’, p. 125.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Liddy, *Durham*, chapter 5; Rubin, ‘Identities’, pp. 405-406.

¹¹⁶ *Cornish Drama*, lines 2709-2714; Correspondence with O. J. Padel, 02.02.2016.

¹¹⁷ Padel, ‘Oral Tales’; Padel, ‘Administrative Divisions’.

Cornwall.¹¹⁸ A powerful notion of Cornwall nonetheless existed, with each of these terms expressing much the same construct. At Cornwall's core, then, stood the local gentry and lordly officials who administered the county – publicly and privately – finding identity and fulfilment in its structures. We should therefore favour the idea of a commonalty of Cornwall, with its myriad overlapping spheres.

Yet this is not to present a static picture. Simon Walker has argued for the three-stage development of 'county communities' in England. The first runs from c. 1300 to 1350, when the shire gained both definition and authority by its acquisition of a range of new administrative powers. Following this came a 'social phase' from c. 1350-1430, in which high levels of mortality accentuated these developments, allowing some families to accumulate sufficient landed wealth to establish themselves as the undisputed leaders of the county. In the final stage from c. 1430, pressure from the polarisation of national politics resulted in shires emphasising their independence and neutrality.¹¹⁹ For Cornwall, a somewhat different picture emerges. Throughout the entirety of the late middle ages, lordship provided coherence of a slightly different form in the county, with the person of the earl-duke and the institutions of his lordly regime playing a significant role in the peninsula. Comital-ducal government therefore provided an additional framework which helped the county to cohere, with the confluence of shire and franchise proving significant in the peninsula, in slight contrast to Simon Walker's model which focused on the structures of the shire alone.

Some counties, then, such as Cornwall, possessed a stronger sense of themselves than others. Indeed, 'Cornwall' perhaps exercised a more powerful pull on the sentiments of its people than any other shire. The county commonalty, however, remained only one rung on a hierarchy of associations. A profusion of wider and narrower calls were made upon the loyalties of the Cornish elite, and while occasional tensions erupted between each, for the great part of the time all existed harmoniously. As a result, layered identity perhaps holds the key to an understanding of this complex subject. A whole array of identities co-existed, with different ones coming to

¹¹⁸ *PROME*, v, 347; *PROME*, vi, 89-90; *PROME*, iii, 100; *Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor*, p. 214; Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, p. 91, SC8/102/5080; *CPR 1338-1340*, 486.

¹¹⁹ Walker, *Political Culture*, pp. 75-77.

the fore at different times and locations.¹²⁰ Individual sentiment stood at the core of all self-perceptions, but this also faded into one's kindred, lineage, and social network. Peter Coss has shown that overall gentry identity was founded upon territorial and collective identity which, in our case, revolved around the county.¹²¹ The notion of Cornwall emerges most clearly when the county perceived itself as threatened, with the phrasing of petitions strongly suggesting that 'the shire existed in the minds of contemporaries'.¹²² While 'Cornwall' formed neither a perfectly defined nor definable entity, the county still weighed on the considerations of its leading proprietors. Once they were east of the Tamar it grew to pre-eminence as a badge of identity for some; in London in 1402, for instance, William Brewer explicitly defined himself as a 'Cornyshman', rather than adopting the more common label 'of Cornwall'.¹²³ Even when these many strands of identity stood in mutual opposition, tensions between each served to sharpen the notion of the whole and its many constituent parts. Each different strand of identity represented another boundary of the mind, with these loyalties emerging as concomitant, not contradictory. The Cornish gentry, in fact, neither perceived themselves nor their county as separate from the body politic, as they also viewed themselves simultaneously as English.

This point is evident from the twenty-four petitions that they submitted to the parliamentary Commons, in which the 'county of Cornwall' made its voice heard. Those who drafted these petitions perceived Cornwall as a whole, one which formed an essential part of the wider realm. Urban members also viewed the county as holding a place in England,¹²⁴ while in 1391 the parliamentary Commons stated overtly that 'in Cornwall there accrues a great commodity of the kingdom of England, that is tin' (*en le conte de Cornewaille crest un grant commodite du roialme d'Engleterre, ceo est esteem*).¹²⁵ Evidently belief that Cornwall had *long ago* formed a kingdom unto itself in no way detracted from its integration into fourteenth-century England. Indeed, the Cornish gentry believed that their peninsula constituted

¹²⁰ Cf. Rubin, 'Identities', pp. 383, 390-391, 410.

¹²¹ Coss, *English Gentry*, p. 202.

¹²² Coss, *English Gentry*, p. 212; Rubin, 'Identities', p. 410.

¹²³ *CCR 1402-1405*, 362.

¹²⁴ *PROME*, iii, 61, 69-71.

¹²⁵ *PROME*, vii, 217-218.

an intrinsic part of the realm, and that they were essential partners in government with the Crown, a charmed circle. John Trevisa was certainly of this opinion, and in one of his longest interpolations in the *Polychronicon* wrote that Cornwall formed ‘oon of the chief parties of this Bretayne’, which consisted of England, Wales, and Scotland. But Cornwall was ‘nought in Wales, for there is a grete see bytwene, nother in Scotlonde, for there beeth many hondred myle bytwene. Than Cornwayle is in Engelond’.¹²⁶ He went on: ‘Cornwayle is in Engelond, and is departed in hundredes, and is i-ruled by the lawe of Engelond, and holdeth schire and schire dayes, as othere schires dooth’. To complete his case, he emphasised the contribution made by Cornishmen to the English language and highlighted the fact that the county had held a place in the episcopal jurisdiction of the West Saxons.¹²⁷ John Trevisa, then, most definitely placed Cornwall within England territorially, administratively, legally, ecclesiastically, historically, and linguistically, with the structures of the shire forming the bedrock of this integration.

The Crown held the same opinion and at every point this assertion is borne out, whether by the all pervasiveness of statute and common law, the levying of royal taxation, or the endless dispatch of royal instructions regarding everything from defence to weights and measures. Indeed, the king and ‘England’ commanded Cornish loyalties, forging a powerful sense of regnal solidarity. The kingdom too formed a collective enterprise, one provided with coherence by the person and office of king, but requiring communal action in response to the royal will, with this mutuality of interest making kings and subjects alike contributors to the common good.¹²⁸ Regnal solidarity overlaid all others, sustaining the kingdom and the county, the local administration being in some sense ‘self-government at the king’s command’.¹²⁹ Cornish politics likewise emerges as not only the stuff of marriages and local rivalries, with regnal government and lordship enmeshing

¹²⁶ Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, p. 91.

¹²⁷ Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, pp. 121, 159-161; Beale, ‘Mapping Identity’, 72-74.

¹²⁸ Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 251, 262-270, 292, 337; J. Watts, *The Making of Politics, Europe 1300-1500* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 201-286; for contemporary use of the term ‘common profit’, W. M. Ormrod, ‘“Common Profit” and “The Profit of the King and Kingdom”: Parliament and the Development of Political Language in England, 1250-1450’, *Viator*, 46 (2015), pp. 219-252.

¹²⁹ A. B. White, *Self-Government at the King’s Command: A Study in the Beginnings of English Democracy* (Minneapolis, 1933).

the peninsula in the wider politics of the realm. Thus Cornwall held an integral place in the collectivity of England, as it sat within the realm in a number of capacities.

Cornish and English identities emerge as intertwined in the county, with ‘the reciprocal relationship between the part and the whole’ resulting in ‘a creative tension that ultimately strengthened the identity of both’.¹³⁰ In 1378, for instance, the Commons of Cornwall petitioned the king concerning the peninsula’s exposure to enemy raids.¹³¹ While this supplication implicitly reaffirmed their belief in the place that Cornwall held in the wider territory of England, the county’s representatives went further than this, presenting the security of Cornwall as vital to the defence of ‘our lord the king and the kingdom’. The Cornish thus identified their own interests with those of the realm at large, as Cornish identity fed off ‘the concept of being part of a larger whole’ – through opposition as well as co-operation – while giving ‘greater coherence to the concept of the whole, by virtue of forming a distinct part of it’.¹³² In every way, then, Cornwall and the kingdom emerge as interdependent.

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To conclude, ‘Cornwall’ meant different things to different people. The county was not only sustained by the external force of the Crown, nor by the institutions of lordship; but also by a powerful sense of place, the interconnectedness of its inhabitants, their shared commitment to the shire-franchise’s structures, and their collective belief in Cornwall’s communal history and traditions. Each and all of these interlocked. The county model should therefore not be abandoned, but rather nuanced. The Cornish gentry and on-the-ground comital-ducal officials undoubtedly looked to the shire-franchise, as it exercised coercive and cohesive substance, while their belief in ‘Cornwall’ vested it with further meaning. Yet county sentiment emerges as looser and more abstract than that of the ‘county community’ of old; we should think instead of a less constrictive ‘commonalty’.

‘Cornwall’, in fact, formed only one of a hierarchy of associations, ranging from sub-county localism to supra-county regionalism, with the

¹³⁰ A. Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 95.

¹³¹ *PROME*, vi, 89-90.

¹³² Ruddick, *English Identity*, p. 97.

peninsula also holding a place in the wider realm. John Trevisa's comments make evident the duality of the county, for Cornwall simultaneously possessed an historical identity of its own and a place in England. Wider and narrower solidarities such as these nonetheless represented different layers of Cornish identity, rendering the county one of many calls on the loyalties of its elite. And although Cornwall was hallowed by history, all these identities proved to be interdependent. The Cornish gentry fully appreciated their place in a wider realm, at the same time as enjoying dignity of their own and believing that Cornwall had existed since the time of King Arthur.

II

Distant *Dominium*:

Comital, Ducal, and Regnal Lordship in Cornwall

4. The Final Tumultuous Years of the Earldom, 1300-1336

Earl Edmund's death in 1300 extinguished the dynasty founded by his father, Earl Richard of Cornwall, king of the Romans, and heralded the most tempestuous period in the earldom's history. Edmund's patrimony passed to his cousin, Edward I, creating the link between the lordship and the Crown which endures to this day. So it was that for the next thirty-seven years the title bounced back and forth between the king, Piers de Gaveston, Queen Isabella, and John of Eltham, before finally returning to the hands of Edward III. It was to this backdrop that in March 1337 Edward elevated the earldom to a dukedom, vesting it upon his son and heir, the Black Prince. In contrast to the previous thirty-seven years of instability, the prince governed his patrimony assertively until his death in 1376. The following section will attempt to outline the effects of comital, ducal, and regnal lordship on Cornwall. A striking contrast emerges between the earldom's final disorderly years and the punctilious supervision of the prince, a contrast which emphasises both the place that Cornwall held in the realm and the potent integrative role played by the county's lordship.

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Edmund's heir in the earldom, King Edward I, proved keen to exploit his newly acquired rights for financial advantage. To this end, he ordered that all Edmund's muniments be brought to London and a grand set of ministers' accounts produced for 1300-1.¹ While the impetus for this came from Edward, it also provided the Staffordshire-born Thomas de la Hyde, sheriff-steward of Cornwall since 1296, with a chance to prove his quality.² The king also set about rewarding his servants with posts in the earldom, in 1301 granting Launceston Castle to his yeoman, Peter Burdet.³ He still employed Cornishmen in county administration, having local gentlemen serve on peace commissions which enforced the re-issue of Magna Carta.⁴ Edward made the full force of his royal administration felt in the county, despatching justices

¹ *CCR 1296-1302*, 599; SC6/811/2-3.

² For all named office-holders, see Appendix II.

³ *CPR 1292-1301*, 573; *CPR 1301-1307*, 42.

⁴ *CPR 1292-1301*, 516; M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), pp. 518-522.

of eyre to the peninsula in 1302. Once in Cornwall, these justices heard a multitude of civil and criminal cases brought by Cornishmen and women from the whole range of county society, while asserting regnal authority over Cornish franchises and raising as much as £1,456 from fines.⁵

Although the king's assertive justice and heavy fines could have alienated the county's residents, Edward also emerges as receptive to Cornish concerns. In October 1302, in response to a petition from the commonalty of Cornwall concerning King John's charter regarding shrieval elections, he had this endorsed with a command to investigate the points contained in the charter, soon after replacing Hyde with Sir Roger Ingepenne.⁶ Ingepenne was a compromise candidate, having some Cornish connections and a good official record. Although he hailed from Berkshire, he had served as Earl Edmund's sheriff-steward in 1285-6 and held some Cornish lands, which he later granted to his nephew and heir, Roger Ingepenne junior. The latter had married into county society when he acquired the hand of Joan, heiress of Sir John Halton of Halton in St Dominick. The earl of Pembroke also retained both nephew and uncle, and he presumably influenced the appointment.⁷ Despite this, Sir Roger had but a short tenure, being indicted before the county eyre of 1302 for 'homicides, larcenies, felonies... trespasses', and appropriation of the king's money, as a result suffering the seizure of his estates.⁸ Pembroke's timely intervention secured Ingepenne's pardon, but not his re-appointment, as the king would not tolerate mendacity. Edward re-instated Hyde, with the latter acquiring a range of extra offices, including the keeping of the coinage of tin.

With the crisis of 1297 and the Scottish Wars overshadowing the realm, fiscal considerations were to underline the king's actions in Cornwall.⁹ Edward ordered that bucks be salted, purveyance undertaken, and the earldom's issues collected, assigning over £900 of the latter for wine consumed by his household.¹⁰ Edward also loaned money for tin production

⁵ *YB 30 & 31 Edward I*, 74-291; D. Crook, 'The Later Eyres', *EHR*, 97 (1982), pp. 241-268 at 252; *Quo Warranto*, pp. 108-111; Sutherland, *Quo Warranto*, p. 30.

⁶ SC8/323/E562; SC8/323/E561, the probable date of these petitions is 1302.

⁷ J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 1307-1324, Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1972), p. 296.

⁸ SC6/816/9; KB27/171 m. 63; *SCKB*, iv, lxxiii; *CPR 1301-1307*, 122.

⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 401-435, 537, 554-555.

¹⁰ *CCR 1296-1302*, 460; *CPR 1301-1307*, 482; *CCR 1302-1307*, 372, 374, 396, 509-510; SC6/811/2-8; E389/55-58.

and embarked upon a programme of stannary reform.¹¹ In 1305, he granted a new charter – the most comprehensive to date – *ad tranquillitatem et utilitatem stannatorum nostrorum*.¹² It is no coincidence that Edward issued this charter when Cornwall formed a demesne royal lordship, nor when the king levied a subsidy on tanners, for all parties exploited the new and direct line of communication between the county and Crown.¹³ Some of Cornwall's revenues maintained Edward's sons, Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock, but the king is said to have torn out handfuls of his heir's hair when the youth suggested that Gaveston be created earl.¹⁴

Edward I's seven-year tenure proved to be a busy one, with the king tautly managing his officials and policing malefactors alike.¹⁵ While violence undoubtedly remained an ever-present feature of the peninsula, the king often heard complaints through the formal channels. The commonweal of kingship, lordship, and county remained fused during his tenure. Indeed, the Cornish emerge as by no means passive, successfully exploiting their new royal connection to gain significant concessions. This was the situation on his death in 1307, when his son, Edward, inherited the throne.

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Before embarking on the unstable politics of Edward II's Cornwall, it is worth considering what contemporaries expected of good lordship. According to Robert Boutruche, lordship, *dominium*, formed the 'power of command, constraint and exploitation. It [was] also the right to exercise such power'.¹⁶ But as Rees Davies has emphasised, a profound difference existed between the mere exercise of power and 'good lordship'.¹⁷ To aid analysis we can separate the lord's perspective of good lordship from that of his dependants. The former can perhaps best be summarised as effective governance and correct behaviour. In his treatise on estate management, Walter of Henley

¹¹ E159/87 m. 160; *CPR 1301-1307*, 326.

¹² *CChR 1300-1326*, 53-54; Lewis, *Stannaries*, pp. 239-241.

¹³ E179/87/5; E372/161 m. 41; Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 67.

¹⁴ *RESDCornwall*, 4; H. Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon, 1284-1307* (Manchester, 1946), pp. 123-124.

¹⁵ *CPR 1301-1307*, 350-351, 354, 406-407, 480; *CCR 1296-1302*, 594; JUST1/1330 mm. 1r, 47d-50; JUST1/119; KB27/171 m. 63; KB27/186 m. 12r.

¹⁶ R. Boutruche, *Seigneurie et Féodalité*, 2 vols (Paris, 1968-70), ii, p. 83.

¹⁷ R. R. Davies, *Lords and Lordship in the British Isles in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. B. Smith (Oxford, 2009), p. 7.

wrote that a lord should thoroughly acquaint himself with his patrimony.¹⁸ A good lord fought constantly against the erosion of his rights, employing men of good report who would labour diligently in his service.¹⁹ While he asserted his mastery over them, admonishing servants who ‘loyter in theire woorke’, he also provided suitable rewards in recognition of their diligence. Servants should learn to ‘love theire maister and to feare him’.²⁰ Close control of tenants likewise proved essential, with a good lord providing justice and peace for all these folk. In so doing, he secured the legitimacy which drew the potentially ‘free’ power of the ‘locality’ around the ‘reverence’ of lordship, to the benefit of his might and coffers.²¹

Good lordship for dependants can perhaps best be characterised as involving the reciprocal relationships of protection and patronage.²² Dependants orbited around their lord at varying distances, with those closest to him – his household and retainers – expecting to receive annuities, offices, and gifts.²³ Bishop Brinton of Rochester talked of the Black Prince’s generosity to his followers, while Walter of Henley cautioned against giving ‘to muche nor to little’.²⁴ Material reward formed an essential component of good lordship, as did the quasi-judicial role of *dominium*, because a seigniorial connection yielded advancement to lordly retainers.²⁵ At the same time, however, supporters required honourable leadership so as not to be loathed as agents of lordly extortion.²⁶ Seigniorial power stretched far beyond this narrow clique, as tenants and all within the ambit of lordly authority sought seigniorial protection, peace, and justice – in our case the people of

¹⁸ *Walter of Henley and other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting*, ed. D. Oschinsky (Oxford, 1971), pp. 312-313.

¹⁹ Davies, *March*, pp. 176-177, 199; Davies, *Lords and Lordship*, p. 163; *Walter of Henley*, pp. 339-341.

²⁰ *Walter of Henley*, pp. 316-317, 340-341, 398-402; K. B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays*, with an Introduction by G. L. Harriss (London, 1981), p. x.

²¹ Davies, *Lords and Lordship*, pp. 158-178; McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p. 47; J. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 69.

²² Davies, *March*, pp. 223-224.

²³ McFarlane, *Fifteenth Century*, pp. xiv-xv, 17-18.

²⁴ *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-1389)*, ed. M. A. Devlin, 2 vols, Camden Society, Third Series 85-86 (London, 1954), ii, pp. 354-357; *Walter of Henley*, pp. 310-311.

²⁵ McFarlane, *Fifteenth Century*, p. xxi; Davies, *Lords and Lordship*, pp. 197-217.

²⁶ Davies, *Lords and Lordship*, p. 42; McFarlane, *Fifteenth Century*, p. 18.

Cornwall. A good lord needed a strong sense of *noblesse oblige*, standing as the arbiter of the common good.²⁷

Mutual ‘dependence, service, and reward’ therefore characterised good lordship.²⁸ But while some components emerged as mutually supporting, others were opposed. A lord had to be careful not to impoverish his tenants, for instance, while love and fear often proved incompatible. Neither did good lordship form an absolute quality, for it emerges as relative to the lordship of others. Contemporaries weighed lordship against the alternatives on offer and the regimes which had come before. During Queen Isabella’s rule of Cornwall, for example, the county commonalty harked back to Earl Richard’s practices, over forty-five years earlier.²⁹ In theory and practice, then, ‘good lordship’ proved immensely complex. In point of fact, lordship itself was founded upon a paradox. While lordship was intensely personal, it emerges as impossible to exercise alone, with seigniorial administrators essential to every rulership. Even so, ‘everything depended upon the initiative of the lord’ himself, as he alone delegated the execution of policy to these officials.³⁰ The lord’s assiduity provided his lordship with direction and momentum, with the result that lordship operated in a different manner depending on who happened to be lord. In this sense lordship formed a personal affair, with *dominium* re-fashioned in Cornwall each time the title changed hands.

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One of Edward II’s first acts as king was to grant his favourite, Piers de Gaveston, the earldom of Cornwall.³¹ The gift excited no little criticism, and the favour heaped upon Gaveston festered at the heart of English politics. The favourite’s egregious use of authority, like a ‘second king, to whom all were subject and none equal’, drew down the ire of Edward’s nobility.³² In

²⁷ Thomas Brinton, pp. 355-356; Walter of Henley, pp. 310-311; Davies, *Lords and Lordship*, p. 175.

²⁸ Davies, *Lords and Lordship*, p. 197.

²⁹ SC8/40/1996, the probable date of this petition is 1317.

³⁰ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p. 47.

³¹ *CChR 1300-1326*, 108; J. R. S. Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven and London, 2010), pp. 126-128; J. S. Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall 1307-1312, Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (London and Detroit, 1988); J. Burgtorf, ‘“With my life, his joyes began and ended”: Piers Gaveston and King Edward II of England Revisited’, *Fourteenth Century England*, V, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 31-51.

³² *Vita*, 4-5.

Gaveston's own lordship, however, his rule proved to be weak and ineffective. He re-appointed Hyde as sheriff-steward because he paid so little attention to his earldom, which atrophied.³³ In fact, he had trouble simply taking possession of his lands.³⁴ And although Edward had given away a rich seam of rights, royal government still operated in the peninsula.³⁵

Gaveston's aggrandisement and Edward's intransigence resulted in tensions between the king and his magnates. These boiled over later in 1308, and in a state of near civil war the king's opponents stripped Gaveston of his estates and exiled him to Ireland.³⁶ Edward, however, set his will on securing his favourite's return, achieving this and returning the earldom to Gaveston on 5 August 1309.³⁷ Hyde continued as sheriff-steward during Gaveston's exile and the Gascon re-appointed him on his return. Earls may fail and fall, but Hyde did not. Rather than demonstrating Hyde's abilities, his fourth appointment to the same office stands as eloquent testament to Gaveston's complete lack of interest in Cornwall. Hyde's manifest failings make this all the more apparent. In 1309, for instance, Hyde had confiscated some stannary-men's cattle in lieu of a debt, but these men responded by rescuing the cattle and assaulting his bailiffs. They then pursued Hyde to Ralph Arundell's house, besieging this with the aim of murdering him; Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne and a 'great *posse*' had to rescue the erstwhile sheriff-steward.³⁸ Edward's, Gaveston's, and Hyde's triumvirate of inability encouraged disorder, as they all failed to address grievances through the proper channels, prompting the people of Cornwall to turn to other means of dispute resolution. At the same time, this vacuum of authority emboldened those of a nefarious leaning.³⁹ Without effective supervision Hyde himself increasingly managed the county to his own advantage, and in 1310 the king investigated his seizing of 'wine as though it was his property'.⁴⁰ Hyde's inability to raise the sheriff-stewardship's dues, however, proved to be his greatest problem.

³³ SC6/811/9-10; E389/59.

³⁴ Hamilton, *Gaveston*, p. 41.

³⁵ *CPR 1307-1313*, 61, 329.

³⁶ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 146-151.

³⁷ Hamilton, *Gaveston*, pp. 67-74; *CChR 1300-1326*, 131; *CCR 1307-1313*, 225-226.

³⁸ *CPR 1307-1313*, 173, 236-237.

³⁹ For some investigations, *CPR 1307-1313*, 40, 85, 133, 365, 417, 537; JUST1/1349 mm. 13r-18r; JUST1/1351 mm. 8d-10d.

⁴⁰ *CPR 1307-1313*, 255-257.

Events in the rest of the country put personal failings into the shadows. In March 1310, the king agreed resentfully to the Ordinances which aimed to correct his misgovernment.⁴¹ These singled out Gaveston for particular criticism and sentenced him to perpetual exile, though rumours circulated that he remained skulking in Tintagel Castle.⁴² However, the latter did not prove to be the case and Edward schemed to undo this affront to his majesty and secure the return of his favourite. To strengthen his hand, in November 1311 the king ordered the sheriff to take control of Gaveston's Cornish lands.⁴³ Yet Hyde still retained his position, with Edward ordering him to levy 'all the money' of the earldom 'with all speed' for delivery to Edmund Hakelut, the king's man.⁴⁴

Flouting the Ordinances, Gaveston returned from exile in early 1312.⁴⁵ The king once again sought to secure the Gascon's position in Cornwall, despatching his own clerk, John Bedewynde, with a mandate 'to attend to [Gaveston] and his affairs' in the peninsula.⁴⁶ Hyde's failings were outweighed in the short-term by the need for his loyalty, and so to this end the king buttressed his power with an appointment as conservator of the peace – along with Sir William Botreaux and Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne – and charged him with 'attending to the custody' of Restormel Castle.⁴⁷ At this time, the king replaced all Cornish castellans; granting Launceston to Botreaux, Tintagel to l'Ercedekne, and Trematon to Odo l'Ercedekne. Edward pursued a deliberate policy of securing the loyalty of Cornwall's proprietors and fortresses.

Despite this, and despite all Edward's efforts on Gaveston's behalf, the dissident earls captured the favourite in June 1312 and beheaded him.⁴⁸ A month after this bloody event, the king replaced Hyde as sheriff-steward with Bedewynde, appointing him keeper of the late earl's lands in Cornwall and Devon.⁴⁹ Hyde had still been raising considerable sums – he delivered 1,000

⁴¹ M. Prestwich, 'The Ordinances of 1311 and the Politics of the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Politics and Crisis*, pp. 1-18.

⁴² Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 173-182; *Vita*, 38-39.

⁴³ *CFR 1307-1319*, 117.

⁴⁴ *CCR 1307-1313*, 382.

⁴⁵ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 182-185.

⁴⁶ *CCR 1307-1313*, 457.

⁴⁷ *CPR 1307-1313*, 473; *CCR 1307-1313*, 454.

⁴⁸ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 185-191.

⁴⁹ *CFR 1307-1319*, 139-140.

marks to Bedewynde – but collection of dues had fallen behind schedule.⁵⁰ In December 1312, the king empowered him to levy all royal-comital debts in the peninsula from the time of his shrievalty.⁵¹ Edward also involved Hyde's son and namesake in their collection, with the family account remaining in the red in the 1330s.⁵² Although it is unclear whether father or son served as a JP and tax collector to 1314, the father died in this year. Hyde senior had held office for some sixteen years, during which time his administration grew increasingly lax. Gaveston's perfunctory lordship and Edward's failing kingship encouraged this, eroding order in the county.⁵³

On Gaveston's death the earldom once again returned to the king, remaining under his direct control until 1317. Yet Edward retired Bedewynde less than a year after his appointment, for remarkable reasons. Bedewynde had 'gone native', having announced to the county court that the king had been evilly advised over the stannaries.⁵⁴ The complaint focused on Edward's banker, Antonio Pessagno of Genoa, who had loaned the king more than £140,000 between 1312 and 1319.⁵⁵ In October 1312, on the advice of the elder Despenser, who also secured a £320 cut, the king granted Pessagno rights to all the tin in Cornwall. He ordered tanners to bring this metal to Restormel, where Pessagno would pay them as Earl Edmund had.⁵⁶ The king also granted Pessagno the keeping of this castle and had Hyde pay him the remaining issues from his sheriff-stewardship.⁵⁷ Pessagno became deeply entrenched in stannary finance – between 1312 and 1314 he coined over 1.8 million lbs. of tin – but his interfering caused much resentment.⁵⁸ It was alleged that he paid over 4½ marks less per thousandweight than other merchants and employed a 'false scale', with the result that many Cornishmen sold their tin to whomsoever they pleased, while others assaulted his servants.⁵⁹ These events, combined with petitions which claimed that

⁵⁰ *CPR 1307-1313*, 488.

⁵¹ *CFR 1307-1319*, 156.

⁵² E372/158 m. 46r; E372/179 m. 17v.

⁵³ For some investigations, KB27/194 mm. 18r, 28r, 31r; KB27/202 mm. 44r, 108r.

⁵⁴ E159/86 m. 76; J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 28, 553-554.

⁵⁵ E. B. Fryde, 'Sir Antonio Pessagno', *ODNB*, xliii, pp. 859-860.

⁵⁶ SC6/811/12 m. 6r; E159/88 m. 129v; *CFR 1307-1319*, 147; *CCR 1307-1313*, 481.

⁵⁷ E159/86 m. 76v; *CCR 1307-1313*, 498.

⁵⁸ E101/261/1; E101/261/17; *CPR 1313-1317*, 205; *CCR 1313-1318*, 130.

⁵⁹ *PROME*, iii, 99-100; SC8/103/5129; *CPR 1313-1317*, 228, 413; KB27/218 m. 101r; KB27/221 mm. 113r, 118r, 122r.

Pessagno's enterprises had resulted in 2,500 of the county's 3,000 tanners abandoning their trade and threatened to 'destroy' the people of Cornwall, led to Edward removing him from the stannaries in 1316.⁶⁰ The king's drive to raise money had nonetheless earned him the enmity of his Cornish subjects.

As a result of Bedewynde's criticisms, in 1313 the king had replaced him as sheriff-steward with Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne.⁶¹ l'Ercedekne seemed eminently suitable since he already held Tintagel and possessed his own substantial estates in the peninsula, qualities supplemented by his brother's constableness of Trematon. The l'Ercedeknes emerge as a force to be reckoned with in these years. A treaty between the king and his baronial opponents in December 1312 somewhat diffused tensions in the rest of the realm, but mutual suspicions remained and these were felt in Cornwall.⁶² After just a year, the government stripped all l'Ercedekne's offices from him.⁶³ Bannockburn had shattered the fragile consensus of 1313 and Lancaster and his allies then set about enforcing the Ordinances in earnest.⁶⁴ As part of this process, they investigated and removed virtually every sheriff in England because of 'the many losses and burdens' which these officials had inflicted upon the king's subjects.⁶⁵ l'Ercedekne had perhaps been particularly burdensome, using his office to go 'pirating'.⁶⁶ His connection with the Crown also proved unacceptable to the king's opponents, while his capture at Bannockburn further undermined his position.⁶⁷

The English defeat at Bannockburn cast a long shadow over politics, and in this inauspicious year Richard Polhampton of Berkshire took up the reins of the sheriff-stewardship.⁶⁸ Polhampton emerges as a mere stop-gap, however, as less than a year afterwards the government had him investigated and replaced. The king therefore granted the bailiwick to Sir Henry Wylinton in May 1316. Wylinton had Cornish connections, despite being of Gloucestershire baronial stock; his elder brother, John, had held land in the

⁶⁰ *CPR 1313-1317*, 572-573.

⁶¹ *CFR 1307-1319*, 160-161; Phillips, *Pembroke*, p. 38.

⁶² Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 197-201.

⁶³ *CFR 1307-1319*, 221; *CPR 1313-1317*, 163.

⁶⁴ Phillips, *Pembroke*, p. 70; Maddicott, *Lancaster*, pp. 160-161.

⁶⁵ *CPR 1313-1317*, 208, 242-243.

⁶⁶ *CPR 1313-1317*, 313.

⁶⁷ Phillips, *Pembroke*, p. 75; *Annales Londonienses* mistakenly claims that he was slain, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1882-3), i, p. 231.

⁶⁸ SC6/811/13; E389/61; *CFR 1307-1319*, 221.

peninsula, subsequently granting this to Sir Henry. At the same time as appointing him sheriff-steward, Edward made Wylinton purchaser of tin and granted him the county's ports and castles.⁶⁹ While his many offices made Wylinton relatively powerful, he employed deputies in the majority of his positions. And for all his sway, he faced serious challenges because Cornwall's lordship had sunk into decline. Wrongdoers had launched a wholesale assault upon the earldom's maritime prerogatives in 1313-14, one of a multitude of crimes.⁷⁰ In 1315, Cornish MPs beseeched the king to dispatch justices to the county, claiming that he had sent so few inquisitions to the peninsula that the peace was ill kept.⁷¹ Even the king's taxers in Cornwall acted contrary to their commissions, for Edward's 'poisonous politics' greatly affected the county and kingdom.⁷²

Nevertheless, the rapid change in the earldom's personnel can easily mask Edward's concerted policy to mobilise the peninsula's resources. The king sought to use his Cornish revenues to make up for the losses of income that he suffered in the Ordinances. Pessagno's appointment was a means to this end. Even after Pessagno's fall, the king continued to pack the earldom with his creatures. In 1313, he appointed his yeoman, Thomas Algar, to the havenership, and four years later he made his household men, Stephen de Abyndon and John Pecok the Elder, purchasers of tin.⁷³ Yet he did all this to the backdrop of famine and incessant rain.⁷⁴ While the king's untrammelled, predatory lordship marshalled the earldom's gold, he showed little interest in transforming Cornwall into a citadel of royal power.⁷⁵

Edward instead left it to others to amass power in the peninsula, chief amongst them Bishop Stapeldon.⁷⁶ The Stapeldons' seat lay in west Devon and Walter had been appointed to the See of Exeter in 1307, later serving

⁶⁹ *CFR 1307-1319*, 278-279, 314; SC6/811/17 m. 3r; SC6/811/15 m. 1r.

⁷⁰ KB27/215 m. 12r.

⁷¹ *PROME*, iii, 100.

⁷² *CFR 1307-1319*, 332; see, C. Burt, 'Local Government in Warwickshire and Worcestershire during the Reign of Edward II', in *Political Society in Later Medieval England, A Festschrift for Christine Carpenter*, ed. B. Thompson and J. Watts (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 55-73.

⁷³ *CPR 1313-1317*, 34, 619, 627.

⁷⁴ See, W. C. Jordan, *The Great Famine, Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1996).

⁷⁵ For some investigations, JUST1/1371 m. 4d; KB27/224 m. 22r; KB27/227 m. 73r.

⁷⁶ M. C. Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II, Walter Stapeldon, Treasurer of England* (Cambridge, 1983); K. Edwards, 'The Political Importance of the English Bishops during the Reign of Edward II', *EHR*, 59 (1944), pp. 311-347.

twice as treasurer of England.⁷⁷ During his years in the See, Bishop Stapeldon, though an able diocesan, devoted considerable energy to furthering the interests of his own family. To this end, he and his brother, Sir Richard Stapeldon, legally and not so legally acquired lands and advowsons across Cornwall.⁷⁸ Bishop Stapeldon also set about obtaining valuable wardships, including that of the Arundells in 1307, and sought to marry his niece to John Arundell, a match which the latter resisted.⁷⁹ The bishop tried to boost profits levels on episcopal estates, closely supervising his officials and receiving charters for weekly markets in his manors.⁸⁰ He fought constantly to defend his rights, securing many regnal investigations into the breaching of his prerogatives.⁸¹ The bishop also successfully petitioned the king for the right of hue and cry and frankpledge on his properties, with his lobbying for an increased tin tithe similarly paying dividends.⁸²

All this activity presents a limited view of Bishop Stapeldon's meteoric rise, as he also set about courting the Cornish gentry. In 1308, he appointed Sir John Treiagu steward of his Cornish lands, Treiagu being a busy man who had the local clout to defend the bishop's interests. He similarly granted Reginald Wylinton, brother of the sheriff-steward, a pension in 1321 'out of regard' for Sir Henry's 'great service'.⁸³ Bishop Stapeldon's retinue of 1322 also proved to be well-staffed with Cornish gentlemen, including Robert Beaupel.⁸⁴ Despite avoiding politics in the early part of the reign, the bishop's later career as treasurer of England provided the scope for this 'empire building'. While high office gave him the king's ear, Bishop Stapeldon proved adept at bending it and this, combined with the absence of a stable secular lordship in Cornwall, enabled him to grow mighty indeed. As the reign went on, Edward increasingly delegated lordship in the area to his staunch ally, harnessing the bishop's power in the peninsula to his Crown.

⁷⁷ Buck, *Finance and the Church*, pp. 10-12, 38-47.

⁷⁸ C143/81/14; KB27/204 m. 55r; KB27/205 m. 52r; *CPR 1313-1317*, 382, 561; *PROME*, iii, 60; Buck, *Finance and the Church*, pp. 20-26.

⁷⁹ CRO, AR/16/1; *Reg. Stapeldon*, 33-34.

⁸⁰ *Reg. Stapeldon*, 146-147; *CChR 1300-1326*, 183.

⁸¹ JUST1/109 mm. 3r-6d; KB27/241 m. 38r.

⁸² *CIM 1307-1349*, 65; *CPR 1313-1317*, 696-697; *CChR 1300-1326*, 409, 431; *CPR 1307-1313*, 377.

⁸³ *Reg. Stapeldon*, 411.

⁸⁴ *CCR 1318-1323*, 559.

The king had no desire to micro-manage Cornwall, however, leaving Bishop Stapeldon with much freedom of action.

Edward's lack of interest in the earldom is further illustrated by the events of 1317. In this year, he granted the lordship to his queen, Isabella, as part of her dower, where it was to remain until 1324.⁸⁵ Although Queen Isabella's administration adopted a 'businesslike' approach, gold seems to have formed the limit of her vision.⁸⁶ To this end, she kept Wylinton in office as there were to be few personnel changes, and little attempt was made to forge a robust lordship anchored in local support. The queen realised that farming-out maximised revenue with minimum input, and therefore leased-out five manors, amongst them Trematon, which Sir Robert Bendyn rented for £86 yearly.⁸⁷ She tenaciously defended her financial assets in Cornwall, gaining a charter for a market in Trematon and exploiting her rights to minorities, felons' chattels, and wreck of the sea, to the detriment of the county commonalty.⁸⁸ It appears that Isabella also held sway over the stannaries, despite Abyndon and Pecok remaining in post until 1320.⁸⁹ Isabella employed Robert Miles as her receiver, but he also served the king as his clerk, for Edward kept a close watch upon his wife.⁹⁰ Throughout her tenure, the queen secured the issue of royal commissions which investigated a multitude of disorders committed in the county and its surrounding seas.⁹¹ A profusion of folk – from leading gentlemen, such as Sir Richard Sergeaux, down to peasants – had illegally hunted in her Cornish parks and felled her trees, with impunity. Neither the quality of lordship nor kingship saw a marked improvement during Isabella's tenure.

The temporary rapprochement between the king and Lancaster glossed over important remaining differences between them. Tensions built up from 1316, culminating on the attacks on the Despensers' properties in Glamorgan in the summer of 1321.⁹² By this stage Edward and Lancaster

⁸⁵ *CPR 1317-1321*, 5, 8-9, 223; the claims of Gaveston's widow, Margaret, were settled in 1318, *CPR 1317-1321*, 251.

⁸⁶ *RESDCornwall*, 85; CRO, AR/42/4; for Isabella, see P. C. Doherty, 'Isabella, Queen of England, 1296-1330' (Unpubl. Univ. Oxford D.Phil, 1977).

⁸⁷ E389/62 m. 1r.

⁸⁸ *CCR 1323-1327*, 90; E389/62 m. 1r; SC8/40/1996.

⁸⁹ E389/62 m. 1r; *CCR 1318-1322*, 254.

⁹⁰ E389/62 m. 1r; *CFR 1319-1327*, 308.

⁹¹ *CPR 1317-1321*, 94, 291, 293, 463, 473, 604-605, 609; *CPR 1321-1324*, 147, 251, 447, 457; JUST1/126; KB27/250 *Rex* m. 17r.

⁹² Maddicott, *Lancaster*, pp. 190-239, 259-268.

were irreconcilable, but the king had also alienated the lords of the Welsh March, provoking a grand alliance against him. Disturbed conditions across the realm led Edward to empower Hugh Courtenay and William Martyn to attack anyone who rose against him in Cornwall and Devon.⁹³ The government removed Wylinton from the sheriff-stewardship at Easter in 1321, replacing him with Sir John Treiagu. While Treiagu appeared well qualified as a knightly Cornishman, Bishop Stapeldon's hand almost certainly lay behind his appointment. Treiagu only held office for a few months, however, being replaced by Sir William Botreaux.⁹⁴ Treiagu's connection with the bishop perhaps made him unacceptable to the queen, while Botreaux's greater wealth provided him with the local clout required to secure the royal position in Cornwall, though Edward seems to have had little policy of packing local government across the realm.⁹⁵

Still, Botreaux's support proved essential to Edward. The king had secured the return of the Despencers early in 1322 and provoked a rebellion by Lancaster in alliance with the lords of the Welsh March. This resulted in the king's appointment of a commission to investigate whether the wives or children of the rebels had entered Cornwall, either to stay or to take ship overseas.⁹⁶ The Cornishmen Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne and Ralph Trenewith fought for the king in the Marches, almost certainly serving at his side again later in the year.⁹⁷ It seems, however, that Cornwall provided no other forces for Edward's great enterprise. In March 1322, the government ordered that the 'men of the county not having hitherto rendered aid to the king against his enemies' now provide troops for his service.⁹⁸ On 16 March Edward defeated Lancaster at Boroughbridge and had the earl executed.⁹⁹

A number of Cornishmen were involved in the fighting against Edward. Sir Otto Bodrugan being amongst them, but Sir Reginald Mohun, Henry Tyes, and John Pican also took to the field.¹⁰⁰ In point of fact, the king considered Cornwall and Lancashire especially disaffected, with Edward later

⁹³ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 328-409; *CCR 1318-1323*, 507; JUST1/1385 mm. 9r-10d.

⁹⁴ E389/63 m. 1r.

⁹⁵ N. Saul, 'The Despencers and the Downfall of Edward II', *EHR*, 99 (1984), pp. 1-33 at 18, 21, 29.

⁹⁶ *CCR 1318-1323*, 417.

⁹⁷ *CPR 1321-1324*, 65.

⁹⁸ *CPR 1321-1324*, 93.

⁹⁹ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 406-408.

¹⁰⁰ SC6/1146/21; *CIM 1307-1349*, 124-125; *CCR 1323-1327*, 63, 111; *CFR 1319-1327*, 161.

threatening ‘severe penalties’ unless the county furnished him with soldiers.¹⁰¹ The king confiscated the estates of those Cornishmen who had opposed him, only returning them upon the payment of hefty fines.¹⁰² Edward restored Bodrugan’s lands after the latter agreed to pay 1,000 marks, one of the largest penalties of any non-Lancastrian.¹⁰³ Although Bishop Stapeldon insisted that the king pardon him 200 marks, Bodrugan had to pay the rest in 100 mark instalments.¹⁰⁴ Edward’s regime employed debt as a form of political control. It is striking that more Cornishmen actively opposed Edward than supported him. Evidently the king, queen, and bishop had lost the confidence of the county commonalty.

With Lancaster and many of the Marchers removed, the king secured his *révanche* and the Despensers were established more securely than ever in power, holding sway until the end of the reign.¹⁰⁵ Both Hugh the elder and Hugh the younger founded their overweening brutality upon informal influence, rendering obscure any direct control of theirs in Cornwall.¹⁰⁶ They also lent support to Bishop Stapeldon which militated against their own direct involvement in the peninsula, while Isabella’s possession of the earldom effectively blocked them. After 1322, however, the queen’s relationship with her husband soured.

In 1324, Edward confiscated Isabella’s Cornish estates on the pretext of their vulnerability to invasion, holding them until the end of his reign.¹⁰⁷ The *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, amongst others, claimed that the king did so on Bishop Stapeldon’s advice, and it must be noted that the bishop seized and subsequently managed her prerogatives.¹⁰⁸ These events marked the beginning of his real ascendancy in Cornwall. Eight days after this confiscation, Bishop Stapeldon appointed Treiagu, his own steward, to the sheriff-stewardship. The king, however, still took a close interest in county revenues, on the same day employing his own clerk, Roger Blacolvesle, as

¹⁰¹ N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 70; *CPR 1321-1324*, 93.

¹⁰² SC6/1146/21; *CFR 1319-1327*, 149-150, 160-161, 173.

¹⁰³ *CCR 1318-1323*, 618; *CFR 1319-1327*, 155; Fryde, *Tyranny*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁴ *CPR 1321-1324*, 183.

¹⁰⁵ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 441-448.

¹⁰⁶ Saul, ‘The Downfall of Edward II’, 19-22, 24-25; Fryde, *Tyranny*, pp. 106-118, 149-164.

¹⁰⁷ *CFR 1319-1327*, 300.

¹⁰⁸ *Vita*, 242-243; Buck, *Finance and the Church*, p. 152.

receiver.¹⁰⁹ The bishop and his royal master together sought to strengthen their position in the county. To this end, in 1326 Edward granted Tintagel Castle and Bossiney to Bishop Stapeldon ‘for good service’ and a yearly rent of £40.¹¹⁰

Treiagu experienced severe difficulties in carrying out his duties, however. In early 1326, the king launched an investigation after Treiagu had impounded many of Sir William Botreaux’s ‘beasts’ for a debt. Botreaux had responded by mobilising his ‘confederacy’, including Sir William Basset of Tehidy, which then marched into the county court fully armed. Once inside, they brazenly assaulted Treiagu and for a prolonged period prevented him from holding court and keeping the king’s peace. They also attacked the king’s bailiffs, for two years hunted illegally ‘by night and by day’ in royal parks, and ambushed money destined for the exchequer.¹¹¹ Cornwall was riven from top to bottom by thuggery. It is safe to say that Treiagu’s failure emerges as in no small part the result of Bishop Stapeldon’s failings. While the bishop was able to wield quite considerable power, his lordship still proved far from all-embracing as it had had insufficient time to take root. His machinations also made mockery of the law. The commonalties of Cornwall and Devon petitioned unavailingly against secular pleas being called into ecclesiastical courts, also complaining about the misuse of excommunications.¹¹²

At the end of the reign developments elsewhere conspired again to influence Cornish affairs. Queen Isabella, alienated from Edward, fled abroad and from Brill, in the Low Countries, in September she returned with a small invasion force to England, removing her husband from the throne.¹¹³ The queen and her paramour, Roger Mortimer, then appropriated the governance of the realm during the minority of her son, Edward III. A breadknife-wielding London mob likewise cut short Bishop Stapeldon’s ‘empire building’ at this time, beheading him near St Paul’s.¹¹⁴ The unhappy regimes of this *lassiez-faire* king and his aggrandised bishop had had a profound effect

¹⁰⁹ E389/63 m. 1r; *CFR 1319-1327*, 302-303.

¹¹⁰ *CFR 1319-1327*, 401; *CCR 1323-1327*, 591.

¹¹¹ *CPR 1324-1327*, 238-239.

¹¹² SC8/42/2100.

¹¹³ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 502-519.

¹¹⁴ Buck, *Finance and the Church*, p. 220.

on the offices and condition of Cornwall, emphasising the county's involvement in England's politics.

With Edward II deposed, on 10 January 1327 Isabella secured the 'restoration' of the earldom with an enlarged income of 20,000 marks.¹¹⁵ Treiagu's sponsor was also dead and his own inability plain to see, and so the queen replaced him with Sir Robert Bilkemore at Easter 1327. Although Bilkemore hailed from Bedfordshire, he was already holding the office of escheator in Cornwall. In 1328, the queen had her son, John of Eltham, created titular earl, but retained all comital lands and prerogatives herself.¹¹⁶ Contemporaries proved strikingly aware of her ascendancy, with Sir William de Cornewaille petitioning her concerning Treiagu's seizure of his manor of Brannel in the county.¹¹⁷ The queen exercised her rights fully, in autumn 1329 replacing Bilkemore as sheriff-steward with Sir William Beauchamp.¹¹⁸ Beauchamp, a former king's bachelor and a relative of the earls of Warwick, had enjoyed an impressive career as sheriff of Worcester and constable of Southampton Castle. His appointment seemingly formed part of a broader personnel change, with the queen granting Launceston Castle to Ralph, son of Peter Burdet, 'for his services'.

Isabella's quest to become rich beyond the dreams of avarice resulted in her pursuing similar estate management practices to those used in her first term in 1317-24.¹¹⁹ Yet the queen set about establishing her political position more securely this time. Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne, by this stage summoned to parliament as a peer, supported Edward II, and she therefore muzzled him in 1328 with an order to render account for his time as sheriff-steward.¹²⁰ By contrast, Isabella bought Sir Otto Bodrugan's loyalty by pardoning him the fine incurred from fighting against her husband and granting him Lundy Island.¹²¹ He became a trusted supporter, in July 1330 arraying men to resist rebels in the peninsula.¹²² The queen also secured the issue of a new peace

¹¹⁵ *CPR 1324-1327*, 346; *CPR 1327-1330*, 21-22, 66-69, 438, 442, her executors were to hold Cornwall for three years after her death.

¹¹⁶ *RESDCornwall*, 5; S. L. Waugh, 'John of Eltham', *ODNB*, xxx, pp. 173-174; P. Dryburgh, 'Living in the Shadows: John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall (1316-36)', *Fourteenth Century England*, IX, ed. J. Bothwell and G. Dodd (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 23-48.

¹¹⁷ SC8/41/2001.

¹¹⁸ *Sheriffs*, 21.

¹¹⁹ *RESDCornwall*, 85-86; *CPR 1327-1330*, 333.

¹²⁰ *CCR 1327-1330*, 414; E372/177 m. 23v.

¹²¹ *CCR 1327-1330*, 20, 30, 157.

¹²² *CPR 1327-1330*, 571.

commission containing Robert Aspel, her steward, Roger Blacolvesle, a royal clerk, and Robert de Seliman, escheator south of the Trent.¹²³ This stood as an assertion of queenly might, for Isabella displayed more political acumen than she had in her first term.

Yet neither she nor her paramour chose to exercise this sort of acumen in England at large. Isabella and Mortimer proved just as grasping as the previous regime had but, try as they might, they could not prolong Edward III's minority forever. In October 1330, Edward asserted his majority in a spectacular *force majeure* at Nottingham, arresting his mother and her lover.¹²⁴ On the morning after the coup, the king sent instruction that every sheriff – Cornwall's included – announce his desire to 'govern his people according to right and reason'.¹²⁵ Over the next few months he set about securing the arrest of the former regime's creatures. Edward issued a number of commissions to the county, with Benedict Noght and John le Taverner of Mousehole investigated for aiding the overseas escape of John Maltravers and Thomas Gurney, Edward II's suspected murderers.¹²⁶

Rather more significant stood Edward's confiscation of the earldom from his mother, on 1 December 1330.¹²⁷ Three days after this he confirmed John of Eltham in the title earl, while retaining the substance of power himself. Indeed, of the 1,000 marks in revenues assigned for Eltham's support, only £20 came from Cornwall as the Crown directly managed the earldom.¹²⁸ In early 1331, Edward appointed Sir William Botreaux to the sheriff-stewardship – Botreaux's second term in office – for the better management of the lordship.¹²⁹ At the same time, the king sought to win the loyalty of the peninsula's powerbrokers. He therefore appointed Sir John Carminow as constable of Trematon and Restormel Castles, also granting him the keeping of the king's forests and parks in the peninsula.¹³⁰ Simultaneously, the king set about packing the earldom's hierarchy with his

¹²³ *CPR 1327-1330*, 567.

¹²⁴ C. Shenton, 'Edward III and the Coup of 1330', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J. S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 13-34; for Edward III, see W. M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven and London, 2011).

¹²⁵ *CCR 1330-1333*, 158.

¹²⁶ *CPR 1330-1334*, 144; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 572-574.

¹²⁷ *CFR 1327-1337*, 215-216.

¹²⁸ *CChR 1327-1341*, 198.

¹²⁹ After some confusion, *CFR 1327-1337*, 200, 222, 232, 247-248.

¹³⁰ *CPR 1330-1334*, 106; *CFR 1327-1337*, 277.

own men. He appointed his yeoman, Richard Calwar, as havener, but replaced him seven days later with William de London, sergeant to the king and tailor to the queen.¹³¹ Edward also bestowed several of the earldom's properties upon members of his household, granting Sutton Water to Thomas Coppeare, yeoman of his chamber.¹³² The king, of course, wished to maximise his revenues and leased-out numerous prerogatives.¹³³ Until 1331 the issues of the earldom went directly to the Crown. Edward paid down his creditors with this money, assigning £2,600 to the Bardi alone.¹³⁴

Unlike his mother and father, however, Edward set about providing the county with effective governance. Indeed, the king appointed Carminow and Treiagu to a new peace commission in 1331, which replaced the one dominated by Isabella's creatures. Edward showed considerable concern for this office, in the following year substituting Carminow with Sir Oliver Carminow, while adding John Trevaignon, a Cornishman and serjeant-at-law.¹³⁵ Edward proved keen to expunge the *ancien régime*, launching an investigation into oppressions by his parents' ministers.¹³⁶ This ongoing process saw the government investigate Treiagu 'for alleged oppressions... by colour of his office' in 1333, as he had developed a taste for vigilantism.¹³⁷ Edward sought to arrest the earldom's downward spiral into disorder, restoring Cornish faith in kingship, lordship, and legal process in general.

The final stage of this administrative upheaval came in October 1331, when John of Eltham received the substance of his title from the king, being granted most of the earldom's lands, but not the stannaries. Two years later – when Edward shattered the Scots at Halidon Hill – the king expanded the grant to his brother to 3,000 marks 'for the better maintenance of' Eltham's rank, but again Edward retained control of tin production.¹³⁸ The king, in fact, granted stannary money to the Bardi and to Eltham himself, appointing his own clerks into tinning administration.¹³⁹ By this point, royal and comital

¹³¹ *CPR 1330-1334*, 40, 43.

¹³² *CFR 1327-1337*, 221, 225, 261-262, 288; *CPR 1330-1334*, 163.

¹³³ SC6/811/18 m. 1r; *CFR 1327-1337*, 242.

¹³⁴ *CCR 1330-1333*, 217; *CPR 1330-1334*, 209, in 500 mark instalments.

¹³⁵ *CPR 1330-1334*, 286, 294.

¹³⁶ *CPR 1330-1334*, 133.

¹³⁷ *CPR 1330-1334*, 440, 350.

¹³⁸ *CChR 1327-1341*, 233, 302-303.

¹³⁹ *CPR 1330-1334*, 413, 463, 493; *CPR 1334-1338*, 23, 123, 245, 261; *CCR 1330-1333*, 439-440; *CCR 1333-1337*, 64-65.

power were tightly intermeshed in the peninsula, to their mutual benefit. In 1336, while the siblings campaigned together in Scotland, the king issued a special peace commission in the county to keep regnal-comital peace, with the *posse comitatus* if necessary.¹⁴⁰ Eltham emerges as a ‘bulwark’ of Edward’s nascent kingship, especially so in Cornwall.¹⁴¹ With his brother’s aid, the earl brought order to a disturbed lordship and drew the county close into the regnal fold.

Eltham still pursued policies of his own in the peninsula, in 1333 replacing Botreaux as sheriff-steward with Henry Trethewey.¹⁴² This may have been because Trethewey, who had sat for Bodmin in 1325, proved well versed in officialdom. Edward assigned money to him in 1335 as ‘the king wish[ed] to do special service’ to him, at Eltham’s request.¹⁴³ In 1336, the earl divided the stewardship and shrievalty, appointing his own man, Richard Bakhampton, to the former.¹⁴⁴ He also employed John Moveroun, a royal yeoman, as constable of Launceston Castle and established a new court in the town, which reached many judgements concerning county affairs.¹⁴⁵ The earl set about boosting his revenues, granting Helston and Grampound new charters and speculating in tin on a grand scale.¹⁴⁶ He likewise embarked upon major reforms of the assessionable system. In 1333, conventional tenures had not been re-valued for forty years and so he had them all re-assessed, creating more profitable short-term leases.¹⁴⁷ Beyond this, Eltham assiduously quashed lawlessness, removing the need for much Cornish violent self-help.¹⁴⁸

But Eltham’s tenure of the earldom proved to be a brief one, as he died at Perth on 13 September 1336, before he came of age. The earldom once again reverted to the Crown, remaining under the king’s protection for six months. During this time Edward granted its keeping to William Cusance, his clerk and Eltham’s former treasurer.¹⁴⁹ A posthumous instruction perhaps

¹⁴⁰ *CPR 1334-1338*, 287, 357, 367-371.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Dryburgh, ‘John of Eltham’, 24.

¹⁴² *SC6/812/12*; *E372/177 m. 17r*; *CFR 1327-1337*, 364, 369.

¹⁴³ *CCR 1333-1337*, 399-400.

¹⁴⁴ *RBP*, ii, 42; *SC6/1094/13 m. 12*.

¹⁴⁵ *CPR 1334-1338*, 336; *CPR 1340-1343*, 18-19.

¹⁴⁶ *SC6/1094/13 m. 12*; *CPR 1330-1334*, 537; *CPR 1334-1338*, 25; *E101/262/25*; Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 57.

¹⁴⁷ *RESDCornwall*, 74-77; *CFR 1337-1347*, 4.

¹⁴⁸ *CPR 1330-1334*, 348; *CFR 1337-1347*, 1.

¹⁴⁹ *SC6/1094/13 m. 1*; *CPR 1334-1338*, 426, 447; *CCR 1333-1337*, 612.

stands out as the most significant issued during this time. In February 1337, 'in fulfilment of a promise... made by the king's brother', Edward made a series of appointments, of: Henry de Erth, Eltham's standard-bearer at Berwick, to the constableness of Trematon; John Kendale to the constableness of Restormel and its park; Richard Godelmynnge to the keepership of Helsbury and Lanteglos parks; Hugh North and Walter Werdale to the keeperships of Liskeard and 'Keyribullock' parks respectively; and Thomas Fitz Henry to the havenership.¹⁵⁰ So it was that Edward III enacted the last instruction of the last earl of Cornwall.

A desire to maximise revenue probably proved the main principle informing John of Eltham's rule of the earldom, as it had been for all early fourteenth-century earls. However, as we have seen, there is evidence that he also sought to govern the county with an effectiveness not seen for decades, closely supervising the peninsula. This brings us to the question of agency, of who was really responsible for the changes. The earl was merely twenty on his demise, suggesting that his successes cannot be assigned to him alone.¹⁵¹ Edward III himself stands out as a significant figure, also influencing events. Nonetheless, Eltham devoted considerable attention to his lordship, certainly after 1333. To separate the work of the two brothers is probably to misunderstand the relationship between them, for together they sought to stabilise Cornwall and the kingdom. Earl, king, county, and wider realm all proved interdependent.

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At this point we need to break off to consider a topic which has had significance on a number of occasions, the matter of lawlessness. This calls for separate and lengthier consideration, as violence was ubiquitous in early fourteenth century England. The ancient code of vengeance remained stubbornly persistent, while chivalry idealised a noble code of violence.¹⁵² The long-running wars of the time created a deep pool of brutalised men, for the Cornish gentry and their affinities fought in the king's many wars and he

¹⁵⁰ *CPR 1334-1338*, 383, 392-393; *CFR 1337-1347*, 4.

¹⁵¹ Dryburgh, 'John of Eltham', 23.

¹⁵² J. Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1973), pp. 37-68; R. W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order, England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 134-145, 187-188.

regularly pardoned criminals in return for military service.¹⁵³ Civil war wracked the realm as well, resulting in widespread dislocation, embittered divisions, and convenient cover for private quarrels.¹⁵⁴ Even during peacetime, lawlessness and officialdom emerge as interwoven. The limitations of regnal and lordly government resulted in their officials exacting a profusion of petty extortions in the name of each, which remained beyond the control of either. Edward II's ineptitude especially eroded justice, however, allowing for the rise of predatory officials.¹⁵⁵ In c. 1321, Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne allegedly abused his royal purveyance commission by not only failing to remunerate those folk whose goods he had requisitioned, but also by employing the powers of his position to extort ransoms from the people of Cornwall under the threat of hangings.¹⁵⁶

Widespread lordly manipulation of the law also prevailed, in the form of the practice of maintenance. Lords often meddled in legal process to secure the interests of their dependents. In 1309, for instance, the king outlawed Thomas Gevely in Cornwall after he had robbed Margery, widow of Walter Treverbyn, and raped her daughter, Sibyl. The king later pardoned him on account of his good service in Scotland, but Gevely subsequently followed the women to London and with two accomplices broke down the door to their lodgings, again raping Sibyl. Although Margery sued him for a second time, the repugnant Gevely appeared in the company and protection of the war-captain and courtier Sir Henry de Beaumont. As a result, nobody would accuse him in court, nor attach him when Margery tried to raise the hue.¹⁵⁷ Beaumont's power shielded Gevely from justice. 'Petty tyrannies' such as these drew down the ire of the parliamentary Commons, and in 1377 their complaints were to coalesce around the badges and liveries which nobles distributed to their supporters. For the next forty years the Commons protested against badges in particular, as these represented the least stable magnate-dependent relationship and were believed to fuel the twin evils of disorder and maintenance.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Appendix III.

¹⁵⁴ Fryde, *Tyranny*, p. 69; Maddicott, *Lancaster*, pp. 161-162, 176-177.

¹⁵⁵ Maddicott, *Lancaster*, p. 186; Walker, *Political Culture*, pp. 24-26.

¹⁵⁶ SC8/99/4921.

¹⁵⁷ KB27/196 m. 40r; SC8/76/3756; *CPR 1307-1313*, 362.

¹⁵⁸ N. Saul, 'The Commons and the Abolition of Badges', *Parliamentary History*, 9 (1990), pp. 302-315.

The gentry also employed legal guile to outflank each other, suing and counter-suing to promote their own interests. In 1310, Thomas Tregonon alleged that Sir John Treiagu had robbed him, seizing forty pounds of silver, amongst other things, but Treiagu denied all charges.¹⁵⁹ Gentlemen often employed the law as an instrument for the exaction of vengeance, with Treiagu later complaining that many men had conspired to have him imprisoned in the Fleet.¹⁶⁰ The propertied elite, in fact, ‘combined their litigation quite comfortably with a propensity for violence and self-help’.¹⁶¹ Armigerous society’s lawlessness was compounded by the fact that law enforcement depended upon gentlemen themselves, the most fractious part of the local populace. The limitations of the central courts, moreover, left them unable to resolve by verdict the civil suits which came before them, with the result that they failed to ‘serve as a realistic detriment to criminal activity’.¹⁶² And punishments often had but a limited effect. Outlawed in 1346, Sir John l’Ercedekne allegedly then rampaged across Devon ‘with a large number of armed malefactors’ in pursuit of his accuser.¹⁶³ Nature itself caused disruption, with the Great Famine forcing many folk to engage in a life of crime and hunger forever persisting in medieval England.

The extent of lawlessness, however, is difficult to quantify, as we know only of recorded crime, not its totality, while at the same time not all the recorded cases may be true. Indeed, medieval society emerges in some sense as litigious rather than lawless, with the great increase in the volume of fourteenth-century legal documentation stemming from this, rather than an actual increase in disorder. By the sixteenth century, Cornishmen supposedly resorted to the law ‘for waggyng of a straw’.¹⁶⁴ Legal records simply cannot be taken at face value, the Treverbyn-Gevely case amongst them.¹⁶⁵ Margery Treverbyn’s initial case in the king’s bench made mention of robbery – of a dress and necklace – along with breach of peace, but she neither carried through the appeal of robbery nor made any mention of rape at this time. It

¹⁵⁹ KB27/202 m. 108r.

¹⁶⁰ JUST1/109 m. 2d; Saul, ‘Conflict and Consensus’, p. 42.

¹⁶¹ Kaeuper, *Justice*, p. 264; McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p. 115.

¹⁶² Payling, *Nottinghamshire*, p. 186.

¹⁶³ *CPR 1345-1348*, 113, 180.

¹⁶⁴ Boorde, *Knowledge*, p. 122.

¹⁶⁵ Saul, ‘Conflict and Consensus’, pp. 41-42, 54; Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 198; for a helpful collection of legal sources, see *Crime, Law and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. and ed. A. Musson with E. Powell (Manchester, 2009).

was only in her subsequent petition that the Anglo-Norman French *ravistat* made an appearance, suggesting that this was an abduction/ravishment case, with the petition and subsequent litigation aimed at forcing a settlement out of court.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, people from across the realm regularly entered pleas which overstated the levels of violence in order to compel the defendant to accept arbitration of the dispute to restore peace.

While we should bear all these points in mind, it is also true that there were specific problems unique to Cornwall which had the effect of undermining local order. Hannes Kleineke has argued that in the fifteenth century the peninsula proved particularly lawless.¹⁶⁷ The county's geology had a significant role to play here. Tin provided large stores of movable wealth, tough miners, and ample scope for disagreement over rights. In 1344, Sir John l'Ercedekne, John Carminow, and fifteen others supposedly 'assembled a huge multitude of evildoers' who assaulted dozens of the Black Prince's stannary-men, seizing £1,000 of tin.¹⁶⁸ Fraud, coercion, and semi-criminality abounded in the stannaries, with many corrupt officials administering these districts. In 1358, John Polper, the bailiff of Penwith and Kerrier, allegedly employed his office to abduct Philip de Caerhays.¹⁶⁹ Criminality arising from tinning spread into the rest of Cornwall, as many proprietors had tinning interests.

The county's maritime character also emerges as significant. The sea formed a lawless watery frontier, full of rich prizes. In 1340, for example, a storm wrecked the vessel of Raymond Maignel of Cork on the Cornish coast. Despite the fact that 'he and others on board escaped alive' – invalidating Cornish claims to wreck of the sea – some fifty-seven gentlemen, merchants, clergymen, and peasants 'cut the ship into little pieces and carried away the cargo'.¹⁷⁰ 'Piracy' also was rife, comprising a form of border warfare, the maritime equivalent of the raids and 'rieving' which characterised the Anglo-Scottish marches.¹⁷¹ In 1382, Richard Michelstow of Fowey and thirty-two others captured a Portuguese vessel carrying goods valued at 3,900 francs.

¹⁶⁶ My thanks to Anthony Musson for his advice about this case.

¹⁶⁷ Kleineke, 'Why the West was Wild', 80-83, 93.

¹⁶⁸ *CPR 1343-1345*, 401.

¹⁶⁹ KB9/9 m. 39.

¹⁷⁰ *CPR 1338-1340*, 488.

¹⁷¹ For 'rieving', see C. J. Neville, 'The Keeping of the Peace in the Northern Marches in the Later Middle Ages', *EHR*, 109 (1994), pp. 1-25.

The Cornish shipmen then sailed their prize to Fowey, where they divided the cargo amongst themselves and placed the crew in chains.¹⁷² With Cornish gentlemen engaging in ‘piracy’ and ‘pirates’ active ashore, a two-way transmission of criminality operated between the peninsula and the Channel.¹⁷³ To some extent, then, Cornwall formed a marcher county, with a militarised frontier society.

Cornwall’s distance from the central courts weakened these tribunals, compounding Cornish fractiousness. During Edward I’s reign Cornish juries had absented themselves by citing the distances involved, while in a petition of 1315 the people of the county alleged that many Cornishmen had ruined themselves coming to court, so great were the costs incurred from travel.¹⁷⁴ Many folk therefore proved ‘as happy to be ruined and stay at home as to struggle to court and be ruined’, with the government endorsing the petition with a promise to send justices to the county to ‘inform’ the king about ‘what is rightly to be done’. Although the county’s MPs employed hyperbole to add weight to their supplications, journeys could indeed prove difficult. In 1290, John Trembethan found the Tamar in full flood at North Tamarton, delaying him by some six days with the result that he missed his hearing.¹⁷⁵

The complex bodies of law in the county also promoted lawlessness. The king stood out as the supreme arbiter of justice, but a profusion of tribunals enjoyed jurisdiction in Cornwall. The earl-duke dispensed equitable justice from his council, while the central law courts, the ecclesiastical courts, the admiralty, the county court, the stannaries, hundredal tribunals, manorial courts, and those of Cornwall’s many boroughs all exercised authority in the county.¹⁷⁶ At times quarrels erupted between each. In the 1350s, for instance, ‘feigned suits’ breached Liskeard’s privileges, while the havener and the admiral of the west clashed over their respective jurisdictions.¹⁷⁷ Each local tribunal also proved susceptible to ‘jury packing’ by litigants keen to secure their desired verdict. In 1347, the king investigated all Cornwall’s ministers

¹⁷² *CPR 1381-1385*, 142-143.

¹⁷³ *CPR 1313-1317*, 313.

¹⁷⁴ *SCKB*, ii, cii-ciii; *PROME*, iii, 100.

¹⁷⁵ P. Brand, ‘The Travails of Travel: The Difficulty of Getting to Court in Later Medieval England’, in *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages, Proceedings of the 2003 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. P. Horden (Donington, 2007), pp. 215-228 at 218.

¹⁷⁶ Below, pp. 211-212.

¹⁷⁷ *RBP*, ii, 82-83; *CCR 1381-1385*, 319.

for empanelling jurors of ‘bad report’.¹⁷⁸ Each court was dominated by jurors drawn from the locality – and even from special interests within this, such as tanners – resulting in verdicts derived ‘more of affection than of reason’.¹⁷⁹ Even if a case ran smoothly, the physical structures of law enforcement presented yet more challenges. In 1380, Richard II pardoned the keeper of Launceston Castle and gaol after eight criminals had escaped his custody in less than four months.¹⁸⁰ All of this encouraged contempt for the law in Cornwall.

At the heart of the problem of Cornish lawlessness stood the composition of county society. The Cornish landholding class formed a homogenous group by wealth, with no ‘natural’ leader who maintained stability; quite the reverse, indeed, for ‘fur-collar’ offences abounded amongst these bellicose gentlemen.¹⁸¹ Christopher Tyldesley has highlighted the virulent feud which erupted between the Sergeauxs on the one hand, and the Carminows and Trevarthians on the other, a vendetta which first comes to light in 1379 and which both parties were to pursue vigorously into the 1390s.¹⁸² Yet Sir Richard and John Sergeaux had been introduced into disorder by their father, Sir Richard Sergeaux senior, with all three hauled before the assize of 1351 for dispossessing Sir Richard Stapeldon of land.¹⁸³ Direct action often emerges as an inter- and even intra-family affair, and with leading lineages strikingly inter-related and holding estates across the peninsula, many inheritances and property boundaries could be contested. Not all Cornish dynasties proved nefarious, but feuds developed easily and the local gentry’s legion familial connections drew a whole array of evenly-matched confederacies into these conflicts.¹⁸⁴ These affinities, if not containing formally liveried men, still encompassed a ‘multifarious collection of relatives, dependents, household servants, and hangers-on’.¹⁸⁵ In 1315, for example, one gang of gentlemen-criminals, led by Sir John Treiagu and John and Reginald le Sore, allegedly seized Sir Thomas l’Ercedekne’s son,

¹⁷⁸ *CPR 1345-1348*, 388.

¹⁷⁹ *Carew*, 18r.

¹⁸⁰ *CPR 1377-1381*, 454.

¹⁸¹ Above, pp. 36.

¹⁸² Tyldesley, ‘Local Communities’, pp. 22-23.

¹⁸³ JUST1/1445 m. 51r.

¹⁸⁴ For violent gangs, Bellamy, *Public Order*, pp. 69-88; Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 178-182.

¹⁸⁵ Tyldesley, ‘Local Communities’, p. 20.

Thomas, at St Euny Church, Redruth, and spirited him away to Penryn.¹⁸⁶ Such confederacies could even employ the latest weapons of war, as in 1389 John Trelawny, Roger Menywynnek, and ‘other evildoers’ supposedly attacked Sir Humphrey Stafford with an ‘engine called a gunne... so that his life was despaired of’.¹⁸⁷ Supernatural armaments could also prove significant, with Sir Ralph Botreaux and his ‘covin’ procuring three necromancers ‘to subtly consume and altogether destroy’ the body of William, Lord Botreaux.¹⁸⁸ Local society in some sense formed a crucible of lawlessness. The county’s numerous fortified manors rendered these kinship groupings all the more formidable, serving as bases from which attacks could be launched or resisted.¹⁸⁹

Low level law-breaking also prevailed in the peninsula. Most of the populace engaged in smuggling or benefited from it, with the great majority of tin leaving the county in this way, after being cast into ‘pocket tin’ for ease of transport.¹⁹⁰ Semi-criminal elements abounded throughout all strata of Cornish society, with a ‘culture of violence’ pervading.¹⁹¹ As good order depended upon people’s attitudes to their neighbours, this resulted in much lawlessness.¹⁹² In 1354-5, Edward III and the Black Prince levied a remarkable 1,200 fines for disorders committed in the peninsula.¹⁹³ Contemporary polemics also emphasised the county’s disorderly nature. Adam de Carleton, the archdeacon of Cornwall, claimed that the Cornish were *rebellis et difficilis*.¹⁹⁴ A scribe of Newenham Abbey, Devon, wrote similarly that ‘posterity’ should ‘beware’ the Cornish, for ‘God made them wretched’ and ‘bad’; while the Venetian Ambassador characterised the peninsula as ‘a wild spot’.¹⁹⁵

The structure and conduct of landed society also undermined the effectiveness in office of county administrators. While those who held the sheriff-stewardship possessed impressive powers, none of the Cornishmen

¹⁸⁶ *CPR 1313-1317*, 411.

¹⁸⁷ *CPR 1388-1392*, 134.

¹⁸⁸ *CPR 1422-1429*, 363.

¹⁸⁹ *CPR 1330-1334*, 581; Cf. Kaeuper, *Justice*, pp. 211-225.

¹⁹⁰ *CPR 1391-1396*, 263; Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 6, 110-111.

¹⁹¹ Kleineke, ‘Why the West was Wild’, 93.

¹⁹² Cf. Payling, *Nottinghamshire*, p. 187.

¹⁹³ Below, p. 140.

¹⁹⁴ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 958.

¹⁹⁵ *Reg. Stapeldon*, 241; *State Papers Venetian*, p. 312.

who filled this office enjoyed the ‘private’ clout required to achieve true mastery of the peninsula. In fact, Cornwall’s culture of violence resulted in numerous proprietors employing the post to pursue their own lawless agendas, institutionalising malpractice and official thuggery. The appointment of an ‘outsider’ in theory prevented this, but exacerbated the weakness of the sheriff-steward as the office-holder then held no estates in the county. Neither do ‘incomers’ emerge as fastidiously law abiding, with the result that local offices played an essential role in propagating disorder in the county.

Yet we should not view corruption, mendacity, and violence as uniquely Cornish phenomena. Every local office in late medieval England depended upon the service and diligence of local lords, voluntarily given, with all the associated dangers of vested interest and malevolent agendas. Disorder emerges as the corollary of governmental limitations across the land, with folk from every corner of England employing violence to supplement and supplant formal procedures in turn. Self-help held an integral place in the workings of contemporary society, with disorder better seen as representing rational violence in pursuit of rational aims.¹⁹⁶ Even Gevely’s seemingly mindless attacks on Margery and Sibyl Treverbyn probably had a clear ambition, namely that of securing Sibyl’s marriage rights and the fortune of her late father, Sir Walter Treverbyn. Leading Cornishmen certainly employed both martial might and legal process simultaneously to secure their patrimonies. In 1306, for instance, Sir Ranulph Blanchminster had Edward I sue out on his behalf an oyer and terminer commission to investigate his allegation that William le Poer, coroner of the Scilly Isles, and ‘a multitude of malefactors’ had attacked his property on Scilly, seizing a whale ‘thrown upon the shore’.¹⁹⁷ On the same day, however, Poer sought a comparable investigation into Blanchminster, who had allegedly caused him to be imprisoned ‘by persons unknown’ on the islands.¹⁹⁸ The Cornish elite, then, employed both direct action and regnal commissions to defend their interests, as disorder simply formed one of a bundle of remedies employed during

¹⁹⁶ Hilton, *West Midlands*, p. 251.

¹⁹⁷ *CPR 1301-1307*, 480.

¹⁹⁸ *CPR 1301-1307*, 538.

disputes. Lawlessness does not stand out as the aberration that it at first appears.

In point of fact, lawfulness and lawlessness emerge as inexorably bound together.¹⁹⁹ Christine Carpenter has argued that in the case of fifteenth-century Warwickshire, a tumultuous lordship undermined the stability of allegiance, forcing the gentry to look to their own resources and exacerbating disorder.²⁰⁰ The dearth of ‘good’ lordship and effective kingship between 1307 and 1330 profoundly affected Cornwall, inaugurating a vicious cycle of decreasing confidence in lordship and legal resolutions. As a result, the county’s residents increasingly resorted to solving disputes by violent means, with law breakers thus emboldened. It seems that in the time of Gaveston’s supine lordship the officials even engaged in personal freebooting. Bishop Stapeldon’s regime hardly proved any better, and the assault on the sheriff-steward in the county court itself can be viewed as recourse by Cornish gentlemen to their own resources, as they had no other answer to their grievances.²⁰¹ Overlaying all these lordly failings loomed those of Edward II himself, whose ineffectual kingship compounded the problems. It was only under the combined attentions of Edward III and John of Eltham that lordship and kingship once again began to operate more effectively. Eltham closely supervised his officials, while the king devoted much attention to the county bench. Kings and magnates evidently had a profound effect on Cornish peace, drawing the county into the kingdom.²⁰² Order and disorder also emerge as interrelated, with periods of weak regnal and lordly government resulting in Cornwall’s residents more readily employing violence to solve their disputes.

Lawlessness, in fact, contributed to political discourse and popular protest. Edward II’s manipulation of the stannaries provided the Cornish with a serious source of grievance against him and his banker. Cornishmen made their profound discontent known through parliament, while also employing direct action, in the form of assaults on Pessagno’s servants, to resist lordly-kingly machinations.²⁰³ Dissidence emerged as a direct response to Edward’s

¹⁹⁹ A. Musson, *Medieval Law in Context, The Growth of Legal Consciousness from Magna Carta to the Peasants’ Revolt* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 241-242.

²⁰⁰ Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, pp. 438, 606-614.

²⁰¹ Above, p. 113.

²⁰² Cf. Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 32; Payling, *Nottinghamshire*, p. 207.

²⁰³ Above, pp. 106-107.

maladministration, and in taking up arms the people of the county sent a powerful message to the king about the depth of their discontent. Botreaux and Basset similarly emphasised their dissatisfaction by selecting the county court, the symbolic seat of Cornwall's administration, as the arena in which to brazenly assault Treiagu. Although the evidence should not be pushed too far, in many ways political discourse emerges as both 'orderly' and 'disorderly'.²⁰⁴

Nonetheless, Cornwall never formed an utterly lawless land. The common law operated in the county, as elsewhere, with the Crown deploying the central courts to protect public order. Indeed, hundredal officials, county coroners, the sheriff-steward, and, increasingly as the century went on, JPs, indicted Cornish felons whom royal justices of gaol delivery tried once at Launceston, relying upon juries of Cornishmen to do so.²⁰⁵ The Cornish elite similarly had no hesitation in turning to the law when the occasion demanded. The Petit family, for instance, brought a series of cases concerning conspiracies and transgressions against their patrimony in the 1320s.²⁰⁶ In 1313, John Chenduyt likewise alleged that Matthew de Treaverek and eight others had robbed him with force and arms.²⁰⁷ A steady stream of Cornish litigants made their way to the common law tribunals, which proved essential to county affairs. Formal processes clearly functioned in the county, and despite the allegations of arms virtually no leading proprietors died at the hands of their fellows. Indeed, plaintiffs often inflated claims to intimidate defendants into accepting an out-of-court settlement, with conditions in Cornwall much less disorderly than these exaggerated accounts suggest. Legal hyperbole notwithstanding, Cornwall was not marred by unrestrained depravity.

The interface between law and society stands out as immensely complex, with public order in Cornwall dependent upon courts, kings, laws, magnates, and also a local desire for peace. Although we rarely see them, informal mechanisms of dispute resolution which laid emphasis 'on the

²⁰⁴ Cf. Musson, *Legal Consciousness*, p. 217.

²⁰⁵ JUST3/120 mm. 23r-23d; JUST3/121 mm. 13r-13d; JUST3/147 mm. 38-40; JUST3/9/2 m. 3; JUST3/156 m. 42r-46r; JUST3/170 m. 11r-13r; Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 75-76.

²⁰⁶ KB27/252 m. 61d; KB27/254 m. 62r.

²⁰⁷ KB27/214 m. 112d.

restoration of social peace through reconciliation rather than through punishment' operated in the county.²⁰⁸ With the number and variety of ties binding individuals together within Cornwall legion, it proved all but impossible for county society to mobilise into two permanently hostile camps as 'people who are friends on one basis are enemies on another'.²⁰⁹ These infinitely divided loyalties resulted in great pressure on both parties to effect a settlement. The sheriff-steward certainly tried to broker agreements between aggrieved parties which 'appeased' both 'in the best manner possible'.²¹⁰ Disputing parties sometimes entered into a more formal process of arbitration, seeking an out-of-court compromise; in 1394, for instance, the feuding Sir William Lambourne and John Arundell called upon the arbitration of the priors of Bodmin and Launceston, who duly hammered out a settlement.²¹¹ At no point in the fourteenth century do we see the county divided into two permanently hostile war-bands, as these formal and informal cross-ties constrained and ultimately destroyed vendettas.

Unwritten codes of conduct operated in Cornwall, with a limited amount of violence considered acceptable in order to secure one's objectives, and this often used in conjunction with both litigation and arbitration, but undoubtedly a minority of cases in which more was employed.²¹² In 1340, however, the commonalty complained to the king that Sir John l'Ercedekne, Henry de Erth, and 'a great following' had assaulted Sir Ralph Bloyou, a local gentleman and keeper of the peace, with the government launching a commission of oyer and terminer as a result.²¹³ This act stood in contempt of the 'rules of the game', and the county commonalty accordingly sought royal power to police these wrongdoers, causing informal codes and formal law to intersect. Conventions in Cornwall perhaps tolerated more criminality than either regnal government expected or some other counties accepted, for all the above reasons. This much is indicated by the events of 1233, when the

²⁰⁸ Payling, *Nottinghamshire*, p. 187.

²⁰⁹ Gluckman, 'Peace in the Feud', 2; Saul, 'Conflict and Consensus', pp. 47-49, 54; Above, pp. 87-88.

²¹⁰ *RBP*, ii, 19, 180.

²¹¹ CRO, AR/17/1-2; for another Cornish case, ME/570; for some examples of arbitration elsewhere, *Crime, Law and Society*, pp. 187-205; A. Musson, 'Arbitration and the Legal Profession in Late Medieval England', in *Law and Legal Process, Substantive Law and Procedure in English Legal History*, ed. M. Dyson and D. Ibbetson (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 56-76.

²¹² Cf. Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, p. 625.

²¹³ *CPR 1338-1340*, 150, 486.

Cornish had fled into the woods to avoid an eyre, only to be coaxed back by special proclamations of peace.²¹⁴ In this case, the county's residents viewed regnal justice as too heavy handed. In 1315, however, they actually requested that the king exercise his jurisdiction more fully to the west of the Tamar.²¹⁵ Even though disorder in the county arose from a multitude of perniciously interacting factors, Cornwall did not play host to perpetual anarchy.

Neither do the people of Cornwall stand out as unique in employing violent self-help. A spectrum of lawlessness operated across the realm, with the cross-cutting strands of violence meshed into the structures of the kingdom at large. Nigel Saul has found that Sussex saw low levels of violent feuding in comparison to Gloucestershire, while Lancashire and Cheshire in contrast were renowned for their disorderly natures.²¹⁶ Cornwall may well have been more lawless than some shires – Hannes Kleineke argued strongly for the 'wildness' of the lands west of the Exe. Yet Cornish violent self-help resulted in neither outright war nor endless chaos. Legality and illegality also emerge as intertwined, with both influenced by developments in Cornwall and the wider realm.²¹⁷

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What, then, should we make of the earldom's final tumultuous years? Despite never being all-embracing, the power of lordship stands out as highly pervasive. Cornwall's royal lordship connected the county closely to the high politics of the realm and, with regnal government also operating in the peninsula, 'national' events therefore influenced the whole range of local offices and society. However, the county commonalty did not prove passive or inarticulate during this time. Leading proprietors sought local positions and violently resisted lordly machinations in turn, influencing Cornish affairs through both formal and informal channels. The county's residents had good reason to be vociferous, for while 'good lordship' emerges as highly complex, Gaveston, Edward II, Isabella, and Bishop Stapeldon all treated Cornwall as little more than a cash-cow. The earldom's end was by no means inevitable,

²¹⁴ *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1864-9), iii, p. 135.

²¹⁵ *PROME*, iii, 100.

²¹⁶ Saul, *Sussex*, p. 73; Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 20; Barraclough, *Cheshire*, p. 24; P. H. W. Booth, 'Taxation and Public Order: Cheshire in 1353', *Northern History*, 12 (1976), pp. 16-31.

²¹⁷ Cf. Musson, *Legal Consciousness*, pp. 241-242.

however, as Edward III and John of Eltham had together set about restoring faith in the lordship. While lordship could not be exercised effectively by one person alone, it was undoubtedly moulded by the personality of those who enjoyed the dignity. As a result, Edward II's tempestuous reign proved of grave concern in Cornwall, affecting every aspect of the county and drawing the peninsula closely into the politics of the wider realm. The Black Prince's tenure was to prove equally significant.

5. The Black Prince and his Duchy, 1337-1376

On this turbulent lordship's second return to his hands, Edward III's hardnosed pragmatism and sense of the dignity of the royal family conjured a truly grand scheme. In March 1337, he elevated the earldom to the first dukedom in England, vesting the title upon his son and heir, Edward of Woodstock, better known to posterity as the Black Prince.¹ By the terms of its creation, the king inexorably bound the duchy and the Crown together.

The new duke was only seven at the time of his investiture, and so his council managed his estates on his behalf.² Less than two months after the creation of the duchy his chief-steward, James de Wodestock, undertook an exhaustive survey of all ducal prerogatives, recording gross income of £4,526 10s. 6¼d..³ The new administration sought to boost revenues and so to this end they pressed on with John of Eltham's reforms, reappraising many sources of income. They also retained many of Eltham's officials, with the result that men such as John Moveroun continued as constable of Launceston Castle.⁴ Moveroun stands out as a former king's yeoman, who from 1338 served the duke as receiver in Cornwall and went on to hold a host of other ducal and regnal positions in the peninsula. Both the king's household and that of his son were reliant on him, for the two worked together to establish the duke's nascent lordship. Edward III even renewed the stannary charter 'at the request' of Duke Edward, whom the county had no doubt lobbied.⁵

Imposing a new regime, however, emerges as by no means frictionless. At one point the king and the duke quarrelled over the payment of customs in Cornwall.⁶ More significantly, the duke clashed with his new subjects. In c. 1338, the Commons of Cornwall petitioned Edward III requesting that he order the duke and his council, along with the treasurer and chancellor of England, to replace Sir Robert Beaupel as sheriff.⁷ While

¹ *CChR 1327-1341*, 399-400, 436-437; he received the stannaries, minus 1,000 marks yearly for the earl of Salisbury, *CCR 1337-1339*, 49; in 1342, the king granted him wool customs, *CChR 1341-1417*, 12-13; *RESDCornwall*, 5-6.

² See, R. Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine, A Biography of the Black Prince* (London, 1978); D. Green, *The Black Prince* (Stroud, 2001); D. Green, *Edward the Black Prince, Power in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 2007).

³ *RESDCornwall*, 88-92; *CS*, lviii.

⁴ *SC6/816/11*.

⁵ *CChR 1341-1417*, 12.

⁶ *CCR 1343-1346*, 78.

⁷ *SC8/193/9648*.

Beaupel supposedly held insufficient lands in the peninsula, these complaints also represent an attempt by the county commonalty to impress the importance of their opinions upon their new master. It seems that they enjoyed some success, with the ducal administration receptive to Cornish concerns. In 1340, the duke appointed Henry Trethewey as sheriff-steward, Trethewey being both a Cornishman and a diligent administrator.⁸ Neither king nor duke wished to antagonise their Cornish subjects, yet both sought to govern the peninsula effectively.

In 1337, hostilities broke out with France, and Cornwall found itself on the frontline. In order to secure both his realm and his son's lordship, Edward III arrayed many Cornishmen and set about quashing disorder.⁹ In July 1338 he issued a new peace commission which contained four local lords and Wodestock, adding a further seven Cornishmen just a month later and empowering these JPs to hear and determine cases, as well as to oversee the county's defences.¹⁰ The numbers involved underline both the scale of the challenge and the degree of co-operation between father and son.¹¹ Edward's reign affected Cornwall in other ways too. Under the weight of war, the king greatly needed income, but popular resistance to his many subsidies reduced tax yields. Edward blamed his ministers instead, resulting in the crisis of 1341 during which he clashed with Archbishop Stratford.¹² These tensions reverberated through Cornwall, as elsewhere, with the government arresting all six collectors of wool in the county, amongst them William Trelawny and John Trevarthian, so as 'to punish such delinquents in an exemplary manner'.¹³

Ducal actions at this time proved just as significant as the king's, and in 1342 the former's council separated the stewardship and shrievalty. Trethewey continued to hold the latter, while the prince appointed his clerk, Hugh de Berewyk, to the former, retaining him in office until 1346.¹⁴ The division of these posts increased the number of duchy personnel,

⁸ SC6/816/11-13.

⁹ *CPR 1338-1340*, 279; *CCR 1337-1339*, 509; *Froissart*, p. 58; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 109-110.

¹⁰ *CPR 1338-1340*, 139, 141, 146; Michael Trenewith the elder had been added in the interim.

¹¹ For instance, *CPR 1338-1340*, 150, 486; JUST1/1422 mm. 111r-119r; SC8/241/12049.

¹² Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 212-246.

¹³ *CPR 1338-1340*, 502-503; *CPR 1340-1343*, 26, 118, 314; *CCR 1339-1341*, 436; *CFR 1337-1347*, 285, 295.

¹⁴ DCO 1-3.

strengthening central control over Cornwall. The ducal council showed great concern for these offices, replacing Trethewey with William Chaumpernoun a year later, and appointing Thomas atte Fenne of Tregorrick sheriff in 1344. The central officials of the lordship demanded the diligence of all these appointees in order to assert the prince's rule in Cornwall.

The war with France acted as a backdrop to these changes in personnel. On his return from campaigning in Brittany, the king decided to turn his attention again to public order.¹⁵ In Cornwall, Edward III therefore altered the composition of the county bench to contain two Cornish proprietors and the ducal servants Trethewey, Berewyk, and John Dabernon of Bradford, Devon, feodary and escheator of Cornwall.¹⁶ Cornish lawlessness, in fact, proved to be of particular concern to both king and duke. In 1343, the Crown launched an investigation at the prince's behest into fifty-five people 'and others' who had carried away wreck of the sea, smuggled, resisted ducal ministers, and broken seigniorial parks.¹⁷ The list reads like a Cornish 'Who's Who', naming gentlemen, burgesses, priors, and Bishop Grandisson himself. This was just the beginning, however, and over the next few years father and son investigated a breath-taking array of misdemeanours. 'Piracy' emerges as rife in the seas around the county, while Cornish gentlemen had usurped 'divers stannaries' by force, compelling the tanners to work as virtual slaves.¹⁸ This list marks the arrival of a new and vigorous lordship which, with the king's aid, aimed to govern the county thoroughly and expunge the tumultuousness of the previous years.

These efforts, however, did not distract either man from the great royal enterprise in France. In 1346, Edward heavily defeated the French army at Crécy and the sixteen-year-old prince won his spurs, attaining his majority.¹⁹ The survival of many of the prince's letters from these years allow for a detailed study of his lordship, revealing that he kept his subjects fully abreast of his successes and that he and his council took a keen interest in Cornwall.²⁰ In 1346, the prince removed Berewyk from the stewardship and

¹⁵ Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 259-260.

¹⁶ *CPR 1343-1345*, 394, 396, 399.

¹⁷ *CPR 1340-1343*, 582-583; *CPR 1343-1345*, 66.

¹⁸ *CPR 1338-1340*, 488; *CPR 1340-1343*, 449, 454, 553-554; *CPR 1343-1345*, 71, 74-75, 77, 401, 413-414.

¹⁹ *Froissart*, p. 92.

²⁰ *RBP*, i, 15; *CPR 1345-1348*, 123.

instead appointed his bachelor, Sir Edmund Kendale, who also served as steward of all the prince's lands.²¹ In November 1347, however, the prince re-combined the stewardship and shrievalty, placing both under the charge of Thomas atte Fenne.²² Household men enhanced the prince's authority over the peninsula, with his yeoman, Dabernon, diligently undertaking his duties, along with Moveroun, Trethewey, and Thomas Fitz Henry, the havener.²³ In 1346, however, the prince replaced Moveroun as receiver with Sir John Pirier, his clerk and chief-receiver.²⁴ Beyond this cadre, Tideman de Lymbergh, the prince's Hanseatic merchant, served as keeper of the coinage of tin and receiver from late 1347, though for the day-to-day exercise of his duties he relied on his attorney, John Conyng. Lymbergh also had direct connections with the king.²⁵ Finally, the prince retained the judge, William Sharesull, in his service, with Sharesull then acquiring a place on his council, while serving on the county bench and sitting as a justice of assize in Cornwall.²⁶ On coming of age the prince packed the duchy's hierarchy with his own staff, only two of whom hailed from west of the Tamar.

Combined with the peace commission of 1346, on which local proprietors such as Sir William Botreaux, Sir William Bodrugan, and Sir John Arundell sat, these retainers set about moulding Cornwall to the prince's will. Edward III again mobilised royal government in his son's favour, launching another series of investigations, including into the theft of the prince's Castilian armour in the Fal Estuary.²⁷ Royal justices also examined all Cornwall's ministers for corruption and empanelling jurors of 'bad report'.²⁸ Neither the prince nor the king would broker disorder. Yet the former's assertiveness prompted some complaints, and in 1347 the people of Cornwall grumbled about the numbers of 'under-bailiffs and others who meddle in the prince's name'.²⁹ Balancing the demands of lordship with those of tenants proved no simple task, but the prince's rule was surprisingly well accepted in the county.

²¹ DCO 3; *RBP*, i, 5, 13.

²² *RBP*, i, 141; DCO 4, records Kendale still accounting.

²³ SC6/812/3; *RBP*, i, 4-5, 10, 15, 45.

²⁴ DCO 3; *RBP*, i, 92.

²⁵ DCO 3-4; SC6/812/3; *RBP*, i, 9-10, 106.

²⁶ *RBP*, i, 106, 135.

²⁷ *CPR 1348-1350*, 61, 74, 157, 247, 518, 593.

²⁸ *CPR 1345-1348*, 388.

²⁹ *RBP*, i, 151.

In tandem with this assertion of his might, the prince mustered the county's wealth. In 1346 he announced that he would buy all Cornish tin, employing Lymbergh to do so, with the prince later leasing the stannaries to Lymbergh for 3,500 marks annually.³⁰ The prince also forced the havener to pay for wine that he had sold without licence and established commissions which investigated the leasing of conventional lands.³¹ He pursued outstanding debts, compelling Moveroun to pay over £200 to cover arrears from his term as receiver.³² Although Dabernon generally proved assiduous, the prince ordered him to 'make a better inquisition' on the lands of one tenant, Sir Thomas Prideaux.³³ The prince undoubtedly expected the duchy to pay its way, but even so he did not resort to extortion. Indeed, his care for the county is underlined by his pardoning of manorial fines following the outbreak of the Black Death.³⁴ His stands out as pragmatic munificence, however, as these dues were uncollectable.

The year 1349 also saw fresh administrative change, with the prince appointing his butler, John Skirkbeck, as sheriff-steward. Fenne had presumably died from the plague, having failed to keep up with his accounts.³⁵ Skirkbeck was but a 'caretaker steward', holding the post for a mere six months after which the prince appointed Dabernon to the office.³⁶ At this point the ubiquitous Dabernon held the posts of sheriff-steward, feodary, escheator, and constable of Trematon and Tintagel Castles, alongside that of JP.³⁷ Edward III also renewed the county bench 'by bill of the prince' himself, removing nearly all Cornishmen in favour of Moveroun, Skirkbeck, and Dabernon. In 1348, the prince himself was to appoint John Kendale as his receiver in Cornwall, another of his yeoman and constable of Restormel since 1337.³⁸ Household men formed the favoured instruments of the prince's lordship in Cornwall. This had been the case ever since 1346, becoming particularly apparent from 1349 onwards, as the plague rendered raising

³⁰ *RBP*, i, 9-10, 26-27, 32, 66; *CPR 1345-1348*, 373; *PROME*, iv, 420.

³¹ *RBP*, i, 64, 82-83, 91; SC6/812/3.

³² SC6/812/3; *RBP*, i, 32.

³³ *RBP*, i, 136-137.

³⁴ *RESDCornwall*, 102-105.

³⁵ *RBP*, ii, 7, 13, 29-30, 96.

³⁶ SC6/817/1 m. 19r; DCO 5.

³⁷ SC6/817/1 m. 19r; *RBP*, ii, *passim.*; Dabernon also held Exeter Castle and Dartmoor Chase, appointing deputies in many of these posts.

³⁸ *CPR 1348-1350*, 383; DCO 4-5; SC6/817/1 m. 1r.

collection of the duchy's dues all the more difficult. Nonetheless, the prince's responses to the changes wrought by the Black Death proved 'remarkable both in their wisdom and foresight'.³⁹

The prince, in fact, reached the tender age of nineteen in 1349 and embarked upon thirteen years of meticulous oversight. In ruling several expansive lordships, however, he delegated many powers of day-to-day administration to his subordinates. His council enjoyed a great deal of sway, with its 'sages' serving as the lordship's chief policy-making body. Although Sir John Wingfield played a prominent role in this institution, its composition changed with time. In association with the chief steward and receiver, the councillors directed local administrators 'within closely defined limits'.⁴⁰ Officials in the locality could also influence policy decisions, with Dabernon regularly providing information and advice concerning Cornish affairs.⁴¹ The prince himself governed the duchy actively until 1363, moreover, with some fifteen per cent of instructions relating to the duchy including a personal authorisation warrant.⁴² While he was in Cornwall in 1354 the prince issued some sixty per cent of lordly commands, but during the Poitiers Campaign this figure fell to nearly zero.⁴³ Yet it may be unwise overly to press the distinction between the prince and his administrators. He oversaw all these men, indeed he appointed them, and they therefore reflected his own ambitions and priorities.⁴⁴

The prince asserted control over county administration by relying on his own administrators, most of whom hailed from beyond Cornwall's bounds. Until 1354 Dabernon continued to hold his numerous offices, but not any longer the keepership of Tintagel.⁴⁵ Instead, Skirkbeck served as Tintagel's castellan and acted as controller of the stannaries, while Kendale continued as receiver and Restormel's keeper.⁴⁶ Fitz Henry likewise remained in charge of the havenry and Sharesull served often on judicial

³⁹ *RESDCornwall*, 116.

⁴⁰ *CPR 1345-1348*, 123; M. Sharp, 'The Household of the Black Prince', in *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, ed. T. F. Tout, 6 vols (Manchester, 1920-33), v, pp. 289-400 at 382-388; *RESDCornwall*, 43-45.

⁴¹ For example, *RBP*, ii, 159.

⁴² *RBP*, ii, *passim*.

⁴³ Excluding gifts to retainers.

⁴⁴ Cf. Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 31; Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, p. 371.

⁴⁵ SC6/817/1 m. 19r; SC6/817/3 m. 13r; *RBP*, ii, 14.

⁴⁶ *RBP*, ii, 6, 9.

commissions in Cornwall, with the king appointing him to the county bench in 1352.⁴⁷ The prince still retained some places for Cornish gentlemen in their county's government, however, with local proprietors collecting parliamentary subsidies and a few Cornishmen, Sir Reginald Botreaux and Henry Trewinnard amongst them, sitting on the county bench.⁴⁸

Yet the prince worked all these men hard, for he ran a formidably forceful regime. Skirkbeck felt the full force of his master's exactitude when ordered to 'labour more diligently' and 'painstakingly'.⁴⁹ The prince exhorted Dabernon to 'conduct himself well', ordering him to certify the council 'plainly' regarding Cornwall's parkers 'and which of them has least knowledge of what belongs to his office'.⁵⁰ The prince also pursued outstanding debts, protected his physical assets in the county, and even commented upon the 'overgrown' and moss-ridden lawns at Restormel.⁵¹ He had all the financial actions of his officials recorded in the ministers' accounts, which he subsequently had thoroughly audited, checking the honesty and competence of the accountant.⁵² The prince, in fact, empowered his auditors to supervise his lands, hear complaints, and even remove nefarious officials. Yet he did not simply demand diligence, but also rewarded it; granting does caught in 'his parks of Cornewaille' to Skirkbeck, Fitz Henry, Kendale, and Dabernon.⁵³ For 'past and future good service' Dabernon received the most magnificent gift, when the prince granted him Calstock Manor, worth £39 annually in 1337, for a yearly rent of just four marks.⁵⁴ The prince deliberately augmented Dabernon's estate to raise him to the pinnacle of south-western society, so that he served as a bastion of princely authority. Indeed, the prince also exercised considerable influence in Devon, receiving homage from many of its gentlemen, retaining the Courtenays, and at times enjoying the county's judicial profits.⁵⁵ His power had spread throughout the wider south west, with Cornwall forming the epicentre of his rule.

⁴⁷ *CPR 1350-1354*, 285.

⁴⁸ *CPR 1343-1345*, 399; *CPR 1350-1354*, 285; *CPR 1358-1361*, 345.

⁴⁹ *RBP*, ii, 24.

⁵⁰ *RBP*, ii, 7, 14.

⁵¹ *RBP*, ii, 2, 4-5, 9, 26-27, 30-31, 55-56.

⁵² *SC6/817/1-2*; *RBP*, ii, 5; *RESDCornwall*, 46-47.

⁵³ *RBP*, ii, 15.

⁵⁴ *RBP*, ii, 23; *CS*, 107.

⁵⁵ *RBP*, ii, 26, 155, 157, 196.

The prince was certainly quick to take advantage of a quarrel which erupted between his father and Bishop Grandisson in 1350. Before turning to these events, it is necessary to consider the implications of Bishop's Grandisson's episcopate for Cornwall. John de Grandisson, who succeeded the short-lived James Berkeley in the See, stands out as a cultured and civilised man, and though of Savoyard origins was to prove an active and enlightened diocesan.⁵⁶ He was enthroned in August 1328, but found his See in disarray, something he bemoaned in one of his many letters.⁵⁷ He therefore undertook an administrative purge, sacking Treiagu and appointing the busy local proprietor John Billioun as steward.⁵⁸ While the bishop enjoyed considerable sway to the west of the Tamar, he made the mistake of usurping some ducal rights and complaining about the duchy.⁵⁹ He sought to exploit the prince's youth and this – combined with disagreements with the king over provision to benefices – spurred Edward III to action.⁶⁰ In 1350, the king confiscated the bishopric's temporalities, quashing Bishop Grandisson's power and securing the prince's pre-eminence. At this time, the prince even ordered the archdeacon of Cornwall 'on his peril' to cease 'attending not so much to the salvation and correction of souls as to the levying and collection of great sums of money', as father and son tolerated no local alternative or opposition to their will.⁶¹

The prince pressed on with his crackdown on Cornish lawlessness throughout the early 1350s.⁶² Although the maintenance of public order required constant attention, as violence remained an ever-present feature of the peninsula, his attempts to police the county nonetheless discouraged nefarious activities. Edward III himself also continued to exercise power in Cornwall, issuing instructions concerning defence, wages, and so on.⁶³ Ducal and regnal authorities were mutually supporting, and the greater freedom which came with the prince's majority made him a more effective enforcer of

⁵⁶ A. Erskine, 'John Grandison', *ODNB*, xxiii, pp. 266-268.

⁵⁷ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 179-180.

⁵⁸ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 236, 553.

⁵⁹ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 840-841; *CS*, 139-140; *RBP*, i, 33.

⁶⁰ *CPR 1348-1350*, 462, 587; C. Whatley, 'Temporalities Be Taken: Edward III, Unruly Ecclesiastics and the Fight for the Benefices of Exeter, 1337-60', *Fourteenth Century England, VIII*, ed. J. S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 59-82.

⁶¹ *RBP*, ii, 9.

⁶² *CPR 1350-1354*, 24; *RBP*, ii, 6-7, 9-10, 12-13, 59; KB27/363 *Rex m.* 22r; JUST1/1445 mm. 51r-56r; JUST1/1448 mm. 83r-100r.

⁶³ *CFR 1347-1356*, 334-335; *CPR 1354-1358*, 124, 295.

both. The combination of a dependable, closely directed caucus of officials, regnal backing, and concern for peace greatly enhanced the prince's 'worship', encouraging the Cornish to solve disputes through the proper channels. Indeed, the Black Prince's Cornwall saw no outbreaks of vigilantism to match the assault on the earldom's sheriff-steward in 1326 in the county court itself.

The volume of information shuttling between the prince and his county stands out as one of the most striking characteristics of this period. The prince endlessly sent instructions to the peninsula, while the people of Cornwall equally frequently called upon his grace. Indeed, on one occasion the prince actually made the journey down to Cornwall, which none of his fourteenth-century predecessors had done. It was in 1354, when he made a personal itinerary, being met at the Tamar by the local landholder John Killigrew – sporting 3*s.* 4*d.* worth of new grey cape – who 'by custom' had to carry 'with the prince at the prince's entry into Cornewaille'.⁶⁴ This marked the county's symbolic submission to its lord and master. Wreathed by his lavish household, the prince then established himself in the freshly renovated Restormel Castle, one of the most impressive physical manifestations of lordly power in Cornwall: awe was to form the keynote.

While in Cornwall, the prince received homage and fealty from John Ingepenne, John le Jeu, John Killigrew, John Nansladron, and Warin Vautort, along with others in Devon.⁶⁵ The great and the good of Cornwall discharged this duty and he entertained them sumptuously while resplendently robed.⁶⁶ He also asserted his power over the county's burgesses, re-granting Helston's and Liskeard's charters to the benefit of his dignity and treasury.⁶⁷ The prince displayed his largesse through the giving of many gifts to Cornwall's friaries and others, also righting wrongs in the peninsula.⁶⁸ He even harnessed the efficacy of prayer to his rule, paying the chaplain William Pruet an extra 16*s.* 4*d.* 'to stay for life at the hermitage within the park of Rostormel to sing

⁶⁴ *RBP*, iii, 168; *RBP*, ii, 69.

⁶⁵ *RBP*, ii, 62-63, 67-68.

⁶⁶ *RBP*, ii, 68-69.

⁶⁷ CRO, BHEL/454; BLIS/2-3; *RBP*, ii, 63.

⁶⁸ *RBP*, ii, 63-65, 75-76.

masses there for the prince's ancestors, and the prince' himself.⁶⁹ The prince did everything expected of him, projecting his majesty and mastery to all.

At the same time, the prince made adjustments to the duchy's personnel. Dabernon, after serving as sheriff-steward for four years, escheator for eleven, and feodary for sixteen, resigned all his commissions, shifting his interests to Devon where he was to serve as sheriff.⁷⁰ The prince therefore appointed Robert de Eleford, his yeoman, to the sheriff-stewardship and made Skirkbeck feodary and escheator, on top of his other commissions.⁷¹ Although the prince had stripped the receivership from Kendale 'for certain causes', he soon restored the office to him.⁷² He sought to lighten Kendale's duties by appointing William de Wolleye under-keeper of Restormel Park, hopefully securing Kendale's greater diligence in collecting the lordship's issues.⁷³ The prince's attentions, in fact, stretched beyond senior ducal posts, as he also employed a host of new parkers across the county.⁷⁴ After the prince's visit, the king issued a new peace commission for the county dominated by justices and ducal men, almost certainly at the request of his son.⁷⁵ This emerges as by no means the only regnal-ducal innovation; Shareshull, John Wingfield, and Richard de Stafford sat on a general oyer and terminer commission in Cornwall, known as a commission of trailbaston. All three travelled to the peninsula in 1354-5 where they levied over 1,200 fines for disorder, yielding more than £178.⁷⁶

On the prince's departure from the county, the local administration settled into a stable rhythm. During this time, however, England and France were moving closer to war again.⁷⁷ In March 1355, the prince ordered his officials to oversee large-scale purveyance in Cornwall, in preparation for his forthcoming campaign. Four months later he arrived in Plymouth, where he stayed for two months before sailing for Aquitaine, with the duchy covering expenses of £1,000.⁷⁸ Since his attentions were soon to be consumed

⁶⁹ *RBP*, ii, 63.

⁷⁰ *RBP*, ii, 69, 84; *Sheriffs*, 35; he retained Trematon Castle.

⁷¹ *RBP*, ii, 62, 66; SC6/817/4 m. 13v; *CFR 1347-1356*, 444.

⁷² *RBP*, ii, 65.

⁷³ *RBP*, ii, 67.

⁷⁴ *RBP*, ii, 65-66.

⁷⁵ *CPR 1354-1358*, 123.

⁷⁶ JUST1/122/1-2; JUST1/123; JUST1/128/1-2; *CPR 1354-1358*, 120; *RBP*, ii, 86.

⁷⁷ Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 339-340.

⁷⁸ *RBP*, ii, 77, 80, 86; Barber, *Prince of Wales*, pp. 114-116.

elsewhere, the prince decided to set his lordship in order. He removed all the stannary bailiffs and John de Horsham, bailiff of Powdershire, on charges of negligence, also having the king renew the previous peace commission.⁷⁹ The prince then distributed another tranche of gifts, rewarding those loyal to him and securing their continued diligence.⁸⁰ With the duchy administration galvanised and his fleet amassed, the prince set sail in September on an expedition which would become celebrated for his victory over the French at Poitiers.⁸¹

In May 1357, the prince returned from France with his illustrious prisoner the French King in tow and peace negotiations began.⁸² In Cornwall, the prince removed Eleford from the sheriff-stewardship in October, later imprisoning him in Launceston Castle for his misdemeanours and debts of over £600.⁸³ The prince therefore re-appointed Dabernon, who was then to diligently and effectively serve his master until 1369.⁸⁴ While the prince also retained Kendale in his posts, in 1358 he was ‘amazed and moved with anger’ as Kendale was accused of leaking secret correspondence. If it happened again, the prince ‘would have him so chastised that others [would] take future warning’.⁸⁵ The prince often asserted his mastery over his subordinates, criticising Skirkbeck for having ‘hitherto failed to certify anything thereon’ concerning a ducal commission, ‘at which the prince marvels greatly’.⁸⁶ In 1359, the prince replaced Skirkbeck as feodary with Robert Wisdom, Liskeard’s parker since 1353, in the hope of securing greater diligence from Wisdom than his predecessor.⁸⁷ Household men continued to lead Cornwall, with the prince granting extra posts to those with proven track-records and removing those of negligible worth.⁸⁸ In 1358, the king again made changes to the membership of the county bench for his son, appointing a number of justices and Dabernon to this tribunal for the better management of the county.⁸⁹ Between 1354 and 1370, Edward III regularly renewed the

⁷⁹ *RBP*, ii, 80-81; *CPR 1354-1358*, 227.

⁸⁰ *RBP*, ii, 82.

⁸¹ *Froissart*, pp. 120-145.

⁸² *Froissart*, pp. 167-168; Barber, *Prince of Wales*, p. 152.

⁸³ JUST1/124 mm. 2d-3r, 5r; *RBP*, ii, 155.

⁸⁴ SC6/817/6 m. 2v; *RBP*, ii, 125.

⁸⁵ *RBP*, ii, 150.

⁸⁶ *RBP*, ii, 113.

⁸⁷ *RBP*, ii, 164; DCO 13.

⁸⁸ *RBP*, ii, 171.

⁸⁹ *CPR 1358-1361*, 68.

commissions of trailbaston for the same reason.⁹⁰ So long as these commissions worked hard – investigating assaults, murders, and false metal in tin ingots, and therefore levying a multitude of fines, some of over £100 apiece – the king and the prince together were able to curb Cornish lawlessness.⁹¹

Revenue formed a major concern for the prince and his administration at this time, and the income from the stannaries in particular. Dabernon, having promised to boost ducal profits, had to attend to coinages personally, as the prince was ‘greatly astonished’ at the decline in tin income.⁹² The prince went on to bemoan the collapse in profits, summoning both Dabernon and Kendale to London to explain.⁹³ In the same year he employed his own tanners and later sold a great part of the coined tin to London pewterers, before writing to Ghent and Bruges concerning the safe passage of Cornish vessels.⁹⁴ He was able to micro-manage his lordship from afar through his many lordly officers. The massive plague visitation of 1348-9, however, made his task more difficult.

The prince’s drive for money was to a large extent driven by his need to raise revenue to pay for war.⁹⁵ Despite King John’s capture, peace remained elusive and in 1359 Edward III and the Black Prince embarked upon one last big expedition, the Rheims Campaign, which was intended to deliver a knock-out blow against the French, but which was to end without a major success.⁹⁶ Despite the inconclusiveness of the expedition, a draft treaty was agreed between the two sides at Brétigny which was to usher in a decade of peace. In 1362, Edward III gave the prince a new and heavy responsibility, creating him the first and only prince of Aquitaine.⁹⁷ Later in 1363 he was to sail to his new principality from Plymouth, but first he was to travel to Cornwall to undertake his second itinerary in eight years. His movements are well documented.

⁹⁰ *CPR 1354-1358*, 120; *CPR 1358-1361*, 70; *CPR 1364-1367*, 444; *CPR 1367-1370*, 136; *RBP*, ii, 135, 146, 154, 168.

⁹¹ JUST1/128/1 mm. 5r-6d; JUST1/123; JUST1/124; JUST1/127 m. 1r; *RBP*, ii, 132, 153, 158.

⁹² *RBP*, ii, 149.

⁹³ *RBP*, ii, 155-156.

⁹⁴ *RBP*, ii, 157-158, 170, 162-163, 165.

⁹⁵ *RBP*, ii, 166-169; *CCR 1360-1364*, 98.

⁹⁶ Barber, *Prince of Wales*, pp. 158-169.

⁹⁷ Barber, *Prince of Wales*, pp. 175-179.

The prince stayed in Restormel over Christmas 1362 and spent considerable sums while there, but the visit proved to be a private affair.⁹⁸ Even so, he still made some personnel changes, and only half the stannary bailiffs of 1362 remained in 1363.⁹⁹ The county bench now comprised Cornish gentlemen, such as Sir William Bodrugan and Sir Richard Sergeaux, along with John Dabernon, rather than justices; tacit acknowledgment by the prince that the systems he had employed thus far to manage Cornwall would have to be re-thought.¹⁰⁰ While aboard his flagship, the prince granted Dabernon yet more lands as he had served his master so well.¹⁰¹ But the close supervision which had characterised the prince's rule to this point waned after 1363. Now that he had responsibility for the duchy of Aquitaine, the myriad problems of that territory consumed his attentions, leaving him with less and less time to administer Cornwall.¹⁰² The results are immediately visible in the prince's register which, previously so voluminous, now becomes greatly condensed and contains no personal authorisation warrants. The prince increasingly delegated the duchy's running to his council.

Yet the prince's administrators still mobilised Cornwall's resources and made gifts to local officials.¹⁰³ We should be wary of seeing too abrupt a shift of policy after the prince's departure, as few personnel changed.¹⁰⁴ The same men exercised power locally with much continuity, but a change had undoubtedly taken place. In September 1365, the council replaced John Kendale, receiver since 1348, with his kinsman, Richard Kendale, at John's 'own request on account of his inability'.¹⁰⁵ Even though the king renewed the commission of trailbaston in 1367, Edward III no longer appointed central court justices to the Cornish bench. Father and son realised that without unremitting supervision they could no longer overrule local power structures.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately the prince's register ends in 1365, leaving the administrative history of the duchy thereafter in comparative darkness. Nonetheless, the evidence of the prince's later appointments and his farming

⁹⁸ *RBP*, ii, 198, 202.

⁹⁹ *RBP*, ii, 201; SC6/817/8 m. 23v; DCO 15.

¹⁰⁰ *CPR 1361-1364*, 65, 207.

¹⁰¹ *RBP*, ii, 203.

¹⁰² Barber, *Prince of Wales*, pp. 208-225; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 420-421.

¹⁰³ *RBP*, ii, 204-215; SC6/817/8-10; E101/263/13; *CPR 1361-1366*, 303.

¹⁰⁴ SC6/817/8; DCO 17.

¹⁰⁵ *RBP*, ii, 213.

¹⁰⁶ *CPR 1364-1367*, 444; *CCR 1364-1368*, 390-391.

out of some Cornish manors reinforces this picture of his changed style of lordship.¹⁰⁷ The prince can hardly have had any time to devote to Cornwall now, as he was increasingly distracted by the affairs of Iberia. Castile had descended into civil war between the pro-English Peter the Cruel and his brother, Henry of Trastamara, the Valois candidate. Although the prince crushed Trastamara at the battle of Nájera in 1367, the campaign cost him his health and he never fully recovered.¹⁰⁸ As a result of all this, the maintenance of a continuous, direct relationship between the prince and his Cornish subjects grew harder and harder.

By 1367, Dabernon had served the prince for at least thirty years, during which time the ‘great and arduous business’ of ducal rule had formed his *raison d’être*.¹⁰⁹ Dabernon stands out as the prince’s south-western retainer-in-chief, but he could not go on forever. In 1368 he composed his will and he had died by late 1369, leaving his executors and his widow, Joan, to account for 1368-9.¹¹⁰ Dabernon had become synonymous with the sheriff-stewardship, and on his death the king tried to appoint Sir Richard Sergeaux as sheriff, but the prince quickly disabused both of the idea.¹¹¹ Instead, the prince appointed Richard Seck to take Dabernon’s place, though there are scant references to him and he only held office for a year.¹¹² In May 1371, the prince replaced Seck with his yeoman, William Cranewell, a former clerk to the chamberlain of North Wales.¹¹³ This, however, proved to be by no means the only office to experience change. The prince substituted his receiver, Richard Kendale, for the local powerbroker Ralph Trenewith at the same time, also replacing Robert Wisdom as feodary with Henry Cokyn of Lostwithiel.¹¹⁴ Yet Cokyn did not hold his new post for long, and from 1369 the Cornishman Henry Nanfan added this office to his responsibilities in the duke’s manorial administration.¹¹⁵ The king and prince also oversaw a rapid turn-over of the county bench. While the 1367 commission consisted of two duchy men and three proprietors, that of 1369 comprised two justices,

¹⁰⁷ *CPR 1377-1381*, 209.

¹⁰⁸ Barber, *Prince of Wales*, pp. 192-206; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 436-442.

¹⁰⁹ *CCR 1369-1374*, 29-30.

¹¹⁰ DCO 18; *Cornish Wills*, 31-35.

¹¹¹ *CFR 1368-1377*, 147; *CCR 1369-1374*, 271.

¹¹² SC6/818/1 m. 18r; *Sheriffs*, 21.

¹¹³ SC6/818/4 m. 8r.

¹¹⁴ DCO 18; SC6/818/1.

¹¹⁵ SC6/818/4 m. 9r.

Dabernon, Skirkbeck, and seven Cornishmen, with Sir John l'Ercedekne, John Trevarthian, and Otto Bodrugan among the latter.¹¹⁶

Such appointments mark the end of the long period of stability that had characterised the prince's rule. Although his household remained well represented in Cornwall, Cornishmen were to attain a prominence in shire-franchisal administration not seen for twenty years. The 1360s, in fact, saw 'local establishments' across the realm successfully assert control of local office-holding, with the greater role which Cornish proprietors gained in their county's government arising in part from this pan-English process. On the one hand, then, the prince accommodated the commonalty's growing expectations of self-regulation as part of a change in policy which sought to harness local power to his rule. On the other, however, the rise of Cornishmen to administrative prominence was also the result of the prince lacking the time and energy to enforce his will through assertive 'outsiders' as fully as he once had.

In 1369 England and France found themselves at war again, Charles V being intent on undoing the dramatic concessions of 1360. Unfortunately for Edward III, Charles proved a skilful opponent.¹¹⁷ The ailing prince tried to hold onto Aquitaine, but with his growing illness, his authority in the principality weakened and in 1371 he resigned his commission.¹¹⁸ He returned to England with his energies spent and his health broken. His frailty meant that there would be no return to the era of close supervision. Although the prince's final years are ill documented, there is evidence that he showed interest in Cornwall's sheriff-stewardship.¹¹⁹ The prince replaced Cranewell with Sir Richard Sergeaux in late 1375, the first Cornishman to hold the sheriff-stewardship since 1349, though a ducal retainer since at least 1368. In fact, the prince appointed yet more Cornishmen to shire-franchisal administration at this time, with Robert Tresilian, a Cornish lawyer, gaining both a seat on the county bench and a role in the duchy.¹²⁰ The rolling trailbaston commission came to an end in this period, however, with the

¹¹⁶ *CPR 1364-1367*, 434; *CPR 1367-1370*, 266.

¹¹⁷ Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 498-523.

¹¹⁸ *Froissart*, pp. 175-180; Barber, *Prince of Wales*, pp. 209-227; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 506-514.

¹¹⁹ SC6/818/4.

¹²⁰ SC8/333/E1038.

county's peace suffering as a result. In 1371, for instance, the king launched two commissions to investigate the breaching of ducal maritime prerogatives and assaults on officials, naming over 300 malefactors.¹²¹

Cornish lawlessness appears to have flared up again in the 1370s, although it is unlikely that it was ever totally expunged. From 1368 onwards, the court of king's bench repeatedly summoned some forty-one Cornishmen to appear for 'diverse transgressions', while tensions erupted between stannary-men and others in the county.¹²² Edward III's government also regularly made alterations to the county bench, with new appointments in 1370, 1375, and 1376, along with subsequent additions to these tribunals. Many Cornishmen now sat on the bench, folk such as Sir Ralph Carminow and Sir John Hamley, with 'outside' justices and ducal officials less prominent than in the earlier years of the prince's rule.¹²³ Neither the prince nor the king had the energy to quash disorder in the peninsula, a powerful testament to their twin declines. Without close supervision of the duchy the proper channels of redress were diminished, emboldening malefactors and prompting all in the county to look to their own resources. Lordship and kingship required constant attention, but the infirm prince and his geriatric father were no longer fit enough to bring much energy to the task.

Nationally, growing tensions found their outlet in the Good Parliament of 1376, the sessions of which afforded the most vocal expression of the nadir of Edward's long reign.¹²⁴ While tradition has it that the Black Prince was a covert support of the parliamentary Commons during these events, this view has since been discredited and there is no evidence that he sought to influence Cornwall's returns.¹²⁵ Although he had been fit enough to attend the opening of the parliament, another bout of sickness was to strike him down in May. He died on 8 June 1376.¹²⁶

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¹²¹ *CPR 1370-1374*, 170-173.

¹²² KB27/431 *Rex m.* 22r; KB27/433 *Rex m.* 6r; KB27/451 *Rex m.* 20r; *PROME*, v, 347.

¹²³ *CPR 1367-1370*, 418; *CPR 1370-1374*, 388, 397; *CPR 1374-1377*, 139, 141, 310, 313.

¹²⁴ G. Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975); Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 550-558.

¹²⁵ D. Green, 'Politics and Service with Edward the Black Prince', in *Age of Edward III*, pp. 53-68 at 65; Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 134-135.

¹²⁶ D. Green, 'Masculinity and Medicine: Thomas Walsingham and the Death of the Black Prince', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009), pp. 34-51; *Froissart*, p. 193.

Throughout his tenure of Cornwall, the prince had set about powerfully governing the county and raising as much money as he could, to these twin ends packing the duchy's hierarchy with his own staff, especially between 1346 and 1368. His rule had far reaching repercussions for Cornwall.

The prince's regime neither stands out as wholly beneficent nor even completely benign. His striking reliance upon 'outsiders' in no small part excluded Cornish proprietors from their traditional place of local authority, with Sir Richard Sergeaux the only Cornishman to appear in the 1368 muster of his household.¹²⁷ The prince's assertiveness and financial exactions did indeed draw down the ire of the county commonalty at times. Cornish complaints about the shrievalty in c. 1338, for instance, are a clear sign of dissatisfaction with ducal rule at this time.¹²⁸ The weight of the prince's government also led to complaint in 1347, when the people of Cornwall claimed that there were more 'under-bailiffs and others who meddle in the prince's name' than 'necessary'.¹²⁹ The prince's leasing of the stannaries to Lymbergh likewise prompted protest in parliament from the merchants of England, amongst whom the Cornish proved vociferous.¹³⁰ In 1356, the people of Cornwall again made 'great clamour' as the prince owed them 'a great sum of money' for purveyances.¹³¹ Neither did the prince brook local opposition to his will. In 1351, he sent a letter to each of Sir John Trevaignon and Sir John Arundell forbidding them from accompanying him on campaign because of their 'outrageous and offensive' bearing.¹³² In this instance he clashed with leading proprietors, for at times considerable tensions erupted between the prince and his Cornish subjects.

Yet there was no such thing as perpetual acrimony between the prince and the commonalty, as he engaged extensively with the people of Cornwall. This is best evidenced by the many petitions that Cornishmen and women individually and collectively sent to the prince, calling upon his intervention in their disputes; in 1375-6 alone, some nineteen petitions sent by Cornishmen

¹²⁷ E101/29/24; Cf. D. Green, 'Edward the Black Prince and East Anglia: An Unlikely Association', *Fourteenth Century England, III*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 83-98.

¹²⁸ SC8/193/9648.

¹²⁹ *RBP*, i, 151.

¹³⁰ *PROME*, iv, 420.

¹³¹ *RBP*, ii, 103.

¹³² *RBP*, ii, 9-10.

and women survive in a file of supplications sent to the prince.¹³³ All these people had faith in his judgements, and in responding to their entreaties he amassed much goodwill in the county. Indeed, the prince kept in close and continuous contact with Cornwall's residents through his officers, even though these men hailed mainly from beyond the peninsula's bounds. Strikingly, many of these 'outside' administrators became thoroughly integrated into the county, acquiring Cornish wives and lands, making these agents of lordly power more acceptable to Cornwall's residents.¹³⁴ And for all his assertiveness, there is no evidence that the prince manipulated the county's returns to parliament. The prince, in fact, responded to the commonalty's increasing demands for self-regulation in the 1360s and 1370s, drawing a far greater number of Cornishmen into shire-franchisal administration than in the earlier years of his rule. He also led some twenty-one Cornish gentlemen to war, in this way winning their loyalty both on the battlefield and back at home.¹³⁵ None of this is to deny that the prince relied mainly on a caucus of 'incomer' officials, but rather to highlight the fact that he interacted with his Cornish subjects.

In point of fact, the prince's rule proved to be relatively responsive and by no means relentlessly predatory. After the grumbling about purveyance which we have already noticed, for instance, the prince quickly assigned money for those 'out of pocket'. The wellbeing of the lordship ranked high in his priorities. When he was buying Cornwall's tin he agreed on a price of 22*d.* per foot, after 'being informed... that thereby the estate of the poor people will be very much relieved'.¹³⁶ In 1351, many people had hidden this metal to avoid tax, but the prince reduced fines for this misdemeanour on account of 'the present bad times and the poverty of the said persons'.¹³⁷ Two years later, the prince ordered the removal of the coinage to Lostwithiel unless this proved ruinous to poor tin-workers 'whose estate the prince would not wish to worsen'.¹³⁸ He had a highly developed sense of right, at times being 'greatly exercised in his conscience'.¹³⁹ When

¹³³ Below, pp. 164, 186-188.

¹³⁴ Below, pp. 181-183.

¹³⁵ Appendix III.

¹³⁶ *RBP*, i, 26.

¹³⁷ *RBP*, ii, 18.

¹³⁸ *RBP*, ii, 48.

¹³⁹ *RBP*, i, 5.

Lymbergh appeared to be becoming Pessagno redivivus, the prince forbade his interfering with tin-weights which, he said, 'he greatly dislikes, not only because of the dishonour which might attach to [the prince], but because of the damage and loss of the commonality'.¹⁴⁰ In 1357, he even excused customary fines owing to the 'hard years... of late', and five years later Dabernon pardoned rents 'in accordance with the charge which the prince gave.... by word of mouth' after a storm had battered the peninsula.¹⁴¹ The prince protected his subjects and respected legal process, with the result that the whole range of Cornish society received evidence of his goodwill. As John Hatcher has written, 'his estates were often governed with a degree of benevolence that far exceeded the feudal obligations of a lord to his tenants, and with a spirit of charity pitifully wanting in the administration of many ecclesiastical estates at this time'.¹⁴² Until 1363, then, the lordship stood near the heart of the prince's interests and was treated accordingly. He offered the county vigorous government in the interests of both the common good and the highest revenues, with both strands interrelated.

It is also worth considering the prince's promotion of peace, though any assessment remains impressionistic. Although the longstanding factors which undermined public order in Cornwall continued during the prince's tenure, in contrast to the final years of the earldom his lordship actually helped to establish order.¹⁴³ With his father's backing, the prince employed numerous practices to quash nefariousness. Consider, for example, his treatment of Sir John l'Ercedekne, a freebooter of the first order. After several episodes of disorder in which l'Ercedekne assaulted numerous people with what was called his 'confederacy', staged a prison break from Launceston, and twice received pardons on account of his military service, the prince confiscated his estates and forced him to pay large fines in annual instalments. These proved so substantial that in the 1360s l'Ercedekne asked to be excused payment on grounds of poverty.¹⁴⁴ The prince often employed debt to cripple malefactors, amongst them proprietors such as John Beville, John

¹⁴⁰ *RBP*, i, 71.

¹⁴¹ *RBP*, ii, 133, 189.

¹⁴² *RESDCornwall*, 127.

¹⁴³ Above, pp. 118-129.

¹⁴⁴ JUST1/123 m. 1r; JUST1/122/1 m. 12r; KB9/9 mm. 28, 34-35; *CPR 1334-1338*, 457; *CCR 1339-1341*, 629; *CPR 1340-1343*, 439; *CPR 1343-1345*, 66, 401; *CPR 1345-1348*, 113, 180, 494; *CPR 1350-1354*, 171; *RBP*, ii, 16-17, 19-21, 32-34, 45, 167-168, 179.

Trevarthian, and Nicholas Wamford, in this way securing their future compliance.¹⁴⁵ The prince's 'open-house' policy towards petitions likewise proved significant, as many folk took advantage of this point of contact. In responding to these supplications and brokering agreements whereby both parties may 'be appeased in the best manner possible', the prince forestalled much violence.¹⁴⁶ He became the accepted arbiter of justice, restoring confidence in formal mechanisms of dispute resolution.

Within the ranks of his officials, the prince identified strong-arm tactics and dismissed or admonished those who were guilty of them. In 1355, for instance, he retired John de Horsham, the bailiff of Powdershire, after it had come to light that Horsham had not only been negligent, but had also violently breached the peace on at least five occasions.¹⁴⁷ The prince believed in constant, close supervision, in 1358 ordering Shareshull to 'observe how the prince's ministers demean themselves towards the prince and the common people of those parts'.¹⁴⁸ The prince actively promoted peace, being aided in this by a king who was conscientious in his governance of the realm. Ducal and regnal power pulled together in Cornwall.

The prince had a powerful incentive to ensure the effective establishment of order, however, not least the fact that justice yielded income from fines. For example, when he ordered Shareshull to execute his commission of oyer and terminer in Cornwall, he said that he was to do so 'with as much profit for the prince as he can'.¹⁴⁹ Neither does the prince's record on law and order stand altogether unblemished. Although he punished his receiver, John Kendale, for nefarious behaviour, he then allowed him to remain in office. Kendale went on to employ his post to re-offend repeatedly, while his son committed yet more crimes.¹⁵⁰ Nor did the prince succeed in stamping out all disorder in the peninsula, as lordship was never all-powerful and crime remained commonplace in Cornwall.¹⁵¹ This point is worth emphasising, as the Cornish were still guilty of committing many disorders during the prince's rulership. On the other hand, his sometimes intrusive

¹⁴⁵ *RBP*, ii, 158-159, 169; JUST1/123.

¹⁴⁶ *RBP*, ii, 19.

¹⁴⁷ JUST1/128/1 m. 5r; *RBP*, ii, 20, 28-29, 80-81, 85.

¹⁴⁸ *RBP*, ii, 135.

¹⁴⁹ *RBP*, ii, 135.

¹⁵⁰ *RBP*, ii, 109; JUST1/122/2 m. 1r; JUST1/128/1 mm. 1r, 3r; JUST1/1476 m. 74d.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 235, 261.

lordship may actually have contributed in some degree to generating disorder by disrupting local conventions and standards of behaviour. 'Peace' formed a more subjective concept than at first it seems, and the prince enforced order for reasons beyond altruism.

After the prince's departure for Aquitaine in 1363, however, things began to change. With little time to manage the duchy in person he was no longer able to deal with disorder so effectively. The death or retirement of most of his senior administrators in Cornwall by 1369 exacerbated the problem, removing their steadying influence. The prince's infirmity and his father's dotage resulted in the county moving yet further out of their control, with the commonalty complaining about hundredal racketeering, trouble in the stannaries, and attacks on maritime prerogatives in the 1370s.¹⁵² Twenty years of close supervision could not altogether expunge a 'culture of violence'.

Taken together, we may well wonder what the commonalty of Cornwall made of the prince. In governing the peninsula so assertively he risked his lordship becoming overbearing and divisive, yet in many ways his iron fist in a velvet glove approach worked. And while quarrels undoubtedly arose between the prince and the county's residents, their scarcity is more noteworthy than their occurrence. By contrast, his mode of government provoked discontent in parts of Aquitaine, Cheshire, and the Welsh Marches.¹⁵³ So why not in Cornwall?

The county formed a land long-conditioned to extensive lordly-regnal governance, with a precedent for powerful administration, in contrast with the autonomy which the Gascons had long enjoyed. The absence of a resident great lord in Cornwall also left the Cornish gentry more susceptible to princely commands and blandishments. Little alternative to his lordship existed, with no tensions erupting with the ambitions of other noblemen, as in the March of Wales. The character and rule of the prince himself undoubtedly proved significant. He genuinely strove to provide justice and order in the county, answering petitioners, policing lawbreakers, and wooing

¹⁵² SC8/102/5080; *CPR 1370-1374*, 170-173; *PROME*, v, 347.

¹⁵³ Barber, *Prince of Wales*, pp. 209-215; Barraclough, *Cheshire*, p. 23; Morgan, *Cheshire*, pp. 101-102; Davies, *March*, pp. 269-273; G. Pépin, 'Towards a New Assessment of the Black Prince's Principality of Aquitaine: A Study of the Last Years (1369-1372)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 50 (2006), pp. 59-114.

leading Cornishmen with gifts.¹⁵⁴ While the prince collected as much money as he could, a powerful sense of reciprocity between his lordship and the commonalty still emerges. Close regnal-ducal relations proved just as significant, with Edward III consistently supporting his son's lordship with the full force of royal government. The prince therefore came to mediate regnal power in the peninsula, while also exercising authority of his own. The lordship, the Crown, and the county commonalty stand out as closely connected, earning the prince the fidelity of his Cornish subjects.

Lordship was a fine art, requiring sound delegation, constant supervision, endless energy, and good relations with dependents and kings alike. The lord stood at the centre of all this, a fact made all the more apparent when the prince's tenure is compared with that of his predecessors. As his great grandson was to do, Edward I had governed the county assertively, punishing malefactors and tautly managing the peninsula. Gaveston's impotent regime, however, saw the earldom slide into confusion and chaos. Edward II's policies in the stannaries alienated his Cornish subjects, fomenting much violence and spurring the county to 'disorderly politics'. It was only under John of Eltham that close supervision once again became the norm. As his nephew was to show, he had the want and ability to govern, and while he sought to boost revenues, he did so within the bounds of the law. Even when set against these other lords, however, we should shrink from terming the Black Prince's lordship as 'good', as the concept of 'good lordship' was perhaps too shot through with contradictions ever to be achievable. Yet there can be little doubt that the prince's regime worked, and that a lord's personality and priorities were reflected in the lordship that he and his officials forged.

The tenure of the Black Prince's son, Richard of Bordeaux, certainly brought more change to Cornwall. Richard became duke on the prince's death in 1376, less than a year later inheriting the throne of England itself from his aged grandfather, Edward III.¹⁵⁵ As he was a mere boy of eleven, however, a series of perpetual councils ran both the realm and his Cornish lordship, which remained vested in the Crown throughout this childless king's reign.

¹⁵⁴ *RBP*, ii, 15.

¹⁵⁵ For Richard II, see N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London, 1997); for a political narrative of the south west during Richard II's reign, see Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 132-197.

Indeed, Richard found himself unable to devote any significant time to the management of his duchy, as he had a whole kingdom to rule. Combined with his youth, this absence of assertive personal lordship left a vacuum of authority which saw considerable disorder arise within the county, not least the Carminow-Sergeaux-Trevarthian feud, and led to Richard farming-out many of the duchy manors.¹⁵⁶ Edward III had also partitioned the duchy in 1376, granting a third of its revenues to Richard's widowed mother, Princess Joan.¹⁵⁷ The princess often called upon her son's government in the peninsula, also seeking to influence its personnel when she secured the appointment of her own receiver, Sir William Brantingham, to the receivership of the duchy. On her death in 1385, however, her lands in Cornwall reverted to Richard himself.

Even through direct royal lordship emerges as more passive than that of the Black Prince, regnal government and the duchy together tied the county into the kingdom. The Lords Appellant certainly turned their attention to the staffing of the senior offices of ducal administration, removing Sir John Kentwood from the stewardship and appointing their supporter, Sir Hugh Courtenay, to the post. Richard also showed some concern for his lordship, having realised that in order to manage the county he needed a dependable powerbroker in the south west. From 1389 onwards, Richard therefore ceded the duchy castles and many of its manors to John Holand, earl of Huntingdon, who came to form a bastion of Ricardian kingship in the wider south west. The king raised Holand to the rank of duke of Exeter in 1397 in recognition of his regional might, and from this date Holand led the Cornish bench while his retainer, Thomas Shelley, held the stewardship of Cornwall.

Richard's arbitrary use of authority across the realm, however, alienated many of his subjects. When Henry Bolingbroke landed at Ravenspur in 1399 to reclaim the Lancastrian inheritance of which Richard had deprived him, few folk therefore rallied to the king's cause and Bolingbroke seized the throne. Even before Richard had been formally deposed, the new regime appointed the Lancastrian retainer John Wynter to the stewardship of Cornwall, such was the importance of this post. With their patron gone, John Holand and Richard's other creatures rose in revolt in the

¹⁵⁶ Above, pp. 123-124; *RESDCornwall*, 6-7.

¹⁵⁷ *RESDCornwall*, 7.

Epiphany Rising of late 1399 and early 1400, but the newly crowned Henry IV crushed this attempted coup and confiscated the duchy estates from Holand. By 1404 the king had returned all these lands to his son and heir, Henry of Monmouth, duke of Cornwall, who was later to rule both the lordship and the realm as Henry V. Monmouth came to rely on Sir John Arundell of Lanherne as his steward in the county, and he held this post from 1402 to 1430, tying the county into the politics and patronage of Lancastrian England. While Cornwall's royal lordship perennially linked the county closely to the rest of the kingdom, regnal power was more amply exercised by loyal royal lieutenants, amongst them the Black Prince and, if circumstances had not overtaken him, John Holand, than directly by the Crown itself. The king simply could not devote the time and energy required to micro-manage every part of his realm, exercising a less exacting lordship in Cornwall as a result: the paradox of direct royal lordship.

We should certainly not view comital, ducal, and regnal power simply in terms of concentric circles emanating out from the person of the lord, with each ring ever-further from him representing a weakening of the seigniorial or royal writ. While distance should not be dismissed altogether, as lords were advised to 'look upon' their estates often and then 'suche as serve you' will 'endevoure to doe the better', the royal character of the earldom-duchy resulted in the lordship forming a potent channel for regnal influence in the furthest south west, though of course the Crown never achieved absolute control.¹⁵⁸

For over forty years between 1300 and 1420 the king himself held the lordship, while the fact that Queen Isabella, John of Eltham, the Black Prince, Princess Joan, and Prince Henry all enjoyed royal status resulted in the earldom-duchy remaining a conduit for regnal power during their tenures. Royal and lordly officials often overlapped, with men such as Sir William Shareshull serving as both a royal judge and a ducal councillor. This served to draw regnal personnel and administrative practices to west of the Tamar. Indeed, the Crown afforded these royal lords the full scope of its administration, with the king regularly suing out commissions of oyer and terminer on their behalf. Strikingly, all 1,200 of the fines levied in 1354-5

¹⁵⁸ *Walter of Henley*, pp. 342-343; Cf. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 30.

derived from a commission established by Edward III for the Black Prince. The prince, in fact, used his personal influence with his father to secure further concessions for his lordship and the county, amongst them the re-issuing of the stannary charter.¹⁵⁹ He even drew upon the Crown's institutional memory, paying clerks to search through the king's treasury for 'diverse matters' relating to his lordships.¹⁶⁰ At the same time, the Crown depended on all these royal lords to govern the earldom-duchy effectively and keep the county's peace, carrying regnal administration into Cornwall. The earldom-duchy and the Crown thus proved to be inexorably linked and mutually buttressing.

The degree of engagement between the earl-duke-king and the residents of Cornwall also emerges as striking. Not only did the men and women of the peninsula call endlessly upon the grace of their royal lords, but when the lordship sank into decline they employed violent self-help to send a powerful statement concerning the depth of their discontent. Through conflict and co-operation, the earldom-duchy meshed the county and its people into the political mainstream of the realm. As the lordship proved essential to the dignity of the heir apparent, or indeed to the king himself, the earldom-duchy played a pivotal role in securing the stability of the kingdom at large. While this was sometimes to the county's detriment – Edward II's untrammelled, predatory tenure stands as a case in point – the commonalty cherished the direct line of communication that their lordly-kingly connections yielded, regularly calling upon both the king and the earl-duke to intervene in Cornish affairs. So it was that the exercise of royal lordship pulled Cornwall towards greater integration with the wider realm, a process which the county's residents actively furthered.

¹⁵⁹ *CChR 1341-1417*, 12.

¹⁶⁰ *RBP*, iv, 284.

III

Connectivity: Cornwall and the Wider Realm

Connectivity Frameworks

Although Cornwall possessed a historical and cultural identity of its own, the county also depended on the place it held in the kingdom. Regnal government played an essential role in bestowing coherence upon Cornwall itself, influencing every aspect of Cornish life. The following discussion explores how Cornwall cohered within the wider realm, by studying Cornish connectivity. But first to definitions; Peregrine Horden's and Nicholas Purcell's study of the Mediterranean gave the idea of historical connectivity wide currency. The co-authors conceptualised this sea and its hinterland 'of intense topographical fragmentation' as being overlaid by 'a kaleidoscope of human micro-ecologies', which in turn were densely interconnected. Connectivity in this sense 'describes the way micro-regions cohere, both internally and with one another' in this large, interdependent area, by '*potentially* all-around... nearly frictionless communication and movement'.¹ Connectivity, then, rests on the twin pillars of communication and movement.

In the case of late medieval England, a slightly different conceptual structure needs to be sketched from that applicable to the Mediterranean.² Indeed, the following discussion will focus on pan-English connections alone. Consideration will be given to the movement of people, goods, and ideas brought about by the needs of the Crown, warfare, lordship, commerce, the law, and the Church. Connections which transcended Cornwall emerge as ubiquitous, for by the fourteenth century the people of the peninsula had become interwoven into pan-English networks of association. Careerists formed 'social bridges', who should be seen as linking the county's residents to a galaxy of contacts across the realm.³ Such personal, communicative, and structural cross-ties bound Cornwall into a kingdom-wide nexus of connections, imbuing the realm with cohesive and coercive substance. The

¹ P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea, A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 123-172; P. Horden, 'Situations Both Alike? Connectivity, the Mediterranean, the Sahara', in *Saharan Frontiers, Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, ed. J. McDougall and J. Scheele (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2012), pp. 25-38 at 27-29; P. Horden, 'Afterword', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 7 (2016), pp. 565-571.

² P. Horden, 'Introduction: Towards a History of Medieval Mobility', in *Freedom of Movement*, pp. xvii-xxxiv; W. R. Childs, 'Moving Around', in *Social History of England*, pp. 260-275.

³ For social networks, Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, pp. 281-346; A. Barabási, *Linked, The New Science of Networks* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002).

following study, then, is concerned with inland connectivity, whereas Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell considered connectivity across an inland sea. Nonetheless, the conceptual framework outlined by these historians proves valuable to our understanding of England, which formed a densely interlinked kingdom. A qualitative picture will be sketched, to indicate something of the flavour and changing nature of Cornish connectivity in the late medieval period. Pan-English links disseminated an all-pervasive consciousness of Cornish integration, for England formed a collectivity of communication and movement, a kingdom of connectivity.

6. Regnal Connectivity

The king formed the centre of the hub of all pan-English interactions. The Crown reached out physically and symbolically to every corner of the realm through the king's highways, a physical network which bound England together, proclaiming and encouraging interactions.¹ Indeed, the 'royal road' in Cornwall stood as a testament to the county's many connections beyond the Tamar.

The Crown formed no passive entity, however, actively deploying administrators across the kingdom in the defence of its interests. This led to the introduction of a striking profusion of 'outsiders' into the peninsula. The king often despatched sergeants-at-arms to the county, as these men served as his 'eyes and ears' in the locality.² During the course of their duties they supervised government in Cornwall, reporting back to their master about conditions in the county. It seems that at times they engaged in activities beyond their official business, something suggested by the fact that in 1361 the sergeant William Walklett owed £60 to Michael Ude of St Columb Major.³ The Crown sent other employees to Cornwall on an *ad hoc* basis. In 1316, for instance, the London goldsmith John de Castleare travelled to the peninsula on what was termed Edward II's 'business'.⁴ Numerous royal clerks also made their way to Cornwall, especially those who oversaw royal mineral rights in the south west. The controllers of the king's silver and lead

¹ Childs, 'Moving Around', pp. 263-264; Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, p. 128.

² *CCR 1346-1349*, 412; R. Partington, 'Edward III's Enforcers: The King's Sergeants-at-Arms in the Localities', in *Age of Edward III*, pp. 89-106.

³ C131/12/13.

⁴ *CPR 1313-1317*, 519.

mines in Cornwall and Devon, amongst them Thomas de Swavesey of Cambridgeshire, managed the extraction of ore and investigated new deposits.⁵ Clerks of this kind were of metropolitan outlook, with their mandates leading them to interact with the whole range of Cornish society. Royal administration depended on the movement of officials, people whose influence radiated widely as a result of their regnal commissions.

Cornishmen are certainly found in positions of royal employment which indicate that they had settled far from their native county. Numerous royal messengers hailed from the peninsula, with Odo de Cornubia, for example, active in places as distant as Chester and Sandwich.⁶ Other Cornish careerists achieved more exalted positions in the royal administration. John Urban of Helston and Southfleet, Kent, for instance, made his fortune in tin and sat often for Helston. He went on to serve as lieutenant to the admiral of England and rose to the office of royal diplomat, treating with the duke of Burgundy and the Flemish towns on behalf of Henry IV and Henry V.⁷ His appointments indicate that Crown employment gave this Cornishman the opportunity to have a role in international affairs. Urban's will of 1420 recorded his wish to be buried in Southfleet Church, Kent, while also remembering a multitude of people and places west of the Tamar.⁸ Hugh Treganon served Edward III in a more personal capacity. He first appears as a king's sergeant and purveyor of the officer of baker, with Edward later appointing him usher and doorkeeper of his chamber.⁹ Treganon held this post until his death in 1343 and was rewarded 'in consideration of his long service' with grants from York to London, including the portership of the archbishop of Canterbury's palace.¹⁰ He never forgot his Cornish roots, however, and neither did his master, for in 1331 the king granted him the lease of the manors of Helston and Moresk in Kerrier.¹¹ In 1343, Treganon had engineered the appointment of his kinsman, Serlo Treganon, as a yeoman of the royal buttery, but Serlo's untimely death in 1350 ended his promising

⁵ *CCR 1296-1302*, 433; *CPR 1338-1340*, 101; *CPR 1340-1343*, 564; *CCR 1343-1346*, 406.

⁶ M. C. Hill, *The King's Messengers, 1199-1377, A List of all Known Messengers, Mounted and Unmounted, who Served John, Henry III, and the First Three Edwards* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 137, 36.

⁷ *HOP*, iv, 690-692.

⁸ *Cornish Wills*, 54-56.

⁹ *CPR 1330-1334*, 8, 86, 89, 369; *CCR 1330-1333*, 489; *CCR 1343-1346*, 107.

¹⁰ *CPR 1340-1343*, 392, 458; *CPR 1330-1334*, 369, 487; *CPR 1334-1338*, 108.

¹¹ *CFR 1327-1337*, 261-262.

career.¹² A trickle of Cornishmen served their king in such capacities, amongst them Sir Robert Beaupel (deputy larderer), Sir Ralph Botreaux (royal diplomat), and Sir John Arundell (vice-admiral of England), as the Crown's magnetising influence enveloped every corner of the realm.

The offices of local administration formed a permanent framework for the movement of people into and out of Cornwall. In order to enforce his writ, the king regularly dispatched trusted royal appointees, such as justices and escheators, to the county. The Crown also drew a considerable body of Devonians into Cornish administration, with the Devonian lawyer, John Copelston, serving as escheator and receiver in the duchy in the 1390s. Conversely, a steady flow of Cornishmen held office in Devon, among them the sheriff John Kendale. Regnal posts formed a potent network of information and influence. The hundreds of men who held office in fourteenth-century Cornwall connected the king to all his subjects in the peninsula. The Crown despatched thousands of writs to these administrators every year, and the county commonalty sent many communications in return. Even the lowliest royal appointee in some sense served as a representative of his king, for others viewed these men as the local personifications of regnal power.¹³ Indeed, the local office-holders grew in number across the century, drawing a greater proportion of the Cornish gentry into the magistracy.¹⁴ This expansion both broadened and deepened interactions between government and the whole range of the county's populace, binding the realm ever tighter together. When the legion temporary commissions issued by the Crown are also considered, the degree of connectivity becomes quite striking.

The emergence of the king's affinity, an affinity of shire knights, in the later fourteenth century furthered these interactions. From the late 1380s, Richard II set about recruiting leading provincial men into his service, in Cornwall retaining John Chenduyt, John Treverbyn, John Trevarthian the younger, and Mark and John Michelstow.¹⁵ These proprietors formed a social bridge between the county and the court, with Treverbyn employing his place

¹² *CPR 1343-1345*, 12; *CIPM*, ix, 284.

¹³ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 9.

¹⁴ Above, chapter two.

¹⁵ *CPR 1388-1392*, 398; *CPR 1391-1396*, 190, 569; *CPR 1396-1399*, 293; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 265-269; see, C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity, Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven and London, 1986).

in the latter to secure a pardon for Thomas Kendale's skulduggery in the former.¹⁶ After seizing the throne, Henry IV continued to recruit from the gentry, with Sir John Arundell of Lanherne assuming the role of his Cornish retainer-in-chief.¹⁷ Although the Arundells had already been of consequence in the fourteenth century, they rose to ascendancy partly as a result of this Lancastrian connection. Henry appointed Sir John 'the magnificent' as steward of Cornwall in 1402, with Arundell retaining this position until 1430. During this time Sir John served as a royal powerbroker under three kings, furthering interactions between Cornwall and the court, while overseeing the aggrandisement of his family.¹⁸ Other Cornishmen also benefited from royal largesse. John Nanfan (d. 1458) served as an esquire of the body to Henry VI, governor of the Channel Islands, and sheriff of Cornwall and Worcester. He too grew fat on royal grants, acquiring the manor of Birtsmorton, Worcestershire, to supplement his Cornish estates.¹⁹ All these careerists linked 'the household and court to the outlying regions of the realm', drawing Cornwall more closely into the kingdom.²⁰

The law also proved essential to regnal connectivity, and although we will return to this subject below, it requires some attention here.²¹ The enforcement of the law was one of the main responsibilities of a king, with regnal regulation 'seen as the essence of government'.²² Even the hundredal court of Penwith, near Land's End, heard cases *contra pacem domini regis*.²³ This regnal-legal omnipresence provided yet more substance to the realm, as all the king's subjects appreciated the length of his judicial reach. Across the fourteenth century the scope and scale of royal justice expanded greatly, rendering the king's power all the more apparent. Legal prerogatives likewise created a multitude of personal contacts, with royal justices itinerating to the county and Cornish residents pursuing cases in the central courts. The king's law became increasingly intertwined with local society, leaving the county's residents in little doubt about their integration into the realm.

¹⁶ *CPR 1388-1392*, 398.

¹⁷ Ormrod, *Political Life*, p. 21; for John of Gaunt's following, Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*.

¹⁸ *HOP*, ii, 58-61; Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 27.

¹⁹ *CPR 1441-1446*, 315; *Cornish Wills*, 75, 235; *Victoria County History of Worcestershire*, ed. W. Page, 4 vols (London, 1901-26), iv, p. 31.

²⁰ Saul, *Richard II*, p. 268.

²¹ Below, pp. 209-229.

²² Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp. 10-11.

²³ 'Three Courts', pp. 181-182, 194.

The fiscal machinery of England yielded further centripetal strength to the kingdom, largely because the Crown levied royal taxes regularly in this period.²⁴ Subsidy collectors often itinerated to the peninsula, as the people of Cornwall were subject to the same obligation to contribute to parliamentary taxation as the residents of every other shire.²⁵ The coercive powers of these officials made all aware of their presence, with the Crown taxing over 6,000 Cornishmen and women in 1327 alone. When it is remembered that a whole customs service also collected the king's dues, the all-pervasiveness of royal money-raising mechanisms is rendered yet clearer still.²⁶ Taxation touched all the inhabitants of Cornwall, making them contributors to the common good.²⁷ Indeed, fiscal considerations created another point of contact between the king and his subjects. In c. 1380, for instance, the subsidy collector, Thomas Collan, beseeched Richard II to excuse the parish of Lanteglos-by-Fowey and others their tax liabilities.²⁸ He claimed that a Spanish raid had crippled these areas, informing his king about conditions in Cornwall.

The Crown, then, created and sustained a multitude of connections across the kingdom, with all these personal and structural ties binding the realm together. The king employed every royal official west of the Tamar to defend regnal rights, with force if necessary. Here especially, the importance of these officials – and ultimately of the king himself – was brought sharply into focus. The Crown likewise held administrators accountable for their time in office, with the government imprisoning Sir John Petit in the Tower in 1339 for debts accruing from his tenure as sheriff-steward.²⁹ Regnal government spread consciousness of Cornish integration throughout the peninsula.

The king, however, did not simply impose government upon a resentful people in the county. By the fourteenth century the residents of Cornwall actually welcomed royal government, often inviting regnal involvement in their affairs. Proprietors certainly sought positions in local administration, as these posts provided the means to secure greater power and standing in Cornwall itself. While Henry Trewinnard, for instance, did not

²⁴ W. M. Ormrod, 'England in the Middle Ages', in *RFS*, pp. 19-52.

²⁵ The Crown excused tinnars parliamentary subsidies, above, pp. 30-31.

²⁶ For instance, E122/113/55; see, E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547* (Oxford, 1963).

²⁷ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 66; Ormrod, 'Common Profit'.

²⁸ SC8/40/1954.

²⁹ *CCR 1339-1341*, 169; *CPR 1350-1354*, 81.

hail from a leading lineage, his seat on the county bench throughout the 1350s and 1360s made him a man of importance in the county. Cornwall's knights similarly sought such appointments, valuing the influence that they bestowed. Eight scions of the family of Carminow held office in the fourteenth century, providing this dynasty with a significant and sustained say in county affairs. Sir Ralph Carminow, in fact, sat on the county bench on some ten occasions, represented Cornwall in three parliaments, and held the shrievalty in 1378-9. Service of this kind made him all the more mighty, and in the 1380s he remodelled his manor house at Carminow, in St Mawgan-in-Meneage, to match his pretensions and proclaim them in stone.³⁰ The gentry evidently depended upon such positions for self-aggrandisement, while at the time the Crown relied upon proprietors for the enforcement of the royal writ. Cornish gentlemen and the king emerge as strikingly interdependent, with the growing number of office-holders furthering this reciprocity. Yet belief in the Crown's efficacy stretched far beyond propertied society. The people of Cornwall as a whole depended upon royal justice, calling upon the king through judicial commissions, petitions, and the like, with entreaties seen most clearly in parliament.

Parliament formed the focal point for the political life of the entire realm, yet this had not always been so. It was only in the period between 1290 and the late 1320s that the Lower House, the Commons, achieved real prominence. Kings and magnates increasingly called upon the knights and burgesses to validate and publicise their policies during this time, forging the Commons into a more coherent force.³¹ Parliament's clout was only to burgeon in the century after 1320. The Lower House held a pre-eminent position in the passing of legislation, also serving as the instrument through which kings sought consent for taxation and legitimacy in general.³² Cornwall sent two knights of the shire to this increasingly assertive body, as did every county.³³ However, the striking density of parliamentary boroughs in the peninsula resulted in as many as fourteen Cornish spokesmen sitting in each parliament. As a result, the names of some 500 MPs returned from Cornwall survive, with even this list incomplete. Parliamentarians attended for a

³⁰ *Reg. Brantingham*, ii, 586.

³¹ Maddicott, *English Parliament*, pp. 335-342.

³² Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp. 66-71.

³³ Above, pp. 46-49.

multitude of reasons, most of which are now lost, yet each had authority to speak for his locality in the greatest debating chamber in the realm.³⁴

Figure 2: Petitions submitted by the men and women of Cornwall

Year	Individual Named Petitioners			Institutional Petitions (e.g. the priory of Bodmin)			Common Petitions (e.g. from towns and hundreds)			Common Petitions from the county commonalty			No named Petitioner		
	KC	PC	ED	KC	PC	ED	KC	PC	ED	KC	PC	ED	KC	PC	ED
1300-1310	14	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	2	-	-	7	-	-
1310-1320	12	-	-	2	-	-	5	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
1320-1330	9	-	1	3	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-
1330-1340	5	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
1340-1350	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1350-1360	2	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
1360-1370	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
1370-1380	8	-	19	-	-	1	1	-	2	3	1	2	5	-	-
1380-1390	30	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
1390-1400	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
1400-1410	1	5	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
1410-1420	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	87	11	62	9	-	1	19	2	-	22	2	2	16	-	-

Key: KC relates to petitions submitted to the king and his council; PC refers to petitions sent to the Parliamentary Commons; ED relates to petitions submitted to the earl-duke.

Sources: SC8; *RBP*, ii; *PROME*; these figures almost certainly represent the survival rates of petitions rather than the totality submitted, especially for those supplications sent to the earl-duke. A further four petitions submitted to the king originated from too wide a possible date range to be included in the table.

The Cornish enjoyed a disproportionately large voice in the parliamentary Commons, submitting a multitude of petitions which articulated a mixture of complaints and requests, with as many as 172 petitions sent to the king, council, and parliament surviving from the period 1300 to 1420.³⁵ In 1315, for instance, Katherine Giffard twice called upon the

³⁴ For concepts of representation, see M. V. Clarke, *Medieval Representation and Consent* (New York, 1964).

³⁵ Cf. W. M. Ormrod, 'Introduction: Medieval Petitions in Context', in *Medieval Petitions*, pp. 1-11.

king's grace. In the first instance, requesting remedy after Sir William Millburn had corruptly administered one of her manors for some six years, before selling it to a 'stranger'; and in the second, seeking restitution after Lawrence of Cornwall and 'others unknown' had attacked her property in Helston, seizing £200 of goods along with sixteen silver spoons.³⁶ The auditors of the petitions in parliament responded in both cases, granting Giffard a writ to have 'the contents of the petitions heard and determined' and enrolling this answer in the official parliamentary record. In fact, people from a wide cross-section of county society submitted petitions in parliament. The burgesses and tenants of the borough and manor of Helston, for example, complained that the sheriff-steward had continued distraining them for a fifteenth, even though they had already paid the eighth penny of their goods to Edward II.³⁷ The endorsement records that the barons of the exchequer were 'to do justice on the contents of the petition', as the House facilitated a dialogue between the king and his Cornish subjects, with the Parliament Rolls and other surviving petitions providing only a partial impression of the cut and thrust of contemporary lobbying.³⁸

More to the point, the county commonalty itself employed petitions on some twenty-four occasions. In 1315, the people of Cornwall complained that Antonio Pessagno's manipulation of the stannaries had resulted in over 2,500 of the county's 3,000 tin workers abandoning their trade:

'[Therefore] the moors will be closed and... harm beyond estimate will come to the king, and his people of the same country will be destroyed... [as] the said Anthony through his merchants has taken from them by extortion £6,000 in these two and a half years.... [and] through the said tin the people of the said country used to be provided with cloth, wine, iron, salt and other merchandise, in respect of which nothing now arrives...'³⁹

This metal was by no means Cornwall's only concern, with the county calling upon the king's intervention regarding everything from justice (1315) to

³⁶ *PROME*, iii, 60.

³⁷ *PROME*, iii, 61.

³⁸ From early in Edward III's reign the government only had 'public' business enrolled, Dodd, *Justice and Grace*, p. 89.

³⁹ *PROME*, iii, 99-100.

defence (1378 and 1405), and the Crown launching investigations on each occasion as a result.⁴⁰ While common petitions could veil sectional interests, these supplications also arose from universal concerns which drew the county and kingdom together. Matters of tax, tin, and war affected the whole range of Cornwall's populace, and it is inconceivable that at these times the county's parliamentarians would not have combined to lobby for such all-embracing interests. These MPs also expressly linked Cornwall's concerns with those of their king and the rest of the realm, as all emerge as interdependent. A two-way discourse sustained political communication, with the demands of subjects playing just as significant a role in spurring the government to action as royal ambitions.⁴¹

Parliament also performed an essential role in the transmission of information. The government had statutes and other royal *acta* carried through in the House announced in sessions of the county court, while gossip circulated whenever members returned home.⁴² As ever, MPs required expenses and constituents met these, being made only too aware that they were collectively represented in the House. Conversely, parliament provided the opportunity for complaint to be made to the king himself, who was afforded a 'worm's eye view' of his kingdom. In 1315, for instance, Lostwithiel's members argued that the coinage of tin should be returned to the town, as its relocation to Bodmin had resulted in 'a great quantity of tin' being 'carried secretly by sea and by land'.⁴³ This request fell on receptive ears, with the endorsement recording that the king and council ordered the re-establishment of Lostwithiel's staple.

Cornish representatives, moreover, interacted with their fellow MPs. In 1414, Cornwall and Devon together submitted a petition concerning cloth duties, with the king promising 'to consider this further', while in 1380, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Sussex had all combined to complain about the destruction caused by Richard II's

⁴⁰ *PROME*, iii, 100; *PROME*, vi, 89-90; SC8/102/5068; Dodd argues that SC8 ('Ancient Petitions') were mainly presented in parliament, G. Dodd, 'Parliamentary Petitions? The Origins and Provenance of the 'Ancient Petitions' (SC 8) in the National Archives', in *Medieval Petitions*, pp. 12-46.

⁴¹ Dodd, *Justice and Grace*, pp. 47, 50, 319.

⁴² Maddicott, *English Parliament*, p. 370.

⁴³ *PROME*, iii, 69-71.

soldiers.⁴⁴ With parliament summoned on an increasingly regular basis, the Crown – albeit inadvertently – brought into being an ‘experienced body of MPs’ who perceived themselves as ‘principal lobbyists for the kingdom’s welfare’.⁴⁵ The House therefore developed an increasingly corporate, self-confident personality, which the petitioning lexicon came to reflect.⁴⁶ Whereas in 1300 Cornwall’s representatives had submitted petitions addressed to the king and his council, a century later petitioners often requested that the parliamentary Commons intercede on their behalf.⁴⁷ Indeed, the commonalty of the entire realm regularly lobbied the king, notably concerning the operation of local administration and the policing of lawlessness.⁴⁸ Increasingly parliament came to guide regnal government, shaping and thwarting royal policy. The duality of the House in dealing with both humdrum Cornish events and high-flown politics, which reverberated through the peninsula, rendered it all the more significant. Parliament nurtured and enlarged ‘a politically aware public’, with a remarkable number of Cornish spokesmen privy to these debates.⁴⁹

Yet despite the extraordinary edifice of late medieval England’s government, with its deep, pervasive roots, we would do well not to overstate its strengths. Consider, for example, the paradox of petitioning. On the one hand, calls upon the king’s grace demonstrate the efficacy of royal power, while on the other, they lay bare the limitations of a government which had failed to correct the abuses which had first prompted these supplications. It is important to remember that as the Crown was dependent on the voluntary services of the gentry to fill offices in the shires, its power could never be absolute. Regnal and comital-ducal government were also tied together in Cornwall, greatly influencing the operation of the king’s administration in the peninsula. Indeed, the residents of Cornwall chose to petition their duke more often than their king during the tenure of Black Prince – as they probably did whenever an earl-duke oversaw the county – though it should be noted that they still called upon the grace of Edward III, as Cornwall remained part of

⁴⁴ *PROME*, ix, 105-106; *PROME*, vi, 165-166.

⁴⁵ Dodd, *Justice and Grace*, p. 132.

⁴⁶ Maddicott, *English Parliament*, p. 277; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 454-455.

⁴⁷ *PROME*, viii, 491; Dodd, *Justice and Grace*, p. 154.

⁴⁸ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 106-147; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 256.

⁴⁹ Maddicott, *English Parliament*, p. 374.

the realm.⁵⁰ While medieval England did not form a unitary state, royal government still created a strikingly interlocked kingdom in which pan-English concerns overlapped with local interests.

Constant co-operation, conflict, and discourse between the king and his subjects forged and sustained the kingdom.⁵¹ Such connections spread awareness of royal power and Cornish integration throughout the whole range of local society, with John Trevisa in no doubt that, as he put it, ‘Cornwayle is in Engeland’.⁵² Regnal government thus stood at the heart of all pan-English interactions, undergirding the realm and intra-English connectivity. Yet of the many links generated by the Crown, it is military connectivity which stands out as one of the most potent.

7. Military Connectivity

The three Edwards forged England into a ‘war state’, with the bellicose ambitions of these kings mobilising the people and resources of their realm on a scale which dwarfed anything attempted by their predecessors.¹ The Crown certainly drew Cornwall into the war effort. Between the battles of Falkirk in 1298 and Agincourt in 1415 there were some 415 instances of named Cornish men-at-arms and mounted archers fighting in major royal expeditions.² Twenty-four Cornishmen served at Crécy-Calais and twenty-nine fought in the earl of Arundel’s expedition of 1388, but only two campaigned with John of Gaunt on his ‘great march’ in 1373.

The changing demands of war greatly influenced the nature and scale of Cornish military service. While the large Falkirk and Bannockburn campaigns drew about eighteen gentlemen to Scotland, the smaller armies operating north of the border in the 1330s proved to be more poorly attended. The Hundred Years’ War was to result in a dramatic expansion of Cornish service, with men from the county fighting in virtually every major expedition. Some eight Cornishmen served at Sluys-Tournai in 1340, for example, but just two years later twice that number fought in Brittany, a

⁵⁰ Above, p. 164.

⁵¹ Cf. Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 330-331; Watts, *Polities*, pp. 201-286.

⁵² Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, p. 91.

¹ For the best introductions, A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses, Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994); Bell et al, *The Soldier*; H. Hewitt, *The Organization of War under Edward III, 1338-62* (Manchester, 1966).

² Appendix III.

campaign for which the county was more conveniently sited.³ Cornwall also proved to be well placed for expeditions to Aquitaine, with some twelve Cornishmen fighting at Poitiers in 1356.

From 1369, royal demands for troops became even more regular, for 'the Edwardian War was intermittent; the Caroline War (1369-89) unremitting'.⁴ Cornishmen again made a large contribution, as England and France increasingly fought for command of the sea routes, favouring the county's strong military-maritime tradition. The earl of Arundel, for instance, commanded 'cruising war fleets' in 1387 and 1388 in which some fifty-five Cornish men-at-arms and archers fought. The peninsula remained geographically well placed for military service in Brittany, with William Bodyere of Fowey and others manning the English fortress at Brest. England and France increasingly drew other kingdoms into the war as well, with Iberia forming a key battleground in which many Cornish soldiers served.⁵ Some eleven Cornishmen accompanied the earl of Cambridge to Portugal in 1381, for instance, and a further nine campaigned with John of Gaunt during his bid for the Castilian throne in 1386. The Cornish soldiery proved ubiquitous in England's wars, with twenty-three Cornish gentlemen contesting the field at Agincourt.

Yet when the peninsula's contribution is set against that of other counties, Cornwall's military service begins to look more modest. Precisely comparable figures remain hard to come by, but it seems that the Gloucestershire gentry were often better represented on campaigns.⁶ The men of Cheshire and Lancashire made the largest contribution of all. It has been argued that there were few years when fewer than 500 of their number were in arms – during some, the Crown mobilised thousands.⁷ The relatively smaller showing by Cornish men-at-arms can be explained in a number of possible ways. At its simplest, the Cornish gentry proved to be less numerous than their peers in Gloucestershire and so were bound to be more sparsely represented. And second, it is clear that the absence of a resident magnate in Cornwall curtailed opportunities for service. This absenteeism, combined

³ Bell et al, *The Soldier*, pp. 233-234.

⁴ J. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377-99* (London, 1972), p. 1.

⁵ Saul, *Richard II*, p. 95.

⁶ Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 48-52, 270-292.

⁷ Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, p. 174.

with the exceptional stature of the earl-duke, resulted in the county's magnates looking to Cornwall comparatively little, as they could recruit men of greater standing from elsewhere. Although Piers de Gaveston and John of Eltham both served in Scotland, their retinues of 1310-11 and 1336 contained no leading Cornish gentlemen.⁸ By contrast, the Black Prince mobilised twenty-one proprietors, a greater number than any of his predecessors, but he stands out as exceptional. While the nearest resident noble dynasty, the Courtenay earls of Devon, marshalled some fifty-seven Cornishmen across the century, the main point still stands that the nature of magnate settlement was weighted against Cornish service. The county's martial tradition also proved to be divided between land and sea – in contrast to that of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Gloucestershire – splitting Cornwall's resources between these two modes of war. Finally, the peninsula's place on the frontline of the war with France compelled the government to leave a considerable body of gentlemen in the county as a garrison. Contemporaries were in no doubt that Cornwall stood 'in lands by the seacoast, where a fleet of ships could easily touch and perils thereby arise'.⁹ While all these factors reduced the scale of Cornish soldiering, very considerable numbers of Cornishmen still served their king in war.

Our sources also require careful consideration. Until 1369 horse inventories and *restauro equorum* accounts provide invaluable information, with the former constituting an initial appraisal of the army's warhorses, and the latter comprising lists of horses lost on campaign.¹⁰ Even so, these documents relate only to armigerous society and, more seriously, not all of them have survived. By way of partial compensation, we can turn to the enrolled protections and letters of attorney, but these too present problems. Again, they lean heavily towards gentle society and may only show an intention to serve, not actual performance.¹¹ More significant, however, is the degree to which protections under-assess military service. Although they cost a mere 2s. to enrol, Andrew Ayton has shown that lists of protections are grossly incomplete, at times excluding the great majority of those who

⁸ C71/4 m. 11; E101/19/36.

⁹ *CFR 1319-1327*, 300; this was also connected to Edward II's and Isabella's fraught relationship.

¹⁰ Ayton, *Warhorses*, pp. 49-50.

¹¹ Ayton, *Warhorses*, p. 158.

served.¹² After 1369, moreover, the number of protections steadily declines.¹³ From this date, muster rolls come to replace the horse inventories of old. Commanders sent these rolls in to the exchequer to claim expenses at the end of campaigns, listing soldiers who served with them and their rates of pay. While muster rolls provide a view of a large cross-section of the army, many do not survive, including those relating to the Black Prince's final years and Richard II's Scottish and Irish campaigns.¹⁴ Our sources afford but a partial picture of the total military service performed.

The information recorded in these records presents even more challenges than might be supposed. While individual names are noted, the parts of the country whence these men hailed are often not. It is easy enough to identify those gentry with distinctively Cornish names: Bodrugan, l'Ercedekne, and so on. Others, however, including the Arundells, Bassets, Ingepennes, Lambournes, Peverells, and Mohuns have been excluded for fear of confusing the Cornish branches of these families with those who shared these surnames but resided elsewhere in England. Needless to say, this methodology has had the effect of excluding many Cornishmen. Toponymic surnames have typically been used to identify sub-gentry servicemen, but the names of a great many Cornishmen did not prove distinctive and have thus been excluded from our total as well. Our figures remain incomplete, identifying many more knights than the lesser gentry and freemen who served with them.

Gentlemen would generally have been accompanied on campaign by their affinities, which these documents rarely record. While Sir William Botreaux, for instance, sought a protection *pro comitiva* for the Rheims Campaign, neither the names nor numbers of those who served with him are noted. In 1370, it is known from another source that he served with a retinue of ten men-at-arms and an unspecified number of archers, but from no document do we learn the names of his companions.¹⁵ Some retinues proved substantial and in 1387 that of John Treverbyn, for example, included a

¹² Saul, *Gloucestershire*, p. 48; Ayton, *Warhorses*, pp. 156-160.

¹³ Bell et al, *The Soldier*, p. 5.

¹⁴ Bell et al, *The Soldier*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁵ C76/37 m. 2; *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normans et François...*, ed. T. Carte, 2 vols (London, 1743), ii, p. 73; *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, A.D 1370*, ed. F. Devon (London, 1835), pp. 461, 486.

company of nineteen men-at-arms, twenty archers, and ten miners, many of whom hailed from Cornwall.¹⁶ We therefore possess some evidence about the size of these forces, but in the great majority of cases there is no such information available. As a result, our list of Cornishmen who served their king in war greatly under-assesses the county's contribution. In an attempt to rectify this, we can employ a multiplier. If we assume that just five men accompanied each named gentleman, then our total is increased to some 2,000 Cornish soldiers. While every possible multiplier is fraught with dangers, a figure of this sort does at least provide a sense of the scale of Cornish soldiering.

Even this enlarged figure, however, excludes county and urban levies. In the first half of the century especially, the government often employed commissions of array to raise foot soldiers and archers from Cornwall. In 1322, for instance, Edward II ordered Cornish administrators to raise 500 footmen 'clad in one uniform' for his Scottish expedition, later mobilising twenty men-at-arms for the War of Saint-Sardos.¹⁷ 'By the advice' of John of Eltham, in 1332 the king raised some eighty Cornish archers to fight in Ireland, and six years later Edward III ordered that fifty serve in Flanders.¹⁸ The Crown often called upon the county's military manpower through such commissions, with the king commanding that Cornwall provide 200 crossbowmen and 100 other archers in 1382-3.¹⁹ These figures naturally represent government intent rather than actual fact, and only 200 men served of the 500 who should have been raised in 1322, while county levies become less frequent later in the century.²⁰ But hundreds, if not thousands more Cornishmen fought for their king over the century. Princess Joan even paid her steward an addition £13 6s. 8d. for raising recruits for campaigns in France and Spain.²¹ The Lancastrians also relied upon commissions of array, with Sir John Arundell 'to induce' 105 archers to fight in Normandy in 1421.²² Beyond this, the county's boroughs provided troops, with Edward II summoning one footman from every Cornish town in 1322, and Edward III

¹⁶ E101/40/33 m. 19; *HOP*, iv, 659-660.

¹⁷ *CPR 1321-1324*, 93, 96; C61/36 m. 14.

¹⁸ *CCR 1330-1333*, 488; C76/12 m. 26.

¹⁹ C76/67 m. 15.

²⁰ *CCR 1318-1322*, 645.

²¹ SC6/813/1; *RESDCornwall*, 145.

²² *CPR 1416-1422*, 386-387.

mobilising fifty-one townsmen in 1346 alone.²³ All told, *thousands* of Cornishmen served in regnal wars between 1295 and 1415.

War brought about a most remarkable movement of the county's militarily eligible, for Cornishmen fought in fields as far flung as Aquitaine, Brittany, Castile, Flanders, Ireland, Portugal, and Scotland. In campaigning for their king, they also forged links with some of the greatest noblemen and captains of their day. War undoubtedly strengthened the relationship between the county and the Black Prince, with men such as John Sergeaux serving him on multiple occasions. Yet the prince was certainly not the only magnate to employ Cornishmen, as involvement in warfare connected members of the county elite to lords as diverse as Aymer de Valence and Henry, earl of Lancaster. While some Cornishmen simply served as 'hired guns', others were much more closely connected to their captains. War forged a web of interpersonal connections, linking the Cornish into national networks of patronage, clientage, and communication. During campaigns, Cornish soldiers interacted with their betters, peers, and inferiors alike from across the realm, over issues as diverse as marching order and the distribution of victuals. They served in retinues and armies raised from a multitude of English shires. Although it remains nearly impossible to penetrate into the *mentalité* of these men, great victories such as Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt would have helped to create an *esprit de corps*, a shared sense of soldiering experience and military-regnal solidarity.²⁴ Every campaign was fought in the name of the king, with war binding all parts of the realm together.

Many Cornishmen enjoyed distinguished careers, with both Sir William Bodrugan and Sir John Trevaignon serving at Crécy and Poitiers. Military service certainly proved to be a major draw for the Cornish careerists who sought to participate in these expeditions. John Treverbyn served in the king's wars throughout the 1370s and 1380s, in 1382 even fighting 'at his own expense'.²⁵ War opened the door to royal service in peacetime, and Treverbyn became a king's esquire and bailiff of Winchelsea.²⁶ It also opened the door to Cornish office, as Treverbyn represented Cornwall in three

²³ CPR 1321-1324, 123; *Crécy and Calais, from the Original Records in the Public Record Office*, ed. G. Wrottesley (London, 1898), pp. 68, 71.

²⁴ A. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 3-4.

²⁵ CPR 1381-1385, 160.

²⁶ CPR 1385-1389, 439.

parliaments in the 1390s. The county's leading lords also won local advancement through military service. Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne first served the Crown in a military capacity in Scotland in 1300, providing him with the connections to secure the sheriff-stewardship of Cornwall. Even after his fall from office in 1314, his link with the Crown resulted in him heading commissions which enhanced both his purse and power. On the other hand, calls to arms might be either resisted or end in misfortune. Though in 1300 l'Ercedekne had gained from military service, it was to cost him dear in 1314 when he was captured at Bannockburn and had to pay a ransom to secure his release.²⁷ Tensions occurred and Froissart recorded Edward III's fury in the aftermath of Crécy, for:

‘among the English there were pillagers and irregulars, Welsh and Cornishmen armed with long knives, who went out after the French... and, when they found any in difficulty, whether they were counts, barons, knights or squires, they killed them without mercy’.²⁸

Whether or not these events actually occurred remains unclear, for Froissart was given to embellishing his stories. Nonetheless, the military activities of Sir Henry Ilcombe perhaps lend some credence to his account. Ilcombe served with the earl of Cambridge on his expedition to Portugal in 1381, which ended ignominiously with the English being shipped home in Castilian galleys.²⁹ On his return to England, Cambridge claimed that seventeen men – Ilcombe chief amongst them, but he named other Cornishmen – had ‘rebelled’ against him, causing this debacle. The earl therefore sought their arrest and Ilcombe only secured a pardon in 1385, through the auspices of the countess of Cambridge.³⁰ War evidently created a multitude of bonds, some of which proved far from positive, but many of which stand out as potent.

A few Cornishmen are recorded as perishing on campaign, with both Sir John Hamley and Sir John Dauney losing their lives at Crécy.³¹ The

²⁷ Phillips, *Pembroke*, p. 75.

²⁸ *Froissart*, p. 93.

²⁹ P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of King Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 343, 372.

³⁰ *CPR 1381-1385*, 256, 534; *HOP*, iii, 472-474.

³¹ *Crécy and Calais*, p. 280.

majority, however, returned home after the fighting. The passage of men generated major flows of news, as homecomings resulted in recounts of the greatest military expeditions of the age, of battles fought, hardships endured, and of lords and kings seen in distant lands. Some Cornishmen came back brutalised by conflict, with the king pardoning many county criminals because of their military service; at least four served in a ‘felons company’ in Scotland in 1336.³²

The county felt the impact of war acutely as its coastline formed part of the frontline of the war with France and her allies. Because Cornwall was so easily accessible to French and Castilian vessels, its ports were raided on no fewer than three occasions between 1300 and 1420.³³ The county’s inhabitants lived in near constant fear of assaults. To counter enemy activity, the Crown regularly issued commissions of array in the peninsula, nominally mobilising every Cornishman between 16 and 60 who was able to bear arms.³⁴ Froissart even claimed that the Cornish children were trained ‘in the use of arms and archery’.³⁵ The government often left the county exposed to the vicissitudes of the war, however, and in 1380 all that Richard II could do to provide for the county’s defence was to compel its proprietors ‘to remain upon their lands’.³⁶ Yet the threat posed by the French further emphasised Cornwall’s integration into the realm, as the Crown mobilised thousands, if not tens of thousands more Cornishmen for the defence of their county, kingdom, and king. The Cornish, in fact, closely linked their own safety with that of the realm at large.

War also introduced a remarkable variety of people into the county, with Edward III commanding that the arrayers in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire march their forces to the ‘seaward parts’ of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset in 1360.³⁷ Many retinues also embarked from Cornwall in the course of the Hundred Years’ War. In 1364, for instance, the Black

³² C71/15 m. 16; Ayton, *Warhorses*, p. 146.

³³ *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889), pp. 63-64; *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 870-871; *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, ed. J. Taylor, W. R. Childs and L. Watkiss, 2 vols (Oxford, 2003-11), i, pp. 234-235; *CCR 1377-1381*, 388; *The Unconquered Knight, A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelan, by his Standard-Bearer Gutierre Diaz de Gamez (1431-1449)*, trans. J. Evans (London, 1928), pp. 115-117.

³⁴ Above, pp. 55-56.

³⁵ *Froissart*, p. 58.

³⁶ *CPR 1377-1381*, 455.

³⁷ *CCR 1360-1364*, 98.

Prince dispatched ‘certain men-at-arms, archers, and Welsh footmen’ from the peninsula.³⁸ Troops also landed in the county; Buckingham’s army arrived back in the Fal estuary from Brittany in 1381, while ten years previously John of Gaunt had sailed from La Rochelle to Fowey, accompanied by two Castilian princesses, leading English captains, and Gascon noblemen.³⁹ Others arrived under less happy circumstances. In 1345, for instance, the ‘fury of the sea’ drove some 600 Welshmen onto the Scilly Isles, where they stayed for twenty days, allegedly committing £500 of damage.⁴⁰ Government and lordship introduced yet more veterans into Cornwall, with the Black Prince, for example, granting Saltash ferry to William Lenche as compensation or reward for Lenche having lost an eye at Poitiers.⁴¹ None in the county can have failed to appreciate the scale and significance of war, nor the degree to which Cornwall contributed to this great enterprise.

War profoundly influenced the governance of England, not only by drawing knights who served in local administration to fight abroad, but also in driving the expansion of royal administration. We have already noted the way in which government grew in scale and intensity in this period.⁴² The military needs of the age in no small part drove this process, with taxes generally levied for the prosecution of war.⁴³ Also significant was purveyance, or compulsory requisitioning. The Statute of Purveyors in 1362 was to limit purveyance to the needs of the royal household. Before this date, however, the Crown regularly requisitioned goods at below market value for military purposes.⁴⁴ The three Edwards fully exploited the right of purveyance in the peninsula. Edward I and II collected thousands of quarters of grain from west of the Tamar, along with hundreds of tuns of wine, and thousands of fish.⁴⁵ After the creation of the duchy, however, demands made

³⁸ *RBP*, ii, 211.

³⁹ E101/39/8 m. 1r; J. Sherborne, ‘Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380’, *EHR*, 79 (1964), pp. 718-746 at 733; *CCR 1385-1389*, 548; *CCR 1389-1392*, 260-261; J. Sumption, *Divided Houses, The Hundred Years’ War, III* (London, 2009), p. 120.

⁴⁰ *CPR 1343-1345*, 494.

⁴¹ *RBP*, ii, 98-99.

⁴² Above, chapter two.

⁴³ Ormrod, ‘The Crown and the English Economy’.

⁴⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, i, pp. 371-373; J. R. Maddicott, *The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 15-20.

⁴⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, 242, 344; *CPR 1301-1307*, 419; C71/4 m. 3; C71/6 m. 6; *CIM 1307-1349*, 269; *CPR 1321-1324*, 93; *CCR 1330-1333*, 16, 19.

in the name of the king were replaced by those in the name of his son, the duke. Cornwall proved essential to the prince's war efforts, and during his long tenure he purveyed all the aforesaid victuals, along with carts, arrows, baggage-horses, 150,000 nails, and a host of other things.⁴⁶ The king and prince fully mobilised Cornwall's resources, setting the peninsula on a war-footing.⁴⁷

Beyond this, the organisation of war involved the dispatch of regular royal instructions to shire administrators. Edward I ordered the sheriff to proclaim the making of peace in 1297, for instance, and Edward II did the same in 1322 and 1325.⁴⁸ In 1337, Edward III ordered county administrators to 'lay before' the men of Cornwall 'the king's intention in regard to the safety of the realm' at a meeting which he had summoned at Lostwithiel.⁴⁹ Victories also merited proclamation. The Black Prince published news of his triumphs, sending numerous county administrators 'news of the prince's successful expedition and arrival before Calais', while giving commands urgency by linking them to the demands of war.⁵⁰ Instructions of this kind served as vehicles for royal propaganda. In 1355, for instance, the prince smuggled into an order for purveyance a reference to 'John, who calls himself king of France', who had 'broken the covenants... drawn up at Calais... for which reason war has broken out'.⁵¹ The war was also fought in the pulpits of England, with Edward III, the Black Prince, Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V all repeatedly instructing the bishops of Exeter to organise prayers, processions, and public thanksgivings for their successes; they also had the course of the conflict announced in churches across the county.⁵² All these efforts impressed the scale of Cornwall's involvement in this pan-English project upon the county's collective memory.

Yet communications do not emerge as one-directional. The commonalty of Cornwall themselves sent many petitions and complaints to their king and earl-duke concerning the course of hostilities. In 1325, for

⁴⁶ *RBP*, ii, 10, 77, 94, 105, 110, 112-113, 124, 155, 167, 205, 207, 208.

⁴⁷ Cf. Morgan, *Cheshire*, p. 114.

⁴⁸ *CCR 1296-1302*, 78; *CCR 1318-1322*, 678; *CCR 1323-1327*, 385.

⁴⁹ *CPR 1334-1338*, 503.

⁵⁰ *RBP*, i, 15, 66.

⁵¹ *RBP*, ii, 77, 166.

⁵² *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 1173-1174, 1190-1191, 1200-1201; *Reg. Brantingham*, i, 186-187, 190-191, 199, 201-203, 299-300, 342-344, 432; ii, 639-640; *Reg. Stafford*, 128-129.

instance, the keepers of the peace and coast in Cornwall petitioned Edward II requesting that he discharge them of the archers that he had summoned, as the county's defences proved inadequate.⁵³ Similarly, in 1378 the Commons of Cornwall petitioned Richard II as the French and Spanish, so they said, 'threaten to... seize and claim [Cornwall] as their own', with the king's promise to 'provide and ordain a remedy' enrolled in the Parliament Rolls.⁵⁴ Not all communications emerge as negative, however, as war set in motion a constant dialogue in both directions.

The waging of war exercised a profound material and psychological effect on the county. War formed a regnal act, a 'continuum of service, binding king, magnates, and gentry into the prosecution of consensual war'.⁵⁵ Victory encouraged feelings of national pride, strengthening fellow-feeling between Englishmen.⁵⁶ Defeat also proved an 'energising force', stimulating collective action across the realm, while a common enemy bound the Cornish and their king together in resistance to the foe.⁵⁷ Warfare likewise accelerated the making of ties of association and the creation of lines of communication across the realm: it served as a force for 'national unity', a locomotive of connectivity which drew Cornwall into the kingdom.⁵⁸

8. Lordly Connectivity

Warfare introduced a great many Cornishmen into the glamorous circle of the fighting nobility, and it was only natural that in peacetime demobilised Cornish soldiers should further their interests by activating these connections. Although he held no lands in Cornwall, Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, twice influenced the personnel of the earldom, securing the sheriff-stewardship for two of his retainers, Sir Roger Ingepenne of Berkshire and Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne. Both Ingepenne and l'Ercedekne had fought with the earl, which helped recommend them to him for peacetime employment. The Courtenay earls of Devon likewise enjoyed some influence in Cornwall, raising as many as fifty-seven fighting men from the county across the

⁵³ SC8/35/1714.

⁵⁴ *PROME*, vi, 89-90.

⁵⁵ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp. 85-86, 175-178; Bell et al, *The Soldier*, pp. 260, 241.

⁵⁶ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 86.

⁵⁷ Ormrod, *Political Life*, p. 108.

⁵⁸ Bell et al, *The Soldier*, p. 241.

century. A few Cornish gentlemen, including Richard Kendale and John Tregorrek, appeared as retainers on Edward Courtenay's livery roll of 1384-5, with both men also holding office in Cornwall. The Courtenay earls, in fact, held a small number of lands west of the Tamar, which acquisition of the l'Ercedekne inheritance of 1402 augmented.¹ They employed John Isaak as their receiver in Cornwall and Devon, who had sat in parliament for Truro and Helston in 1364-5.² Just after the Great Revolt, the Crown appointed Earl Edward to the Cornish bench, with the Appellants again employing him in this post and assigning the duchy stewardship to Sir Philip Courtenay. Magnate connections of this kind helped widen Cornish horizons.

Pembroke and the Courtenays were not the only magnates to wield influence in the county. The earls of Warwick owned three manors in Cornwall. It is unsurprising, therefore, that they should employ local men to look after their interests – in the 1390s the lawyer Roger Trewythenick served as their steward – and that on one occasion they 'made representations' to the Black Prince about their villeins.³ Many dynasties from east of the Tamar held estates in the peninsula, and propagated connections with their Cornish officials and tenants alike.⁴ In 1400, for instance, Sir John Dinham's bailiff paid the sheriff of Cornwall 6*s.* 8*d.* for a writ served against the tenants of Blisland.⁵ Similarly, in 1313 Sir John Wylinton leased to Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne the lands and wardship of John Arundell, prerogatives which had come into his hands on account of Arundell holding part of the manor of Conerton by knight's service of Wylinton.⁶ Richard Germyn even wrote to his employer, William Stoner; 'as to your tenaunts in Cornwale, thei be as trew unto you as y can understond as any tenauntes that ye have'.⁷ All these lords brought about movements of people and news, while depending upon the king's law and royal administration to manage their distant patrimonies.⁸

¹ BL, Add. Roll 64320; 64317; 64323; M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), pp. 71-97.

² *MPs*, 174.

³ *HOP*, iv, 662; *RBP*, ii, 72.

⁴ Above, p. 32.

⁵ CRO, AR/2/463 m. 1.

⁶ CRO, AR/4/347.

⁷ *Stonor Letters*, ii, p. 120.

⁸ For instance, *CPR 1343-1345*, 199.

The earl-duke himself, however, stands out as the most potent agent of lordly connectivity. Indeed, the county's lordship provided a personal link between Cornwall and one of the foremost men of the kingdom. Yet the earl-duke enjoyed such stature that he sought to exercise power in the realm at large, through the maintenance of close personal contact with the king. He rarely visited or resided in the peninsula, relying instead upon the structures of both regnal administration and his lordship to govern the county. Cornwall's royal lordship magnified this interdependence, as the Crown supported comital-ducal government with its full arsenal of powers.

Unsurprisingly, this overlap of lordly and royal powers proved most apparent when the king directly held the county, as he did for over forty years between 1300 and 1420. Edward I, for instance, appointed royal officials to key posts in Cornwall, granting the custody of Restormel and Penlyn parks to Roger de Troye, yeoman of his daughter, Mary.⁹ He also dispatched many instructions to regnal-comital officials in the county, while the people of Cornwall sent numerous petitions back to their king and lord.¹⁰ Edward III likewise took advantage of the opportunity presented to him, in 1331 granting Liskeard Park to John de Bristol, as Bristol served Edward's sister, Joan, Queen of Scotland.¹¹ Richard II's twenty-two year tenure of the county was to be of greater significance than that of his grandfather, seeing him introduce a profusion of royal dependents into Cornwall, including his father's former retainer, Sir John Kentwood of Berkshire, whom Richard appointed steward. During his time in Cornwall, Kentwood built connections with many leading gentlemen and acquired a share of the manor of Rosecraddock with Sir Henry Ilcombe and others, an agreement witnessed by Sir William Botreaux, Sir Warin l'Ercedekne, and the like.¹² Sir Ralph Carminow left Kentwood 100s. in his will and even appointed him executor, for many folk in the county had faith in Kentwood as he had represented them in parliament.¹³ Yet he emerges as but one of a great many 'outside' royal-ducal officials, from bailiff-errants to haveners, each of whom interacted with the whole range of the county's populace. During Henry V's tenure as king-duke the lordship remained an

⁹ *CPR 1301-1307*, 65.

¹⁰ Above, chapter four.

¹¹ *CPR 1330-1334*, 163.

¹² CRO, ME/529; ME/44.

¹³ *Cornish Wills*, 40.

important channel for regnal power, but he relied upon Cornish gentlemen to a greater extent than his predecessors, with the result that the Arundell family grew fat on regnal-ducal rewards.¹⁴

While royal lordship and the Crown proved to be mutually supporting, the earldom-duchy itself played a major role in introducing ‘outsiders’. The Black Prince, for example, appointed John Dabernon as sheriff-steward. Although Dabernon hailed from Devon, his sixteen-year tenure saw him elevated to the pinnacle of Cornish society. The prince granted him estates to match his status, and Dabernon acquired yet more Cornish property by spending his rewards of office.¹⁵ Throughout his career he interacted with folk the length and breadth of Cornwall. Leading gentlemen, amongst them Thomas Carminow and Sir William Botreaux, called regularly upon him as a witness, and his son, Matthew, sat as an MP for Lostwithiel.¹⁶ Dabernon’s will of 1368 records gifts to many people and institutions in the county, appointing as executor the lawyer John Tremayne, who had married his daughter.¹⁷ In 1361, Dabernon had also secured the employment of his kinsman, another John Dabernon, as parker of Lanteglos and Helsbury. This John retained a position in the peninsula until the 1390s, having acquired tinning interests.¹⁸ Dabernon senior’s field of influence extended to the entire county, but his integration also proved to be the result of his own ambitions. Indeed, he served as a personal point of contact between the people of Cornwall and the prince. The Lancastrians likewise introduced administrators to the west of the Tamar. Thomas Jayet, for example, Henry of Monmouth’s retainer, hailed from East Anglia, serving Henry as controller of the stannaries, and employing the Cornishman, Thomas West, as his servant.¹⁹ Not every ‘outside’ official, however, sought to ingratiate himself with the county’s residents. John Wynter, steward from late 1399 to early 1402, seemingly developed little affinity with Cornwall, as there is no evidence of his interactions over sensitive issues such as property transactions.

¹⁴ Tyldesley, ‘Local Communities’, pp. 204-205, 224; Above, p. 161.

¹⁵ *RBP*, i, 99, 102; *RBP*, ii, 23; *CFR 1347-1356*, 221; *FF*, i, 362, 370, 386-387.

¹⁶ CRO, AR/37/12; AR/1/890; RP/6/8; *CCR 1346-1349*, 359; *CCR 1369-1374*, 86.

¹⁷ *Cornish Wills*, 31-35.

¹⁸ *RBP*, ii, 182; JUST1/1476 m. 77r; E101/263/19, 24, 28; CRO, WM/349; CF/2/215/35; *CPR 1391-1396*, 263.

¹⁹ *HOP*, iii, 492; *CPR 1416-1422*, 30.

Lordship also brought a multitude of less prominent men into the county. In 1364, for example, the prince appointed his servant, John Cook, to the office of bailiff-errant ‘as a reward for his great labours’.²⁰ John de Bakton, a yeoman of the prince’s buttery, held the stannary district of Blackmore from 1351 to 1355, though he deputised the post to John Ridel.²¹ Henry of Monmouth also employed men who hailed from east of the Tamar, among them his parker, John Merston.²² The earl-duke sometimes farmed out whole manors. Sir Neil Loring (d. 1386), the Black Prince’s chamberlain and a Founder Knight of the order of the Garter, held the manors of Calstock and Trematon during the 1370s, along with the keeping of Trematon Castle.²³ Appointments like these created a constant influx of loyal retainers into the county, who acted as social bridges between Cornwall and the wider realm.

The main key to gaining a permanent place in Cornwall lay in marriage, however, a point made by Sir Roger Ingepenne’s career as sheriff-steward. During his brief tenure of office, he was able to oversee the marriage of his nephew and heir, another Roger Ingepenne, to Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir John Halton of Halton in St Dominick.²⁴ Ingepenne deftly grafted his nephew onto county society, with the lineage he established remaining a knightly presence in Cornwall for decades to come.²⁵ The London vintner, John Colshull, emulated Ingepenne’s success in the late 1380s, when Richard II appointed him steward of the duchy. Colshull also secured the marriage of Sir Robert Tresilian’s widow, Emmeline, who was an heiress to the Huish estates in Cornwall. By 1450, the lineage he had founded held the honour of being the second wealthiest in the county.²⁶ Despite such striking examples, there is comparatively little evidence of intermarriage. Yet we should not view those who failed to found dynasties as weaker agents of connectivity, as during their time in Cornwall these ‘outside’ officials interacted with a multitude of Cornishmen and women.

²⁰ *RBP*, ii, 209.

²¹ *RBP*, ii, 80-81, 111.

²² *CPR 1422-1429*, 9.

²³ *CPR 1377-1381*, 209.

²⁴ CRO, AR/1/250; AR/1/279-283.

²⁵ C47/2/41/5; *FA*, i, 208-218; *RBP*, ii, 198.

²⁶ *HOP*, iii, 633-635; E179/87/92.

The earl-duke also felt obliged to maintain a strong interest in the county's commercial centres.²⁷ Thomas Fitz Henry, the havener, became immersed in Cornish urban society, with the burgesses of Fowey trusting him to witness their property transactions and to act as a business partner.²⁸ The Kendales, however, serve as the best example of lordly agents in Cornish towns. John Kendale hailed from Westmoreland, and on John of Eltham's recommendation was appointed by Edward III constable of Restormel Castle. Kendale went on to serve the Black Prince as receiver from 1348 until 1365, a position of influence in the duchy which he was able to exploit to secure properties.²⁹ After seventeen years of service, however, he yielded his post to his kinsmen, Richard Kendale. Richard's busy public career saw him audit the duchy accounts in 1377-8, represent three boroughs in parliament, sit on the county bench, and serve as escheator and sheriff of Cornwall and Devon. He still found the time to serve his own interests, acquiring Cornish estates, trading in fish, and serving the Courtenays.³⁰ John Kendale's son, another John, held land with his father in Penlyn, traded in tin, and engaged in a little 'piracy'. The latter proved no bar to public office, as he was also to hold the mayoralty of Lostwithiel on three occasions and twice represented the borough in parliament. On his death before March 1403, his son, Stephen, succeeded him, sitting as an MP for Lostwithiel in 1417.³¹ Evidently the Kendales became thoroughly Cornish gentlemen and went on to hold a position of prominence under the Tudors.³²

But what of lordship's role in transferring Cornishmen to the east of the Tamar? Michael Bennett has shown that in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the earldom of Chester and the duchy of Lancaster formed major resources of administrative manpower, with many officials drawn from these lordships to buttress the power of their masters elsewhere in the realm.³³ In sharp contrast, in the south west the earl-duke made little effort to mobilise Cornwall's 'human resources'. One rare example was the Black Prince's employment of William de Cornewaille as a yeoman and sergeant-at-arms in

²⁷ Cf. Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 190.

²⁸ CRO, WM/335; *CPR 1361-1364*, 496.

²⁹ DCO 1, 6; CRO, RP/6/7; WM/11-12; *FF*, i, 344-345, 392-393; *RBP*, ii, 100.

³⁰ SC6/818/7 m. 1r; CRO, WM/17; ME/44; *FF*, i, 394-395; *CPR 1364-1367*, 32, 406.

³¹ DCO 18; *CPR 1381-1385*, 285; *HOP*, iii, 513-515.

³² *Carew*, 137v.

³³ Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 204-215.

Berkshire.³⁴ None of Cornwall's lords – from Earl Richard to Henry of Monmouth – looked to the county as a recruiting ground for administrative careerists elsewhere.³⁵ Yet Cornwall did not prove unique in providing so few men, with the Derbyshire gentry likewise little called-upon for posts in officialdom outside their own shire.³⁶

In fact, the earldom-duchy itself formed one of the chief sources of patronage in Cornwall, being one of the principal employers of the gentry and budding administrators. Holding seigniorial office provided the main means to secure one's pre-eminence in the county. It was Sir William Botreaux's service as sheriff-steward, for example, which crucially added to his local power, enabling him to lay the foundations for his son to ascend into the parliamentary peerage. To Sir William, good lordship meant profit, power, and advancement. Sir Richard Sergeaux, the Black Prince's retainer, emulated Botreaux's success in the latter half of the century, serving as sheriff and steward, sitting on the county bench, and representing Cornwall in ten parliaments between 1361 and 1390. Sergeaux also employed his appointments to advance his feud with the Carminows and Trevarthians. Sir Richard's kinsman, John, fought with the prince at Poitiers and Rheims, but only gained a post in officialdom after the prince's death. The latter rarely granted office to Cornishmen who had distinguished themselves abroad.³⁷ Nonetheless, lordship emerges as tightly intertwined with the workings of county society.

Indeed, lordship could raise those of humble origins to leading local positions. Consider, for example, the career of Henry Trethewey. Although he did not hail from a leading lineage, this drawback failed to diminish his ambitions. His employment as sheriff-steward by John of Eltham and the Black Prince established him as one of the greatest men in the county. Cornish gentlemen, amongst them Sir Otto Bodrugan and Sir Roger Carminow, therefore sought him as a trusted witness to their deeds.³⁸ Trethewey also secured the post of bailiff-errant for his kinsman, William Trethewey, and acquired property in his own right. His purchase of what were termed 'many

³⁴ *RBP*, iv, 181.

³⁵ For Earl Richard, Page, 'Barons' War', 27.

³⁶ Wright, *Derbyshire*, p. 63.

³⁷ In contrast to John of Gaunt, Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 78-79.

³⁸ CRO, AR/1/204; AR/1/305; ME/646; ME/381; ME/386; RP/6/7; *CCR 1346-1349*, 359.

lands' with over £600 of ducal money, however, drew down the prince's ire.³⁹ Henry Nanfan was likewise of humble stock, rising in status as a result of lordly service. In 1344, he served as under-bailiff of Kerrier Hundred, holding the post of bailiff of Helston-in-Kerrier between 1349 and 1370, the only paid manor bailiff in Cornwall. Nanfan evidently had some administrative abilities, and promotion was to follow when in 1362 the prince granted him the hundred of Penwith and in 1371 appointed him feodary.⁴⁰ Even after the prince's death he remained a trusted ducal official, auditing Princess Joan's accounts and those of Richard II in 1382 and 1383 respectively.⁴¹ During his long life many leading gentlemen trusted Nanfan as a witness, and in 1369 he served as Sir William Botreaux's feoffee.⁴² Nanfan's public career proved no less impressive, for he represented three Cornish boroughs in parliament and attained a seat on the county bench from 1373 to 1380. Naturally, these duties did not distract him from his own enrichment, and he amassed property and acquired tinning interests for himself and his family.⁴³ Nanfan and Trethewey used lordship to secure the influence and wealth that otherwise would have been denied them by birth.

Each of these individuals acted as a point of contact between the people of Cornwall, their lords, and pan-English networks of association. Yet connections did not necessarily imply the existence of amity. These officials fought constantly to prevent the erosion of seigniorial rights, bringing them into conflict with the county's inhabitants. Coercive power spread a consciousness of Cornish integration, with the lordly revenue-raising mechanisms of coinage duty on tin, prise of wine from ships, and feudal incidents on land standing out as all-pervasive. On the other hand, Cornishmen still sought out seigniorial posts, requesting lordly intervention in their affairs as they had underlying faith in the rule of their lord and master. A powerful sense of reciprocity between the commonalty and the lordship emerges, one which simultaneously propagated notions of Cornwall's many connections to the east of the Tamar.

³⁹ *FA*, i, 209; *FF*, i, 359; *RBP*, ii, 4, 30.

⁴⁰ *RBP*, ii, 197; SC8/333/E999.

⁴¹ SC6/818/9; *CPR 1381-1385*, 303.

⁴² *CCR 1369-1374*, 86; CRO, ME/606.

⁴³ *RESDCornwall*, 247; *RBP*, ii, 101, 156, 157-158; *FF*, i, 369-370; CRO, EN/36-38.

Lordship also provided a great deal of transient exchange. In 1351, for instance, the Black Prince ordered his retainers in Cornwall to prepare for the arrival of his auditors.⁴⁴ This annual event resulted in the regular dispatch of comital-ducal-regnal clerks to the county, officials whom the prince empowered to audit his accounts, examine and remove ministers, and even hear complaints from his subjects.⁴⁵ In point of fact, lordly administrators constantly itinerated to and around the county, influencing Cornish affairs. Four or five seigniorial officials, including the receiver-general or steward-in-chief, oversaw Cornish assessments, while in 1354-5 Chief Justice Sharesull and others levied over 1,200 fines on the prince's behalf.⁴⁶ The lordship's immense potential for money-raising is made apparent, influencing the lives of thousands of the county's residents.

Conversely, the earldom-duchy drew many people out of the peninsula on temporary commissions. For example, the prince summoned Dabernon and Kendale to London in 1359 to explain the reasons behind declining tin revenues.⁴⁷ In c. 1375, Sir Robert Tresilian requested expenses for travelling twice from London to Cornwall on the command of the prince's council.⁴⁸ Comital-ducal officials also rendered account to the central office, while the prince purchased household supplies from the county.⁴⁹ In his capacity as feudal overlord he often called leading Cornish gentlemen to London to perform homage, in 1346 even ordering his officials to have Sir John Dauney's heiress, Maud, brought to his manor at Kennington 'as quickly as possible, doing what courtesy they can to the damsel's mother'.⁵⁰ Lordship created a constant two-way flow of people and information, a point perhaps best illustrated by Cornish petitioning.

Some sixty-five petitions sent by Cornwall's residents to their earl- duke survive from between 1300 and 1420, for this was the way in which the Cornish made their voice heard.⁵¹ Yet this figure almost certainly represents

⁴⁴ *RBP*, ii, 5.

⁴⁵ *RESDCornwall*, 46-47; *RBP*, ii, 91-92, 117; SC8/333/E1021; SC6/820/3 m. 7.

⁴⁶ *RBP*, i, 64; *RBP*, ii, 136; *RESDCornwall*, 54; JUST1/123; Above, p. 140.

⁴⁷ *RBP*, ii, 155-156, 207.

⁴⁸ SC8/333/E1038.

⁴⁹ *RBP*, ii, 22, 152; *RBP*, iv, 18.

⁵⁰ *RBP*, ii, 23-24; *RBP*, i, 15-16.

⁵¹ Above, p. 164; Cf. C. Rawcliffe, 'The Great Lord as Peacekeeper: Arbitration by English Noblemen and their Councils in the Later Middle Ages', in *Law and Social Change in British History*, ed. J. A. Guy and H. G. Beale (London, 1984), pp. 34-54; A. Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning'.

the survival rate of documents rather than the totality submitted. Although there are as many as nineteen petitions from Cornwall in a file of petitions sent to the prince in 1375-6, in some years no evidence of petitioning remains. It was almost certainly the case that the residents of Cornwall lobbied their earl-duke many hundreds of times during this period, with most of these supplications now lost.⁵² All the same, the peaks in petitioning in the 1310s and 1320s certainly suggest a period of tension, with the county's residents often raising concerns with the king (who also held the earldom) about conditions in the peninsula. In much the same way, the forty or more supplications made in the 1370s and 1380s by the residents of Cornwall to Richard II – who directly held the lordship – reveal disturbances in the county and the feuding between its leading gentry families. Yet even during the 1350s, when the Black Prince assertively governed Cornwall, the prince received as many as thirty-two petitions, for this point of contact between the earl-duke and his subjects proved perennially of great importance.

A few surviving requests can be touched on here. In 1375-6, for instance, the people of Cornwall petitioned the Black Prince after a storm had destroyed many buildings in the peninsula, requesting a ducal writ to repair these structures.⁵³ Individual petitioners likewise made a multitude of entreaties to the prince. Michael Petit even beseeched him to return his lands in 1375-6, after these had been confiscated as a result of his criminality.⁵⁴ More remarkable stand the myriad petitions from the sub-gentry. Poor fishermen, tanners, and tenants sent in their tales of woe, as did freemen accused of having villein blood, while the *petitz gentz* of Landrake complained about the payment of feudal dues.⁵⁵ The prince had all these supplications enrolled in his register, and in each case, he ordered his ministers in Cornwall 'to consider the contents of the enclosed petition... and to do right and reason therein'. Following one letter of entreaty concerning a 10s. debt, the prince replied 'marvelling greatly that... such poor folk are importuning him and his council so much, bringing their suits to him from such distant parts and upon such petty matters', though he still 'charged the

⁵² SC8/333/E996-E1101.

⁵³ SC8/333/E1020.

⁵⁴ SC8/333/E1073.

⁵⁵ *RBP*, ii, 19, 35-36, 97, 129, 131, 178.

steward to do right to all his subjects'.⁵⁶ Lordship provided a direct line of communication to one of the greatest men in England, one which the Cornish exploited to the full. They actively invited lordly intervention into the locality, engaging with seigniorial government and seeking to influence its policies. In 1356, for instance, the people of Cornwall made what was called a 'great clamour' because the prince had not paid them for purveyed goods, prompting him to assign 500 marks for these items.⁵⁷ Petitioning enabled the county's inhabitants and their earl-duke to keep in constant, close communication. Indeed, the Black Prince was certainly not the only lord to be petitioned in this way. Cornishmen and women called upon the grace of their lord and master throughout the century and beyond, with the Dinham's Cornish bailiff speaking to the future Henry V's council at Launceston in 1401.⁵⁸ Petitioning formed but one aspect of lordly-county dialogue, as the points of contact between Cornwall's magnates, their officials, and the populace at large stand out as legion.

All the people in Cornwall understood that they were the subjects of their earl-duke, a perception which linked to a wider world of high politics and high chivalry.⁵⁹ Lordly castles and parks, such as those at Tintagel and Restormel, stood as physical manifestations of these connections. Lordship emerges as a potent force for connectivity and social mobility, interweaving the county commonalty into pan-English networks of communication and association. Regnal and lordly government proved interdependent in Cornwall, with the officials of the king and earl-duke together connecting the county into the collectivity of England.

9. Commercial Connectivity

Cornwall's uniquely diversified economy linked the county into pan-English credit, exchange, and personal networks.¹ Cornishmen and women traded commodities as diverse as feathers, bacon, and hides, along with fish, cheese, cloth, and, most significantly, tin.² The following discussion will consider the

⁵⁶ *RBP*, ii, 22.

⁵⁷ *RBP*, ii, 103.

⁵⁸ CRO, AR/2/463 m. 6r; SC8/333/E1111; SC8/333/E1116.

⁵⁹ Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, p. 166.

¹ Above, pp. 25-27.

² For example, *CCR 1343-1346*, 334-335.

sorts of people who dealt in these items, before studying the links that they forged between Cornwall and London. Our attention will then turn to the county's connections to other cities and regions – both within the realm and without – before considering the way in which the framework of the kingdom underpinned Cornish commerce.

*

Commerce could provide the key to wealth and power in Cornwall. Small wonder that leading Cornish gentlemen – drawn from dynasties as diverse as the Arundells, Bodrugans, Botreauxs, Hamleys, l'Ercedeknes, and Nansladrons – paid coinage duty on hundreds of thousands of pounds (lbs.) of tin in the first half of the fourteenth century; with the widow Margery Treverbyn alone presenting 15,000 lbs. of this metal in 1306-7.³ Tin could significantly augment local lordly income, while the absence of urban muscle in the county encouraged gentry involvement in this industry. Cornish proprietors also owned tin workings themselves, with Sir Richard Sergeaux, Henry Nanfan, and others jointly holding one such site named 'Tye' in 1391.⁴ By the fifteenth century, however, it proved rarer for leading proprietors to engage as directly as this in the tin trade, though men such as John Bolenowe, a Camborne gentleman, dealt in unspecified 'merchandise'.⁵ Although the reasons behind this retreat remain unclear, Cornish gentlemen were certainly not above involvement in trade, perennially enjoying the prerogative of toll tin.

Some gentlefolk relied on income from this metal to rise yet higher in the ranks of society, Michael Trenewith the elder and younger amongst them. Both Michaels traded tin extensively, using the resultant wealth to acquire more expansive estates and lend much money to people as diverse as Sir John Hamley and the obscure John Ycca.⁶ While the elder and younger Trenewith regularly employed violence to further their interests, a Michael Trenewith still acquired a place on the county bench from 1338 to 1344, also

³ E101/260/25 mm. 5-6, 9; E101/261/1 mm. 4-7; E101/260/20 m. 20; E101/261/11 mm. 2, 5; E101/262/21 mm. 6-7; Cf. P. Nightingale, 'Knights and Merchants: Trade, Politics and the Gentry in Late Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 169 (2000), pp. 36-62 at 38, 60.

⁴ *CPR 1388-1392*, 398.

⁵ C241/219/1-2, 25, 70.

⁶ *RBP*, ii, 30-31; *FF*, i, 291-292.

representing Cornwall in parliament. Indeed, both Michaels secured for their family a position of prominence in the county for the rest of the century. Their kinsman, Ralph Trenewith, served as receiver of the duchy in the 1370s and married into the highest echelons of Cornish society, acquiring the hand of Joan Bodrugan, one of Otto Bodrugan's heiresses. Ralph and Joan's son, William Trenewith, inherited a considerable portion of the Bodrugan estate, in turn taking the Bodrugan name.⁷

Just as remarkable stand the crop of prominent merchant and master tanners – those who traded tin, as opposed to labouring tanners who extracted the metal – who did not hail from leading local lineages; in each generation, new men are found rising to the fore. Gerard de Villiers of Lostwithiel emerges as one such. In 1302-3 he presented 179 thousandweights of tin for coinage, one of the largest amounts ever recorded in the hands of a single person.⁸ He also served as one of Earl Edmund's merchants, for commerce in general and tin in particular raised him to a position of importance.⁹ In the next generation, Thomas Goldsmith of Bodmin coined 4,704 lbs. of tin in 1332-3 alone. While the routes by which these men established themselves in trade remain obscure, commerce certainly enabled Goldsmith to accumulate sufficient financial and social capital to represent his home town in parliament in 1337-8.¹⁰ Roger Blake likewise had obscure roots, but by 1327 stood out as the second richest burgess of Bodmin, having made his fortune in trading tin. In 1346, the Black Prince himself called upon him for a £100 loan, being 'in great need of money both for his concerns where he is and in England'.¹¹ Blake also sat for Bodmin in 1320, with his son, John, following him into both the tanning business and the House, before the latter's tragic suicide in 1350.¹²

In 1392, Richard II's government levied a £200 fine on some forty-seven 'merchants of Cornwall' for exporting tin 'without repairing' to the staple, a list which provides one of the best snapshots of Cornwall's mercantile elite.¹³ Thomas Bere of Bodmin was among those listed, and he is

⁷ *HOP*, ii, 269-271; iv, 650.

⁸ E101/260/20 mm. 4-6; E101/261/1 mm. 2-4, 7-10; Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 79.

⁹ *CPR 1292-1301*, 153; *FF*, i, 221.

¹⁰ C241/121/230; E101/262/25; *MPs*, 119.

¹¹ E179/87/37 m. 5; *RBP*, i, 8; Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 79-80.

¹² *MPs*, 59, 130.

¹³ *CPR 1391-1396*, 263.

known to have maintained a considerable interest in this lucrative trade, coining over 10,500 lbs. of tin in 1394. He also held property in Bodmin and represented his home town in three parliaments.¹⁴ The government likewise fined John Megre and John Foll, whose interests in this metal took them to London. Many of these merchants, however, handled other commodities besides tin. Odo Ude, for instance, had shipping concerns, trading salt and owing customs dues in Fowey in 1401-2.¹⁵ Mark and John Michelstow likewise emerge as shipmen who handled tin, wine, and other goods, employing their mercantile wealth to acquire land. The Michelstows also attracted the attentions of Richard II and Henry IV, with the former retaining Mark and John as royal esquires, and the latter employing Mark as a ‘pirate admiral’.¹⁶ Cornish merchants, in fact, dealt in a profusion of commodities, with the government conceding a series of export licenses in 1364 for cloth and fish, including one to Nicholas Cardrew of Mousehole.¹⁷ Just as Cornwall’s economy proved to be strikingly diversified, so too did the interests of its traders.

Commerce, especially that involving tin, raised some Cornish merchants and gentlemen to positions of great wealth and power. Yet it seems that the majority of those who grew fat on the profits of trade originated from ‘the middling sort’ or better. The Scarlet family stand as a case in point. Oliver Scarlet appeared in the pardon of 1392, a decade earlier having been named as one of thirty-three men who had captured a Portuguese vessel valued at 3,900 francs.¹⁸ Commerce was typically a family affair, with Oliver’s kinsman, Adam Scarlet, for example, coining tin during Edward I’s reign, and William Scarlet trading in the middle of the century.¹⁹ William handled commodities as diverse as armour and butter, but tin emerges as his speciality. In 1342, the Black Prince accused him – along with Michael Trenewith the elder and younger – of violently usurping diverse stannary districts and forcing the tanners to work as virtual slaves.²⁰ It is important not to exaggerate the case for seeing involvement in trade as a path to upward mobility. In the

¹⁴ *HOP*, ii, 196-197; E101/263/26 m. 7.

¹⁵ *CPR 1381-1385*, 285; E122/113/3; *FF*, ii, 1-2.

¹⁶ Drake, ‘Michelstow’.

¹⁷ *CPR 1361-1364*, 496.

¹⁸ *CPR 1381-1385*, 142.

¹⁹ E101/260/20 mm. 2, 6-7.

²⁰ *CCR 1343-1346*, 334-335; *CPR 1340-1343*, 553-554.

early fourteenth century, between one-third and two-thirds of all coined tin was registered in the names of just ten persons yearly, even though thousands of labouring tanners extracted this metal.²¹ While master tanners evidently could make great profits, grinding poverty characterised the lives of the majority of labouring tanners. On the other hand, it is worth noting that ‘the immensely rich tin merchants of the early fourteenth century had no counterparts in the mid-fifteenth’.²² In the longer term the industry acted as something of a leveller, perhaps because of the risks inherent in investing in tin workings which often failed.

For all these challenges, tin bound together Cornwall and London, medieval England’s greatest city. The stannary charters stipulated that tin had to be presented on specific days in a number of Cornish towns for tax purposes. In the sixteenth century, these coinage sessions formed important meeting and market places, attended by Cornishmen and Londoners alike.²³ However, the coinage rolls, which list those who presented tin to be taxed at these sessions, provide little evidence for such interactions in the late middle ages. A few Londoners, amongst them Reginald Thunderlegh, perhaps attended, but such visits proved to be a rarity.²⁴ Instead, the tin industry depended upon an intricate web of credit, as John Hatcher has demonstrated.²⁵ Tin dealers, mainly Londoners and aliens, advanced money to merchant or master tanners in anticipation of future production. Generally wealthy Cornishmen, the master tanners, subsequently lent these funds along with their own money to the labouring tanners who actually extracted the metal, with the tin itself used as security. In the late sixteenth century, London and alien merchants are said to have advanced as much as £10,000-£40,000 annually.²⁶

Once it had been extracted, processed, and coined the merchants then transported the greater part of this metal to London or Southampton, in some sense for tin at least, the capital’s out-port. In 1420, they shipped 2,254 pieces of tin directly to London, with this cargo comprising nearly half of the county’s annual output.²⁷ A century earlier, Edward II had ordered the arrest

²¹ Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 52.

²² Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 69.

²³ Lewis, *Stannaries*, pp. 150-151; *Carew*, 14r.

²⁴ E101/260/20 mm. 1-2; *CPR 1292-1301*, 522.

²⁵ Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 51-55.

²⁶ Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 53.

²⁷ Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 137-141.

of all smuggled tin in London and Southampton.²⁸ By the fifteenth century a 'weyhouse' stood in Walbrook Ward, London, to which Cornish merchants and others delivered 'tynne of Cornewayle', such was the importance and antiquity of this trade.²⁹ Considerable amounts of tin were then exported in their ingot form. While the Venetians represented a particularly ready market in the fifteenth century, little evidence remains of Cornishmen dealing directly with alien merchants in the City.³⁰

Traders did not send tin simply for export. Tin also proved essential to the production of pewter, an alloy for which London stood renowned and for which there was much demand. London pewterers emerged as a significant craft in the middle of the fourteenth century and in little more than a hundred years held a place 'just outside the magic circle of twelve livery companies'.³¹ It is estimated that by 1400 London pewterers produced 15-20 tonnes of pewter annually, a figure which rose to an exceptional 90 tonnes by 1466-7 and represented hundreds of thousands of items.³² Londoners then traded these throughout England, as the City's pewter was of the highest quality. They also exported it, and in 1480-1 the metal stood amongst London's biggest export earners, with Hanseatic merchants often purchasing this alloy.³³ Cornwall and the capital emerge as strikingly interdependent, with hundreds of Londoners reliant upon thousands of Cornish tanners.

Tensions abounded within the tin trade, however, for labouring tanners, master tanners, tin dealers, and pewterers all sought to maximise their profits at the expense of others who produced and handled the metal. Needless to say, this resulted in much rancour. The level of tin output also greatly influenced the scale of connections forged. The Black Death and subsequent plague visitations had a catastrophic effect upon tin production, and although output had risen to new highs by the end of the fourteenth century, yields fell every year from 1414 until their nadir in the 1460s.³⁴ Despite the ups and

²⁸ *CCR 1313-1318*, 42.

²⁹ C1/70/77; *LBK*, 342-343.

³⁰ *The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants, 1440-1444*, ed. H. Bradley, London Record Society, 46 (Woodbridge, 2012), *passim.*; Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 143.

³¹ J. Hatcher and T. C. Barker, *A History of British Pewter* (London, 1974), pp. 38, 80.

³² R. F. Homer, 'Tin, Lead and Pewter', in *English Medieval Industries, Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. J. Blair and N. Ramsay (London, 1991), pp. 57-80 at 73.

³³ *Views of the Hosts*, pp. 3, 87, 118; *The Overseas Trade of London, Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480-1*, ed. H. S. Cobb, London Record Society, 27 (Bristol, 1990), p. xxxv.

³⁴ Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 90-91, 162.

downs of the trade, however, every person who handled this metal was interconnected, as tinning remained ‘big business’.

Analysis of the tin trade reveals Cornwall as a county by no means economically isolated from the rest of the realm, a point made even more forcefully by the study of debt patterns. The certificates of debt which survive in the chancery records provide the basis for the following discussion. As a source, however, they are by no means without their limitations. The government designed and drafted the Statutes of Acton Burnell (1283), Merchants (1285), and the Staple (1353) to facilitate the quick recovery of mercantile debt. The Statute of the Staple established that bonds or recognizances be drawn-up between the two parties transacting business, with debts formally registered before the mayor and clerk of the staple in designated towns across the realm.³⁵ If the debtor defaulted, the creditor could employ these written instruments to immediately seize their person or goods in the borough where these debts had been registered. If the person or chattels of the debtor remained beyond the town’s jurisdiction, however, the creditor ‘could deposit a certificate of the debt in chancery which would authorise the issue of process for the imprisonment of the debtor and seizure of their chattels’ anywhere in the realm.³⁶

The recognizance rolls of the staple courts rarely survive, however, leaving us reliant upon debt certificates alone.³⁷ We therefore only see the cases where the creditor failed to recover his loan, with no way of assessing what proportion of the total these ‘bad debts’ represented.³⁸ For what these debts were actually incurred is also rarely recorded, leaving us with little more than the overall figure. By the late fourteenth century, it seems that non-merchants widely employed these bonds to ensure the performance of contracts.³⁹ The amounts recorded present yet more problems, as these may include a penal bond as well.⁴⁰ Finally, taking a case to Westminster – where

³⁵ *Statutes of the Realm*, i, pp. 332-343; J. L. Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy, 973-1489* (Manchester, 2012), pp. 73, 202-203, 276-277.

³⁶ M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 213.

³⁷ P. Nightingale, ‘Monetary Contraction and Mercantile Credit in Later Medieval England’, *EcHR*, 43 (1990), pp. 560-575 at 565.

³⁸ Bolton, *Money*, pp. 276-277.

³⁹ M. M. Postan, *Medieval Trade and Finance* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 38-39; Bolton, *Money*, pp. 277-278; Kowaleski, *Exeter*, pp. 212-213.

⁴⁰ Bolton, *Money*, p. 278.

most people registered the cases studied herein – was an expensive undertaking, limited to a wealthy few.⁴¹ While we must bear these caveats in mind, such debt-based evidence reveals a rich network of connections.

Between 1330 and 1430 some seventy-one cases of debt involving Cornish people and Londoners have survived. In these seventy-one certificates, fifty Londoners are found advancing over £5,000 globally to 108 Cornishmen and women.⁴² The body of lenders is drawn from a whole range of companies. Until the 1370s mercers predominated, but from approximately this date fishmongers and grocers are found rising to prominence. At the same time, a few members of other companies made an appearance, including goldsmiths, armourers, and tailors.⁴³ The amounts recorded proved equally varied, ranging from £500 down to as little as £4: seventeen cases involved sums of £100 or more; fourteen cases fell within the £40-£90 bracket; the rest stood at less than £30.⁴⁴ The majority of metropolitan merchants appear but once, though a number of them had multiple interests in the county. In the 1340s, for instance, the mercer Richard Causton brought four cases to chancery concerning Cornish debtors, while his kinsman Nicholas brought a further two. Indeed, many City merchants jointly lent money, no doubt to spread the risk.

But with whom were these Londoners dealing? Unsurprisingly, scions of leading local lineages are often found appearing. In 1343, Sir John Hamley, Sir John l'Ercedekne, Sir John Petit, and Sir John Treiagu formed a syndicate which probably dealt in tin and owed £400 to the mercers Adam Fraunceys and Richard Causton.⁴⁵ Cornish merchants also proved to be well represented. In 1347, a consortium of five, amongst them John Scarlet of Bodmin and Nicholas Pieres of Lostwithiel, owed £20 to the Londoner Simon Fraunceys.⁴⁶ Some Cornishmen went into partnerships with metropolitan merchants, acting as agents in the locality; in 1346, the London fishmongers John de Gildesburgh and Richard Sumli', along with Thomas Goldsmith of Bodmin,

⁴¹ Bolton, *Money*, pp. 278-279.

⁴² C131 and C241, studied directly and through Nightingale's detailed catalogue; counting cases brought on multiple occasions just once.

⁴³ C241/157/144; C241/176/25; C241/178/7.

⁴⁴ The largest, C241/118/272; the smallest, C241/113/69.

⁴⁵ C241/118/288.

⁴⁶ C241/123/140.

were owed 28,000 lbs. of coined tin by Michael Trenewith the younger and Michael Wastel.⁴⁷

On the one hand, debts formed part of a ‘complex web of reciprocal ties that supported social relationships as well as facilitating exchange’, and while the distances involved diluted social interactions these could still prove significant.⁴⁸ Merchants usually conducted trade with ‘a known circle of contacts’; the London Goldsmith John Cary, for instance, approached the widow of Simon Yurle of Launceston and ‘reported [Yurle] for a true man and good paier’.⁴⁹ On the other hand, debt could often result in bitterness. Richard Carew, admittedly writing in the sixteenth century, denounced the ‘cutthroate and abominable dealing’ whereby Londoners made ‘excessive gaine[s]’.⁵⁰ He railed against metropolitan credit reducing Cornishmen to ‘pettie chapmen’, but at times Londoners failed to recover their dues.⁵¹ The influence of debt also radiated out, as the family, acquaintances, and tenantry of debtors – along with local officialdom – were made only too aware of commercial connections to the east of the Tamar.⁵² Debt by no means formed the sole source of friction, with Londoners often suing Cornish ‘pirates’ to no avail.⁵³ Even so, provincial and metropolitan merchants both interacted and intersected, with chancery certificates only illuminating the ‘tip of this iceberg’. Both competition and co-operation characterised commercial connectivity.

Although we will never know the reason why most of these debts were incurred, and some may not even have been concerned with commercial arrangements, tin almost certainly loomed large; four certificates specifically related to debts arising from trade in this metal.⁵⁴ Cornish commerce, however, did not depend upon tin alone. The cloth industry in the east of the county developed from the late fourteenth century, with London grocers developing an interest in this commodity.⁵⁵ Metropolitan fishmongers almost

⁴⁷ C241/121/230.

⁴⁸ Kowaleski, *Exeter*, p. 204.

⁴⁹ Bolton, *Money*, p. 291; *HOP*, iv, 940.

⁵⁰ *Carew*, 14r-15v.

⁵¹ *Carew*, 15v; C241/195/25.

⁵² For instance, C131/33/11.

⁵³ *West Country Shipping*, *passim*..

⁵⁴ C241/117/162; C241/119/235; C241/121/226; C241/121/230; also, *CPMR 1364-1381*, 187.

⁵⁵ *RESDCornwall*, 169-170; *CPR 1461-1467*, 502; *CPR 1467-1477*, 432.

certainly purchased Cornish fish as well, for the county's fisheries expanded markedly in this period.⁵⁶ Londoners sometimes sourced other food stuffs, such as grain, from the peninsula, while a considerable trade in hides carried on between the two regions.⁵⁷ Merchants from within and without Cornwall endlessly transported goods from the county to the capital.

The Cornish also made many purchases in the City, as London formed the hub of inter-regional English trade. Cornishmen and women often sourced textiles from the City, with London's Blackwell Hall rising to pre-eminence amongst English cloth marts from 1397.⁵⁸ London, in fact, held a place at the centre of conspicuous consumption in England, setting and supplying the fashions for the entire kingdom.⁵⁹ Following the latest trends, the Arundells of Lanherne made many purchases in the City. In 1443, John Arundell purchased 7¼ yards of crimson cloth directly from Lucchese merchants in the capital, and in 1466-7 the family acquired livery cloth from London for their retainers.⁶⁰ The Arundells even covered costs for 'lechecraft at London' and 'leche crafte paid to a surger'.⁶¹ Many Cornish gentlefolk purchased luxuries from the capital, with the Arundells' prominence simply stemming from the survival of their accounts. Leading proprietors also sourced fashionable funerary monuments from London, including those of Geoffrey St Aubyn in Crowan and Tristram Curteys in Lostwithiel; William Treffry of Fowey even requested one 'like unto a tomb which lieth on M[aster] Browne in the Crutched Friars of London'.⁶²

People constantly moved to and fro between Cornwall and the capital. The Arundells' receiver met expenses incurred 'for schoyng when my master went to London', and the family owned an inn in Peter Lane, near Paul's

⁵⁶ Kowaleski, 'South-Western Fisheries'.

⁵⁷ *CPR 1313-1317*, 447; *Havener's Accounts*, *passim*.; Cf. J. A. Galloway, 'One Market or Many? London and the Grain Trade of England', in *Trade, Urban Hinterlands and Market Integration, c. 1300-1600*, ed. J. A. Galloway (Loughborough, 2000), pp. 23-42; D. Kene, 'Changes in London's Economic Hinterland as Indicated by Debt Cases in the Court of Common Pleas', in *Urban Hinterlands*, pp. 59-81.

⁵⁸ C. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages, Government and People 1200-1500* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 53-54; *Overseas Trade*, pp. 93, 162-163.

⁵⁹ Barron, *London*, pp. 76-83.

⁶⁰ *Views of the Hosts*, p. 76; H. Douch, 'Household Accounts at Lanherne', *JRIC* (1953), pp. 25-32 at 27; CRO, AR/2/1235/3.

⁶¹ CRO, AR/2/935/12.

⁶² W. Lack, H. M. Stuchfield, and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1997), pp. 27-28, 74-75; *Cornish Wills*, 118.

Wharf, which perhaps served as their London base.⁶³ Mobility of this kind does not emerge as the preserve of knightly dynasties alone, as Cornish merchants regularly travelled to the City. Robert Borlas, a merchant, had thirty-nine pieces of tin ‘cariide oute of Cornwall yn to the citee of London’ in the fifteenth century, while in 1367 the Cornishmen John Nichol and Andrew Bakere had both been in the capital trading in wine when the government arrested them on suspicion of murdering a Welshman.⁶⁴ Commerce also took Thomas Randyll to the capital, as in 1480 he is recorded as carrying cloth from London to Fowey on two horses.⁶⁵ It is worth remembering too that all those who registered debts in London had to travel to the City to do so.⁶⁶ And where people travelled, so too did news: ‘[in Cornwall]’, wrote Richard Carew, ‘the Marchant unfoldeth his packe of strange newes, which either he brought with him from London... or forged by the way, telling what great likelihood there is of warres [and] what danger of Pirates at Sea’.⁶⁷ London formed ‘a clearing-house for news and views’ from across the realm and beyond.⁶⁸

Some Cornish people made their wills while they were staying in London. Christine Batyn of Launceston (d. 1393-4), for instance, composed her testimony while visiting or living in the City with her daughter and son-in-law.⁶⁹ John Foll (d. 1407) was a Cornish tin merchant who enjoyed longstanding connections with London. He composed his will while staying with the London pewterer William Buxton, requesting burial in the collegiate church of St Thomas of Acre in Cheapside, next to his wife, Joan.⁷⁰ Similarly, John Reynold of Bodmin (d. 1413) wished to be interred in the church or cemetery of the Friar Preachers of London, perhaps having resided in the City for a time.⁷¹ Examples such as these could easily be multiplied. Visiting Cornishmen and women often attached themselves to friaries, hospitals, and

⁶³ CRO, AR/2/1244 m. 2; AR/1/941-2; AR/2/1229.

⁶⁴ C1/70/77; *CCR 1364-1368*, 368.

⁶⁵ *Overseas Trade*, p. 99.

⁶⁶ Nightingale, ‘Knights and Merchants’, 40.

⁶⁷ *Carew*, 14r.

⁶⁸ M. Bennett, ‘The Plantagenet Empire as ‘Enterprise Zone’: War and Business Networks, c. 1400-50’, in *The Plantagenet Empire, 1259-1453, Proceedings of the 2014 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. P. Crooks, D. Green, and W. M. Ormrod (Donington, 2016), pp. 335-358 at 356.

⁶⁹ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001 f. 309r; *Cornish Wills*, 42, 213.

⁷⁰ E101/263/19 m. 2; E101/263/24 m. 8; LMA, DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001 f. 183; *Cornish Wills*, 43-44, 226.

⁷¹ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002 f. 254r; *Cornish Wills*, 49, 240.

colleges in the capital, as these institutions were more geared to accommodating ‘strangers’. The larger point to emerge is that Cornish people were most definitely present in the City. Some actually settled in London and founded families, amongst them the metropolitan draper William Botreaux (d. c. 1440), who was of Cornish gentry stock.⁷² Few Cornish proprietors permanently established themselves in the City, however, perhaps being content just to visit London when necessary while governing their patrimonies. By contrast, Cornishmen of lesser means stand out as more enterprising.

Unsurprisingly, examples are found of Cornishmen being admitted into the Worshipful Company of Pewterers.⁷³ Although John Megre hailed from Truro, his remarkable career saw him establish himself as a pewterer in London. Megre coined 20,000 lbs. of tin in 1392 alone, five years later acquiring property in Lombard Street, London, while sitting in parliament for Truro.⁷⁴ He enjoyed no small measure of success as a pewterer, pledging as much as £50 to Henry V in 1418.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, he always retained his links with Cornwall, not least in the county’s tin.⁷⁶ Megre’s will of 1419 reveals that he considered himself a naturalised Londoner. However, it also shows that he remembered numerous people and institutions to the west of the Tamar, leaving money for a seven-year chantry in St Mary’s church, Truro.⁷⁷ ‘John Dogowe, Cornyshman’ of Fowey likewise held a leading role in the internal tin trade, in his case from the 1430s to the 1460s. The pewterers therefore admitted him to the freedom of their company in 1452, with promotion following when in 1460 they appointed him warden.⁷⁸ After Dogowe’s death the company sought new contacts in Cornwall, admitting into its ranks Thomas Butsyd, another leading tin merchant.⁷⁹ The pewterers regularly ‘fetched[ed] tynne’ from Cornwall and in 1491 even ‘paide for ale whanne the Cornysse men were at our halle, iij d.’⁸⁰

⁷² *CPR 1436-1441*, 333.

⁷³ C241/173/33; C241/195/25.

⁷⁴ E101/263/19 m. 9; *HOP*, iii, 711-712.

⁷⁵ *LBI*, 203.

⁷⁶ C241/193/115.

⁷⁷ *HW*, ii, 422; *Cornish Wills*, 50-52.

⁷⁸ GL, CLC/L/PE/D/002/MS07086/001 f. 6r; Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 138.

⁷⁹ C. Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the City of London*, 2 vols (London, 1902), i, p. 45; Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 144-145.

⁸⁰ GL, CLC/L/PE/D/002/MS07086/001 f. 101r.

More unexpected perhaps are the many Cornish-born skimmers who resided in the capital. This connection is partly to be explained by the fact that many hides and furs were produced in Cornwall, with the county's ports also used as trans-shipment stations for the import of Irish furs.⁸¹ Although the skimmers do not stand out as the wealthiest London guild, they still came to hold an increasingly ascendant position in their lucrative trade.⁸² Many Cornishmen joined their ranks, amongst them the skinner Michael Trewethenek, called 'Cornwaille', who almost certainly originated from the west of the Tamar.⁸³ He died in 1385, having enjoyed a successful commercial and civic career during which he served as a common councillor for Cornhill.⁸⁴

William Olyver's career proved to be yet more impressive. Olyver hailed from Truro, representing his home town in the parliaments of 1381 and 1382.⁸⁵ He also established himself in the City of London, where Walbrook Ward repeatedly elected him alderman; he even drafted City legislation and attended Richard II when the latter stripped London of its liberties in 1392.⁸⁶ Olyver rose to significance in the skimmers as well, serving as their warden from 1385.⁸⁷ He developed many connections in the City and in 1390 six fellow Londoners – including four skimmers – mainprised him under pain of 1,000 marks, after the government had imprisoned him in the Tower for an assault.⁸⁸ His will of 1396 reveals his accumulation of wealth and loyalties. Olyver's wish to be buried in St John Walbrook demonstrates his integration into the parochial life of the City – indeed, he had served as churchwarden there in 1371; but he had never forgotten Cornwall. He bequeathed money to St Clement's near Truro and remembered the children of his brother, Laurence Polwhile.⁸⁹ Olyver also developed links with fellow Cornishmen in the capital. He left the sum of 20 marks for her marriage to Sarah Tregollas, the daughter of another Cornish-born skinner in London, Thomas Tregollas (d. 1394). Thomas had sat for Truro in the parliament of 1380, but wished to

⁸¹ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 42-43.

⁸² E. M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 78-80.

⁸³ *HW*, ii, 289.

⁸⁴ *CPMR 1381-1412*, 86; *LBH*, 238.

⁸⁵ *FF*, ii, 23-24; *MPs*, 207, 212.

⁸⁶ *LBH*, 213, 235, 304, 362, 393, 409; *CPR 1391-1396*, 130.

⁸⁷ *LBH*, 262.

⁸⁸ *CCR 1389-1392*, 200, 286.

⁸⁹ *LMA*, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001 ff. 384v-385r; *HW*, ii, 324; *CPR 1370-1374*, 61-62.

be buried in St Martin's in London; he also bequeathed 20s. to 'my fraternity, that is of Mary at Truro' and appointed Olyver supervisor of his testimony.⁹⁰ Olyver left a further 40s. to his apprentice, John Trethewey, who evidently had Cornish origins and did much business in both regions.⁹¹ Trethewey's own will of 1433 remembered St Stephen's Walbrook, as he too became a naturalised Londoner.⁹² Another Trethewey, this time Robert, also established himself as a metropolitan skinner, in 1445 making a bequest to St Stephen's Walbrook; as did Isabel Trethewey.⁹³ Personal networks linking Cornwall and London proved essential to the careers of all these skippers.

Other Cornishmen also established themselves as London skippers. Ralph Skynnard (d. 1429) probably hailed from Cornwall but, like the others, made his fortune in the capital. He left 100s. to John Touker of Liskeard and bequeathed over 1,000 marks to his wife, money amassed as a result of his success in trade and prominence in civic administration, in which he served as an alderman.⁹⁴ Hugh Trethowen's name is suggestive of Cornish birth or ancestry, and the register of the Skippers' Company Fraternity is peppered with others: John and Thomas Tregoll, Nicholas Tretherbyn, John Trewyns, John Trerys, Thomas Fowey, and John Trewynard amongst them.⁹⁵ Reginald Treskewys, citizen and skinner of London, even went to law concerning his Cornish 'enheritance', while another metropolitan skinner, Thomas Lansew (d. 1477), bequeathed his 'lyvelode' in Cornwall to his sister's daughter, Elizabeth Barnarde.⁹⁶ Cornish-born skippers in the capital retained links with their natal county, drawing yet more of their compatriots to the 'big smoke'.

The Cornish proved just as prominent in the Worshipful Company of Brewers. John Tregole (d. 1412), to judge from his name, could claim to be a Cornishman, as could William Trenewyth and John Tregoy.⁹⁷ The citizen and brewer William Longe (d. 1431) definitely hailed from the county, for he bequeathed money to a St Stephen's in Cornwall 'where I was born'; while

⁹⁰ *MPs*, 203; LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001 f. 338r; my thanks to Caroline Baron for these references to skippers' wills; *CCR 1389-1392*, 312.

⁹¹ *CPR 1413-1416*, 208; *CPMR 1413-1437*, 16, 182; *LBI*, 140.

⁹² LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 f. 353v.

⁹³ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004 ff. 172v, 207v.

⁹⁴ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 ff. 211v-212v; *LBI*, 284.

⁹⁵ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 f. 126r; GL, CLC/L/SE/A/004A/MS31692 ff. 5v-6r, 13v, 14r, 24r.

⁹⁶ C1/11/483; LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006 f. 201v; *Cornish Wills*, 205-206.

⁹⁷ LMA, DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001 f. 272v; DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002 f. 240v; DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 f. 23r.

John Polgwest (d. 1437) remembered St Keverne church in the Lizard ‘where I was taken up from the holy font’.⁹⁸ John Basset likewise left money and goods to his heir, John Hoplyn of Cornwall.⁹⁹ The appropriately named Ralph Hoppy (d. 1446) bequeathed money to St Erth ‘where I originated’, while Thomas Bere (d. 1450) held property in Launceston; their peers Richard Trevethek and Richard Newlyn, to judge by their names, were probably Cornishmen as well.¹⁰⁰ City records name yet more London brewers whose names suggest Cornish origins, amongst them Henry Trebolans, John Tregelowe, Michael Tregeneon, Michael Treys, and John Penverne.¹⁰¹ Other London brewers, including John Treloskan and John Trerise, had interests in the county, suggesting that they too hailed from Cornwall.¹⁰² Henry Trebolans, Ralph Hoppy, Michael Trerys, Reynold Trelowe, and many other Cornish-born brewers received their company’s livery and attended fraternity feasts in London.¹⁰³ John Tregolow, in fact, made a voluntary donation to his guild and Henry Trebolans contributed 7s. to the rebuilding of the Brewers’ Hall, attaining the mastership of the Brewers’ Company in the early years of Henry VI’s reign.¹⁰⁴ Such links probably did not develop from a specific taste for Cornish ale, as some thought that it would make you ‘kacke, also to spew’.¹⁰⁵ Instead, brewing probably represented an entry-level craft for Cornishmen of modest means who travelled to London seeking their fortunes.

The Cornish, however, emerge as by no means confined to these three trades. Michael Haryes (d. 1489), who originated from St Columb Major, became a London draper, while another City draper, John Newlyn, may be taken on the evidence of his name and interests in Cornish property to have hailed from the peninsula.¹⁰⁶ Robert Trenerth also originated in Cornwall, being apprenticed into the London mercers and rising to the beedlery of the company in 1428. He still retained his connections with the county, trading in tin and representing three Cornish boroughs in parliament.¹⁰⁷ Although

⁹⁸ *Cornish Wills*, 202-203; LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 f. 481v.

⁹⁹ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 f. 152v.

¹⁰⁰ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004 f. 198v; DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005 ff. 17v, 256v-257r, 287v; *Cornish Wills*, 204.

¹⁰¹ *LBI*, 233-235.

¹⁰² *CPR 1422-1429*, 29; C1/45/292.

¹⁰³ GL, CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440 ff. 5v, 7r, 283r-283v, 310v, 312v-313r, 317r.

¹⁰⁴ GL, CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440 ff. 25r, 86v, 106r, 153r.

¹⁰⁵ Boorde, *Knowledge*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁶ *Cornish Wills*, 206; LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004 f. 162r; C1/6/111.

¹⁰⁷ *HOP*, iv, 648-649; C131/228/9.

apprenticeship could provide many Cornishmen with an entrée into London, such arrangements could not be counted on to always run smoothly. In 1402, for example, Ralph Basset, referred to as late apprentice of Michael Cornewaille, a deceased citizen and draper of London, failed to render 53s. 6d. to Cornewaille's executors.¹⁰⁸ The Cornish who settled in London became fully integrated into its civic society, as they are not found gathered together in a single street, ward, or company.

Neither do Cornishmen emerge as the only inward migrants pouring into London. Peter McClure has charted the scale of migration to the City from the rest of England in the late middle ages by employing place-name evidence, showing that London was a city made up of migrants.¹⁰⁹ Michael Bennett has likewise commented on the scale of local and regional migration into London. In his study of Cheshire and Lancashire society in the late fourteenth century, he has shown that in around 1400 a cluster of Liverpool merchants established themselves in London, and that Cheshire and Lancashire men rose to prominence in the City from the middle of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁰ Anne Sutton similarly charted the rise of the Tates, a family of Coventry origin who were apprenticed into the mercery trade in London. Between 1485 and 1500 two Tate brothers served as aldermen of London, while three Tates achieved the mayoralty four times, the family's success drawing in other Coventry folk: 'the Tate effect'.¹¹¹ We have noted 'the Olyver effect' in the skinners and 'the Cornish effect' in London more generally, as those ensconced in the capital eased the passage to the City for their acquaintances. Many of those Cornishmen and women who settled in London hailed from the county's boroughs, with towns forming nodes in mercantile and inter-urban networks. No urban monopoly existed in commercial contacts, however, for the tin industry transcended urban-rural divides, and the gentry's connections in London were legion.

Many of the Cornish folk who made their careers in the capital still remembered their origins, with some defining themselves as

¹⁰⁸ *CPR 1401-1405*, 80; also, *CPMR 1413-1437*, 238-239.

¹⁰⁹ P. McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames', *EcHR*, 32 (1979), pp. 167-182.

¹¹⁰ Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 124-127.

¹¹¹ A. Sutton, *A Merchant Family of Coventry, London and Calais: The Tates, c. 1450-1515* (London, 1998), p. 11.

‘Cornyshmen’.¹¹² They often forged links with their fellow compatriots in the City, sometimes to nefarious ends.¹¹³ While craft loyalties also dictated such connections, at times Cornish sentiments proved more potent than City associations. In 1411, for example, John Megre and William Trigillowe of Cornwall, along with the London brewers John Trigillowe and Henry Bedell, made a bond for the management of a deceased Londoner’s property.¹¹⁴ Few became ‘merchant princes’, but a considerable cohort of Cornish people thrived in the capital. In moving to London these folk in some sense ‘colonised’ the City to exploit its resources and connections, growing rich through London’s mercantile networks.¹¹⁵ Indeed, Cornish careerists formed points of contact between the county and the capital, with the two areas emerging as interdependent.

The county formed no London satellite, however, as the exceptional survival of City documentation has the effect of rendering the capital’s commercial clout falsely ascendant. Cornwall, in fact, traded with a host of cities and regions, some in England and some further afield. County merchants exported a great deal of tin to Northern France, Flanders, and beyond, with this metal also drawing Italian banking houses to the peninsula.¹¹⁶ A thriving trade in wine, hides, and many other commodities carried on between Cornwall and Brittany, with the shared heritage of the Cornish and Breton languages supporting such commercial links.¹¹⁷ Cornishmen also traded these items in Normandy, for the cross-Channel trade emerges as being of great significance to the county.¹¹⁸ Maritime commerce linked Cornwall to the settlements of the Irish Sea as well, with Cornish shipmen trading in Chester, Haverford, and Waterford, for example, and merchants from North-Western England, Ireland, and Wales landing in Cornwall.¹¹⁹ Cornish shipmen also transported people, as the county held an integral place on the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela; in 1394, for instance, the government conceded a licence to Richard Robyn, master of the

¹¹² *CCR 1402-1405*, 362.

¹¹³ *CPMR 1381-1412*, 302.

¹¹⁴ *CPMR 1381-1412*, 310.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Bennett, ‘Enterprise Zone’, p. 356.

¹¹⁶ Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 53, 92-93, 110-111; C131/174/4; *CCR 1323-1327*, 531, 571.

¹¹⁷ *Havener’s Accounts*, pp. 73, 162.

¹¹⁸ *Havener’s Accounts*, p. 73.

¹¹⁹ *Havener’s Accounts*, pp. 31, 40, 226, 232.

George of Fowey, to ‘embark four-score pilgrims’ to Santiago ‘to perform their vows’.¹²⁰ Such links connected Cornwall firmly to the rest of England and to a wider Europe.

Cornish merchants undertook considerable trade with other parts of the realm. In 1368, for instance, Richard Ledhed of Bodmin is found indebted to two merchants of Salisbury.¹²¹ Cornishmen and Bristolians likewise began process in chancery on five occasions between 1330 and 1430, while Thomas Catour of Breage (d. 1458) remembered ‘Ricard Trynwyche of Bristol, pewterer’ in his will.¹²² Cornish merchants and others also traded tin in Gloucester, though not always legally.¹²³ Yet Cornishmen are conspicuous by their absence from another Midlands city – Coventry – reminding us that we should neither overplay the scale of connections to other parts of the realm nor the integrated nature of the medieval English economy.¹²⁴

Commercial links with Exeter stand out as more significant than those with more distant regional centres. Some Exeter merchants are found advancing money to their western neighbours, as did Henry Westover to Laurence Tremur of Cornwall.¹²⁵ Indeed, the city is often found admitting Cornishmen to its freedom. Many of these folk originated from Cornwall’s boroughs – including John Russel of Bodmin – attaining the freedom of Exeter after serving apprenticeships which family members and acquaintances had presumably organised.¹²⁶ Cornish merchants certainly maintained a presence in the city, although they are sometimes found behaving violently: in 1318, an assault within its bounds on John Tavistock by John le Seler of Bodmin and eight other malefactors prompted a government investigation.¹²⁷ The staple court of Exeter also acted as a significant draw to Cornishmen and women, with dozens of debts enrolled there between gentlemen, merchants, and clergymen.¹²⁸ While considerable commercial bonds linked the two areas, Exeter proved to be too distant from

¹²⁰ *CPR 1391-1396*, 362.

¹²¹ C131/19/36.

¹²² *Cornish Wills*, 84.

¹²³ *CCR 1313-1318*, 42.

¹²⁴ *The Statute Merchant Roll of Coventry, 1392-1416*, ed. A. Beardwood, Dugdale Society, 17 (London, 1939).

¹²⁵ C241/171/78.

¹²⁶ *Exeter Freeman, 1266-1967*, ed. M. M. Rowe and A. M. Jackson, *DCRS*, Extra Series I (Exeter, 1973), pp. 4-48; Kowaleski, *Exeter*, p. 86.

¹²⁷ *CPR 1317-1321*, 286.

¹²⁸ Kowaleski, *Exeter*, p. 279; for instance, C241/146/6.

Cornwall to serve as a provincial capital for the south west. Of the seventy-four chancery certificates enrolled in the 1390s which related to Cornwall, one detailed a debt between a Cornishman and a man of Somerset; six recorded dealings between Cornishmen and Londoners; ten showed Cornish and Devonian agreements; while the remaining fifty-seven were concerned with intra-Cornish interactions. Commerce within the county is likely to have proved more significant even than these figures suggest, as deeply localised agreements greatly outnumbered recognizances.¹²⁹

It is helpful to think of a country made up of distinct economic regions, resulting from localised supply, demand, topography, and transports networks.¹³⁰ Even Cornwall as a whole did not form a single market, with land prices and industries varying across the county.¹³¹ In 1320, Cornwall and Devon jointly submitted a petition alleging that merchants sold wine for 6*d.* a gallon in Exeter and 8*d.* a gallon elsewhere in these counties, while in London it cost a mere 4*d.*¹³² Yet the fact that both counties possessed information about the cost of wines in London suggests that regional markets existed neither in isolation nor in ignorance of each other. The nature of markets also depended on the commodities traded, and the tin trade made for a strong connection between Cornwall and the commercial hub of London. Across England, a ‘flourishing’ network of trade and credit bound together an intricate series of marts, ranging from London, through county towns such as Lostwithiel, down to petty boroughs and Cornish villages. All the main urban centres in Cornwall also emerge as entwined with their hinterlands, while the tin industry enveloped both urban and rural areas in the county.¹³³ Local, regional, national, and international commerce were all interwoven. A number of scholars have argued that the English economy grew increasingly integrated in the changed world created by the Black Death and successor plagues, and London certainly increased its share of the realm’s trade.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ R. H. Britnell, ‘Urban Demand and the English Economy, 1300-1600’, in *Urban Hinterlands*, pp. 1-21 at 4.

¹³⁰ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 272; J. Hatcher and M. Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages, The History and Theory of England’s Economic Development* (Oxford, 2001), p. 155; J. L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500* (London, 1980).

¹³¹ *RESDCornwall*, 258-259.

¹³² *PROME*, iii, 389.

¹³³ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp. 271-272; Kene, ‘Economic Hinterland’, p. 71.

¹³⁴ R. H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 155-203; P. Nightingale, ‘The Growth of London in the Medieval English Economy’, in

What remains beyond doubt, however, is that no such thing as Cornish autarky existed. The tin workings gouged into the Cornish landscape formed potent reminders of this, with hillsides and churchyards excavated in the name of commerce.¹³⁵

Commercial connections also relied upon the administrative framework that covered the realm. Credit was only so widely available because creditors possessed the legal instruments required to record and recover debts; and without these they would have been far more reticent to lend.¹³⁶ In this way royal statutes were essential to English commerce. Regnal government rendered this legislation effective, as royal officials enforced contracts made under its auspices. The Crown's establishment of staple towns also greatly influenced English commerce. In 1327, for instance, the government ordered that the staples of hides, tin, wools, and woolfells in England be held at Bristol, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, Winchester, and York, with the staple for 'tin of Cornwall' at Lostwithiel and Truro, and that for 'tin of Devonshire' at Ashburton.¹³⁷ Royal licences for fairs and boroughs served to nourish commercial centres, while the Crown's maintenance of highways encouraged trade.¹³⁸ Regnal government and local lordship proved to be intertwined in Cornwall, with both influencing the county's economy. In 1357, for instance, the Black Prince appointed William de Bakton, yeoman of his buttery, to the post of 'clerk of the statute within the duchy of Cornewaille'.¹³⁹ Bakton's task was to enforce English law and business agreements in the peninsula with both seigniorial and regnal administration. Indeed, the Black Prince helped to draw Cornwall into the commercial mainstream, by himself taking part in the selling of tin to London pewterers and many others.¹⁴⁰ Regnal and lordly government together removed internal trade barriers, reducing transaction costs and fostering pan-English interactions.¹⁴¹

Progress and Problems in Medieval England, ed. R. H. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 89-106.

¹³⁵ *RBP*, ii, 122, 178.

¹³⁶ Bolton, *Money*, p. 208.

¹³⁷ *CPR 1327-1330*, 98-99.

¹³⁸ Britnell, *Commercialisation*, pp. 16-18, 160-161; Bolton, *Money*, p. 23; *Markets and Fairs*, i, pp. 76-85.

¹³⁹ *RBP*, ii, 111.

¹⁴⁰ *RBP*, ii, 170.

¹⁴¹ Kowaleski, *Exeter*, pp. 179-221; Galloway, 'Grain Trade', p. 23.

Coinage too proved essential to English commerce. In contrast to the position in France, centralised minting was the norm in England, with the Crown controlling minting centres. English coinage therefore provided a standard measure of value, and a common unit of reckoning and exchange across the realm.¹⁴² Coins also possessed symbolic value as they bore the image of the king as a guarantee of their weight and fineness.¹⁴³ Currency projected the sovereignty and majesty of the monarch. The money in peoples' hands helped the realm to cohere, affording a constant reminder to people of their status as English subjects, with them reckoning value in royally determined units.¹⁴⁴ When one currency operated in the realm, the Crown naturally wished to introduce standardised weights and measures.¹⁴⁵ In this connection, it is worth noting that in 1315 the people of Cornwall petitioned Edward II requesting standardisation in accordance with Magna Carta, claiming that his officials and many more folk besides employed 'other measures and weights than are used elsewhere in the realm'.¹⁴⁶ Ten years later, he had the nine weights used for weighing tin committed to the mayor and sheriffs of London 'to agree with the king's standard of London', as they had become 'broken... by reason of their age', frequent carriage, use, and falsification.¹⁴⁷ The people of Cornwall welcomed the introduction of national standards into their county, and as the century went on the Crown responded by passing more economic legislation.¹⁴⁸

Commerce involving the Cornish, especially the trading of tin, proved profoundly political. Whenever the county felt that its interests had been compromised, it launched a vociferous defence of them. In the 1390s, for example, it complained in parliament that the removal of the staple for tin from Lostwithiel to Calais was 'to the very great loss of our lord the king and destruction of all the commons of the said county'.¹⁴⁹ Cornwall's residents were well aware both that their wealth depended upon regnal grace, and that

¹⁴² Bolton, *Money*, pp. 20-21, 56-57, 240-241.

¹⁴³ Bolton, *Money*, pp. 20-21, 34.

¹⁴⁴ S. Piron, 'Monnaie et Majesté Royale dans le France DU 14^e Siècle', *Annales Historie, Sciences Sociales*, 51 (1996), pp. 325-354 at 325-327.

¹⁴⁵ Bolton, *Money*, pp. 28-30; Britnell, *Commercialisation*, pp. 173-174.

¹⁴⁶ *PROME*, iii, 101.

¹⁴⁷ *LBE*, 203-204; *CIM 1307-1349*, 211; *CCR 1323-1327*, 300.

¹⁴⁸ A. Musson and W. M. Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice, Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 52-53, 89-96.

¹⁴⁹ *PROME*, vii, 217-218, 269-270.

the king-earl-duke was reliant upon tin revenues from the county. Together, all those who had commercial concerns to the west of the Tamar – sundry Cornish folk, London merchants, and the king-earl-duke himself – politically and economically drew Cornwall into the kingdom. This is shown by the fact that in 1346 the merchants and Commons of the whole realm lent their voice to a petition requesting that Edward III restrain the tinning policies of Tideman de Lymbergh.¹⁵⁰ In 1391, the parliamentary Commons even claimed that ‘in Cornwall there accrues a great commodity of the kingdom of England, that is tin’.¹⁵¹

That said, neither the strength of government nor the integrated nature of the English economy should be overstressed, for there were factors that weighed on the other side. Bullion shortages challenged the monetised economy in this period, especially in the middle of the fourteenth century and from c. 1375 to c. 1415.¹⁵² ‘False money’ was often brought into the realm from abroad, with the king investigating the circulation of counterfeit coinage in Cornwall on numerous occasions.¹⁵³ Indeed, for all the legislation standardising weights and measures, numerous Cornish variants remained in use well beyond the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁴ In 1390, the Crown even investigated John Kendale for having ‘counterfeited the die of the king’s seal for the statute merchant in Lostwithiel... [and the] dies of the king’s money’.¹⁵⁵ And while Cornish MPs petitioned for the defence of the tin industry, their fellow county men employed violent self-help to bring about change more quickly. All that being so, commercial connectivity still powerfully drew the county into the kingdom, not just through pan-English credit, exchange, and personal networks, but also through the political and administrative structures of the realm. Thus it is to the law that we now turn.

10. Legal Connectivity

¹⁵⁰ *PROME*, iv, 420.

¹⁵¹ *PROME*, vii, 217-218.

¹⁵² Bolton, *Money*, pp. 163-164, 233-240.

¹⁵³ *CCR 1296-1302*, 412-413; *CFR 1327-1337*, 491; *CPR 1345-1348*, 170, 182, 307.

¹⁵⁴ *Carew*, 54r-54v; Bolton, *Money*, p. 30.

¹⁵⁵ *CPR 1388-1392*, 360.

Regnal jurisdiction played a vital role in integrating the realm, with the law forming the essence of government and a potent force for connectivity.¹ The peace was the king's peace, for he stood at the heart of English – and by extension Cornish – justice. The Crown enjoyed a virtual monopoly on criminal proceedings in England, with judicial customs reaching to the furthest corners of Cornwall in a standard (common) form, spreading awareness of the king's judicial reach.² The common law, in fact, regarded all Cornishmen and women as English, in contrast to the position in parts of Wales, where distinct Welsh and English judicial systems prevailed.³ The following section will, first, outline the workings of the law in Cornwall, and then go on to consider legal practitioners in the peninsula and the county's place in national legal networks.

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Across the fourteenth century, the scope of both statute and common law expanded dramatically. Regnal courts increasingly drew pleas concerning debt into their competence, while the king passed and enforced a burgeoning number of statutes. The latter came to regulate spheres of life which had never before fallen within the purview of royal justice, including wage levels.⁴ Procedural and institutional changes matched these developments. In the thirteenth century, the eyre had formed one of the main instruments of regnal government, the justices visiting each county every seven years or so and once there, hearing all cases concerning that locality.⁵ Since the eyre collapsed under its own weight in the early fourteenth century, the Crown had to find new mechanisms of enforcing its legal prerogatives. The solution alighted upon involved the justices of the peace. In the years before 1330 the keepers of the peace had possessed only modest authority, but by the 1360s their successors, the justices of the peace, had amassed wide judicial powers.

¹ For the best introductions, see J. H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 4th Edition (Bath, 2002); Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*; A. L. Brown, *The Governance of Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), pp. 100-140; Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp. 47-58.

² Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, p. 1; Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 41.

³ Cf. Davies, *March*, pp. 158-161, 302-318; for instance, *YB 11 Edward II*, 113-114; *YB 12 & 13 Edward III*, 70-73; *YB 2 Richard II*, 94-100; for year books, P. Brand, *Observing and Recording the Medieval Bar and Bench at Work, The Origins of Law Reporting in England* (London, 1999).

⁴ Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, pp. 89-96, 147-157.

⁵ Baker, *Legal History*, p. 16; Crook, 'Later Eyres'.

As a result, the range of responsibilities which the Crown devolved to these local officers greatly increased.⁶ The locality achieved no monopoly on the local dispensation of justice, however, as the central court justices who sat on commissions of assize and gaol delivery in the provinces supervised the local magistracy, bringing with them national practices and precedents in both criminal and civil matters.⁷ Across the realm, the Crown and the shires together forged a remarkably integrated system of regnal jurisdiction which fused ‘central’ and ‘local’ agencies and agents.⁸ The law thus grew increasingly intertwined in local society, creating a more pervasive national legal culture.

The workings of the law, however, proved in practice to be greatly tempered by the customs and traditions of particular localities. Three main legal traditions took root in England: common law, canon law, and customary law.⁹ Common law, as we have noted, consisted of a standardised body of pan-English judicial customs authorised by the king. By contrast, canon law comprised papal decretals and Roman civil-law traditions regulating clerical conduct and cases concerning morality. Customary law stood out as the most amorphous of the three, consisting of a range of localised practices interpreted in accordance with local ‘custom’ or convention.

Cornwall, as elsewhere, contained a striking variety of courts in which an equally diverse range of types of law were pleaded. The Statute of the Staple in 1353, for instance, provided a mechanism whereby payment of debt could be enforced through the joint actions of local staple courts and the chancery, with many Cornishmen and women securing the performance of contracts in these interlinked courts. Indeed, the chancery’s jurisprudence burgeoned from the later fourteenth century, as it developed into an important court of equity with an extra-territorial jurisdiction.¹⁰ The chancellor often came to judgements concerning Cornwall and its people, not least in cases of ‘piracy’, with chancery equity therefore essential to Cornish life.¹¹ The

⁶ Above, pp. 49-52; Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, pp. 50-54, 74.

⁷ For instance, JUST1/1330 mm. 1-49r; JUST1/1476 mm. 68r-82r.

⁸ Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, pp. 53, 73-74.

⁹ Musson, *Legal Consciousness*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰ M. Beilby, ‘The Profits of Expertise: the Rise of the Civil Lawyers and Chancery Equity’, in *Profit, Piety, and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 72-90.

¹¹ *West Country Shipping, passim.*

peninsula's long coastline also ensured that the admiralty enjoyed great sway over Cornish maritime and commercial affairs, adjudicating over cases involving contact between merchants made overseas or below the tide mark.¹² Cornwall's numerous borough courts likewise played an essential role in regulating county commerce, implementing the 'composite body of traders' customs' that comprised mercantile law.¹³ While borough courts enjoyed jurisdiction in many of Cornish towns, in Fowey, for example, the manor court remained the chief judicial institution, being overseen by the prior of Tywardreath.¹⁴ This tribunal implemented the customary law of the manor of Fowey, while enforcing seigniorial rights with a light touch, including the assize of bread and ale. Such courts administered each Cornish manor, regulating the lives of their inhabitants in accordance with village customs and by-laws.¹⁵

To some extent Cornwall's hundreds stand out as the nexus where manorial and royal justice intersected, with these tribunals enjoying a wider ranging jurisdiction than those of the manor. Twice a year the sheriff undertook his hundredal tourn in which hundredal justice was supervised by an officer of the Crown.¹⁶ The sheriff also convened the county court, which enjoyed a yet more expansive jurisprudence than hundredal tribunals, adjudicating over outlawries and minor pleas.¹⁷ The king and the earl-duke both ultimately oversaw the county court, which formed an interface between the county and its lords. Indeed, the earl-duke wielded much judicial power himself in his Cornish manors, stannaries, marine courts, and so on. He also exercised a form of equitable jurisdiction in his council, one which the Cornish often called upon.¹⁸ Beyond this, a whole hierarchy of ecclesiastical tribunals ultimately stretched up to the pope himself.¹⁹ This jurisdictional complexity in Cornwall, as elsewhere in England, renders the Crown's

¹² *Select Pleas in the Court of the Admiralty, The Court of the Admiralty of the West (AD 1390-1404) and The High Court of the Admiralty (AD 1527-1545)*, ed. R. G. Marsden, 2 vols, Selden Society, 6, 11 (London, 1894-7), i, pp. xlix-1, 1-2.

¹³ Musson, *Legal Consciousness*, p. 11.

¹⁴ S. J. Drake, 'Pirates and Pilchards: The Wealth and Peopling of Fowey during the Hundred Years War', *JRIC* (2015), pp. 23-44 at 24-26.

¹⁵ P. R. Hyams, 'What did Edwardian Villagers understand by 'Law'?', in *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, ed. Z. Razzi and R. Smith (Oxford, 1996), pp. 69-102; L. Bonfield, 'What did English Villagers means by Customary Law?', *idem.*, pp. 103-116.

¹⁶ 'Three courts'; Above, pp. 62-65.

¹⁷ SC2/161/74 mm. 1-11; Above, p. 78.

¹⁸ Above, pp. 186-188.

¹⁹ Below, pp. 249-250.

ascendancy less absolute than it first appears, especially in relation to civil pleas.

In some sense, each of these jurisdictions constituted its own legal system, possessing officials, procedures, and precedents of its own, but no court in Cornwall enjoyed jurisdictional finality. The stannaries can stand as a case in point. A bailiff headed each stannary bailiwick, enforcing its customary laws. Edward I had enshrined these conventions in a charter of 1305 which, amongst other things, freed tanners from local manorial justice.²⁰ The stannary courts therefore exercised a civil and minor criminal jurisdiction over debts, detinue, replevin, and ‘any plea or quarrel’ arising within their bounds. However, these courts did *not* remove tanners from ‘pleas of life, land, and limb’, the essence of regnal justice.²¹ Neither did the stannaries hold absolute control over civil pleas. Some tanners, among them John Zeke of Roche for example, might register their debts in staple courts. Yet they could later be pursued in chancery by their creditors, as was Zeke in 1399.²² The stannaries did not serve as a separate Cornish jurisdiction because the competence of these tribunals simply proved to be too narrow, even though sundry local folk could claim to be tanners until 1376.²³ The Commons of Cornwall stood in no doubt that the stannaries existed within the king’s grace. This is shown by the fact that in 1376 they petitioned Edward III through the House requesting that he investigate the ‘customs and usages’ of the stannarymen, who had been causing ‘oppressions... by colour of their franchise’, with the king responding by having the fact that tanners were still subject to his jurisdiction in pleas of ‘life, land, and limb’ enrolled in the Parliament Rolls.²⁴

While no court in the county held monopoly powers, local tribunals could still prove significant. The manor court of Fowey stands out as one such, playing an essential role in regulating the town’s collective life by investigating such matters as small debts, loose pigs, and numerous brawls.

²⁰ *CChR 1300-1326*, 53-54; Lewis, *Stannaries*, pp. 39, 158-159; R. R. Pennington, *Stannary Law, A History of the Mining Law of Cornwall and Devon* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 72-101; Hatcher, *Tin*, p. 48.

²¹ *PROME*, v, 347-348; *Les Reports des Cases en Ley: En le Cinque an du Roy Edward le Quart Communement Appelle Long Quinto* (London, 1680), pp. 34-35; Hatcher, *Tin*, pp. 48, 52; SC2/156/26.

²² C241/188/105.

²³ Despite Mark Stoye’s argument that they represented a Cornish legal system, ‘Dissidence of Despair’.

²⁴ *PROME*, v, 347-348.

This tribunal even heard of the way in which Joan and her daughter, Joan, lived ‘suspiciously with great expense and no income’.²⁵ In 1459, however, when Hanys Dutyshman drew a sword on John Scote, jurors from Fowey chose to present him to the king’s justices.²⁶ Although civil pleas emerge as much less integrated than their criminal counterparts, a remarkably unified royal criminal justice system operated across the kingdom. The Cornish bench certainly gained in stature in much the same way as that of every other shire. The earl-duke also secured the regular appointment of his own officials to this tribunal, for the Crown, the earldom-duchy, and the county commonalty together integrated Cornwall into the realm’s legal system.²⁷ Indeed, throughout the century royal justices of gaol delivery tried at their sessions at Launceston criminals indicted before Cornish sheriff-stewards, coroners, peace commissioners, and hundredal officials, supervising justice in the county.²⁸

The Crown linked the circuits of gaol delivery with those of assize, and the latter tribunals heard civil cases of land and title in the county, as well as some criminal matters, bringing regnal justice into Cornwall.²⁹ During the fourteenth century, public demand resulted in a ‘relentless growth in the scope and scale of civil actions undertaken in the royal courts’.³⁰ It was gentle society which most enjoyed the luxury of choosing in which court to sue, but many sub-gentry folk brought cases before the assizes and common pleas, with even the lowliest peasant drawn into ‘the common law ambit’ in a myriad of ways, from litigation to jury service.³¹ Besides, the king’s courts kept all these ‘lesser authorities within the procedural and jurisdictional bounds of the law’, while the king retained the right to administer justice outside the regular system: his sovereignty stands out as transcendent.³²

England’s legal culture proved even more complex than the above outline, as we have only considered the letter of the law. Since the king possessed no police force, the enforcement of justice depended upon the

²⁵ CRO, ART/2/1 mm. 1-13, 7.

²⁶ CRO ART/2/1 m. 10.

²⁷ Above, pp. 49-52.

²⁸ JUST3/120 m. 23r; JUST3/121 m. 13; JUST3/156 m. 42r-46r.

²⁹ Musson, *Public Order*, pp. 95, 109-110, 121.

³⁰ Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, p. 127; see, *YB 30 & 31 Edward I*, 154-155.

³¹ Hyams, ‘Law’?, p. 75; Bonfield, ‘Customary Law’, p. 113.

³² Baker, *Legal History*, pp. 98, 143.

voluntary co-operation of the local gentry. Yet unpaid Cornish gentlemen had a penchant for lawlessness, which undermined the local peace. A culture of violence influenced the operation of the king's tribunals in Cornwall, not least as litigants often employed the law to bring pressure on their adversaries.³³ The peninsula's distance from the central tribunals also weakened the effectiveness of these courts, as some folk avoided bringing cases before them on account of the expenses involved. At times, too, the many overlapping jurisdictions in the county clashed. The Black Prince, for instance, commanded his steward to continue investigations into 'piracy', despite the defendant having obtained a writ in 'the king's chancery on wanton allegations' to halt investigations.³⁴ In every way, then, local traditions, the local impact of lordship, and the local workings of society had the effect of tempering the workings of the law. The main point still stands, however, that a system of remarkably pervasive regnal jurisdiction operated within the county and the wider realm, securing Cornwall's place in the kingdom.

Since the law came to regulate more and more aspects of everyday life, the Crown's legal omni-presence increasingly impinged upon the legal consciousness of the people of Cornwall.³⁵ No free person in the county could be ignorant of the importance of due process and documentation, a situation attested to by their regular purchase of royal charters, the care taken over the drawing-up and preservation of deeds, and the careful affixation of legally binding seals to such documents.³⁶ In 1386, for example, when he leased out the hundred of Eastwivelshire, Oliver Wysa attached the seal of the ecclesiastical dean of Eastwivelshire to the indenture because the former's seal remained 'unknown to many'.³⁷ In 1302, Ralph Arundell even brought a case before the king after Sir Roger Ingepenne had seized his muniments and the chest in which they were stored.³⁸ Legal documents propagated an appreciation of the law's scope and significance, especially as numerous men witnessed each agreement.

³³ Above, pp. 118-129.

³⁴ *RBP*, ii, 12-13.

³⁵ Musson, *Legal Consciousness*, pp. 18, 89, 101, 217.

³⁶ CRO, BLAUS/44; AR/4/415; *Markets and Fairs*, i, pp. 76-85.

³⁷ CRO, CY/1929.

³⁸ KB27/171 m. 63d.

Recourse to the king's courts likewise laid bare the essential functions of the law, for many Cornishmen and women called on regnal tribunals to secure a settlement of their disputes, especially in cases of title to land.³⁹ Cornish residents, for example, regularly requested the royal appointment of commissions of oyer and terminer to investigate grievances of theirs, so inviting regnal intervention in the county. The operation of royal tribunals, in fact, required the participation of jurors drawn from the locality, introducing a remarkably wide cross-section of Cornish society to the niceties of the law. The county's court venues and prisons, such as those at Launceston Castle and gaol, loomed as testaments in stone to the king's position as arbiter of the peninsula's peace. Beyond this, the expansion of local officialdom across the century extended the magistracy, broadening and deepening legal knowledge among the people of the county. Even when engaging in lawlessness, malefactors cannot have been entirely ignorant of the fact that peace in Cornwall belonged to their king, for they risked heavy punishments at the hands of the justices. The residents of Cornwall interacted with the law in a multitude of ways, sometimes co-operating with legal process, at other times subverting it, but each and every one of these strands propagated legal consciousness in the county.

Cornish perceptions of the law evolved as a result: they became more positive. Whereas in 1233, for example, the Cornish had fled into the woods to avoid an eyre, in 1315 the people of Cornwall actually petitioned Edward II to keep 'his peace in accordance with his oath' and despatch justices to the county, as 'many serious trespasses go unpunished'.⁴⁰ In 1315, the commonalty specifically requested the exercise of regnal jurisdiction in their peninsula – and the endorsement on the petition recorded that the king would send justices to Cornwall – as local expectations of law and order had grown, though the petition still went on to claim that Cornwall held a place 'so far from the court' that few residents sent cases to central tribunals. By contrast, the sixteenth-century polemist, Andrew Boorde, was to write that Cornishmen 'wyl to London, to try the Law... for waggyng of a straw', with John Chynoweth's work on Tudor Cornwall confirming this picture of

³⁹ *FF*, *passim*..

⁴⁰ *Annales Monastici*, iii, p. 135; *PROME*, iii, 100-101.

litigiousness.⁴¹ Both royal ambitions and ‘consumer demand’ between them encouraged the expansion of regnal jurisdiction in Cornwall, with the law having a powerful integrative effect.

John Trevisa took great satisfaction in Cornwall being ‘i-ruled by the lawe of Engelond’, a condition which he viewed as vital in securing the county’s place in the kingdom.⁴² Laws formed an essential aspect of the outlook of a medieval people, for such rules protected the traditions which underpinned collective identity.⁴³ Writing of the Anglo-Irish, Rees Davies compellingly argued that their ‘use of English law was a triumphant affirmation of their Englishness, of their sense of belonging to a greater English community’; the same statement can be said to hold true for the inhabitants of every English shire, Cornwall amongst them.⁴⁴ The law formed a potent bonding agent which in practice and imagination manufactured unity within the realm.

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The actions of practitioners also helped mould the law and so it is worth considering the role of personal agency, for the Crown’s judicial prerogatives brought about many social interactions and itineraries. Cornwall occupied a place on the south-western assize circuit, with justices including the peninsula in their visitations to the counties beyond Bristol each year. This led to some of the leading legal minds of the realm adjudicating over Cornish civil and criminal cases, men such as Chief Justice Sir William Shareshull, who influenced the workings of England’s entire legal system.⁴⁵ These justices interacted with many Cornish people, issuing demands on behalf of their king and listening to claims and counter-claims.⁴⁶ No one in Cornwall failed to recognise their power, nor the fact that these men stood as personifications of royal justice. Conversely, justices informed the king about conditions in the

⁴¹ Boorde, *Knowledge*, p. 122; in the courts of chancery, star chamber, and requests, Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall*, pp. 278-306.

⁴² Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, p. 91.

⁴³ R. R. Davies, ‘The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100-1400: III. Laws and Customs’, *TRHS*, 6th series, 6 (1996), pp. 1-23.

⁴⁴ Davies, ‘Laws and Customs’, 5.

⁴⁵ For instance, JUST1/1445 m. 51r; Putnam, *William Shareshull*; A. Musson, ‘Centre and Locality: Perceptions of the Assize Justices in Late Medieval England’, in *Law, Governance, and Justice, New Views on Medieval Constitutionalism*, ed. R. W. Kaeuper (Leiden, 2013), pp. 211-242.

⁴⁶ *YB 30 & 31 Edward I*, 74-78, 84-85, 240-241.

peninsula, acting as a point of contact between the county and the Crown. With the introduction of a quorum of central court justices onto Cornwall's bench in the later fourteenth century, the Crown was able to bring yet more men of law into the county, amongst them Henry de Perchay, chief baron of the exchequer and a justice of the common pleas, who sat on the Cornish bench throughout the 1370s.

Cornishmen and women also interacted with justices in the king's central courts. In 1324, for instance, William Blundel brought a case to the king's bench *in persona* against Michael Trenewith the elder, as Trenewith had allegedly assaulted him *contra pacem et contra forma statuta*.⁴⁷ If litigants proved unwilling to travel, they could instead employ a professional attorney to plead on their behalf. Many Cornish folk chose this latter option, with attorneys such as John Mark making handsome livings as a result.⁴⁸ Information also travelled; attorneys communicated with their clients about the course of cases, while courts sent writs regarding judgments to the sheriff. The law served to tie the county into national networks of communication.

No clear-cut division can be sustained between central and local justices, however, as many Cornish 'men of law' established themselves in the 'centre'. At the peak of the legal profession in the fourteenth century stood the serjeants-at-law, who held a monopoly on pleading at the bar in the common pleas.⁴⁹ By Edward III's reign the serjeants had grown into a fraternity known as the order of the coif, identified by the wearing of a distinctive attire. In the fourteenth century, no fewer than five Cornishmen attained this dignity: John Penrose, John Tremayne, Robert Tresilian, John Trevaignon, and Simon Trewythosa.⁵⁰

Simon Trewythosa attained the rank of serjeant in 1332. While his origins are obscure, his abilities enabled him to establish a busy practice in Cornwall – for clients as eminent as Sir John Petit – and also represent the county in parliament.⁵¹ In due course he became a trusted royal servant, in

⁴⁷ KB27/254 m. 85r, though this was subsequently crossed through.

⁴⁸ KB27/227 m. 73r.

⁴⁹ See, J. H. Baker, *The Order of the Serjeants at Law, A Chronicle of Creation, with Related Texts and an Historical Introduction*, Selden Society, Supplementary Series 5 (London, 1984).

⁵⁰ Baker, *Serjeants*, pp. 530, 541.

⁵¹ *CPR 1330-1334*, 581; CRO, ME/1245.

1336 advising on legal matters ‘touching the king’ himself.⁵² Trewythosa also looked after his own interests, acquiring lands in Cornwall and Somerset and lending some 500 marks to Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor.⁵³ In contrast to Trewythosa’s modest background, John Tremayne hailed from a Cornish legal and parliamentary dynasty.⁵⁴ Tremayne took a keen interest in Cornwall’s governance, sitting on the county bench for nearly twenty years. He too established a successful legal practice which attracted prominent local gentlemen, amongst them the Bodrugans, and perhaps drew clients from outside the county. Tremayne went on to sit in parliament for Truro in 1388, suggesting that many esteemed his advocacy. Less than eight months later the City of London appointed him a common serjeant, subsequently promoting him to the capital’s recordership. Tremayne’s career continued to blossom, as in 1401 he took the coif and by 1404 held a prominent place on Henry IV’s council. While the law raised both these Cornishmen to positions of power in the county and the wider realm, the three Cornishmen whom the king actually appointed to the judicial bench were to rise yet further still.

John Trevaignon emerges as the first Cornishman to be called to the rank of serjeant, in 1313.⁵⁵ His busy career saw him sit on numerous judicial commissions and debate complex points of law with his fellows.⁵⁶ Trevaignon rose through the ranks, with the Crown creating him a king’s serjeant in 1329. The government subsequently employed him on the ‘king’s business’ in places as diverse as Kent, Dorset, and Cornwall, for his knowledge of the peninsula proved particularly indispensable.⁵⁷ Not all his investigations, however, ran smoothly. In 1332, Edward III appointed Trevaignon to investigate ‘oppressions’ by some of his father’s ministers in Cornwall, among them Sir John Treiagu. Perhaps in response, Treiagu and twenty-six other malefactors assembled ‘a great mob, mounted and on foot’ which assaulted Trevaignon’s house at Great Gothers, near St Dennis, allegedly abducting his wife, Joan, imprisoning and threatening to murder his

⁵² *CCR 1333-1337*, 677; Baker, *Serjeants*, p. 541.

⁵³ *FF*, i, 300, 321-323; *CCR 1337-1339*, 124; *CIPM*, viii, 156; *CCR 1339-1341*, 286; *CFR 1337-1347*, 141.

⁵⁴ *HOP*, iv, 646-648.

⁵⁵ Baker, *Serjeants*, p. 541.

⁵⁶ *CPR 1313-1317*, 582, 596; *YB 11 Edward II*, 47-52; *CPR 1324-1327*, 238-239.

⁵⁷ *CPR 1327-1330*, 351; *CCR 1333-1337*, 155; *CCR 1327-1330*, 476-477; *CPR 1330-1334*, 133, 198, 348.

servants, and destroying his property, all while Trevaignon was engaged elsewhere on the king's service.⁵⁸ Trevaignon had his revenge, however, for a royal inquisition found Treiagu guilty of the assault and imprisoned him. The former then refused to accept damages from the latter, allegedly 'in order to vex him by a long imprisonment'.⁵⁹

Trevaignon evidently occupied a place amongst the realm's leading legal experts, so that in 1334 Edward III appointed him to the bench of the common pleas.⁶⁰ He was to sit in this court until his death barely a year later.⁶¹ In the course of his career, Trevaignon had acquired lands in west Dorset and is commemorated by a freestone effigy in Trent church near Sherborne in that county, on which he is depicted wearing the coif, the symbol of his office and the source of his success.⁶² Yet Trevaignon never forgot his natal county, as he also acquired Cornish properties and sued in the county court, with his kinsmen a continuing presence in Cornwall.⁶³ Trewythosa and Trevaignon also sat on commissions together, for quite possibly Trevaignon sponsored his fellow Cornish 'man of law'.⁶⁴

Our next serjeant, John Penrose, was probably a kinsman of Sir Vivian Penrose and so was of gentle stock.⁶⁵ John became a lawyer locally, sitting on the county bench throughout the late 1370s. Yet despite his appointments, he proved to be by no means fastidiously law-abiding. In fact, he formed a close alliance with John Trevarthian and Sir Ralph Carminow, well-known law breakers.⁶⁶ In 1381, Elizabeth Botreaux alleged that all three were 'enemys' of her husband, Sir William, procuring a false indictment for treason against him while he fought on campaign in Portugal. Penrose also led an assault on Botreaux's manor of Trembethow at this time – which the latter had recovered from him at law – and indicted Sir William's tenant, Richard Eyr, of treason, before dispatching people to kill Eyr.⁶⁷ The Eyr's held a place in the affinity of the Sergeaux family, with Penrose complicit in the

⁵⁸ *CPR 1330-1334*, 350.

⁵⁹ *CFR 1327-1337*, 357.

⁶⁰ *CPR 1334-1338*, 12.

⁶¹ JUST1/1418 m. 20r; *CPR 1334-1338*, 69, 72, 201.

⁶² *FA*, iv, 342-343; N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 277-278.

⁶³ *FF*, i, 284, 293, 310-312, 315; SC2/161/74 m. 2; Appendix III; *HOP*, iv, 657.

⁶⁴ *CPR 1330-1334*, 581; *CCR 1339-1341*, 286.

⁶⁵ *CPR 1385-1389*, 394.

⁶⁶ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 22-23.

⁶⁷ SC8/277/13838.

violent feud which erupted between the Sergeauxs on the one hand, and the Trevarthians and Carminows on the other. In 1377, the Carminows had secured Penrose's appointment to hear an assize of *novel disseisin* against Sir Richard Sergeaux, no doubt to humble their joint foe.⁶⁸ In 1378, however, Sir Richard struck back in his capacity as justice of the peace, having Penrose indicted for a felony.⁶⁹ Later in this year, Penrose himself gained a place on the county bench, hearing allegations of Sergeaux's treason and other felonies. In 1380, the tables were turned once again, when the king commanded Penrose to appear in chancery from 'day to day upon warning' under penalty of £100, before imprisoning him in the Marshalsea.⁷⁰ Scenting victory, in 1383 Botreaux and Sergeaux combined forces to bring about the arrest of Penrose and twenty-five others for a felony committed in Surrey.⁷¹ Although Penrose secured his release from gaol in London soon after, this proved to be a bruising affair.⁷²

His lawlessness rumbled on, but remarkably in 1385 the king was to appoint him a justice of the king's bench in Ireland.⁷³ Penrose secured a protection in order to undertake his duties in that year, with the Crown also appointing him to Cornwall's bench.⁷⁴ After being accused of official misconduct in Ireland, however, Penrose left Ireland without leave in 1386, and two years later the government imprisoned him in the Tower.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, his fellow serjeants-at-law rallied round, collectively standing surety to secure his release.⁷⁶ Penrose's thuggery formed no bar to further office-holding, with the king once again appointing him to the county bench in 1389. Even more extraordinarily, in 1391 Richard II raised him to the rank of puisne justice of the king's bench in England, with an additional yearly income of 50 marks and a grant of robes.⁷⁷

On attaining one of the highest offices in the land, Penrose once again turned his energies to quashing the Sergeauxs. He adjudicated over a case

⁶⁸ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 136-138.

⁶⁹ *CCR 1377-1381*, 126.

⁷⁰ *CCR 1377-1381*, 374; *CPR 1377-1381*, 569.

⁷¹ *CPR 1381-1385*, 352.

⁷² *CCR 1381-1385*, 412.

⁷³ *CPR 1381-1385*, 534.

⁷⁴ *CPR 1385-1389*, 8, 80; Baker, *Serjeants*, p. 530.

⁷⁵ *CCR 1385-1389*, 534; *SCKB*, vii, xii.

⁷⁶ *CCR 1385-1389*, 629.

⁷⁷ *CPR 1388-1392*, 364, 374.

brought by Peter Trelewith (Trevarthian's man), alleging that William Eyr (Sergeaux's man) encouraged Trelewith to murder Penrose himself in London.⁷⁸ Under the combined scrutiny of the chief justices of the king's bench and common pleas, along with the chief baron of the exchequer, the chancellor, treasurer, and many more ministers, Trelewith admitted that he had been put up to bringing this false charge by Penrose, his brother, Josse, and Alan St Just. The king therefore once again imprisoned Penrose in the Tower, dispatching Josse to the Marshalsea, and St Just to the Fleet. This time leading Cornishmen, amongst them Sir John Arundell, stood mainprise for the mendacious judge, to the tune of 500 marks.⁷⁹ Even this made little dent in Penrose's career, as in the following year the king appointed him justice in his lordship of Haverford, South Wales.⁸⁰ Considering his previous record, it is unsurprising that his judgments were soon called into question and that he never again sat as a judge after 1393.⁸¹

Throughout his life, Penrose had set about acquiring estates in Cornwall, working closely with his brother, Josse.⁸² Being a man of law, John proved only too happy to turn to the courts to protect his hard-earned and hard-won properties.⁸³ He even built up a small retinue of local supporters, granting Peter Trelewith a tenement 'for his good service' in 1391.⁸⁴ Penrose, in fact, made a point of propagating connections with other Cornish lawyers. Andrew Borlas, for instance, who oversaw a busy practice from the 1380s, acted as Penrose's attorney when the latter went to Ireland.⁸⁵ The Helston lawyer Roger Trewythenick likewise stood mainprise for Penrose in 1391.⁸⁶ Penrose also made a good marriage in the county, acquiring the hand and lands of one Joan Giffard, whose considerable dowry was confirmed to Penrose by her brother after her death in 1392.⁸⁷ Penrose's career emphasises the intertwined nature of law and lawlessness, with both tying Cornwall into the kingdom's legal culture.

⁷⁸ *SCKB*, vii, xii-xiii, 77-80; Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 23.

⁷⁹ *CCR 1389-1391*, 271, 376.

⁸⁰ *CPR 1391-1396*, 56.

⁸¹ *CPR 1391-1396*, 359, 445, 523.

⁸² *CCR 1389-1392*, 289, 351; *FF*, i, 402-403; ii, 2-3, 23, 36.

⁸³ For instance, *YB 7 Richard II*, 44-46.

⁸⁴ *CCR 1389-1392*, 357.

⁸⁵ *HOP*, ii, 295; *CPR 1381-1385*, 352.

⁸⁶ *CCR 1389-1392*, 376.

⁸⁷ *CCR 1389-1392*, 536-537.

It was Sir Robert Tresilian, however, who was the Cornishman to enjoy the most glittering career of all.⁸⁸ Although Tresilian hailed from Cornwall, he is first recorded in the 1350s as providing legal advice in Oxfordshire and Berkshire. He was for long to retain his interests in Cornwall, in 1368 sitting as an MP for the county and from 1370 onwards serving on virtually every Cornish peace commission until his death. Indeed, the Black Prince gave him employment in the duchy from at least 1375, and Tresilian's career blossomed when he was created serjeant-at-law in 1376.⁸⁹ Just one year later Richard II retained him as a king's serjeant, also employing him as steward of the duchy. Further promotion was to follow when in 1378 the king raised him to the rank of puisne justice of the king's bench, dubbing him a banneret. He continued as a puisne judge until 1381 when Richard II appointed him to succeed Chief Justice Sir John Cavendish, who had been murdered by the rebels in the course of the Great Revolt. Tresilian then played an integral role in suppressing the revolt, standing amongst the foremost men of the kingdom. He also became increasingly involved in England's febrile politics, as a key judicial ally of the king. On 13 February 1388, Richard II's adversaries sentenced Tresilian to death in his absence for his role in the sympathetic answers which the judges gave to Richard's questions about the prerogative in 1387, a few days later discovering him wearing a disguise in Westminster and then dragging him off to hang at Tyburn. Tresilian's prominence had cost him his life, but he had served as 'one of the principal architects of the 'high' doctrine of the royal prerogative'.

Yet for all this, Tresilian always remembered his natal county. He grew fat on the profits of his profession, investing much of this money in Cornish lands, which he then defended with legal duress and physical force.⁹⁰ Being a man 'on the make' he likewise procured a good marriage, winning the hand of Emmeline Huish, who brought with her a substantial inheritance in Cornwall. Tresilian also created a web of Cornish dependents to further his interests, ensuring, for example, that John Bodilly, his Cornish clerk and receiver, secured the keepership of the rolls of the king's bench. Tresilian

⁸⁸ L. Leland, 'Robert Tresilian', *ODNB*, lv, pp. 317-319.

⁸⁹ SC8/333/E1038; Baker, *Serjeants*, p. 541.

⁹⁰ CRO, SN/59; WM/16-17; R/569; *FF*, i, 393-394, 395-396, 410, 413-414, 416-417; ii, 17, 19-20; *CIM 1387-1393*, *passim.*; SC8/76/3770; SC8/54/2695; *CPR 1385-1389*, 541-542; *CPR 1389-1392*, 55.

perhaps supported his colleague Penrose, for Penrose mainprised him in 1385 when he leased Penwith.⁹¹ There is evidence that he developed connections with many other Cornish lawyers, amongst them Pascoe Polruddon and John Tregoose, all of whom promoted his aggrandisement, while of course lining their own pockets.⁹² This Cornishman's ambitions had greatly influenced the workings of the county and kingdom alike.

Many more Cornishmen beyond this elite group of serjeants and judges pursued legal careers. In the early fourteenth century, the law was less fully professionalised than it would later become, and drew in a narrower body of practitioners.⁹³ Attorneys proved active in the Cornish eyre of 1302, for instance, but they are all unnamed; as are those who pleaded in the county court in 1333.⁹⁴ In fact, it remains difficult to identify men of law at this time. One possible candidate is Henry Trethewey, the sheriff-steward, whose legal training is suggested by his extensive involvement in officialdom. It is surely a mistake to regard judicial appointments outside Westminster as separate branches of the legal profession, as all these men were responsible for enforcing the laws of the realm. Yet there can be little doubt that across the century the legal profession expanded and gained in definition. The apprentices-at-law emerged during this period, and although they only initially observed and took notes from the serjeants, they later acquired the right to practice – aside from in the common pleas – forming a distinct group by the fifteenth century. At the local level, a body of apprentices came to exist which overlapped with their central court colleagues, handling the most prestigious local cases. Below these provincial apprentices a much larger group of lawyers developed, growing into what we would now term 'county solicitors'. Such late medieval developments can also be charted in Cornwall.

Some Cornishmen undoubtedly gained an expertise in the law early in the century. John Trendera, for instance, originated from west of the Tamar and pleaded in the central courts on behalf of Cornish clients, including Eude of Treres in 1313.⁹⁵ John Trellan likewise built up a busy practice at these

⁹¹ *HOP*, ii, 268-269; *CFR 1383-1391*, 90.

⁹² *HOP*, iv, 106, 643-644.

⁹³ J. H. Baker, *The Legal Profession and the Common Law, Historical Essays* (London, 1986), pp. 75-98; N. Ramsay, 'What was the Legal Profession?', in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 62-71.

⁹⁴ *YB 30 & 31 Edward I*, 162; *SC2/161/74 mm.* 1-11.

⁹⁵ *YB 6 & 7 Edward II*, 14-15.

tribunals, serving as an attorney for Cornishmen and Londoners alike, amongst them the Botreaux family.⁹⁶ The disorderly ways of the county elite provided many lawyers with a good living, as Cornish gentlemen pursued their quarrels with one another in both the local and central courts. William Polgas, for example, served as Sir William Botreaux's attorney in the 1360s, acquiring a place on the county peace sessions at this time. John de Aldestow likewise sat often on the county bench in the 1350s and 1360s, also serving as an attorney for Sir Otto Bodrugan and Bishop Grandisson, while finding time to attend parliament for both the county and its boroughs.

The duchy administration formed another important source of employment for Cornish lawyers, albeit not one that always proved prompt in payment. In 1359, John Trevenour of Fowey complained that 'although he has been the prince's attorney and has sued for him before the justices of 'traillebaston' in their sessions in the counties, hundreds and courts of those parts for four years, to the prince's great advantage, he has not had any reward'.⁹⁷ John Tremayne, a kinsman of the John Tremayne whom we have already met, made a handsome living providing legal advice and administrative 'know-how' to the duchy.⁹⁸ The Black Prince so appreciated his work that he granted him many gifts 'as a reward for his labours'.⁹⁹ Tremayne emerges as a busy man whose advocacy many esteemed, chief among them Bishop Grandisson and Sir William Botreaux. He served the latter as a feoffee and sat in parliament for the county on no fewer than eleven occasions. Tremayne invested the profits of his expertise in land and made a good match when he acquired the hand of Isabel, the daughter of John Dabernon, sheriff-steward of Cornwall.¹⁰⁰ His legal talents made his fortune, elevating his family to new heights.

By the 1370s, Cornish lawyers are to be found frequently sitting in parliament for the county's boroughs, no doubt because their expertise made them effective lobbyists, while their interests in the central courts resulted in them covering some of their own expenses.¹⁰¹ Henry Chynals, for instance,

⁹⁶ *YB 11 Edward II*, 22-26, 47-52, 190-192.

⁹⁷ *RBP*, ii, 164.

⁹⁸ *RBP*, ii, 54, 98, 135, 169, 185; *RBP*, iv, 185, 351.

⁹⁹ *RBP*, ii, 212, 215, 116.

¹⁰⁰ *Cornish Wills*, 223; *HOP*, iv, 646-648.

¹⁰¹ Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 44-46, 57-59.

served as an attorney of the king's bench from 1378, having sat for Helston, Launceston, and Truro throughout the 1370s. We need to remember that numerous Cornish lawyers never sat in the House. The *History of Parliament* volumes, however, allow for a case study of those who did so between 1386 and 1421, naming over thirty Cornish parliamentarians who were also men of law.

Stephen Bant, who sat for three boroughs in eight parliaments between 1377 and 1388, built a busy legal practice in the assizes at Launceston, with his reputation resulting in Cornish litigants paying him to conduct their affairs in the central courts. He held a regular place as a pleader at the latter and the government came to recognise his abilities, appointing him a justice of assize in Cornwall in 1410.¹⁰² John Cork's career likewise started in characteristic fashion, with him first handling briefs at the Launceston assizes before making his way to the central courts.¹⁰³ He was a man of ability, and so the Crown appointed him to the local quorum and made him escheator in 1426. He did not always operate within the bounds of the law, however, allegedly assaulting, binding, and robbing John Fursdon, despite Fursdon having served as his fellow parliamentary burgess. 'Considerying yt the said John [Cork] is of grete porte and maytenaunce in his contree', Fursdon had to take his case to chancery.

A close connection with the local landholding class undoubtedly helped a man's legal practice. Otto Tregonan, for example, built his livelihood on serving the legal needs of landed Cornishmen, such as the Prideauxs, also serving as a JP and coroner before 1439.¹⁰⁴ John Syreston had marriage links with the Bodrugans and Sergeauxs, mobilising his familial connections to aid his busy career in local and central courts, where he represented clients as eminent as Sir John Arundell and Sir William Lambourne.¹⁰⁵ Syreston grew rich on the fees that he earned, investing this money in land and tin, while also serving as under-sheriff of Cornwall and representing numerous towns in parliament. The law could sometimes be a family affair, and it seems that the brothers Thomas and John Treffridowe both chose it as their profession.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² *HOP*, ii, 116.

¹⁰³ *HOP*, ii, 660-661.

¹⁰⁴ *HOP*, iv, 642-643.

¹⁰⁵ *HOP*, iv, 556-557.

¹⁰⁶ *HOP*, iv, 641-642.

In the late fifteenth century the career that perhaps stands out most is that of Sir Nicholas Aysshton (d. 1466), probably a Lancastrian man in origin.¹⁰⁷ While nothing is known of his family background, he was to regard Callington in Cornwall as his home. After an active career in advocacy, he was appointed to the bench in 1444, and was employed as a trier of petitions in both Henry VI's reign and Edward IV's. For all his activities at Westminster, he never forgot Cornwall and by his death was known as 'lord of a part of the town of Callington'. He also rebuilt Callington parish church, within which he was buried and commemorated by a fine brass depicting him clad in his robes of office.

It is striking that so many Cornish lawyers 'cut their teeth' at the Launceston assizes, using that forum as a pathway to gaining recognition in the central courts. Evidently no clear distinction can be made between 'central' and 'local' justices and agencies, for their personnel emerge as increasingly intertwined and interchangeable. Such tribunals formed a lasting point of contact between 'local' and 'central' justices, forging a kingdom-wide legal system which sustained, and was sustained by, a highly mobile and surprisingly expansive cohort of legal practitioners.

The law raised each of these careerists to positions of wealth and power, both to the east and west of the Tamar. Those who attained the coif stand pre-eminent, for despite their relatively humble backgrounds each of them developed a multitude of contacts across the realm, while retaining strong interests in the county. Leading legal practitioners therefore linked Cornwall into pan-English personal and intellectual networks. Lesser lawyers also emerge as significant. While these men chiefly hailed from the 'middling sort' or below, the law enabled them to overlap and intermingle with established gentry. Indeed, the law served as a major force for social mobility, perhaps altering the very workings of local society. On the one hand, Cornish lawyers provided formal and informal mechanisms of dispute resolution, while on the other, the presence of so many legal men encouraged litigiousness, if not outright disorder, prompting nefarious Cornishmen and women to call upon their expertise to circumvent punishment.

¹⁰⁷ *HOP*, ii, 90-93; Lack et al, *Brasses of Cornwall*, pp. 13-14.

The local importance of lawyers was not a phenomenon unique to Cornwall. Anthony Musson has demonstrated the way in which successful men of law invested their wealth in wide estates and handsome residences across the realm.¹⁰⁸ Nigel Saul has also shown that lawyers commissioned sumptuous tombs which proclaimed their professional expertise and social status.¹⁰⁹ Michael Bennett has drawn attention to the valuable employment provided by the law to the men of the North West. Yet he has also shown that most of those who pursued legal careers in Cheshire and Lancashire did not hail from leading local lineages.¹¹⁰ The Cornish evidence confirms the picture that Michael Bennett has drawn, with few Cornish lawyers drawn from the county's knightly pinnacle. Nonetheless, Cornishmen excelled at the law in a way which surpassed even the well-connected careerists of the North West. In contrast to the position in the palatinates with their localised courts, Cornwall held an integral place on the gaol delivery and assize circuits, sending many civil and criminal cases and practitioners to central tribunals as well, and drawing the county fully into the common law ambit.

The question remains of what training these Cornish lawyers could have received. Unfortunately, the answer is by no means clear. It is likely to have been the case that an informal legal training was available locally through novice lawyers observing tribunals in the county and noting down process and precedents, akin to what the apprentices did in the central courts. In the lower echelons of the legal profession, Cornish clerks and scribes were probably trained 'on the job' by their predecessors in the administration of the earldom-duchy, the county, and its boroughs.¹¹¹ The Inns of Chancery and Court also emerged as training centres in this period. Based on the western outskirts of the City of London, they served initially as hostels for lawyers attending the central courts, but by the middle of the fifteenth century had come to form a *studium publicum*.¹¹² The degree to which they provided legal training before this date remains unclear, though Cornishmen certainly

¹⁰⁸ A. Musson, 'Legal Culture: Medieval Lawyers' Aspirations and Pretensions', *Fourteenth Century England, III*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 16-30.

¹⁰⁹ Saul, *Church Monuments*, pp. 269-289.

¹¹⁰ Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 195-198.

¹¹¹ For clerks and scribes, K. L. Bevan, 'Clerks and Scribes: Legal Literacy and Access to Justice in Late Medieval England' (Unpubl. Univ. Exeter PhD, 2013), pp. 31-32, 203-207, 217-218.

¹¹² P. Brand, *The Making of the Common Law* (London, 1992), pp. 57-75; Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, p. 30.

attended these institutions. In 1397, for instance, John Trerys and Peryn Dunioun had both been dwelling in the ‘New Inn’ of the Strand when indicted for a trespass.¹¹³ The Inns later assumed the position of ‘the third university of England’ – and more than sixty Cornishmen attended them between 1440 and 1550 – but this process had yet to come to fruition in the fourteenth century.¹¹⁴ We should not focus entirely on the Inns, however, for legal knowledge proved widely diffuse in the late middle ages. The ‘lawe of Engelond’ emerges as a potent force of connectivity, tying Cornwall and its people into the realm’s pan-English legal system, culture, and networks.

11. Ecclesiastical Connectivity

Uniquely, the Church operated on a level simultaneously local, national, and pan-national.¹ As a result, it formed one of the premier engines of social and geographic mobility across Western Christendom. The following discussion will first consider the role played by the Church in bringing about the movement of people. Attention will then be given to the way in which *Ecclesia Anglicana* formed an essential part of England and the Catholic Church, along with the repercussions of all this for Cornwall.

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At one level, the Church created a personal link between the county and a leading spiritual lord of the realm.² Only one of the bishops appointed to the bishopric of Exeter in this period actually hailed from the south west, and that was Walter de Stapeldon, who came from just across the Tamar in Devon. He was to prove an active diocesan, ordaining 836 priests, 865 deacons, and 813

¹¹³ CCR 1396-1399, 117.

¹¹⁴ J. H. Baker, *The Men of Court 1440 to 1550, A Prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the Courts of Law*, 2 vols, Selden Society, Supplementary Series 18 (London, 2012), *passim*.

¹ For the best introductions, see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1500* (New Haven and London, 1992); Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp. 310-351; P. Heath, *Church and Realm, 1272-1461, Conflict and Collaboration in an Age of Crisis* (London, 1988); W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955); R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989); A. H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947); B. Thompson, ‘Locality and Ecclesiastical Polity’, in *Political Society*, pp. 113-145; also, D. J. Cawthron, ‘The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Exeter in the Fourteenth Century: with Special Reference to the Registers of Stapeldon, Grandisson, and Brantingham’ (Unpubl. Univ. London MA, 1951).

² For bishops, see R. G. Davies, ‘The Episcopate’, in *Profession, Vocation, and Culture in Later Medieval England*, ed. C. H. Clough (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 51-89.

subdeacons during his episcopate.³ In fact, he made an impressive six formal visitations of the archdeaconry of Cornwall and three partial journeys to the peninsula.⁴ In contrast to Bishop Stapeldon's relatively local origins, Bishop Grandisson was of distant Savoyard extraction, but he too itinerated around Cornwall.⁵ In 1336, he preached a sermon in furthest Penwith which Henry Marsley, rector of St Just-in-Penwith, translated into Cornish.⁶ Visitations projected episcopal might and majesty, while affording the bishop the opportunity to supervise his diocese. Bishop Grandisson emerges as a conscientious diocesan who felt some affinity for his See. In his will, he bequeathed money to the infirm in the diocese, as well as to Cornwall's priors and the Cornish landholder Ranulph Blanchminster.⁷ More prosaic considerations also linked these bishops to the county's residents. In 1389, for example, Bishop Brantingham began process in chancery to recover £400 from Sir Robert Tresilian, Henry Giffard, and John Tregorrek.⁸ In the following year, he received homage from John Trevenour *pro terris et tenementis*.⁹ Evidently the bonds between a bishop, his See, and its people were many-faceted.

More often than not, however, the bishop delegated episcopal powers of day-to-day administration to his subordinates. Many of the officials of the bishopric originated from outside the south west, as did the bishops they served. One such outsider was Robert le Petit, bishop of the Irish See of Clonfert, whom Bishop Stapeldon appointed in 1324 to perform his sacramental duties, while he was engaged on government business in London.¹⁰ In 1347, when he travelled beyond the See, Bishop Grandisson appointed as his suffragan the Irish-born and Oxford-Educated Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh.¹¹ The archdeacon of Cornwall served as the chief minister in the peninsula's normal parochial administration, acting as the 'bishop's eye'.¹² His duties involved the enforcement of the bishop's

³ Buck, *Finance and the Church*, p. 61.

⁴ *Reg. Stapeldon*, 547-560; Buck, *Finance and the Church*, p. 61.

⁵ *Reg. Grandisson*, iii, 1524-1532.

⁶ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 820-821.

⁷ *Reg. Grandisson*, iii, 1551-1555.

⁸ C131/205/50.

⁹ *Reg. Brantingham*, ii, 696-697.

¹⁰ *Reg. Stapeldon*, 384, Stapeldon was treasurer of England at this time.

¹¹ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 1022-1024; Cawthron, 'Diocese of Exeter', pp. 45-46.

¹² Cawthron, 'Diocese of Exeter', p. 68.

instructions, the care of souls, and the maintenance of parochial property. The keynote of his ‘great labours’, however, was to see God served properly.¹³ Only one early fourteenth-century archdeacon was a Cornishman by birth: William Bodrugan, who died in 1308.¹⁴ All the others were ‘outsiders’. Adam de Carleton, for instance, was a former royal chaplain who hailed from Nottinghamshire and held the office of archdeacon for over thirty-five years.¹⁵ Unhappy with his post, he finally obtained release from it in 1347, when the Yorkshireman and royal chaplain John St Paul replaced him. As part of his duties, the bishop expected the archdeacon to itinerate around Cornwall and it seems that at times these churchmen did so, along with their households.¹⁶ The archdeaconry also possessed its own staff, with the Devonian Richard Chuddele serving as an official of this office in the 1320s.¹⁷

Cornish parishes likewise played host to many ‘incomers’. The following discussion aims to demonstrate the multiplicity of people brought into the county through these, the smallest units of the diocese. It will consider the geographic origins of the rectors and vicars of some twenty-two Cornish parishes between 1307 and 1419, roughly a tenth of the total.¹⁸ An attempt has been made to include parishes from right across Cornwall, while the ownership of advowsons has also weighed on the selection process, with patrons as diverse as the king, the earl-duke, the gentry, the Religious, and the dean and chapter of Exeter included. Our sources also require some consideration, for episcopal registers at times prove incomplete and it is more than suspicious that no incumbent is named in St Kew until 1349.

Even so, the lists which we possess name some 180 churchmen instituted in this period. Based on information gleaned from bishops’ registers – such as the identity of their patrons and the subsequent careers of these churchmen – in addition to the evidence of their surnames, it seems that at least fifty-one originated from east of the Tamar and probably more. John

¹³ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 957-958; Cawthron, ‘Diocese of Exeter’, p. 68.

¹⁴ *Reg. Stapeldon*, 12.

¹⁵ *CPR 1307-1313*, 33; *CPR 1345-1348*, 364; *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 957-958.

¹⁶ *Reg. Brantingham*, i, 478; *CPR 1350-1354*, 101.

¹⁷ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 427.

¹⁸ Redruth and Zennor (Penwith); Gwennap, Ruan Major, and St Keverne (Kerrier); Creed, Fowey, and Truro (Powdershire); St Columb Major and St Wenn (Pydarshire); Blisland, Bodmin, and St Kew (Triggshire); Lesnewth and Tintagel (Lesnewth); Launcells and Week St Mary (Stratton); Menheniot and Rame (Eastwivelshire); Lanreath, Liskeard, and St Neot (Westwivelshire); M. Page, ‘The Ownership of Advowsons in Thirteenth-Century Cornwall’, *DCNQ*, 37 (1992-6), pp. 336-341.

Cooke of Exeter, for instance, was instituted to Lesnewth in 1331, while these ‘outside’ churchmen hailed from places as diverse as Surrey and Yorkshire.¹⁹ Unsurprisingly, non-Cornish ecclesiastics more often held richer parishes than poorer ones. The poor parish of Zennor only played host to Cornish incumbents, in contrast to St Columb Major, the richest Cornish living in secular hands, regularly held by ‘incomers’. The ownership of the advowson had a stronger influence, however, on who was appointed than the scale of its revenues. The earl-duke held the right to appoint to Blisland, for instance, and the Black Prince oversaw a series of his own clerks instituted; all of whom hailed from beyond the county’s bounds. Henry IV even granted Fowey, worth a mere £4 in 1339, to royal officials when he enjoyed the right of presentment.²⁰ Around a quarter of parochial incumbents emerge as ‘outsiders’, as Church administration at every level relied upon the movement of personnel.

All that being so, many of the ‘incomers’ appointed to Cornish livings were privileged pluralists who held benefices across the realm; we may well wonder whether they ever set foot in Cornwall. Some certainly appointed proxies to perform their pastoral duties. Although the Black Prince appointed his clerk, John de Gurmuncestre of Huntingdonshire, to the parish of Creed in 1356, Gurmuncestre relied on a local proxy, John Gram-pound.²¹ Non-residence proved of perennial concern to the ecclesiastical authorities and in 1366 Bishop Grandisson had a list compiled of pluralist clerks in his diocese, which named some thirty-eight men who also held benefices in Sees as diverse as St Davids and Salisbury.²² Some of these clerks merely hunted out rich livings for their own enrichment. Others, however, while absentee, were clearly concerned about the quality of their proxies.²³ It is almost certainly the case that more of these non-resident incumbents visited their parishes than may at first appear. David Lepine has shown that high ranking churchmen travelled considerable distances to oversee their benefices, leading peripatetic lives.²⁴

¹⁹ *Reg. Grandisson*, iii, 1285-1286; *Reg. Stapeldon*, 250.

²⁰ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 59.

²¹ *RBP*, iv, 188; *Reg. Grandisson*, iii, 1441.

²² *Reg. Grandisson*, iii, 1257-1262.

²³ *Reg. Stafford*, 162.

²⁴ D. Lepine, ‘Loose Canons’: The Mobility of the Higher Clergy in the Later Middle Ages’, in *Freedom of Movement*, pp. 104-122 at 105-106, 111-115.

Connections between pluralists and their parishes could indeed prove significant. The chancellors of Exeter Cathedral, John Snetysam (d. 1448) and John German (d. 1460), both bequeathed liturgical items to St Newlyn East, as the rectory was attached to their office.²⁵ Thomas Lynton – the rector of Cliffe, near Rochester, Kent, a canon of St George’s, Windsor, and sometime dean of the chapel royal – similarly bequeathed vestments to the church of Creed in 1388, where he was ‘formerly rector’.²⁶ Other priests who hailed from east of the Tamar actually resided in their Cornish benefices, interacting with their parishioners. Parishioners too were well aware that through their parish they were connected to a far wider world. Thomas Catour of Breage (d. 1458), for instance, appointed as his executor the monk Richard Whitchurche, keeper of the blood of our lord Jesus Christ in Hailes Abbey, Gloucestershire, because this house held the advowson of his local church.²⁷ Indeed, the abbey tenaciously defended its right to appoint, employing the royal courts and the king’s grace to do so. In 1327, the abbot even despatched the monks Richard de Gloucester and John de Cherneye to ‘take charge’ of Breage and two other Cornish churches.²⁸ The links maintained between parishioners, presenters, proxies, and incumbents emerge as legion, regardless of residency and despite the distances involved.

Cornwall’s collegiate churches provided churchmen with yet another entrée into the county. St Buryan had been an ancient minster which in 1291 was served by a dean and three canons.²⁹ However, the Crown and the duchy secured the right of appointment to the canonries in the mid-fourteenth century, transforming this collegiate church into a royal free chapel. The office of dean therefore came to serve as a lucrative benefice for men in royal and ducal favour. The Frenchman John de Maunte, for instance, served as a chaplain to Queen Margret, Edward I’s second wife, and held the post of dean; Maunte at times resided in the county, no doubt to supervise his valuable

²⁵ *Cornish Wills*, 204.

²⁶ *Cornish Wills*, 199; N. Saul, ‘Servants of God and Crown: the Canons of St George’s Chapel, 1348-1420’, in *St George’s Chapel, Windsor, in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 97-115 at 102-103, 108.

²⁷ *Cornish Wills*, 83-84.

²⁸ SC8/224/11165; *CPR 1327-1330*, 8.

²⁹ Orme, *Religious Houses*, pp. 163-171; also G. Oliver, *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis* (London, 1846).

charge.³⁰ From 1337 it became standard practice for royal clerks of English birth to hold the deanery; men such as Edward III's administrator Thomas de Crosse, and Nicholas Slake, a confidant of Richard II and dean of St Stephen's, Westminster.³¹ On his death at Hereford in 1438, where he held a canonry in the cathedral, the former dean of St Buryan, William Lochard, remembered its poor parishioners and entrusted his soul to 'almighty God, the blessed Mary his mother, St Ethelbert, St Thomas of Hereford, St George, St Anne, [and] St Buryan' herself.³² The inscription on his brass, formerly in Hereford Cathedral and now lost but known to us from antiquarian sources, recorded his office as dean of St Buryan, and St Buryan held a place among the saints represented in the orphreys of his cope.³³

If St Buryan served to introduce royal clerks into Cornwall, then Glasney College at Penryn performed much the same function for the bishop of Exeter's own clerks. Bishop Bronescombe founded the college in 1265, with Exeter Cathedral serving as its model.³⁴ The bishop found sufficient endowment to provide for thirteen canons and as Nicholas Orme has written, 'the presence of a body of secular canons able to operate freely in the world... gave the bishop posts to distribute in Cornwall and provided him with people to do administrative and pastoral duties there'.³⁵ As a result, the bishop's men often held the office of provost, while the archdeacon of Cornwall served as a prebendary in the college. William Doune (d. 1361) left 40*s.* to Glasney's fabric, having served as Bishop Grandisson's registrar before attaining the archdeaconry of Leicester.³⁶

Glasney College formed no mere administrative centre. In many ways, it acted as a sub-cathedral for the western part of the diocese, standing out as one of the largest and most sophisticated churches in Cornwall. Its liturgy too was of the highest quality, with the college's foundation charter compelling the canons to observe 'the laudable, approved, and approvable customs' of

³⁰ *CPR 1301-1307*, 122; *CPR 1317-1321*, 140; *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 53, 59, also known as Matthew Boileau.

³¹ *CPR 1334-1338*, 492; *CPR 1391-1396*, 529.

³² *Cornish Wills*, 203.

³³ W. Lack, H. M. Stuchfield, and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Herefordshire* (Colchester, 2008), pp. 105-106.

³⁴ Orme, *Religious Houses*, pp. 244-262.

³⁵ Orme, *Religious Houses*, p. 246.

³⁶ *Cornish Wills*, 198.

Exeter Cathedral.³⁷ Connections radiated out from the college, moreover, as Glasney is the suggested place of origin for some of Cornwall's mystery plays. These Cornish language dramas were penned for the Cornish-speaking laity and aimed to promote orthodox beliefs in the county. The college also held the right to presentment in many western Cornish parishes, allowing its canons a considerable say over religious provision in this area. In fact, the bishops of Exeter regularly employed the canons to do business for them, granting them license to hear confessions and preach throughout the peninsula.³⁸ Many of the canons of Glasney also held parochial benefices in Cornwall, spending time in both institutions.³⁹ The Church authorities encouraged the laity to attend the college as well, and in 1410 Bishop Stafford issued an indulgence to those who celebrated 'great festivals' there.⁴⁰ Glasney's influence radiated widely.

Moving from the seculars to the regulars, Cornwall's monasteries likewise played a significant role in introducing 'new men' into the peninsula. The Augustinian priory at Bodmin held the honour of being the wealthiest house in Cornwall, with a yearly income of at least £100.⁴¹ It seems that the majority of those who attained the office of prior were Cornishmen, with John de Kilkhampton, for instance, holding the post from 1310 to 1349.⁴² Monks from east of the Tamar most certainly resided in the house, however, for Henry Canterbury held the post of sub-prior in 1403.⁴³ By contrast, Tywardreath, near Fowey, stood out as a Benedictine priory whose mother house lay in Angers.⁴⁴ The abbot of Angers often dispatched French monks to his dependent institution, some of whom the bishop of Exeter ordained subsequently.⁴⁵ Frenchmen such as William de Bouges held the office of prior until the 1370s. After this time, however, Englishmen are found rising to prominence, as the king had taken this alien priory into his hands on account of the war with France.⁴⁶ Mont St Michel similarly held St Michael's Mount,

³⁷ Orme, *Religious Houses*, p. 246.

³⁸ *Reg.Stafford*, 114; *Reg.Grandisson*, i, 422-423.

³⁹ *Reg.Stafford*, 236; this sometimes caused problems, *Reg.Brantingham*, i, 273-274.

⁴⁰ *Reg.Stafford*, 113.

⁴¹ Orme, *Religious Houses*, pp. 139-154.

⁴² *Reg.Stapeldon*, 49.

⁴³ *Reg.Stafford*, 26.

⁴⁴ Orme, *Religious Houses*, pp. 284-296.

⁴⁵ *Reg.Stapeldon*, 481; *Reg.Grandisson*, ii, 695-696.

⁴⁶ *Reg.Stafford*, 359.

with the result that French priors often oversaw the Mount.⁴⁷ But Richard II presented the Tavistock monk Richard Auncell to the priory in 1385 and Henry V granted the Mount to Syon Abbey when the alien priories were dissolved.⁴⁸ Laymen were also introduced into Cornwall through the medium of dozens of corrodies – lifetime allowances of food, clothing, and shelter in these houses – granted to men such as Alfonso de Ispannia in 1323 and Gilbert Trumpour in 1364, at the request of the king and duke respectively.⁴⁹ Many points of contact existed between these houses and the people of Cornwall. In 1342, Bishop Grandisson issued instruction that poor boys be admitted to the refectory of Launceston’s priory for their instruction in grammar, while Cornwall’s priors often traded tin.⁵⁰

Two mendicant houses also stood in the county, a Franciscan House in Bodmin and a Dominican Friary in Truro.⁵¹ Friars proved highly mobile, with many drawn into Cornwall from further afield by their duties. Raymond de Bordigla, for instance, was ordained at Bodmin in the 1420s, but to judge from his name probably came from overseas. Other friars in Cornwall hailed from elsewhere in England, though their activities did not always meet with episcopal approval. Martin Halcombe probably originated from Devon, but Bishop Brantingham investigated his rebellious behaviour in Cornwall.⁵² Many friars, however, emerge as men of distinction. John Somer served as warden of the priory of Bodmin some time before 1380, from that date holding a place in Oxford’s Convent.⁵³ Somer was an astronomer of repute and in this year he composed a *Kalendarium* for Princess Joan herself. The friars had a long tradition of propagating learning and in 1328 Bishop Grandisson named Friar Alfred of Bodmin as a former lector in his convent, probably of theology.⁵⁴ Strikingly, the friars travelled around the whole peninsula, preaching and hearing confessions.⁵⁵ In so doing, they forged links with the Cornish gentry and peasantry alike.

⁴⁷ Orme, *Religious Houses*, pp. 228-240.

⁴⁸ *CPR 1385-1389*, 62; Orme, *Religious Houses*, p. 233.

⁴⁹ *CCR 1318-1323*, 706; *RBP*, ii, 208-209; grants could be resisted, *CCR 1364-1368*, 327.

⁵⁰ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 955; E101/261/11; E101/261/19.

⁵¹ Orme, *Religious Houses*, pp. 155-159, 281-284.

⁵² *Reg. Brantingham*, i, 410-412, 418-419, 428-429.

⁵³ L. R. Mooney, ‘John Somer’, *ODNB*, li, p. 559.

⁵⁴ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 420-421.

⁵⁵ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 420-421, 558.

The offices of the Church in Cornwall, therefore, served to introduce a profusion of ‘outsiders’ into the county. Cornish posts formed part of the rich harvest of preferment for the higher English clergy, but churchmen of mean substance were also introduced into the county. Nonetheless, ecclesiastics required patrons, with the king and earl-duke standing out as two of the greatest of these in the county.⁵⁶ The Black Prince oversaw the collation of numerous ducal clerks to Cornish livings, while Henry IV instituted some twenty incumbents to Cornish institutions in the course of his thirteen-year reign.⁵⁷ Introductions did not necessarily result in amity, however. Some of the most waspish assessments of Cornwall and its people originated from incoming churchmen; Archdeacon Carleton, after all, complained that the Cornish were an ‘obdurate folk’. He was not the only one to speak in this way, with numerous priests seeking to exchange their benefices in the peninsula on the excuse that they could not speak Cornish.⁵⁸ Despite this, the clergy and laity in Cornwall were by no means perpetually opposed; in fact, they often co-operated. ‘Outside’ ecclesiastics linked the Cornish into pan-English personal and intellectual networks.

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But what of those Cornishmen the Church drew out of the county in its wider service? As Cornwall formed part of the See of Exeter, it is unsurprising that Cornish clergymen were often employed elsewhere in the diocese. The Cornish cleric William Burwike, for instance, held the benefice of Mamhead in Devon during Stapeldon’s episcopate.⁵⁹ Of greater importance than the country parsons stand the Cornish clerics who made their careers in the chapter of Exeter Cathedral. Some twenty Cornishmen sat in the chapter between 1300 and 1455, with at least twenty-five minor clergymen from the county joining them in the cathedral, chiefly as vicars choral.⁶⁰ John Forn, for

⁵⁶ R. W. Dunning, ‘Patronage and Promotion in the Late-Medieval Church’, in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R. A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 167-180.

⁵⁷ *RBP*, ii, 57; *Reg.Stafford*, 128.

⁵⁸ *Reg.Stapeldon*, 219; *Reg.Grandisson*, ii, 910.

⁵⁹ *Reg.Stapeldon*, 510.

⁶⁰ D. Lepine, ‘The Origins and Careers of the Canons of Exeter Cathedral, 1300-1455’, in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 87-120 at 93; N. Orme, *The Minor Clergy of Exeter Cathedral: Biographies, 1250-1548, DCRS*, n.s. 54 (Exeter, 2013), *passim*.

example, hailed from Cornwall and served as a vicar coral in the 1380s, despite being disciplined for playing with a piece of wood among lay people in the cathedral cemetery.⁶¹ Many of these men also held benefices in Cornwall because the dean and chapter held the right of presentment to as many as eleven Cornish parishes.⁶² Exeter Cathedral played an important role in the county, for it took boys and men from across the diocese to train in a highly organised system of worship, before sending many of them to minister in the parishes.⁶³

Just as Exeter Cathedral did, so the colleges of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge drew young people out of the county and sent both them and other graduates into it as incumbents of churches.⁶⁴ Most students from Cornwall went to study at Oxford, as Cambridge was so much further away.⁶⁵ Recognition of Oxford's importance came when Bishop Stapeldon founded Stapeldon Hall at Oxford in 1314, which reserved four places for scholars from the archdeaconry of Cornwall and was endowed with the tithes of just one parish church, that of Gwinear in Cornwall.⁶⁶ Bishop Stapeldon's foundation stood the test of time and across the fourteenth century came to be known as Exeter College, retaining the initial provision for the Cornish; of the 330 fellows known to have attended the college between 1318 and 1500, roughly a quarter hailed from west of the Tamar.⁶⁷ Nicholas Orme has shown that as many as 407 Cornishmen received places at Oxford Colleges between 1180 and 1540, with nearly 200 attending between 1300 and 1420.⁶⁸ At any one time around two-dozen Cornishmen resided in the university, in some sense forming a 'provincial society transplanted', with their presence recognized in 'Cornwall Lane' which ran beside Exeter College.⁶⁹

The avenues through which a young person might secure an education in Cornwall and thence a place at Oxford remain obscure, however. Some

⁶¹ Orme, *Minor Clergy*, p. 125.

⁶² Orme, *Minor Clergy*, p. 18.

⁶³ Orme, *Minor Clergy*, p. 19.

⁶⁴ J. Catto, 'Masters, Patrons, and the Careers of Graduates in Fifteenth-Century England', *The Fifteenth Century, I, Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. A. Curry and E. Matthew (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 52-63.

⁶⁵ *Reg.Brantingham*, i, 255.

⁶⁶ Buck, *Finance and the Church*, pp. 101-102, 110; J. R. Maddicott, *Founders and Fellowship, The Early History of Exeter College Oxford 1314-1592* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 26-27.

⁶⁷ Maddicott, *Exeter College*, p. 86.

⁶⁸ N. Orme, 'The Cornish at Oxford, 1180-1540', *JRIC* (2010), pp. 43-82.

⁶⁹ Orme, 'Oxford', 53; Maddicott, *Exeter College*, p. 86.

educational provision was provided in the county, with a grammar school established at Launceston by 1342 and tuition of a kind available from the county's monasteries, friaries, and gentry households.⁷⁰ Cornishmen of modest means sometimes attracted the attentions of the bishops of Exeter. In 1332, Bishop Grandisson established scholarships for twelve boys to study at Exeter High School, reserving two for entrants from Cornwall.⁷¹ In the following year, the executors of Bishop Stapeldon set aside money for a series of poor scholars, including half a mark to William de Polmorva, a poor scholar at Oxford.⁷² The mendicants also sponsored the study of some eleven Cornish scholars at Oxford, while four Cornish monks attended university with the financial backing of their houses.⁷³ Yet a route more frequently followed involved the use of parochial resources, as 'study often followed the acquisition of a post rather than proceeding it'.⁷⁴ The practice of studying at Oxford after obtaining a benefice emerges as widespread, with the registers of the bishops of Exeter littered with licenses for non-residence in order for incumbents to pursue their studies.

Family connections might also play an important role in securing an education. Reginald Mertherderwa of Camborne, for instance, graduated as a doctor of civil law and rose to become principal of Bull Hall in Oxford from 1427.⁷⁵ He always remembered his Cornish origins, bequeathing money to his brother, Thomas – who likewise studied at Oxford and held a prebend at Glasney – along with his relative Pascow Noel, alias Trewens, another Oxford-educated Cornishman who also oversaw Bull Hall.⁷⁶ Leading lineages, amongst them the Arundells, Bodrugans, and Carminows, likewise sponsored the studies of some of their sons. It seems, however, that most of those Cornishmen who attended university originated from the murky world of the wealthy sub-gentry, men such as Thomas Tomyowe, son of a merchant from St Columb Major.⁷⁷ Education enabled all these folk to 'better their lot', with gentlemen of modest means acquiring status from their studies. In his

⁷⁰ Orme, 'Oxford', 51-52; see, N. Orme, *Education in the West of England, 1066-1548* (Exeter, 1976).

⁷¹ Orme, 'Oxford', 52.

⁷² *Reg. Stapeldon*, 577.

⁷³ Orme, 'Oxford', 49.

⁷⁴ Orme, 'Oxford', 44.

⁷⁵ *BRUO*, ii, 1266-1267.

⁷⁶ *Cornish Wills*, 76-79; *BRUO*, ii, 1361-1362.

⁷⁷ Orme, 'Oxford', 48-50.

will of 1448, Reginald Mertherderwa made specific mention of the heraldic arms which he had inherited or acquired, requesting that they, along with the insignia of a doctor of laws, be placed on his tomb slab.⁷⁸

However they may have reached Oxford, some of these Cornishmen were definitely men of distinction who rose high in academia. John de Cornubia, alias Brian, was a grammarian at Oxford in the 1340s whom John Trevisa was to claim ‘chaunged the lore in gramer scole and construccioun of Frensche in to Engliche’; Cornubia probably composed a major work on grammar, the *Speculum Grammaticale*.⁷⁹ The Cornishman John Gascoigne likewise left notes from his lectures on canon law from c. 1365, and may have written a tract condemning John Wycliffe, *Contra Wicleffum*.⁸⁰ William Penbegyll attended Exeter College from 1399 to 1409 and attained its rectorship, all while composing a series of tracts on logic, including the *Universalia*.⁸¹ William Trevelles similarly held a fellowship at Queen’s College in 1361-8, probably writing the *Determinaciones Trevellys*.⁸² A few Cornishmen at least stand out as prolific scholars, with John Trevisa composing original pieces and proving a masterly translator who rendered numerous works into Middle English, including the *Polychronicon* and perhaps even the Wycliffite bible itself.⁸³ All told, some fifteen Cornish scholars earned seventeen doctorates in the fourteenth century, amongst them William de Heghes (medicine), John Bloyou (civil law), Michael Sergeaux (civil and canon law), and John Landreyn (medicine and theology).⁸⁴

Others attained senior positions in university administration. William de Polmorva, Ralph Redruth, and Walter Trengoff each served as chancellor of Oxford in 1350-2, 1391-3, and 1419-21 respectively.⁸⁵ Indeed, between 1300 and 1540 twenty halls are recorded with Cornish principals at some point, a number on multiple occasions.⁸⁶ A third (twenty-three) of the rectors at Exeter College itself were Cornishmen, and although Robert Trethewey’s

⁷⁸ *Cornish Wills*, 76.

⁷⁹ *BRUO*, i, 490; Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, pp. 159-161.

⁸⁰ *BRUO*, ii, 745.

⁸¹ *BRUO*, iii, 1455.

⁸² *BRUO*, iii, 1899-1900.

⁸³ *BRUO*, iii, 1903-1904; J. Beal, *John Trevisa and the English Polychronicon* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 1-23, 145.

⁸⁴ Orme, ‘Oxford’, 57.

⁸⁵ *BRUO*, iii, 1492-1493, 1561, 1896.

⁸⁶ Orme, ‘Oxford’, 53-54.

lax management in the 1350s led to his ousting, William Palmer (c. 1420-34) stood out as a rector of renown.⁸⁷ A kinsman of the onetime mayor and MP for Launceston, John Palmer, William gave his name to Palmer Tower, the sole surviving feature of the medieval college, and is still remembered in the college's bidding prayer.

Many Oxford-educated Cornishmen went on to gain high office in the Church, with some at least returning to their natal diocese. Walter Giffard of Lanivet (d. 1322), for instance, served as archdeacon of Barnstaple and chancellor of Exeter Cathedral from 1314 until his death.⁸⁸ He was not alone; Stephen Penpel of Cornwall was to serve as archdeacon of Exeter in the 1360s and his nephew, Ralph Tregriow, appeared as a canon of Exeter by 1366, vicar general of the bishop by 1373, and dean by 1384.⁸⁹ Yet the local diocese of Exeter emerges as by no means the limit of their ambitions. Penpel went on to serve as dean of Wells, while Tregriow acted as an advocate of the court of Canterbury in 1373. Despite his illegitimacy, Michael Sergeaux (d. 1397) proved an able advocate, speaking in the court of Canterbury in 1382 and holding the deanery of Arches from 1393.⁹⁰ He went on to serve as archdeacon of Dorset and chancellor of the archbishop of Canterbury himself. John Waryn (d. 1442) likewise attended Oxford, later attaining the archdeaconship of Barnstaple and the keeping of the spiritualities of Exeter and Bath and Wells. He also served as the auditor of the archbishop of Canterbury's cases and found employment as the official and vicar of the bishop of Rochester.⁹¹ Education served as an avenue for advancement, enabling these Cornishmen to enter the charmed circle of the higher clergy, the *sublimes et literati*, with its rich rewards across the realm.⁹²

The service of these Cornishmen to the Church overlapped with both their academic careers and duties to the Crown. Sergeaux, for instance, found employment as a king's clerk in the admiralty, accompanied John of Gaunt to France on diplomatic missions, and enjoyed connections with the office of privy seal. Henry V likewise involved William Bray (d. 1437) in international

⁸⁷ Maddicott, *Exeter College*, pp. 72-73, 86-87, 117-118.

⁸⁸ *BRUO*, ii, 763.

⁸⁹ *BRUO*, iii, 1454-1455, 1893; *Cornish Wills*, 46-48.

⁹⁰ *BRUO*, i, 377-378.

⁹¹ *BRUO*, iii, 1996.

⁹² V. Davies, 'Preparation for Service in the Late Medieval English Church', *Patterns of Service*, pp. 38-51.

diplomacy, having him negotiate with the Burgundians and Genoese on his behalf, with Bray also serving as commissary general of John, earl of Huntingdon, admiral of England.⁹³ Tregisiow emerges as another quill-pusher who sat in the courts of admiralty and constable, advising Richard II on the papal schism while finding time to lecture in Oxford. Just as impressively, William de Polmorva (d. 1362) served as chancellor of Oxford, archdeacon of Middlesex, a canon of St George's, Windsor, a royal clerk, and confessor to Queen Philippa herself.

Yet it was not until the fifteenth century that a Cornishman was to sit on England's episcopal bench. Remarkably, no fewer than four Cornishmen were to be appointed to bishoprics in the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV. John Arundell (d. 1477) held a fellowship at Exeter College in the 1420s, later serving as Henry VI's chaplain and physician and leading the team of doctors who ministered to the king when his mental health collapsed in 1453. As reward, Henry raised him to the rank of bishop of Chichester five years later.⁹⁴ John Stanbury (d. 1474) was a Carmelite friar and outstanding scholar who hailed from Morwenstow.⁹⁵ Henry VI chose him as his confessor some time before 1440 and elevated him to the bishopric of Bangor in 1448, translating him to Hereford in 1453. Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou, also employed Cornishmen. Despite being a miller's son from Lanteglos-by-Fowey, Walter Lyhert (d. 1472) served as confessor to William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and thence performed the same function for the queen herself. In 1446, he was rewarded with the bishopric of Norwich and later appointed to the council.⁹⁶ Margaret likewise gave employment to Michael Tregury of St Wenn (d. 1471), who served as chaplain to the royal couple.⁹⁷ They appointed him the first rector of the University of Caen in 1439 and raised him to the archbishopric of Dublin a decade later. Good connections clearly proved essential to the glittering careers of these 'super-connected' churchmen, with Oxford integrating those Cornishmen who attended into pan-English culture, learning, and patronage.

⁹³ *BRUO*, i, 252-253.

⁹⁴ *BRUO*, i, 49-50, 323; C. Whittick, 'John Arundell', *ODNB*, ii, pp. 578-579.

⁹⁵ A. Rhydderch, 'John Stanbury', *ODNB*, lii, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁶ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 106-107; R. J. Schoeck, 'Walter Lyhert', *ODNB*, xxxiv, pp. 862-864.

⁹⁷ A. F. Pollard, *rev.* V. Davis, 'Michael Tregury', *ODNB*, lv, pp. 269-270.

Although Oxford-educated Cornish careerists acquired new ideas and benefices across the land, they generally never forgot their origins. In 1395, Ralph Redruth, the former chancellor of Oxford, appointed Nicholas Herry MA as his proxy in Creed, drawing yet another highly educated priest into the peninsula.⁹⁸ Leading Cornish churchmen also retained their social links with the county. Penpal's ambitions saw him attain the office of dean of Wells and marked him out as a man of significance, with Sir William Botreaux appointing him feoffee in 1369.⁹⁹ His success also provided him with the means to sponsor his nephew, Tregisiow, who was later to serve as dean of Exeter. Tregisiow in turn remembered the county of his birth and employed Cornish officials, amongst them James Halap.¹⁰⁰ Cornwall undoubtedly exercised a strong pull on the imaginations and identities of these churchmen. Archbishop Tregury even bequeathed his soul to archangel Michael, 'deservedly venerated in my native Cornish land' and paid for William Wise to go on pilgrimage to St Michael's Mount.¹⁰¹ Conversely, 'local boys done good' were remembered in the county, with Robert Bracy of Fowey recounting Bishop Lyhert's local origins to William Worcestre.¹⁰²

A knowledge of liturgical practices also entered Cornwall through these personal connections. Tregisiow, for instance, bequeathed to the church of Tregony the great missal which had belonged to his uncle Penpal. He also left his law books to his kinsmen or to 'abler scholars or clerks of the faculty of law from the county of Cornwall'.¹⁰³ Artistic styles spread in this way as well, with the Oxford-educated John Waryn (d. 1426) erecting an avant-garde brass in Menheniot, the church over which he presided from 1411 onwards, on which he was depicted as a cadaver with the Latin epitaph: 'I am what you will be... and I was what you are'.¹⁰⁴ Graduates who returned to the county brought about movements of ideas and practices, some of which proved non-conformist. Laurence Stephen (d. 1423), for example, was an early devotee of Wycliffe who returned to Cornwall to preach his views,

⁹⁸ *Reg.Stafford*, 162.

⁹⁹ *CCR 1369-1374*, 86.

¹⁰⁰ *Cornish.Wills*, 46-48; *Reg.Stafford*, 276.

¹⁰¹ *Cornish.Wills*, 89-90.

¹⁰² Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 106-107.

¹⁰³ *Cornish.Wills*, 47.

¹⁰⁴ *Cornish.Wills*, 60-62, 251; there were two John Waryns, P. Cockerham and N. Orme, 'John Waryn and his Cadaver Brass, formerly in Menheniot Church, Cornwall', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 19 (2014), pp. 41-56.

something which Bishop Brantingham forbade.¹⁰⁵ Cornwall, however, formed no bastion of non-conformity. There is no evidence that Lollardy took root in the county, and quite possibly the large number of Oxford graduates appointed to Cornish benefices helped to secure the local faithful for orthodoxy. In founding Stapeldon Hall, Bishop Stapeldon intended to establish a ‘*cursus honoum*’ of study at the hall and subsequent return to a west country parish’ so that his diocese would be forever staffed with trained priests, providing the Cornish and Devonian laity with the means to redemption.¹⁰⁶ Exeter College-educated Cornishmen often followed this ‘Stapeldonian ideal’, and around half of those Cornishmen who graduated from Oxford as a whole returned to minister in their natal county.¹⁰⁷

The Church also brought about a great deal of transient geographic mobility and exchange. Incumbents and religious houses, for instance, sent endless correspondence to the bishops of Exeter and back again.¹⁰⁸ Non-resident holders of benefices likewise took a keen interest in parochial administration, sending letters, dispatching attorneys, and sometimes supervising these parishes in person.¹⁰⁹ For example, the rector and steward of Exeter College – along with one or two fellows – at times travelled to Gwinear in order to oversee the parish, despite the fact that the chapter at Exeter mainly managed the living.¹¹⁰ Church administration depended on the movement of people, with Archbishop Courtenay himself and his retinue itinerating around Cornwall during his visitation of 1384.¹¹¹ Conversely, incumbents resident in the peninsula journeyed beyond the county’s bounds. Robert Luke combined his holding of Ludgvan with a busy medical practice, but his repeated requests for leave drew down Bishop Grandisson’s ire.¹¹² We may well wonder how many more letters were composed, conversations conducted, and itineraries undertaken by these many clergymen. Pilgrims, too, endlessly travelled beyond and into the county. In 1362, Exeter College entertained a party of presumed pilgrims from Gwinear, and three years

¹⁰⁵ *BRUO*, iii, 1772; *Reg.Brantingham*, i, 480-481.

¹⁰⁶ Maddicott, *Exeter College*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁷ Maddicott, *Exeter College*, p. 178; Orme, ‘Oxford’, 58.

¹⁰⁸ *Reg.Stafford*, 237.

¹⁰⁹ *CPR 1327-1330*, 238-239; *CPR 1330-1334*, 22.

¹¹⁰ Maddicott, *Exeter College*, pp. 115, 118-119.

¹¹¹ Orme, *Religious Houses*, p. 281.

¹¹² *BRUO*, ii, 1176; *Reg.Grandisson*, i, 292.

earlier John Peeche, citizen of London, had planned to go ‘very soon’ on pilgrimage to St Michael’s Mount.¹¹³ Most famously, in 1478 William Worcestre travelled to the Mount, meeting county notables and noting down Cornwall’s many saints on his way.¹¹⁴ Hence, the Church created and maintained lines of communication and movement which perhaps saw *thousands* of people journey into and out of Cornwall, carrying with them new concepts and devotional objects.

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Where, then, does this place Cornwall within its diocese, the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and the wider Catholic Church? The fact that Cornwall formed but one archdeaconry within a larger diocese in no way diminished local practices – despite Bishop Grandisson’s disquiet about Cornish saints – but neither did diocesan administration buttress the county’s peculiarities.¹¹⁵ Instead, the See of Exeter served to link Cornwall into the wider south west, undermining any sense of Cornish separateness. At the other end of the spectrum, the county undoubtedly held a place in wider Christendom. Cornwall paid Peter’s Pence, for instance, while diocesan officials proclaimed and enforced papal bulls.¹¹⁶ More remarkable, however, is the way in which the king increasingly mediated papal power in England, and by extension Cornwall, although the allegiance of the English Church and clergy remained always to both king and pope; duality lay at its heart.¹¹⁷

The Fourth Lateran Council had laid down provision for regular provincial synods back in 1215.¹¹⁸ In England, however, by the late 1320s these meetings had grown indistinguishable from convocations, gatherings summoned periodically in each province when the king was requesting taxation. Convocation acted as a point of contact between the king and his clergy. The bishop of Exeter always received a personal summons to convocation, as did the archdeacon of Cornwall and the priors of the county’s

¹¹³ Maddicott, *Exeter College*, p. 130; *RBP*, iv, 332.

¹¹⁴ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 98-101.

¹¹⁵ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 585.

¹¹⁶ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 351-352; *Reg. Brantingham*, i, 300, 324-326.

¹¹⁷ Ruddick, *English Identity*, p. 261; Thompson, ‘Ecclesiastical Polity’, pp. 144-145.

¹¹⁸ Heath, *Church and Realm*, pp. 50-51, 85-88.

leading religious houses.¹¹⁹ It seems, however, that these senior churchmen often sent proctors, who nonetheless spoke for their masters.¹²⁰ The lower clergy also possessed a voice in convocation, with two of their number elected to speak for their fellows in the diocese, amongst them Ralph Tregisiow in 1373.¹²¹ Clerical proctors sometimes complained vociferously and in 1328-9 Bishop Grandisson's register records a series of their protests, not least concerning ecclesiastical liberties.¹²² The bishop at times relayed such complaints to the king himself. In 1337, he informed Edward III that his clergymen were unwilling to respond to the king's demands because of the dangers posed by enemy attacks on the coast.¹²³ Such informal lobbying overlapped and re-enforced demands made in convocation. It also interlocked with complaints raised by clergymen in parliament.

As one of the lords spiritual, the bishop of Exeter received a regular personal summons to parliament; Bishop Stafford even preached the opening sermon of the so-called 'Revenge Parliament' of 1397.¹²⁴ Representatives of the lower clergy also sat in the House, with Thomas Crabbe, the rector of Truro, one of two men who spoke for Exeter diocese in 1307.¹²⁵ At this date the line between parliament and convocation emerges as less clearly defined than it would later become, but even in the early 1300s clerical attendance in the House proved 'sporadic', as royal summonses to parliament were thought to undermine clerical privilege.¹²⁶ It was for this reason that the two convocations were later to rise to prominence as the forum in which the clergy made their demands of the Crown, granting subsidies in return. This is not to suggest that convocation grew as assertive as parliament, however, for the former emerges as less able to resist the demands of the king and less willing

¹¹⁹ *Reg. Brantingham*, i, 319; *Reg. Stafford*, 67-68; *Records of Convocation*, ed. G. Bray, 20 vols, Church of England Record Society (Woodbridge, 2005-6), iii, pp. 318-320.

¹²⁰ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 766; *Reg. Brantingham*, ii, 675; *Records of Convocation*, iii, pp. 109, 131-132.

¹²¹ *Records of Convocation*, iii, pp. 376-377; *Reg. Brantingham*, i, 319.

¹²² *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 446-448.

¹²³ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 300-301.

¹²⁴ Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 376-377.

¹²⁵ *Records of Convocation*, iii, p. 353.

¹²⁶ A. K. McHardy, 'The Representation of the English Lower Clergy in Parliament during the Fourteenth Century', in *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World*, ed. D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 10 (Oxford, 1973), pp. 97-107 at 107; also, J. H. Denton and J. P. Dooley, *Representatives of the Lower Clergy in Parliament, 1295-1340* (Woodbridge, 1987).

to press for royal concessions.¹²⁷ Neither were the lines between parliament and convocation so sharply defined as to prevent interchange. What is clear, however, is that pressure from the Crown prompted collective action in response to the royal will, creating a regularised line of communication between the king and the English clergy.

The Church more often than not acquiesced in the king's requests for funds, as ensuring the solvency of the Crown formed one of the duties of a Christian commonwealth. Royal rhetoric from Edward II's reign onwards emphasised that the Crown levied clerical taxes for the defence of the king, kingdom, and the English Church.¹²⁸ During the reigns of the first two Edwards it was common for the pope to levy his own taxes on clerical incomes as well, with a considerable proportion of these funds conceded to the king.¹²⁹ After 1330 such exchanges ceased as the king negotiated directly with English convocations.¹³⁰ This resulted in local ecclesiastics serving as tax collectors under the command of their bishop, but in the broader service of the Crown. In 1334, for instance, Edward III requested that the priors of Launceston and Tywardreath dispatch funds from the clerical subsidy 'graciously granted to the king [on account of] their love for him', as the Scots were 'doing all the harm they could' to his kingdom.¹³¹ At times these churchmen required more formal backing from the Crown, and in 1398 the king granted the prior of Bodmin a writ of aid as 'divers ecclesiastics' resisted paying.¹³² The government even had the prior of Launceston investigate abuses in collecting a lay subsidy in the early 1330s.¹³³ Official rhetoric, in fact, linked lay taxation with the English Church, with 'the defence of the realm and of the church of England' featuring prominently in the parliamentary summons of 1372.¹³⁴

The Church and the Crown were together engaged in the collaborative business of government and law enforcement. At the time of the Great Revolt,

¹²⁷ W. M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III, Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (London, 1990), pp. 140-142.

¹²⁸ Heath, *Church and Realm*, p. 88; Ruddick, *English Identity*, pp. 199-200.

¹²⁹ Heath, *Church and Realm*, pp. 63, 85-86.

¹³⁰ Ormrod, 'England in the Middle Ages', p. 30; Thompson, 'Ecclesiastical Polity', pp. 142-143.

¹³¹ *CCR 1333-1337*, 355-356; also, *Reg. Stafford*, 342-343.

¹³² *CPR 1396-1399*, 401.

¹³³ *CPR 1334-1338*, 40.

¹³⁴ *CCR 1369-1374*, 462.

for example, the king appointed Bishop Brantingham to the bench in the counties of his diocese, as other bishops were in theirs, while the same bishop promulgated an excommunication for those who breached royal manors in Cornwall.¹³⁵ In 1410, Bishop Stafford received the oaths of Cornwall's JPs, leaving none in doubt of the degree to which royal and ecclesiastical might overlapped.¹³⁶ Ninety years earlier, Edward II had tasked Bishop Stapeldon with investigating the conduct of hundredal bailiffs in the county, for this bishop served the Crown most loyally.¹³⁷ The Church also proved fundamental to the defence of the realm. In 1297, Edward I ordered the keepers of the sea-coasts to ring bells on sighting the enemy, drawing its physical structures into the war effort.¹³⁸ Edward III likewise instructed the archdeacon of Cornwall to supervise the county's defences in 1348, as 'pirates' threatened the ports and fisherman of the peninsula.¹³⁹ The bishops of Exeter were similarly involved in arraying men-at-arms, archers, and clergymen themselves *pro defensione Ecclesie et Patrie*.¹⁴⁰

The Crown also employed the Church to shape public opinion. The kings of this period requested prayers for 'events of national importance', with the result that a sizable proportion of the populace was informed about war and peace by their local priest.¹⁴¹ Every king appealed for prayers and processions for their success over their French, Scottish, and Spanish adversaries.¹⁴² Other occasions also promoted public devotional offerings, amongst them the processions which Edward III ordered for the deliverance of the realm from pestilence and Henry V's prayers for 'fine weather'.¹⁴³ The parish came to serve as the mouthpiece of the king, with the efficacy of prayer – and indeed the power of the Church – harnessed to the king's cause, bestowing legitimacy upon his regime. What is more, in offering 'state prayers' the men and women of Cornwall believed that they were actively contributing to the success of their realm, and this must have helped foster a

¹³⁵ *CPR 1381-1385*, 142, 248; *Reg.Brantingham*, i, 448.

¹³⁶ *Reg.Stafford*, 69.

¹³⁷ *CPR 1321-1324*, 15.

¹³⁸ *CCR 1296-1302*, 74.

¹³⁹ *Reg.Grandisson*, iii, 1547-1548.

¹⁴⁰ *CPR 1358-1361*, 404-405; *Reg.Brantingham*, i, 271, 421-422; *Reg.Stafford*, 303.

¹⁴¹ A. K. McHardy, 'Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln during the Hundred Years War', in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews, *Studies in Church History*, 18 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 215-227 at 217.

¹⁴² Above, p. 177.

¹⁴³ *Reg.Grandisson*, ii, 1069-1071; *Reg.Stafford*, 129.

sense of shared belonging in the kingdom which encouraged the Cornish to view England as a collective moral unit.¹⁴⁴ Together, then, the Crown and the English Church expounded a ‘national’ political theology.¹⁴⁵

In point of fact, royal government depended on the involvement of Churchmen. The episcopal bench in particular was by the fourteenth century packed with royal ministers. Bishops Stapeldon, Brantingham, and Stafford all held high office under the Crown, connecting Cornwall closely to the high politics of the realm. Many Cornish ecclesiastics likewise attained leading positions in royal administration, being ‘bound by common discipline and a common ethos of service to Crown and Church’.¹⁴⁶ This was no Cornish peculiarity, as Michael Bennett has identified the many clerks from the North West who achieved prominence in the service of both institutions.¹⁴⁷ Precisely for this reason there can be little doubt that clerical servants were integral to the administration of England, integrating the Church into the structures of the kingdom.¹⁴⁸

Deployment of the apparatus of royal government also proved essential to the achievement of the work of the spiritual arm. The Church relied upon the king’s peace for its ministry because in England the Crown stood at the heart of the criminal justice system. Churchmen certainly turned to the king’s courts whenever they felt that their interests were threatened. The priors of Bodmin and Launceston, for instance, brought numerous cases before the king’s bench concerning transgressions.¹⁴⁹ The former often quarrelled with Bodmin town, and in 1345 the prior obtained from the king an oyer and terminer commission to investigate the townsmen who had ‘several times besieged the priory’.¹⁵⁰ Clergymen also relied on royal administration to register and recover debts; in 1348, the archdeacon of Cornwall had the £25 6s. which he was owed by Sir William Bodrugan, Henry Trethewey, and Walter Kent enrolled in the chancery so as to secure re-payment.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Ruddick, *English Identity*, pp. 270, 273.

¹⁴⁵ *CCR 1369-1374*, 462; Ruddick, *English Identity*, pp. 199-200, 258-259, 282.

¹⁴⁶ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 311.

¹⁴⁷ Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 150-161, especially 156-157.

¹⁴⁸ Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 98-103.

¹⁴⁹ For example, KB27/269 Roll of Attorneys; KB27/234 m. 90r.

¹⁵⁰ *CPR 1343-1345*, 572, 577.

¹⁵¹ *CCR 1346-1349*, 589.

While the operation of two distinct legal systems within the realm could result in tensions, in many ways the spiritual and secular courts proved complementary, with the Courts Christian concerned chiefly with issues of clerical conduct and morality, and the royal courts concerned with criminal and civil matters.¹⁵² In a typical case, in 1334 the bishop's court sat in Bodmin church and heard how Jullans Treganhay, 'a notorious married man', had had an adulterous liaison with Matilda, the widow of Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne, with cases concerning marriage accounting for much of these tribunals' business.¹⁵³ The Church Courts were also concerned with issues of legitimacy and could issue dispensations to those who had been born out of wedlock.¹⁵⁴ Such investigations and judgments might, if appropriate, be later reported to the king, for bastardy proved of significance to an individual's secular legal status.¹⁵⁵ Testamentary business likewise fell within the Church's competence, with wills proved before Church officials. Litigants often pursued debts in these courts as well, as executors regularly claimed that sums were still owed to the deceased.¹⁵⁶ Excommunication stands out as one of the most potent weapons in the arsenal of the spiritual courts, but if an excommunicant remained un-reconciled after forty days these individuals could be turned over to the secular arm.¹⁵⁷ Bishop Brantingham handed over a number of clerics to the king in the 1380s, after episcopal punishments had failed to bring them to heel.¹⁵⁸ The king, therefore, relied on the Church to regulate marriage and morality, while the Church relied upon the king to police malefactors. A powerful sense of reciprocity emerges.

The commonalty of Cornwall were afforded constant reminders of the Crown's power over the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. When the throne of Exeter stood unoccupied, for instance, every king took the opportunity to pack diocesan offices with royal servants.¹⁵⁹ At these same times the king also took the

¹⁵² R. H. Helmholz, *The Oxford History of Laws, I, The Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction from 597 to the 1640s* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 206-243.

¹⁵³ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 758-759; Cawthron, 'Diocese of Exeter', pp. 217-261; Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 141; C. Donahue, Jr., *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 34-41, 64, 71, 223.

¹⁵⁴ *Reg. Grandisson*, ii, 822.

¹⁵⁵ *Reg. Stafford*, 345.

¹⁵⁶ B. L. Woodcock, *Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1952), p. 85.

¹⁵⁷ Heath, *Church and Realm*, p. 27.

¹⁵⁸ *Reg. Brantingham*, i, 437, 446, 488.

¹⁵⁹ *CPR 1327-1330*, 247; *CPR 1391-1396*, 565.

temporalities of the bishopric into his hands, appointing royal officials to manage the episcopal estates.¹⁶⁰ During the minorities of tenants-in-chief, the Crown could likewise appoint to benefices owned by these folk; in 1309, for example, Edward II presented Nicholas Carleton to the church of Duloe as ‘the lands and heir’ of Sir Henry Bodrugan were in royal hands.¹⁶¹ None in the county can have been ignorant of the king’s position as patron paramount. In Edward III’s reign periodic royal seizure of alien priories provided yet another reminder of regnal might. Edward took the priories of Tywardreath and St Michael’s Mount into his hands in 1338, granting the lands and incomes of these institutions to local gentleman and royal clerks.¹⁶² Seizure served to weaken the links between these houses and the continent, while enhancing the power of the Crown.¹⁶³ It also provided local clergymen and gentlemen with a vested interest in eroding connections overseas.

The new focus on aliens further sharpened perceptions of ‘national’ identity. The Crown repeatedly instructed Bishops Grandisson, Brantingham, and Stafford to compile lists of non-denizens beneficed in their diocese, also ordering the sheriff to command aliens to present themselves to chancery.¹⁶⁴ This focus on defining ‘otherness’ underlined the fact that the Cornish occupied a place in an English realm and Church, for they were to identify aliens in their midst.

In the face of this assertive kingly policy to the Church, papal power waned. Edward III’s two Statutes of Provisors (1351) and Praemunire (1353) sought further to mediate papal influence in England, with the former limiting papal provision to benefices and the latter curtailing the ability of Englishmen to appeal to the Curia.¹⁶⁵ These statutes are emblematic of the king’s growing influence over the religious affairs of the realm. With the rise of Wycliffite ideas and the perceived threat of Lollardy, the Church increasingly called upon royal aid to defend orthodoxy. The papal schism which erupted in 1378 made matters still more pressing, though its full effects were only felt in the

¹⁶⁰ *CPR 1367-1370*, 408.

¹⁶¹ *CPR 1307-1313*, 195.

¹⁶² *CFR 1337-1347*, 46, 70, 78, 84, 165, 167, 178, 447-448; *CPR 1338-1340*, 99; *CFR 1347-1356*, 97-98, 314; *CFR 1368-1377*, 25.

¹⁶³ Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁶⁴ *Reg. Grandisson*, i, 57-60; ii, 760, 763-764; *Reg. Brantingham*, i, 193-195; *Reg. Stafford*, 2; *CCR 1337-1339*, 171; *CCR 1343-1346*, 85; *CCR 1346-1349*, 47.

¹⁶⁵ *Statutes of the Realm*, i, 316-318, 329; Heath, *Church and Realm*, pp. 125-133.

1390s.¹⁶⁶ The schism diminished papal prestige and strengthened the king's hand, for, as long as it lasted, the king was increasingly thrust into the position of deciding on religious matters.¹⁶⁷ Contemporaries took it for granted that the Church would fracture along 'national' lines, or at least kingly ones, with all England – Cornwall included – choosing one loyalty.

Henry V in particular vigorously set about quashing heretics, drawing the Crown and the Church yet closer together. He issued orders to Bishop Stafford to preach sermons 'for the extirpation of sedition, schism, and heresy, specially of that execrable pest – Lollardy', a demand never before made by an English king.¹⁶⁸ Henry assumed the role of arbiter of orthodoxy, reinforcing the role of the spiritual and temporal arms in the lives of the laity.¹⁶⁹ The men and women of Cornwall were left in no doubt as to where power resided. In 1402, for instance, the 'poor parishioners' of Liskeard, Linkinhorne, and Talland petitioned the king through parliament after the priory of Launceston had ceased paying for three perpetual vicars, despite having done so since time immemorial.¹⁷⁰ It is striking that Cornish parishioners looked to the king to rectify the absence of these clerics, bringing their concerns to the Crown's attention through the House. Indeed, the fourteenth century saw parliament grow increasingly critical of the spiritual arm, further spurring the king to action; the supplications of these 'poor parishioners' even prompted Henry IV to pass new legislation regulating the appropriation of vicarages across the realm.¹⁷¹

Yet we should be mindful of the fact that the Church formed a major institution in its own right and that the papacy remained a potent force in the lives of the faithful. Papal power still made itself felt in England, creating potential conflicts. In 1350, for example, Edward III granted the post of archdeacon of Cornwall to his clerk, William Cusance, a nomination which set in motion twenty years of acrimony during which the king seized the temporalities of the bishopric. Bishop Grandisson refused to admit Edward's

¹⁶⁶ H. Kaminsky, 'The Great Schism', in *NCMH*, pp. 674-696.

¹⁶⁷ M. Harvey, 'Ecclesia Anglicana, cui Ecclesiastes noster Christus vos prefecit: The Power of the Crown in the English Church during the Great Schism', in *Religion and National Identity*, pp. 229-241.

¹⁶⁸ *Reg. Stafford*, 129.

¹⁶⁹ J. Catto, 'Religious Change under Henry V', in *Henry V, The Practice of Kingship*, ed. G. L. Harriss (Oxford, 1985), pp. 97-115.

¹⁷⁰ *PROME*, viii, 203-204.

¹⁷¹ Ormrod, *Reign of Edward*, pp. 124-127, 144; Heath, *Church and Realm*, pp. 264-265.

candidate and in 1349 the pope had reserved the post for John Harewell, causing yet more tension; the clergymen who sought this office did so relentlessly and bitterly.¹⁷² It was only in 1371 that the case was truly settled, after the temporalities of the bishopric came into Edward's hands on Bishop Grandisson's death.¹⁷³ The Cusance incident is illustrative of the tensions between 'Church' and 'State', with frictions also inherent within each entity.¹⁷⁴ While Bishop Grandisson clashed with Clement VI and Edward III, it should be said that Bishops Stapeldon, Brantingham, and Stafford lent their full support to every king from Edward II to Henry V, as too did many minor clergymen. The rarity of conflict stands out as more remarkable than its occurrence, as bishops, popes, lords, and kings collaborated for the great preponderance of the time.

For all the points of friction and contradiction, in many ways the king served as steward of the Church in England, emphasising the inextricable involvement of the English Church in the political and social life of the realm. Judging by the evidence of John Trevisa's translations, many clerics believed that the English Church should pay royal taxes for the 'defens of the comyn profit', as a powerful 'national' political theology propounded the idea that England formed a moral community under the leaderships of its Church and messianic king as much as a political and territorial entity.¹⁷⁵ John Trevisa certainly viewed Cornwall's inclusion in the episcopal jurisdiction of the West Saxons as essential in securing the county's place in the fourteenth-century realm.¹⁷⁶ *Ecclesia Anglicana* thus came to serve increasingly as an intellectual, personal, and institutional pan-English bonding agent, one which integrated Cornwall into the kingdom.

Connectivity Conclusions

If we attempt to draw these many strands together, one important point that emerges is how strongly interlinked was each and every one of these 'forms' of connectivity. Consider, for example, the evidence of the Sergeaux family

¹⁷² *CPR 1348-1350*, 462, 587; J. le Neve, 'Archdeacons in Cornwall', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541*, compil. J. M. Horn, 12 vols (London, 1962-7), ix, pp. 15-17; Whatley, 'Temporalities be Taken', 69-72, 80.

¹⁷³ *CPR 1370-1374*, 78, 98.

¹⁷⁴ Thompson, 'Ecclesiastical Polity', pp. 130, 145.

¹⁷⁵ Cited in Beal, *John Trevisa*, pp. 16-18; Ruddick, *English Identity*, pp. 304-307.

¹⁷⁶ Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, p. 121.

of Colquite. Sir Richard Sergeaux served many times on royal commissions in Cornwall, representing the county in no fewer than ten parliaments. Along with his kinsman, John, he fought in France for the Black Prince, who showed his appreciation of his services by rewarding him with seigniorial office at home. Sir Richard also tenaciously defended his patrimony in the central courts, while finding time to engage in the extraction and selling of tin. The Sergeauxs put their landed resources to good effect. Sir Richard married well twice, the first time securing the hand of a Bodrugan heiress and after her death marrying Philippa, illegitimate granddaughter of the earl of Arundel.¹ The family even sponsored the education of gifted illegitimate sons, enabling Michael Sergeaux to rise to the deanery of Arches. Sir Richard's deathbed grant of 1393 bore witness to his good connections, as he charged his wife's uncle, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, along with Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon, and Michael and John Sergeaux to dispose of his goods; an agreement made in London and witnessed by William, Lord Botreaux, and Guy Mone, subsequent keeper of the privy seal and bishop of St Davids. Sir Richard's estates were later to pass to his daughters, one of whom, Alice, was to marry the earl of Oxford, while another, Elizabeth, was already betrothed to the Essex lawyer Sir William Marny. The Sergeauxs' experience corresponds to Ranulph Higden's characterisation of his fellow countrymen as restless and ambitious, endlessly travelling in search of riches elsewhere. Indeed, the Latin words of this Cheshire monk are made all the more compelling when it is remembered that they were rendered into Middle English by none other than John Trevisa, an Oxford-educated Cornishman in the service of the baronial Berkeleys of Gloucestershire.² Cornish connectivity created a grand arc, a whole greater than the sum of its parts. Let us begin by looking at the link between geographic and social mobility, before considering how connectivity bound the realm together.

Throughout this discussion we have been concerned chiefly with the geographical movements of an elite social group. The shire establishment provided generations of highly mobile men who ranged far and wide across England and beyond. Leading Cornish lineages had many friends in high places, thereby possessing the means to cultivate profitable contacts.

¹ *HOP*, ii, 506-507.

² Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, pp. 168-170; Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, p. 5.

Networking ran in their blood and upbringing, for ‘careerism bred careerism’.³ However some families, amongst them the Carminows, proved more adept at forging good connections than others, among the latter perhaps the Soors. ‘New men’ could sometimes gain a place in the charmed circle of the inter-connected elite, with Sir Robert Tresilian rising from relative obscurity to serve as chief justice of the king’s bench. Despite such striking ‘one-man successes’, it proved however more common for ambitious men to build upon the achievements of their forebears. The lineages of Nanfan, Tremayne, and Trenewith illustrate this point. Henry Nanfan, John Tremayne, and Michael Trenewith the elder each raised his family to significance in the fourteenth century through lordly service, office-holding, commerce, the law, war, and advantageous marriage. Yet it was left to their successors to achieve greatness; John Nanfan attained the governorship of the Channel Islands under Henry VI; another John Tremayne held a place on Henry IV’s council; and William Trenewith took the Bodrugan name, along with a leading position in Cornwall.⁴ As these families raised their social stock they grew increasingly geographically mobile, forging more expansive networks which enabled them to climb yet higher still, a virtuous circle. Social status and geographic mobility directly correlated.

Mobility, however, did not remain the preserve of these leading lineages alone. Firstly, underlings followed where the elite led: knights depended upon the military might of their retainers; merchants required carters to transport their wares; lawyers relied on the writings of scribes; and churchmen needed porters to carry their liturgical tomes. It is illustrative of this that in 1326 Edward II was to order the sheriff of Derbyshire to despatch ‘sixty of the strongest and most suitable workmen of that county’ to work in his Cornish mines.⁵ More significantly still, people of lesser means often travelled in pursuit of their own interests, with a multitude of Cornwall’s less wealthy residents mobile.

After they had established themselves to the east of the Tamar, some Cornishmen, including the London-based skinner Michael Trewethenek, assumed the surname ‘Cornwaille’, ‘de Cornubia’, or one of its variants.⁶ At

³ Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, p. 161.

⁴ Above, pp. 161, 218-219, 225, 189.

⁵ *CCR 1323-1327*, 478.

⁶ *HW*, ii, 289; Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, pp. 56-57.

first glance this practice provides the perfect opportunity for the scholar to study Cornish migration. There are problems with the evidence of personal names, however. Some people bearing Cornish-sounding names may have been the descendants of Cornishmen and women, not directly Cornish themselves, while the bastard progeny of Earl Richard of Cornwall also shared the appellation ‘Cornewall’.⁷ Nonetheless, the prevalence of those named ‘de Cornubia’ remains conveniently suggestive of the levels of Cornish mobility: with soldiers, chancery clerks, lordly bailiffs, London aldermen, MPs, merchants, royal messengers, archdeacons, Oxford dons, cathedral chancellors, and many more people from across the realm bearing this badge of identity.⁸ While some of these men and women had no connection to the peninsula, many of those named ‘de Cornubia’ can be shown as hailing from Cornwall. These people in some sense formed a medieval Cornish Diaspora, with the name ‘de Cornubia’ standing as testament to both Cornish distinctiveness and the county’s integration.

We have probably only scratched the surface of connectivity between Cornwall and the wider realm, as it is likely that much evidence remains to be discovered. Indeed, evidence of only the merest fraction of late medieval Cornwall’s connections survives because so much material has been lost in the intervening centuries. There can be little doubt that a truly remarkable degree of movement existed in an age which had yet to witness mass transport. Although some people lived out their whole lives within the county’s bounds, *many thousands* of Cornishmen and women ranged widely across England and beyond in this period. A multitude of people from other shires also established themselves in the county, while messengers carried an endless flow of letters, writs, and petitions into and out of the peninsula. Travel, migration, and communication across the Tamar all created a thick web of ties. Such connections were in some ways very similar to the nearly frictionless communication and movement which characterised the Mediterranean, with many folk travelling in pursuit of their own interests.⁹ On the other hand, Cornish connectivity depended more heavily on land-

⁷ *HOP*, ii, 661-663; S. J. Payling, ‘John Cornewall’, *ODNB*, xiii, pp. 446-447.

⁸ *C71/6* m. 8r; *E101/16/39* m. 1; *CPR 1292-1301*, 242; *CCR 1296-1302*, 96, 310, 501; *RBP*, iv, 185; *LBH*, 44, 102, 138; *PROB11/3/383*; *C241/147/135*; *C131/28/22*; Hill, *Messengers*, p. 137; *BRUO*, i, 489-491.

⁹ Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, pp. 123-172; Horden, ‘Afterword’, 565, 570.

based links, while itineraries and migrations across England often proved to be constrained and directed by the structures of the realm.

In some sense patronage underpinned the whole edifice of connectivity in England, with patrons seeking talented men from right across the kingdom in order to profit from their expertise. The king and earl-duke brought about many introductions into the peninsula so that these incomers would defend their prerogatives to the west of the Tamar, also despatching Cornwall's residents beyond the county's bounds in the cause of regnal-lordly enrichment. 'The great men' of the realm alone, however, did not generate such connections, as careerists went in search of patrons. A profusion of Cornishmen and women therefore sought introductions to a multiplicity of powerbrokers in the rest of England, among them people from merchants to bishops. The agency behind these reciprocal arrangements emerges as multi-polar and multi-directional, with the Cornish neither supine in seeking links nor shunned by their fellow countrymen when they did so.

The county certainly did not stand unique in possessing such a rich body of careerists. Michael Bennett has demonstrated the way in which the North West formed a recruiting-ground for soldiers, administrators, and the like, with these men then deployed across the realm to buttress the power of their patrons.¹⁰ A. J. Pollard has likewise outlined the way in which the North East saw its sons travel south on legal, commercial, and political business.¹¹ Studies of other parts of the realm would undoubtedly reveal many more connections, as an extraordinary number of people from every locality of England were mobile, interacting with their fellow countrymen from all corners of the kingdom.

Personal interactions played an essential role in binding England together, in forging the realm into a unit of common human endeavour. Contacts intersected at 'nodal points', with parliament, the royal court, convocation, Oxford University, military campaigns, the central law courts, and London – with its commercial, political, and legal clout – serving as foci at various times. Yet the pan-English personal networks in which Cornwall's residents held an integral place proved to be infinitely varied, being created and sustained by a plurality of 'agents', both Cornish and non-Cornish,

¹⁰ Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 108-235.

¹¹ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 22-27.

mighty and modest. Networks were not static, however, as people constantly forged new links and endlessly left old ones to unravel. Neither did all connections stand equal. A Cornishman in the king's affinity, for instance, played a more important role in binding the kingdom together than an impecunious London-based Cornish brewer. Nonetheless, the range of pan-English cross-ties emerges as both dense and tightly woven. The ties brought together Englishmen and women from across the realm in co-operation and competition, fashioning an intra-English cultural and political milieu. Connections radiated outwards, as Cornish people who appeared all but static interacted with those who were mobile. Some parts of the county undoubtedly enjoyed better connections than others, but connectivity was a phenomenon common to the entire peninsula. Indeed, many Cornish careerists returned to the county of their birth with newly acquired ideas and wealth, making Cornwall a more varied and dynamic place. All this established the kingdom as a common social and political space, a polity of interdependent people.

The governmental structures of the realm strengthened, and were strengthened by, these interpersonal links. Regnal 'regulation, taxation, troop-raising, and representation' linked Cornwall to the rest of the kingdom, fostering universal English concerns.¹² Structures such as these stood out as triumphant affirmations of English unity and common purpose, creating a politically aware public. As the century went on, the scale and intensity of government grew: the statute book thickened; the jurisdiction of the royal courts expanded; the number of local office-holders burgeoned; and kings more regularly tapped their kingdom's wealth. All of this encouraged the increasing assertiveness of parliament, which served as the instrument through which kings sought legitimacy. Together, these developments had a potent integrative effect, strengthening the sinews of government and multiplying the points of contact between the king and his subjects. Combined with the gravitational pull of the court, along with personal loyalty to the king himself, these structures meshed the county into the kingdom and its pervasive connectivity.

Connections, however, were not simply imposed upon a recalcitrant Celtic people in Cornwall. By the fourteenth century, the Cornish had become

¹² For the best discussions of polities, see Watts, *Polities*, pp. 201-285; and Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, pp. 250-331.

long habituated to royal government, welcoming regnal administration and being regarded as English by their king. The hundreds of petitions that they drafted stand as testament to Cornish belief in the efficacy of royal power, with the Crown responding to these calls. The county's residents also sought to influence 'national' policy, with their representatives lending support to common petitions concerning the overall direction of royal activity. A two-way discourse forged and sustained political communication, with the demands of subjects playing just as significant a role in bestowing the realm with substance as royal impositions. In levying taxes, for instance, the king was undoubtedly exercising his sovereignty, but in paying subsidies the people of Cornwall – and the realm at large – held the Crown responsible for the wise employment of these funds. Cornishmen similarly sought appointments to local regnal offices, as kingly power and local muscle proved to be interdependent. In many ways the binary division of 'centre' and 'locality' dissolves, with Cornishmen often establishing themselves in the 'centre', and 'central' power playing no small part in shaping and moulding the 'locality'.¹³ Instead, England was welded into a single system by connectivity and the shared commitment of kings and subjects to their kingdom.

Yet despite all this, the Crown never achieved total ascendancy in Cornwall, as a plurality of power structures existed in the county. The earldom-duchy and the Church undoubtedly stood out as powerful institutions in its own right, while Cornish gentlemen, boroughs, and so on all enjoyed considerable influence over county affairs. The exercise of power emerges as fragmented in both the county and the wider realm, with a profusion of overlapping agents and jurisdictions. Indeed, local society also retained an essential place for violent self-help. Cornishmen may have registered debts in chancery, for example, but many proved only too happy to send around the 'heavies' to secure their will. A significant notion of Cornwall itself weighed on the considerations of its people, with the collective interests of 'the county of Cornwall' often articulated by its residents. So it was that sundry Cornish concerns moderated the impact of the king's rule in the county.

¹³ For a helpful discussion of centre and locality, J. W. Armstrong, 'Centre, Periphery, Locality, Province: England and its Far North in the Fifteenth Century', in *Plantagenet Empire*, pp. 248-272.

All the same, each and every one of these powerbrokers, structures, and sentiments more often than not underpinned the overarching framework of the realm. The earldom-duchy stands out as an especially significant local integrative force. While the lordship greatly nuanced Cornish perceptions of the kingdom, it also helped draw royal power into the peninsula. Regnal government and shire administration coalesced as interdependent. The fourteenth-century Crown, the earldom-duchy, and the Cornish commonalty together enhanced the interrelated structures of the kingdom, the county, and the lordship, rendering Cornwall part and parcel of the wider realm, while at the same time bestowing coherence upon Cornwall itself. England formed a unit co-ordination and dialogue, tied together by connectivity.

The world of imagination ran through all these strands of experience. The cohesive and coercive workings of connectivity helped propagate notions of Englishness, spreading awareness of the king's laws, politics, personnel, and fiscal might, of the realm's unifying forces. No Cornishman or woman can have been ignorant of the place that each held in the kingdom, with John Trevisa writing unequivocally that 'Cornwayle is in Engelond'.¹⁴ The structures and networks of the realm together fostered an idea of England, one which permeated right down the social strata. Imagined solidarity on the one hand, and structural and interpersonal reality on the other, pulled the kingdom together. Connectivity and identity were interlinked, with encounters between residents from every part of England laying bare the integration of all these people into a wider realm. Recognition of Cornwall's place in the kingdom did not diminish a sense of Cornishness in the county, however, for links to the east of the Tamar sharpened notions of the county as a distinctive part of the kingdom at large.

None of this is to write an apologia for the beneficent effects of government. Late medieval England was still an imperfectly governed realm, riddled with local rivalries, quarrels, and faction fights. Contrasting ideas of theocratic kingship and representational government, moreover, rendered the delicate task of governing all the more difficult.¹⁵ Yet for all these limitations, every fourteenth-century Englishman and woman – amongst them the Cornish – had a powerful interest in the realm's continuation. Across the

¹⁴ Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, p. 91

¹⁵ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp. 3-5.

century, the Crown was increasingly successful in tying subordinate authorities into the polity's overarching structure, creating a strikingly interlinked but not unitary whole: a realm of common interest, which therefore enjoyed legitimacy in the eyes of kings and subjects alike. Each and every 'form' of connectivity, then, emerges as interlocking, promoting a consciousness of Cornish integration into a wider realm, while at the time enhancing notions of Cornishness in Cornwall itself.

Conclusion: Cornish Otherness and English Hegemony?

It is a fact universally acknowledged that late medieval Cornwall stood out as a quite remarkable land. Distant from the political and social heartlands of England, lamented as 'the very ends of the earth' by its bishops, overseen by a potent lordship, and inhabited by Cornishmen and women who at times were labelled an 'obdurate folk', believing that their county formed 'a large land long ago bearing the name of a kingdom', Cornwall was viewed as somewhere strangely distinctive by many contemporaries and historians alike. Twenty-five knightly dynasties dominated Cornish society, proudly bearing names the like of which you see nowhere else, among them Bodrugan, Carminow, and l'Ercedekne. These leading lineages exercised much power over county affairs, not least through office-holding in the peninsula. By the fourteenth century when royal government had come to envelop the entire realm, Cornwall stood out as one of the country's great seigniorial enclaves. Myths, saints, government, and lordship all endowed the name and notion of Cornwall with authority in the minds of its inhabitants, forging its people into a commonalty. This shared identity, however, did not result in perfect harmony. A culture of violence pervaded the county, resulting in significant disorder at times. Combined with the continued currency of the Cornish language, it is not difficult to explain the trope of Cornish otherness.

Yet despite Cornwall standing out as a remote and idiosyncratic corner of the kingdom, the county most emphatically held an integral place

in the realm. The position in fourteenth-century Cornwall contrasts sharply with that in parts of Wales and Ireland, where power remained fractured and an English elite attempted to rule over people whom blood, birth, administration, and law regarded as racially inferior.¹ Cornwall did not even possess the liberties of an English palatinate, as the king's writ always extended to west of the Tamar. Indeed, the common law regarded all Cornishmen and women as English; the residents of Cornwall paid parliamentary subsidies as did most of the rest of the king's subjects; the county possessed a substantial voice in the parliamentary Commons; the king directly appointed nearly all local government officials; and Cornishmen owed military service for the defence of the realm. Regnal government rendered Cornwall part and parcel of the kingdom, with the peninsula's royal lordship furthering the county's integration. Many thousands of Cornish people, in fact, served and thrived elsewhere in the realm, while a multitude of 'outsiders' established themselves in the county. Connectivity proved potent indeed, and all this served to integrate Cornwall into the kingdom.

To understand Cornwall and its place in the polity, however, it is necessary to consider the nature of England itself. While Cornwall, with a cultural and historical identity of its own, ill-fits into a 'Merrie England' of cricket and vicars and endless summers, such a monolithic, un-variegated, and un-changing England never existed. England was neither pre-ordained nor final in its form, as 'countries are not laid up in heaven'.² By the fourteenth century the people of England believed in their kingdom's coherence, but that kingdom still contained a kaleidoscope of structures and sentiments. Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, for instance, contrasted the 'mylde' men of the South with the cruel men of the North, while northern and southern ecclesiastical provinces and royal escheatrics bestowed administrative reality on this stereotype.³ That being so, North and South played host to many smaller regions – from the 'North Country' to the West Midlands – and to expansive dioceses.⁴ The Crown also divided the kingdom

¹ Davies, *March*, pp. 302-318; R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change, Wales 1064-1414* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 283-285, 391-392, 419-421; R. Frame, 'Ireland', in *NCMH*, pp. 375-387.

² R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire, Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000), p. 54.

³ Trevisa, trans., *Polychronicon*, ii, pp. 162-163, 167-168.

⁴ Walker, *Political Culture*, p. 73; Hilton, *West Midlands*; Armstrong, 'Centre, Periphery'.

into a network of counties, amongst which there was no such thing as a 'typical' shire. Devon, Northumberland, and Warwickshire, for example, played host to powerful resident nobles, while Gloucestershire and Bedfordshire, for example, only ever had magnates of the second rank. The society and collective life of every shire varied markedly, with a greater or lesser number of knights who enjoyed estates of quite different size and character. And while the *Descriptio Norfolchiae*, with its depiction of Norfolk's dim-witted and drunken inhabitants, suggests that a notion of this county existed in peoples' minds, Warwickshire, less sharply defined, and internally divided between forest and cultivated lands, left no such clear impression.⁵

Indeed, a profusion of lesser solidarities existed within each and every one of these shires. Kent, for example, contained striking topographical variation between Weald, marshland, arable, and so on, creating areas of quite different characters.⁶ The coherence of Sussex was undermined by the fact that the county stretched longitudinally, while its main lines of communication ran north to south.⁷ In Warwickshire, topography and social networks conspired to divide the county into sub-shire units.⁸ As Alan Everitt has written: 'England is one of the most varied countries in the world in its landscape', and from these 'contrasting countrysides' we see 'something of the diversity of the historic communities of England'.⁹ This is not to argue for blunt environmental determinism, however, for associations within the realm played just as significant a role in shaping England's social and political dynamics. Sundry solidarities operated in every part of the kingdom, from liberties, hundreds, and hamlets, to manors, parishes, and gentry affinities. The boroughs and cities strewn across the land likewise exercised significant influence within their walls and throughout their hinterlands. Regions and regional associations, moreover, could both wax and wane. Consider, for example, how the Courtenays and Beauchamps managed to weld together

⁵ Cherry, 'Courtenay Earls'; Bennett, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, pp. 68-69; Saul, *Gloucestershire*, pp. 2-4; Liddy, *Durham*, pp. 174-235; Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, pp. 25-34; Virgoe, 'East Anglia', pp. 225-228; Ruddick, *English Identity*, p. 83.

⁶ A. Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization, The Evolution of Kentish Settlement* (Leicester, 1986), pp. 43-65.

⁷ Saul, *Sussex*, pp. 58-60.

⁸ Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, pp. 295-346.

⁹ Everitt, *Kentish Settlement*, p. 348.

Devon and Warwickshire respectively for a time, only for such creations to collapse during family minorities.¹⁰ England comprised an ever-shifting, overlapping, and infinitely complex mosaic of solidarities, structures, and sentiments.

None of this is to shatter the kingdom into a million constituent parts. For all its diversity, a potent regnal administration bound England together. The king's fiscal reach extended to almost every corner of the realm, and the impact of his administration was felt in virtually every county that was not a palatinate. In exercising these extensive powers, the Crown relied upon parliament to secure its legitimacy, drawing together folk from every locality of England and creating a polity of interdependent people. The parliamentary Commons certainly formed no passive entity, capitalising on the opportunity afforded to extract kingdom-wide reforms. Regnal solidarity overlaid all other authorities and identities within the realm, bestowing coherence upon England itself.

England, then, formed a kingdom of common interest, and yet one which still contained many structures of power beyond the king's administration, with spiritual and temporal lordships ubiquitous. While it proved rare for lordships to coalesce around great territorial blocks in England, lords ranging in wealth and dignity from the duke of Lancaster down to Cornish knights and esquires enjoyed 'private' authority over their retainers and tenants alike. In sharp contrast to the voluminous archives of royal administration, however, much of the documentation arising from these many lordships has long since disappeared. The fact of the survival of the Crown's archive perpetuates the seductive fiction of the state's awesome power, making it appear that the king enjoyed omnipresence in his unitary realm. This was simply not the case. The Crown enjoyed no monopoly of authority in England, as these 'private' powerbrokers all influenced the lives of the many people who lived under their rulership. During the course of the Great Revolt, the rebels even demanded 'that no lord should have lordship... except for the king's own lordship', evidencing the power and reach of *dominium*.¹¹

¹⁰ Cherry, 'Courtenay Earls', 75, 94-97; Carpenter, *Warwickshire*, pp. 393-401.

¹¹ *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333-1381*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), p. 147.

The Crown and subordinate authorities, however, generally emerge as intertwined and reciprocal. Earls and knights, for example, though deriving their status from inherited estates or titles, nonetheless also depended on regnal administration to secure their patrimonies. Conversely, the Crown relied upon these lords to carry its government into the localities, appointing them to regnal commissions and the like. Royal and lordly muscle proved to be tightly interwoven, forming in some sense ‘self-government at the king’s command’. Although points of friction undoubtedly existed, the fourteenth-century expansion of royal administration generally enhanced the power of both ‘groups’. Nobles and gentry, for instance, increasingly came to view themselves as essential partners in government with the Crown, while growing governmental demands augmented the coherence of both the wider kingdom and individual shires. Even the greatest lords in the land, amongst them the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, depended upon regnal administration to buttress their lordly rulership, while the king relied upon these magnates to keep order in the localities.¹²

On the one hand, therefore, England formed a powerfully governed and densely interconnected polity, with its practical and imagined coherence sustained by the interdependent interests of kings and subjects. On the other, regnal administration by no means obliterated ‘private’ structures of power. Instead, the Crown depended upon lordships great and small to carry its government into England’s many and varied localities, just as these many lordships and localities relied upon the Crown to promote and protect their own interests. Connectivity welded them all together. Late medieval England therefore formed a multi-polar kingdom of tightly interwoven authorities, identities, and solidarities, amongst which the king stood pre-eminent but by no means totally predominant. And although Cornwall perhaps stood out as more distinctive than any other locality of England, the county’s idiosyncrasies could be accommodated in the polity, as all parts of the realm were at one and the same time distinctive and integrated: with no perpetual tension between these two strands and no hegemonic England to which Cornwall was annexed.

¹² Above, chapter five; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 117-209.

Indeed, our final remarks must be reserved for Cornwall itself. For all its idiosyncrasies, by no stretch of the imagination did the fourteenth-century county constitute a ‘land apart’, subjugated by an outside colonial elite. Regnal government, in fact, administered the peninsula as an integral part of the realm, while Cornwall’s royal lordship furthered this integration by drawing regnal power, personnel, and practices to west of the Tamar. All this served to mesh the county into the kingdom. Both the king and the earl-duke, moreover, appointed Cornwall’s proprietors to regnal-lordly offices in the peninsula, as these Cornish folk held a place amongst the elite of England and were treated accordingly. The residents of Cornwall as a whole actually welcomed royal government, often inviting regnal involvement in their affairs. Administratively, legally, and politically Cornwall formed an essential part of the realm, one which still followed many local practices and customs. Indeed, Cornwall and the kingdom emerge as interdependent, with myths, saints, government, and lordship all forging the county’s residents into a commonalty.

Connectivity resulted in the people of Cornwall contributing to every sphere of the kingdom’s collective life, with all the residents of England therefore viewing the county as an essential part of the wider realm. Cornwall was not somehow diminished by holding a place in England, however, as notions of Cornishness and Englishness interacted in the county itself, strengthening these interdependent strands of Cornish identity. Cornish contemporaries believed that their peninsula simultaneously formed ‘a large land’ existing ‘since the time of King Arthur’, ‘a schere of Engeland’, and ‘oon of the chief parties of this Bretayne’. Such overlapping loyalties can be seen to reconcile the contradiction lying at the heart of the county, especially when Cornwall is set within a heterogeneous – not hegemonic – England. None of this is to argue for perpetual amity or connective ‘completeness’, as politics so often resulted in upheaval and rancour, yet there can be little doubt that the Cornish rebellions which were later to convulse both county and kingdom alike were by no means inevitable.¹³ Indeed, fourteenth-century Cornwall remained strikingly distinctive while holding an integral place in the kingdom at large.

¹³ Cf. Stoye, ‘Dissidence of Despair’.

Appendix I

Cornish Proprietors Summoned to a Great Council in 1323-4

John Treiagu, sheriff

The names of the knights of the county of Cornwall both within liberties and without

1. William Botreaux
2. Reginald Botreaux
3. Ranulph Blanchminster
4. Richard Chaumpernoun
5. Henry Chaumpernoun
6. le Petit
7. Thomas l'Ercedekne, is in Gascony on the king's service
8. John Alneto [Dauney]
9. John Tynten
10. William Ferrers
11. Robert Beudyn
12. Reginald Mohun
13. Robert Fitz William, *impotens*, knight, coroner of the King
14. John Carminow
15. Otto Bodrugan, is travelling to Santiago de Compostela with the king's licence

The names of the men-at-arms in the county of Cornwall

1. John Dinham
2. Ranulph Bloyou
3. William Basset
4. Oliver Carminow
5. Henry Pengersick

6. Roger Reskymer
7. John Lambourne
8. John le Soor
9. Richard Sergeaux junior
10. John Pyne
11. Roger Prideaux
12. Ranulph Beupel, is travelling with Otto Bodrugan with the king's licence for himself and two valets

These aforementioned have forty pounds of lands and rents per annum.

Source: *Parliamentary Writs*, ed. F. Palgrave, 2 vols in 4 (London, 1827-34), ii part 2, p. 655. The first names of these individuals have been modernised and their surnames standardised

Appendix II

A Who's Who of Cornwall's Office-Holders, c. 1300-c. 1400

The surnames of leading local lineages have been standardised, but the original spelling has been preserved for those who fell outside their ranks. The careers of those people which began before 1300 or continued after 1405 have been excluded for reasons of space, as have the names of parliamentary burgesses who held no other posts in the county, aside from when their kinsmen served in Cornwall's administration. For ease of use, the name of each main office has also been standardised.

First Name	Surname	Offices Held	Source
John	Aet, de	Coroner until 1319	<i>CCR 1318-1322</i> , 162
John	Aldestow, de	Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1326	<i>MPs</i> , 75
		Knight of the Shire, 1329-30	<i>MPs</i> , 89
		Knight of the Shire, 1330	<i>MPs</i> , 91
		Knight of the Shire, 1331-2	<i>MPs</i> , 95
		Knight of the Shire, 1336	<i>MPs</i> , 111
		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1337	<i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 114
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1337	<i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 114
		Knight of the Shire, 1338	<i>MPs</i> , 121
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1352-December 1354	<i>CPR 1350-1354</i> , 285
		Justice of the Peace, 16 December 1354-December 1355	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 123
		Justice of the Peace, 10 December 1355-February 1358	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 227
		Justice of the Peace, 10 February 1362-March 1364	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 207

Notes: Aldestow appears to have been a lawyer, serving as Sir Otto Bodrugan's attorney in 1331 and performing the same function for Bishop Grandisson in 1343 (*CPR 1330-1334*, 69; *CPR 1343-1345*, 32); he held some lands in the county (*FF*, i, 300-302, 316-317); he served on numerous commissions (*CPR 1343-1345*, 581; *CPR 1350-1354*, 24).

Thomas	Alger	Havener, April 1313-September 1314	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 34
Notes: Alger was a yeoman of Edward II's chamber (<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 34; <i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 167).			
Sir John	Arundell	Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 139, 146
		Knight of the Shire, 1340	<i>MPs</i> , 130
		Knight of the Shire, 1343	<i>MPs</i> , 136
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1344-December 1346	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 396
Notes: By 1300 the Arundells' seat lay at Lanherne; during the fourteenth century, there were as many as three John Arundells alive concurrently and so it remains unclear if the same John Arundell served as an MP and JP (<i>Arundells of Lanherne</i> , pp. xv-xvi); a John Arundell served repeatedly as a tax collector and commissioner of array (<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 279, 502; <i>CCR 1339-1341</i> , 437) but this may also represent the service of more than one individual.			
John	Arundell the Elder	Coroner until 1360	<i>CCR 1360-1364</i> , 65
Sir John	Arundell	Knight of the Shire, 1397	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 58-61
		Justice of the Peace, 27 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 97
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 237
		Knight of the Shire, 1397	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 58-61
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 3 November 1399-October 1400	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 28 November 1399-February 1400	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1400-May 1401	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Steward of Cornwall, 16 February 1402-February 1430	<i>CPR 1401-1405</i> , 42
		Sheriff of Cornwall, After Easter 1402-October 1402	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405</i> , 516
		Knight of the Shire, Jan. 1404	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 58-61
		Knight of the Shire, Oct. 1404	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 58-61

Notes: Sir John Arundell's father died in 1375 and was followed in quick succession by John's two elder brothers; John therefore inherited his father's estates while still a minor; he proved his age before August 1388 and raised his family to new heights, supposedly being called 'the magnificent' (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 58-61; <i>Arundells of Lanherne</i> , pp. xvii-xviii).			
Robert	Arundell	Coroner until 1385	<i>CCR 1381-1385</i> , 547
Robert	Aspel, de	Justice of the Peace, 22 July 1330-February 1331	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 567
Notes: Aspel served as Queen Isabella's chief steward, but Edward III also appointed him steward of Isabella's lands south of the Trent after he had confiscated these estates from his mother (<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 215-216; <i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 23).			
John	Asshenden	Havener, 1376-7	Campbell, 'Haveners', 115-116.
John	Aston, de	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 12 December 1382-June 1383	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 11 November 1384-December 1386	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 30 November 1387-November 1388	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Notes: Aston probably came from North Devon; he was a lawyer and administrator who sat in parliament for Dartmouth, Barnstaple, and Leominster (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 79-80).			
Duke Edward	Aumerle, of	Havener, 17 October 1397-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 259
John	Auternon	Coroner until 1384	<i>CCR 1381-1385</i> , 465
Notes: A John Auternon sat five times as a parliamentary burgess for Helston between 1329 and 1340 (<i>MPs</i> , 89, 91, 95, 106, 130) but his connection with this John remains unclear; a David Auternon also sat for Helston in 1325 (<i>MPs</i> , 73).			
Sir Richard	Bakhampton	Knight of the Shire, 1328	<i>MPs</i> , 83
		Steward of Cornwall, 1336?	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 42; <i>RESDCornwall</i> , 236
		Justice of the Peace, 12 April 1336-July 1336	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 287
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1336-July 1338	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 357
		Knight of the Shire, 1340	<i>MPs</i> , 132
Notes: Bakhampton served as John of Eltham's steward in Cornwall (<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 235-236); the exact dates of his tenure are unclear, however; he probably hailed from Wiltshire (<i>FF</i> , i, 301-302); but evidently had connections with Cornwall – or at least developed them – and with his son, William Bakhampton, held land in the county (DCO 2, 6; <i>RBP</i> , ii, 42, 97; <i>RESDCornwall</i> , 70-71, 236-237).			
John	Barber, le	Constable of Tintagel Castle, 1291-1306?	SC6/811/5 m. 4r
Notes: John le Barber was appointed constable for life in 1291 (<i>Spreadbury, Castles in Cornwall</i> , p. 32; E372/152B m. 9r; SC6/811/5 m. 4r; <i>CPR 1301-1307</i> , 454).			

Reynold	Barber, le	Constable of Restormel Castle, 1312-13	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 148
Notes: Reynold le Barber was a citizen of London; he was perhaps a kinsman of John le Barber.			
Sir William	Basset I	Knight of the Shire, 1332	<i>MPs</i> , 98
		Knight of the Shire, 1334	<i>MPs</i> , 104
Notes: The seat of the Bassets lay in Tehidy; William Basset I was only a child of five on his father's death (<i>CIPM</i> , iv, 175; Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , pp. 17-18).			
Sir William	Basset II	Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248
Notes: Sir William Basset II was probably the son of Sir William Basset I (Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , pp. 17-18); but a Thomas Basset also left a minor as his heir in 1353 (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 56).			
Robert	Bealknap	Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1381-December 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 572-573
		Justice of the Peace, 8 February 1385-July 1387	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 502, 503
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
Notes: Bealknap served as chief justice of the common pleas in 1374-88 (<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 3).			
Sir William	Beauchamp	Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1329-January 1331	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, Mich. 1329-January 1331	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Launceston Castle, before 1331	<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 222
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, Mich. 1329-January 1331	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21; <i>CCR 1313-1318</i> , 298
Notes: Beauchamp was a relative of the earls of Warwick; he had held the constableness of Southampton Castle (<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 205) and served as sheriff of Worcester (<i>CPR 1317-1321</i> , 46); he was also a bachelor to Edward II and raised troops for him in 1321 (<i>CFR 1319-1327</i> , 70, 137; <i>CPR 1317-1321</i> , 575; <i>CPR 1321-1324</i> , 65, 428; <i>CPR 1324-1327</i> , 14, 105, 119); but later transferred his loyalties to Queen Isabella; he held Tintagel Castle by dint of the stewardship (<i>CCR 1313-1318</i> , 298).			
Baldwin	Beapel	Knight of the Shire, 1319	<i>MPs</i> , 57
Notes: The Beapels held considerable lands in the south west, receiving a chapel licence for their manor in the parish of St Tudy (<i>Reg. Grandisson</i> , i, 602).			
Sir John	Beapel	Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1328	<i>MPs</i> , 83
		Justice of the Peace, 25 November 1349-July 1352	<i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 383

Notes: It is unclear if the same Sir John Beupel sat for Launceston and served as a JP; Beupel was a bachelor of the Black Prince who fought for his lord (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 86).			
Sir Robert	Beupel	Sheriff of Cornwall, 29 September 1338-Mich. 1340	SC6/816/12 m. 11v; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 29 September 1338	SC6/816/12 m. 11v; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: Sir Robert served as a deputy king's larderer (<i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 500, 559); he held land in Devon and Cornwall (<i>FA</i> , i, 390, 410, 413, 415, 416, 418-420; <i>CCR 1339-1341</i> , 646); and was active in Devonian administration (<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 131, 138, 209); the king appointed him admiral of the fleet of the west in 1343 (<i>CCR 1343-1346</i> , 1, 56); he was in arrears for his time in Cornish office in 1352, however (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 27).			
John	Bedewynde	Receiver of Cornwall, March 1312	<i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 457
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 20 July 1312-Mich. 1313	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 140; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 20 July 1312-Mich. 1313	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 140; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: Bedewynde was one of Edward II's clerks (<i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 457).			
Robert	Bendyn	Knight of the Shire, 1326-7	<i>MPs</i> , 75
Hugh	Berewyk, de	Steward of Cornwall, 1342-6	DCO 1-3; <i>Duchy Servants</i> , 382; <i>RBP</i> , i, 5
		Justice of the Peace, 20 July 1344-November 1344	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 394, 399
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1344-December 1346	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 396
Notes: Berewyk was clerk of the market in the household of the Black Prince (<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 187).			
John	Berie	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 3 December 1386-November 1387	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
John	Beville I	Knight of the Shire, 1375-6	<i>MPs</i> , 193
		Knight of the Shire, 1378	<i>MPs</i> , 199
		Knight of the Shire, 1379-80	<i>MPs</i> , 203
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 1 November 1381-November 1382	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 20 October 1385-November 1386	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: John Beville I's estates were based around Woolston, in Poundstock, but his activities are difficult to disentangle from those of his son (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 221-222).			
John	Beville II	Constable of Trematon Castle, before April 1380-December 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 455

		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381, 513</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1386	<i>HOP, ii, 221</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389, 385</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389, 545</i>
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 1 December 1396-November 1397	<i>Sheriffs, 21</i>
Notes: Beville's career spanned nearly forty years, but during his early life it is hard to differentiate him from his father (<i>HOP, ii, 221-222</i>).			
Sir Reginald	Beville	Knight of the Shire, 1295	<i>MPs, 4</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1297	<i>MPs, 7</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1298	<i>MPs, 8</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1300-1	<i>MPs, 13</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 10 May 1300-December 1307	<i>CPR 1292-1301, 516</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1306	<i>MPs, 21</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1309	<i>MPs, 30</i>
Notes: Reginald Beville held considerable lands in the county (<i>FA, i, 201, 205, 207</i>); he served on numerous commissions, including that of taxer in 1295 (<i>CPR 1292-1301, 171</i>).			
William	Beville	Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1371	<i>MPs, 185</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 8 February 1385-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385, 502</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389, 385</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389, 545</i>
Sir Robert	Bilkemore	Escheator of Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, 10 December 1325-February 1327	<i>CFR 1319-1327, 369; Escheators, 134</i>
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Easter 1327-Mich. 1329	<i>CFR 1327-1337, 222; Sheriffs, 21</i>
		Steward of Cornwall, Easter 1327-Mich. 1329	<i>CFR 1327-1337, 222; Sheriffs, 21</i>
		Constable of Restormel Castle, Easter 1327-Mich. 1329	<i>Sheriffs, 21</i>

		Escheator South of the Trent, 1327-32	<i>Escheators</i> , 134
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 18 January 1331-February 1331	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 18 January 1331-February 1331	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Launceston Castle, 1331-February 1331	<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 222
		Constable of Trematon Castle, 13 April 1331	<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 247-248
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, 13 April 1331	<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 247-248
		Constable of Restormel Castle, 1331-February 1331	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: Bilkemore hailed from Bedfordshire (<i>CCR 1327-1330</i> , 94, 563) but acquired lands in Cornwall (JUST1/1426A m. 23r); he also served as guardian of the temporalities of Exeter (<i>Reg. Grandisson</i> , i, 37; <i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 250) and served as deputy chief butler to the king (<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 417); he levied the 1327 lay subsidy in Cornwall (<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 173); and later served as a justice in North Wales (<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 122).			
John	Billioun I	Knight of the Shire, 1324	<i>MPs</i> , 71
		Knight of the Shire, 1326-7	<i>MPs</i> , 75
		Knight of the Shire, 1328 and 1328-9	<i>MPs</i> , 87
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1332-July 1335	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 294, 296, 348, 496
Notes: Billioun held considerable lands in the county (<i>FF</i> , i, 359-360; <i>Maclean</i> , i, 385-391); he served on numerous commissions in Cornwall (<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 215, 433; <i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 207, 449; <i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 443; <i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 157); he also levied wool taxes in the peninsula (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 295, 305); but was summoned before the king for his contempt in collecting these (<i>CCR 1341-1343</i> , 506); he served as Bishop Grandisson's steward in the county (<i>Reg. Grandisson</i> , i, 236, 553); it seems that Billioun was dead by 1351 (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 2); although there were two John Billiouns active at this time (<i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 114; <i>Maclean</i> , iii, 359-361).			
John	Billioun	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1351-2?	<i>MPs</i> , 150
John	Billioun II	Justice of the Peace, 17 February 1358-March 1361	<i>CPR 1358-1361</i> , 68
Notes: John Billioun II might have been the son of John Billioun I; the Black Prince sold his wardship to Sir Walter de Wodeland for £50 in 1351 (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 2; <i>FF</i> , i, 359-360); but another John Billioun was also active at this time (<i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 114; <i>Maclean</i> , iii, 359-161).			
Richard	Birton, de	Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1352-December 1354	<i>CPR 1350-1354</i> , 285
		Justice of the Peace, 16 December 1354-December 1355	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 123
		Justice of the Peace 10 December 1355-February 1358	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 227

		Justice of the Peace, 17 February 1358-March 1361	<i>CPR 1358-1361, 68</i>
Notes: Birton sat regularly as a justice of assize in Cornwall (JUST1/1448 m. 83r).			
Roger	Blacolvesle, de	Receiver of Cornwall, 1324	<i>CFR 1319-1327, 302</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 22 July 1330-February 1331	<i>CPR 1327-1330, 567</i>
		Controller of the Coinage of Tin, 1331	<i>CPR 1330-1334, 54</i>
Notes: Blacolvesle initially served as Edward II's clerk, but had no difficulty transferring his loyalty to Queen Isabella and then to Edward III (<i>CPR 1330-1334, 54</i>); he served on numerous commissions in the county (<i>CPR 1330-1334, 207</i>); and was a prebendary at Glasney College (<i>CPR 1350-1354, 186</i>).			
Sir John	Blanchminster	Knight of the Shire, 1373	<i>MPs, 190</i>
Notes: The Blanchminsters were a long-standing feature of Cornwall, holding extensive lands in the peninsula and exercising lordship over the Scilly Isles (<i>FA, i, 208-218; FF, i, 97, 276-277, 308-309</i>); the house of Blanchminster also possessed estates in Yorkshire, with family members serving in the administration of both counties (<i>CPR 1330-1334, 133, 136, 287; CPR 1338-1340, 505</i>); Sir John Blanchminster was retained by the earl of Salisbury (<i>CCR 1369-1374, 220-221</i>).			
Sir Ranulph	Blanchminster	Knight of the Shire, 1314	<i>MPs, 46</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 12 April 1336-July 1336	<i>CPR 1334-1338, 287</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1336-July 1338	<i>CPR 1334-1338, 357</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 6 July 1338-August 1338	<i>CPR 1338-1340, 139</i>
Notes: Sir Ranulph served as a taxer in Cornwall (<i>CFR 1337-1347, 286, 295</i>); he died in 1348 (<i>CFR 1347-1356, 70; Cornish Wills, 27-30</i>).			
Sir Ralph	Bloyou	Knight of the Shire, 1328 and 1328-9	<i>MPs, 87</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 2 November 1333-July 1335	<i>CPR 1330-1334, 496</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1335	<i>MPs, 106</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1335-6	<i>MPs, 108</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 26 July 1335-April 1336	<i>CPR 1334-1338, 209</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 6 July 1338-August 1338	<i>CPR 1338-1340, 139</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340, 139</i>

Notes: The Bloyous were long established in Cornwall, also holding land in Dorset (<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 77, <i>Maclean</i> , iii, 152-154); Sir Ralph enjoyed an active administrative career in Cornwall, serving on numerous commissions (<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 440); Edward III granted him the keeping of St Michael's Mount (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 46); he also served the king overseas (<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 180); he was dead by 1341 (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 229) and left no male issue.			
Reginald	Bloyou	Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1369	<i>MPs</i> , 181
Notes: Reginald was probably related to Ralph Bloyou, though not in the direct male line.			
Richard	Bloyou	Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1393	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 265
Notes: Richard may have been related to Ralph Bloyou (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 265).			
Walter	Bloyou	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1384	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 265-266
		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, Sep. 1388	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 265-266
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1390	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 265-266
Notes: Walter traded tin in Bodmin and Truro (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 265-266).			
Walter	Bluet	Knight of the Shire, 1343	<i>MPs</i> , 136
Notes: Bluet is an obscure character, but it seems that he married Johanna, daughter and heiress of Sir Peter Nanskoyk (<i>Maclean</i> , iii, 152-153).			
Richard	Bodennel	Coroner until 1389	<i>CCR 1385-1389</i> , 591
Sir Henry	Bodrugan	Knight of the Shire, 1306-7	<i>MPs</i> , 24
Notes: The Bodrugans were 'an ancient, eminent, and opulent' Cornish family (<i>Maclean</i> , i, 548); Sir Henry served Edward I militarily in Gascony and Scotland (<i>CPR 1301-1307</i> , 63); and was active in county administration (<i>CCR 1296-1302</i> , 381, 389, 395); he died in 1309 (<i>CIPM</i> , v, 64-66) leaving a son, Otto, aged '18 or more'.			
Sir Otto	Bodrugan I	Knight of the Shire, 1323-4	<i>MPs</i> , 69
		Justice of the Peace, 14 June 1327-November 1327	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 90
Notes: Sir Otto was the son of Henry Bodrugan; he rebelled against Edward II in 1322 and so the king confiscated his estates (<i>SC6/1146/21</i> ; <i>CIM 1307-1349</i> , 124-125); despite this, in 1325 he travelled to Gascony in the service of Edward II (<i>CPR 1324-1327</i> , 109); in 1326 Queen Isabella granted him the keeping of Lundy Island (<i>CFR 1319-1327</i> , 425); he died before 1331 (<i>CIPM</i> , vii, 275-278; <i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 174, 196) and his eldest son, Henry, died a few months later; the family estates therefore passed to Otto's second son, William.			
Otto	Bodrugan II	Knight of the Shire, 1369	<i>MPs</i> , 181
		Justice of the Peace, 2 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266

		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-December 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418
		Justice of the Peace, 4 March 1378-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 5 November 1379-October 1380	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-May 1384	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248
		Knight of the Shire, 1384	<i>MPs</i> , 219
		Justice of the Peace, 20 May 1384-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 428
Notes: Otto Bodrugan II was the youngest son of Otto Bodrugan I (Whetter, <i>Bodrugans</i> , pp. 4, 101).			
Sir William	Bodrugan I	Knight of the Shire, 1336-7	<i>MPs</i> , 113
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 146
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1361-1363	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 65
Notes: Sir William was the second son of Otto Bodrugan I, receiving his inheritance in 1333 (<i>CCR 1333-1337</i> , 59); he was a knight and trusted witness (<i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 387); he served as a taxer in 1357 (<i>CFR 1356-1368</i> , 46); but was dead by 1363 (Whetter, <i>Bodrugans</i> , p. 43).			
William	Bodrugan II	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1384	<i>MPs</i> , 219
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, Feb. 1388	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 269
		Knight of the Shire, 1401	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 269
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 6 October 1402-October 1403	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: William was the illegitimate son of Otto Bodrugan II, with the result that his inheritance gave rise to a great deal of litigation; his nephew was another William Bodrugan, making it difficult to separate their careers; circumstantial evidence suggests that William II served as both sheriff and MP (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 269-270).			
William	Boneface	Coroner until 1370	<i>CCR 1369-1374</i> , 122
John	Bosewyns	Coroner until 1380	<i>CCR 1377-1381</i> , 400, 411
		Justice of the Peace, 20 May 1384-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 428
Sir Ralph	Botreaux	Knight of the Shire, 1404	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 313

Notes: The Botreaux family held extensive lands across the south west (<i>FA</i> , i, 208-218); but Sir Ralph was a younger son who could rely on inheriting little; he was connected to Henry IV, perhaps explaining both his knighthood and his role as an ambassador to Flanders and France in 1404 (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 313).			
Sir Reginald	Botreaux	Justice of the Peace, 20 November 1327-May 1329	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 156
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1329-July 1330	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 431
		Knight of the Shire, 1331	<i>MPs</i> , 94
		Justice of the Peace, 6 July 1338-August 1338	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 139
		Justice of the Peace, 20 July 1344-November 1344	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 394, 399
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1344-December 1346	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 396
Notes: Sir Reginald was Sir William Botreaux I's firstborn son (<i>CPR 1317-1321</i> , 584); he attended a great council in 1323-4 as a knight (<i>Parliamentary Writs</i> , ii part 2, p. 655); he died in 1349 (<i>CIPM</i> , ix, 154).			
Sir William	Botreaux I	Knight of the Shire, 1304-5	<i>MPs</i> , 18
		Justice of the Peace, 17 March 1308-March 1312	<i>CPR 1307-1313</i> , 54
		Constable of Launceston Castle, March 1312	<i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 454
		Justice of the Peace, 20 March 1312-April 1314	<i>CPR 1307-1313</i> , 473
		Justice of the Peace, 13 April 1314-June 1314	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 107
		Justice of the Peace, 5 June 1314-June 1316	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 122
		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1320-June 1327	<i>CPR 1317-1321</i> , 459
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1321 (sworn in 18 May 1323)-September 1324	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, Mich. 1321-September 1324	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Restormel Castle, Mich. 1321-September 1324	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, 17 December 1325	<i>CPR 1324-1327</i> , 202
		Justice of the Peace, 14 June 1327-November 1327	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 90
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 10 February 1331-July 1333	E389/64 m. 1r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 10 February 1331-July 1333	SC6/811/18 m. 1r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21

		Constable of Launceston Castle, 10 February 1331-July 1333	SC6/811/18 m. 1r; <i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 200, 222, 232
		Constable of Restormel Castle, 10 February 1331-July 1333	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 26 July 1335-April 1336	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 209
		Justice of the Peace, 12 April 1336-July 1336	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 287
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1336-July 1338	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 357
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 146
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1346-November 1349	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 232
Notes: Sir William received the lands of his father, another William, in 1302 (<i>CFR 1272-1307</i> , 455); the former served often in Cornwall's administration (<i>CPR 1317-1321</i> , 349, <i>CPR 1321-1324</i> , 251, <i>CPR 1324-1327</i> , 55); he died in 1349 (<i>CIPM</i> , ix, 156; <i>CP</i> , ii, 241-242); but the lands of a William Botreaux were taken into the king's hands on the death of this individual in 1340 (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 195; <i>Maclean</i> , i, 634-635); circumstantial evidence suggests that William I held all the above offices and that he died in 1349.			
Sir William	Botreaux II	Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
Notes: Sir William Botreaux II gained his father's lands in 1359; he was personally summoned to parliament between 1367 and 1390, being Lord Botreaux (<i>CP</i> , ii, 241-242); he died in 1391; his son, another William Botreaux, was twenty-four on his father's death; he too was summoned by writ to parliament in 1391 but died in 1394-5, holding property in Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, London, Gloucestershire, Devon, and, of course, Cornwall (<i>CIPM</i> , xvii, 185-187; <i>CP</i> , ii, 242).			
Walter	Botyler	Justice of the Peace, 23 February 1376-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 310
Roger	Bradeston	Constable of Trematon Castle, 1339	SC6/816/12 m. 2v
Bishop Thomas	Brantingham of Exeter	Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248
Sir William	Brantingham, de	Princess Joan's Receiver in Cornwall, 1381	SC6/818/9 m. 1v
		Receiver of Cornwall, 17 September 1381-December 1387	<i>CFR 1377-1383</i> , 267; <i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 297
Notes: William Brantingham's relationship to other members of his prestigious family cannot be established (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 338-341); he was connected to the Black Prince's widow, Princess Joan (<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 297).			

Walter	Bray	Havener, 1373-6	DCO 19; <i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 293
Notes: Bray may have been related the family of Bray of St Cleer and Lanlivery; this family also had long-standing connections with Helston (Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , p. 54; <i>HOP</i> , ii, 343; <i>MPs</i> , 32, 39, 43, 45, 48, 73).			
William	Brenchesle	Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1389-November 1389	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 136
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1389-June 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 138
		Justice of the Peace, 28 June 1390-December 1391	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 342, 344
		Justice of the Peace, 15 December 1391-February 1393	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 525
		Justice of the Peace, 28 February 1393-June 1394	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 292
		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1394-February 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 436
		Justice of the Peace, 27 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 97
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 237
		Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1399-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 436
		Justice of the Peace, 28 November 1399-February 1400	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1400-May 1401	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405</i> , 516
Notes: Brenchesle was a Kentishman; he served as a justice of assize in the west from 1389 and sat as a justice of the common pleas from May 1398 (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 95).			
Richard	Breton	Bailiff-Errant, 1386	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 138
Notes: Breton served as a yeoman of Richard II's chamber.			
Sir Guy	Brian	Justice of the Peace, 10 February 1370-December 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 422
Notes: Brian enjoyed a long and distinguished career during which he served as both admiral of the west and a royal diplomat, rising to the baronage in the process (J. L. Gillespie, 'Guy Brian', <i>ODNB</i> , vii, pp. 540-541); his appointment as a JP was probably connected to his role as admiral.			
William	Brightelegh	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 8 June 1383-November 1383	<i>Escheators</i> , 31

Notes: Brightlegh was a Devonian who died in 1401 (<i>CIPM</i> , xviii, 151).			
Sir William	Broun	Knight of the Shire, 1373	<i>MPs</i> , 190
		Justice of the Peace, June 1373?	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
		Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1375-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 139
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Justice of the Peace, 2 July 1377-December 1377	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 45
		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248
Notes: Broun was an assessor of the 1379 poll tax (<i>CFR 1377-1383</i> , 144).			
Matthew	Bryt	Coroner until 1383	<i>CCR 1381-1385</i> , 199
Peter	Burdet	Constable of Launceston Castle, 18 February 1301-March 1312; and 1313-33?	<i>CPR 1292-1301</i> , 573; <i>CCR 1333-1337</i> , 30, 140.
Notes: Burdet was a yeoman of Edward I who held the constablership of Launceston Castle until 1312; it seems that he held the office again, although the date of his second appointment remains unclear; he probably was re-appointed constable soon after 1312 (<i>CCR 1313-1318</i> , 4); he definitely held this post in 1333.			
Ralph	Burdet, son of Peter	Constable of Launceston Castle, November 1329?	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 455
Notes: Ralph was the son of Peter Burdet; he also served Queen Isabella and the king diligently, being granted the reversion of the constablership of Launceston Castle on his father's death; it seems likely, however, that he never acted.			
William	Burleston, de	Escheator of Cornwall, 24 November 1394-November 1395	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Notes: Burleston represented several Devonian boroughs before attaining the escheatorship (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities,' p. 128).			
Richard	Calwar	Havener, 9 January 1331	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 43
Notes: Calwar was a yeoman and sergeant of Edward III's buttery.			
Walter	Carburra	Coroner until 1365	<i>CCR 1364-1368</i> , 97
Notes: Earlier in the century, John, Roger, Robert, and William Carburra sat repeatedly as parliamentary burgesses for Bodmin (<i>MPs</i> , 18, 30, 39, 43, 45, 57, 95, 106, 124); Walter held land in the county, for the Black Prince 'borrowed' 102 oaks from him for the repair of Restormel's roof (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 185)			

Sir John	Carminow I	Justice of the Peace, 18 May 1329-July 1330	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 431
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1331-February 1332	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 137
		Constable of Restormel Castle, April 1331-November 1331	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 106
		Constable of Trematon Castle, April 1331-November 1331	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 106
Notes: The Carminows owned extensive lands in Cornwall, having settled in the peninsula by at least the twelfth century; there were two branches of the family in the 1300s (Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , pp. 72-75); Sir John died in November 1331, cutting short a blossoming career which had seen him serve the king as keeper of the royal forests, parks, woods, and warrens in Cornwall (<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 249, 277, 288); his eldest son, Walter, succeeded him (<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 242, 261; <i>Maclean</i> , iii, 151-152) but he was a minor.			
John	Carminow II	Knight of the Shire, 1348	<i>MPs</i> , 145
		Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1367-July 1368?	<i>CPR 1364-1367</i> , 434
Notes: It seems probable that John Carminow was the younger son of Sir Oliver Carminow (Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , p. 73); but a John Carminow also hailed from the junior branch of the family.			
Sir Oliver	Carminow	Knight of the Shire, 1313	<i>MPs</i> , 43
		Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1332-March 1332	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 286
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1332-November 1333	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 294, 296, 348
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 146
		Steward of Cornwall, 8 November 1336 (did not account)	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 8 November 1336 (did not account)	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Launceston Castle, 8 November 1336	<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 500
Notes: Sir Oliver Carminow was the son and heir of Sir Roger Carminow (d. 1309) and therefore hailed from the senior branch of the family; Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne was returned to parliament in 1313, but expenses record that Sir Oliver sat for the county instead; he was dead by 1346 (<i>RBP</i> , i, 13).			
Sir Ralph	Carminow	Justice of the Peace, November 1373?	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Justice of the Peace, 2 July 1377-December 1377	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 45
		Justice of the Peace, 4 March 1378-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48

		Sheriff of Cornwall, 25 November 1378-November 1379	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248
		Knight of the Shire, 1383	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 489-490
		Knight of the Shire, 1384	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 489-490
		Justice of the Peace, 8 February 1385-July 1387	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 502-503
		Knight of the Shire, 1386	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 489-490
Notes: Sir Ralph was the son and heir of Sir Walter Carminow and the nephew of Sir Oliver Carminow; he died in 1386 (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 489-490; <i>Cornish Wills</i> , 39-40, 218-219).			
Sir Roger	Carminow	Knight of the Shire, 1299-1300	<i>MPs</i> , 10
Sir Thomas	Carminow	Knight of the Shire, 1363	<i>MPs</i> , 172
		Justice of the Peace, 10 July 1368-October 1369	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 195
Notes: Sir Thomas was the son of Sir Roger Carminow of the elder branch of the family; he died in 1369 (<i>Cornish Wills</i> , 36, 220).			
Sir Walter	Carminow	Knight of the Shire, 1336	<i>MPs</i> , 111
Notes: Sir Walter was the son of John Carminow I of the junior branch of the family (<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 242; Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , pp. 72-75); he was dead by 1347? (<i>RBP</i> , i, 122).			
William	Carminow	Justice of the Peace, 14 June 1327-November 1327	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 90
John	Cary	Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1362	<i>MPs</i> , 169
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174
		Justice of the Peace, 1373	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
		Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1375-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 139
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1381-December 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 572-573
		Justice of the Peace, 23 June 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 194

		Justice of the Peace, 20 December 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 251
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
Notes: John Cary hailed from Devon and went into the law; he had close connections with the Black Prince and Princess Joan; Richard II appointed him chief baron of the exchequer in 1386 (A. Goodman, 'John Cary', <i>ODNB</i> , x, pp. 433-434); he held land in Launceston, further explaining his interest in Cornish affairs.			
William	Cary	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 10 December 1376 (did not account)	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1381-December 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 572-573
		Justice of the Peace, 23 June 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 194
Notes: William Cary was probably related to John Cary (Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , p. 79).			
Sir John	Cassy	Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
Notes: Sir John Cassy held the post of chief baron of the exchequer from May 1389 (<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 29).			
Sir Henry	Chaupernoun	Knight of the Shire, 1311	<i>MPs</i> , 32
		Justice of the Peace, 13 April 1314-June 1314	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 107
		Justice of the Peace, 5 June 1314-June 1316	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 122
		Justice of the Peace, 14 June 1316-June 1320	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 482
		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1320-June 1327	<i>CPR 1317-1321</i> , 459
Notes: The Chaumperouns held extensive estates in Cornwall and Devon (<i>FA</i> , i, 208-218, 345-372); Henry was the son and heir of William Chaupernoun I, receiving his father's lands in 1305 (<i>CFR 1272-1307</i> , 511); Henry served on many commissions in Cornwall and Devon; Edward II summoned him to a great council in 1323-4, for he enjoyed an income of £40 or more p.a. (<i>Parliamentary Writs</i> , ii part 2, p. 655); he was dead by 1330 (<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 160).			
William	Chaupernoun	Knight of the Shire, 1338-9	<i>MPs</i> , 124
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1343-Mich. 1344	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 20 July 1344-November 1344	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 394, 399
		Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1345-December 1346	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 35
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1346-November 1349	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 232
		Knight of the Shire, 1351-2?	<i>MPs</i> , 150

Notes: William Chaupernoun II was the son of Henry Chaupernoun (<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 160); he served on numerous commissions in Devon and Cornwall, but did not account as either sheriff or escheator of Devon when appointed (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 320).			
John	Chaunceler	Coroner until 1331	<i>CCR 1330-1333</i> , 345
Thomas	Chaunceler	Knight of the Shire, 1315-16	<i>MPs</i> , 50
Richard	Chelmswick	Steward of Cornwall, 26 February 1397-August 1398	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 82
Notes: Chelmswick was an esquire of Richard II who also accompanied Henry Bolingbroke to Prussia; he sat as an MP for Shropshire (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 538-539).			
Edmund	Chelreye	Justice of the Peace, 10 July 1368-October 1369	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 195
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-December 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418
Notes: Chelreye was a man 'learned in the law', serving Edward III as a serjeant-at-law and sitting as a justice of assize (<i>CCR 1369-1374</i> , 59; <i>CCR 1364-1368</i> , 73).			
John	Chenduyt	Knight of the Shire, 1395	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 539-540
		Knight of the Shire, 1404	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 539-540
Notes: The Chenduyts probably originated from Hertfordshire, but a branch of the family were established in Cornwall by the thirteenth century; John inherited the family estates in or before 1386; Richard II retained him as an esquire (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 539-540).			
Sir James	Chuddleigh	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 8 December 1391-October 1392	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Ralph	Clegher	Coroner until 1351	<i>CCR 1349-1354</i> , 283
Richard	Clerc	Bailiff-Errant, 1360?-December 1361	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 171, 185
Notes: The Black Prince ordered the removal of Clerc from office in 1360, as he had not been diligently levying the prince's money; the prince later reinstated him in consideration of his 'long service'; but again removed him in 1361.			
Walter	Clopton	Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1375-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 139
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Justice of the Peace, 2 July 1377-December 1377	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 45
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1377-March 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 4 March 1378-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48

		Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301
		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1381-December 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 572-573
Notes: Clopton was a serjeant-at-law in 1377 and rose to the office of chief justice of the king's bench in 1388 (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 96).			
Henry	Cokyn	Feodary, 1369-71	SC6/818/1 m. 19r
Notes: Cokyn hailed from Lostwithiel (<i>FF</i> , i, 408-409); he served as reeve of Lostwithiel Manor in 1359-60 (DCO 13); he, along with several other townsmen, allegedly deprived Richard Cosyn of a tenement in Lostwithiel in 1366 (JUST1/1476 m. 72v).			
Thomas	Collan	Coroner until 1388	<i>CCR 1385-1389</i> , 413
Notes: Collan was involved in collecting the 1380 poll tax (SC8/40/1954).			
John	Colshull	Knight of the Shire, 1391	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 633-635
		Justice of the Peace, 15 December 1391-February 1393	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 525
		Steward of Cornwall, 24 February 1392-February 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 32
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 18 October 1392-November 1393	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 28 February 1393-June 1394	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 292
		Knight of the Shire, 1394	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 633-635
		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1394-February 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 436
		Knight of the Shire, 1397	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 633-635
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 97
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 3 November 1397-October 1398	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 237
		Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1399-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 436
		Knight of the Shire, 1399	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 633-635
		Justice of the Peace, 28 November 1399-February 1400	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557

Notes: Colshull was a London vintner who had served on the City's Common Council (<i>LBH</i> , 234-235); his marriage to Emmeline, heiress to the Huish fortune and Sir Robert Tresilian's widow, implanted him in Cornwall (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 633-635); he was also connected to Richard II, serving as his esquire (<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 32); he died in 1413.			
John	Colyn	Justice of the Peace, 20 May 1384-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 428
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 18 November 1387-December 1388	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 18 November 1391-October 1392	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Thomas	Colyn	Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1402	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 640
		Coroner until 1409	<i>CCR 1405-1409</i> , 440
Notes: Thomas Colyn was the son of John Colyn (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 640).			
John	Cook	Bailiff-Errant, 12 May 1364-78	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 209
Notes: Cook was the prince's servant, being granted the office, along with a daily salary of 2 <i>d.</i> , as a reward for his service.			
John	Copelston	Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174
		Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 24 October 1392-October 1394	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Receiver of Cornwall, 30 November 1398	<i>CFR 1391-1399</i> , 286
Notes: The Copelstons were a Devonian family of lawyers (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', pp. 12-13).			
William	Corby	Constable of Launceston Castle, before April 1380-after 1401	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 454; <i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 407
Notes: Corby's wife, Agnes, had been Richard II's nurse (<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 51); he was an esquire of Richard II (<i>CIPM</i> , xvi, 40).			
Thomas	Corhorta	Bailiff-Errant, 1362	<i>Duchy Servants</i> , 310
John	Cornewaille	Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1399-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 436
Walter	Cornewall/Cornubia, de	Knight of the Shire, 1312	<i>MPs</i> , 37
		Coroner until 1313	<i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 521
Notes: Walter died in 1313, leaving a twenty-six-year-old son, William, as heir to his manor of Branel (<i>CIPM</i> , v, 208).			
Earl Edward	Courtenay of Devon	Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248

		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
Sir Philip	Courtenay	Steward of Cornwall, 15 November 1388-February 1392	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 525
Notes: Philip was the fifth son of Sir Hugh Courtenay, 2nd Earl of Devon (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 670-673); he held numerous royal offices, saw much military service, and sat in the parliamentary Commons for Devon on some eight occasions.			
Roland	Coykyn, de	Knight of the Shire, 1307	<i>MPs</i> , 27
Notes: Coykyn held some land in Cornwall, but it seems that he hailed from Somerset (<i>FA</i> , i, 200).			
William	Cranewell	Justice of the Peace, 30 May 1370-December 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 422
		Steward of Cornwall, 6 May 1371-October 1375	SC6/818/4 m. 8r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 6 May 1371-July 1375	SC6/818/4 m. 8r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 1373	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
Notes: Cranewell served as a yeoman of the Black Prince and chamberlain to the clerk of North Wales (<i>RBP</i> , iii, 355; <i>RBP</i> , iv, 469; <i>CCR 1369-1374</i> , 264, 270); he died in 1376 (<i>Cornish Wills</i> , 36-39, 222).			
William	Crishile	Constable of Tintagel Castle, May 1398	<i>CCR 1396-1399</i> , 264
John	Croghard	Knight of the Shire, 1334	<i>MPs</i> , 104
		Receiver of the Stannaries, before 1345	<i>CCR 1343-1346</i> , 669
Notes: Croghard (or Crouchard) brought a plea of debt before the county court in 1333 (SC2/161/74 m. 4v); in 1352, he is recorded as having served as receiver of Cornwall (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 30) but he was actually receiver of the stannaries of Cornwall; he died leaving debts of over £1,700 (<i>CCR</i> , 1343-1346, 669).			
Thomas	Curthuhir, de	Coroner until 1367	<i>CCR 1364-1368</i> , 325, 331
Sir Stephen	Cusyngton	Justice of the Peace, 26 June 1373?	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
		Constable of Launceston Castle, 1375	<i>Reg.Brantingham</i> , i, 152
		Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1375-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 139
John	Dabernon	Feodary, before 1338-September 1354	SC6/816/11 m. 16 r
		Escheator of Cornwall, 26 January 1343-54	<i>Escheators</i> , 30

		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1344-December 1346	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 396
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1346-November 1349	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 232
		Justice of the Peace, 25 November 1349-July 1352	<i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 383
		Steward of Cornwall, 23 February 1350-August 1354	DCO 5; SC6/817/1 m. 19r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 23 February 1350-Mich. 1354	DCO 6; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Trematon Castle, 1350-69	SC6/817/1 m. 19r; <i>RBP</i> , ii, 9
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, before 11 June 1351-July 1351	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 9, 14
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1352-December 1354	<i>CPR 1350-1354</i> , 285
		Steward of Cornwall, 26 August 1357-69	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 125; SC8/817/6 m. 2v
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1357-69	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 17 February 1358-March 1361	<i>CPR 1358-1361</i> , 68
		Steward of the Prince's Stannary, 13 July 1359	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 159
		Justice of the Peace, 21 May 1361-May 1364	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 65
		Justice of the Peace, 8 May 1364-February 1367	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 528
		Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1367-July 1368	<i>CPR 1364-1367</i> , 434
		Justice of the Peace, 10 July 1368-October 1369	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 195
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369?	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370?	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418
Notes: Dabernon hailed from Bradford, Devon; he became the Black Prince's south-western retainer-in-chief; he served on a multitude of commissions in Cornwall and Devon; he died in 1369 (<i>Cornish Wills</i> , 31-35, 223).			
Matthew	Dabernon	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1362	<i>MPs</i> , 169
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1362	<i>MPs</i> , 169
		Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174

		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174
		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1368	<i>MPs</i> , 179
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1368	<i>MPs</i> , 179
Notes: Matthew Dabernon was the son of John Dabernon (<i>Cornish Wills</i> , 35).			
Thomas	Daumarle	Controller of the Stannaries, 1334	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 493
Notes: Daumarle was one of Edward III's clerks.			
William	Daumarle	Keeper of Launceston Gaol, 1334	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 493
Notes: Daumarle served as a yeoman of Edward III.			
Sir John	Dauney	Justice of the Peace, 6 July 1338-August 1338	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 139
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338?	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 139
Notes: Dauney (or Alento) served on numerous commissions in Cornwall and Devon (<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 448); but died at Crécy (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 478; <i>RBP</i> , i, 119, 130); Edward III assigned his widow, Sibyl, some of his lands in Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset (<i>CIPM</i> , ix, 66-68).			
Sir Robert	Dendyn	Constable of Trematon Castle, 1322-3	E389/62 m. 1r
Stephen	Derenford	Receiver of Cornwall, 6 December 1387-February 1388	<i>CFR 1383-1391</i> , 164
Notes: Derenford hailed from Plymouth.			
Laurence	Dynisel	Coroner until 1298	<i>CCR 1296-1302</i> , 146
Robert	Eleford, de	Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1352-December 1354	<i>CPR 1350-1354</i> , 285
		Steward of Cornwall, 18 August 1354-August 1357	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 62; DCO 7-11
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 18 August 1354-Mich. 1357	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 62; DCO 7-11; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 16 December 1354-December 1355	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 123
		Justice of the Peace, 10 December 1355-February 1358	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 227
Notes: Eleford was a yeoman of the Black Prince (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 62); he also served as the earl of Pembroke's general attorney (<i>CCR 1341-1343</i> , 527); he sat on many commissions in Cornwall.			
Henry	Erth, de	Constable of Trematon Castle, 1337-9	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 383
Notes: Erth had served as John of Eltham's standard bearer at Berwick (<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 383).			

John	Everard	Escheator of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, 29 November 1323-December 1325	<i>Escheators</i> , 134
John	Fareway	Coroner until 1394	<i>CCR 1392-1396</i> , 197, 327
Thomas	Fenne, atte	Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1344-July 1349	DCO 4; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 5 November 1347-July 1349	<i>RBP</i> , i, 141
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, 1348-9	<i>Duchy Servants</i> , 326
Notes: Fenne, sometimes Van, had obscure origins; he was attacked in his home in Tregorrick and held some land in the county (<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 390; <i>FF</i> , i, 347-348); it seems that he served as deputy escheator to John Dabernon in 1346 (<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 145); he was a man of some means, losing a white horse on campaign worth 100s. (<i>Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell</i> , p. 309); during his tenure as sheriff-steward the two offices were divided, and although he was again appointed steward in 1347, Sir Edmund Kendale, his predecessor, appeared as steward in the ministers' accounts for 1348-9 (DCO 4); Fenn died in 1349, leaving considerable debts (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 96, 7, 12, 13, 29-30, 85).			
Sir John	Ferrers	Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1345-December 1346	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 35
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1346-November 1349	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 232
		Justice of the Peace, 25 November 1349-July 1352	<i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 383
Notes: The Ferrers were a Devonian family who held some land in Cornwall (<i>FA</i> , i, 208-218).			
John	Ferrers	Coroner until 1347	<i>CCR 1346-1349</i> , 226
Martin	Ferrers	Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301
		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1389-November 1389	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 136
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1389-June 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 138
		Justice of the Peace, 28 June 1390-December 1391	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 342
		Justice of the Peace, 15 December 1391-February 1393	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 525
William	Ferrers	Knight of the Shire, 1314-15	<i>MPs</i> , 48
Sir Thomas	Fichet	Knight of the Shire, 1384	<i>MPs</i> , 222

Notes: The Fichets held the manor of Boconnion (<i>Maclean</i> , ii, 42-43); in 1353, Sir Thomas granted all his lands in Somerset to the Black Prince for life, and to his executors for five years after his death (<i>RBP</i> , iv, 104-105); John of Gaunt later retained him (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 153).			
Thomas	Fitz Henry 'Havener'	Havener, 12 February 1337-1373	<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 4
Notes: Edward III appointed Fitz Henry to the post of havener on a posthumous promise of John of Eltham (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 4); he served the Black Prince diligently for over thirty years, but was no longer havener in 1373 (DCO 19).			
Nicholas	Fitz Herbert	Controller of the Stannaries, 1386-after 1391	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 107, 248; <i>CCR 1389-1392</i> , 385
Notes: Fitz Herbert was one of Richard II's clerks.			
Sir William	Fitz Water	Knight of the Shire, 1376-7	<i>MPs</i> , 195
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 1 November 1383-November 1384	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: Fitz Water was an assessor of the 1379 poll tax (<i>CFR 1377-1383</i> , 144); he died on 10 May 1385, leaving an eleven-year-old son, Thomas (<i>CIPM</i> , xvi, 43-44).			
Richard	Fleming	Coroner until 1343	<i>CCR 1343-1346</i> , 198
Thomas	Ford	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1368	<i>MPs</i> , 179
		Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1369	<i>MPs</i> , 181
		Coroner until after 1406	<i>CCR 1399-1402</i> , 457; <i>CCR 1405-1409</i> , 43
Notes: There may have been two Thomas Fords.			
Robert	Frenssh	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 29 November 1402	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Notes: Frenssh hailed from Devon, earlier in his career having close contacts with Totnes (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 129).			
Henry	Fulford	Justice of the Peace, 1 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
Thomas	Galy	Joint Havener, 30 August 1395-October 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 620
James	Gerveys	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1363	<i>MPs</i> , 172
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1363	<i>MPs</i> , 172
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1389-November 1389	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 136

		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1394-February 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 436
Notes: Gerveys is wrongly named as John in the 1394 peace commission, but it remains unclear if he sat as a burgess or not (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 91; Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , p. 175); the Gerveys had a long tradition of sitting for boroughs, however (<i>MPs</i> , 54, 57, 59, 121, 130, 163, 166, 199).			
Thomas	Gevely	Constable of Trematon Castle, 1315-May 1316	SC6/811/15 m. 1r; <i>CCR 1313-1318</i> , 254
Sir Richard	Giffard	Knight of the Shire, 1300-1	<i>MPs</i> , 13
Sir Robert	Giffard	Knight of the Shire, 1299-1300	<i>MPs</i> , 10
		Knight of the Shire, 1306	<i>MPs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 24 December 1307-March 1308	<i>CPR 1307-1313</i> , 30
		Justice of the Peace, 17 March 1308-March 1312	<i>CPR 1307-1313</i> , 54
		Justice of the Peace, 13 April 1314-June 1314	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 107
		Justice of the Peace, 5 June 1314-June 1316	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 122
		Justice of the Peace, 14 June 1316-June 1320	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 482
		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1320-June 1327	<i>CPR 1317-1321</i> , 459
Notes: The Giffards were 'of high antiquity' in Cornwall (<i>Maclean</i> , ii, 151-154); Sir Robert served Edward I militarily in Scotland and Gascony, also holding numerous commissions in Cornwall (<i>CPR 1292-1301</i> , 373, 613; <i>FA</i> , i, 195, 197).			
Nicholas	Giffard	Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1306-7	<i>MPs</i> , 24
		Knight of the Shire, 1325	<i>MPs</i> , 73
Notes: Nicholas Giffard and his wife received their rights in 1312 (<i>Maclean</i> , ii, 152).			
Sir Peter	Gildesburgh, de	Controller of the Stannaries, 1340-7	<i>CPR 1340-1343</i> , 72, 459; <i>RBP</i> , i, 71
Notes: Gildesburgh was clerk to Edward III and the Black Prince; he also served as the prince's chief receiver and pesage of tin in Cornwall (<i>RBP</i> , i, <i>passim.</i> ; <i>CPR 1340-1343</i> , 459).			
Richard	Glenyan	Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 237
		Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1399-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 436

		Justice of the Peace, 28 November 1399-February 1400	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
Peter	Glyn, de	Coroner until 1338	<i>CCR 1333-1337, 270</i>
Notes: Peter was perhaps a younger son of the Glynn Family (Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , pp. 178-179).			
Sir John	Grenville	Sheriff of Cornwall, 11 November 1394-November 1395	<i>Sheriffs, 21</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 1 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405, 516</i>
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1404-Mich. 1406	<i>Sheriffs, 21</i>
Notes: Grenville hailed from North Devon (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 120; <i>HOP</i> , iii, 235-236).			
Henry	Guldeford	Havener, March 1324	<i>Havener's Accounts</i> , p. 320
Notes: Guldeford served as Queen Isabella's valet (<i>Havener's Accounts</i> , p. 320).			
Andrew	Hamley	Knight of the Shire, 1328	<i>MPs, 85</i>
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1335	<i>MPs, 106</i>
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1335	<i>MPs, 106</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1337-8	<i>MPs, 119</i>
Notes: Andrew Hamley was the son of Osbert Hamley (<i>MPs</i> , 106); the Hamleys were 'of great antiquity' in Cornwall (<i>Maclean</i> , ii, 540-553).			
Sir John	Hamley I	Sheriff of Cornwall, 1 February 1337 (accounted from Christmas 1336)-September 1338	<i>Sheriffs, 21</i>
		Steward of Cornwall, 1 February 1337-September 1338	<i>Sheriffs, 21</i>
		Constable of Launceston Castle, 1 February 1337-September 1338?	<i>CFR 1337-1347, 2</i>
Notes: Hamley held considerable lands in the county (<i>FA</i> , i, 198, 205, 215; <i>FF</i> , i, 159, 300); served on numerous commissions (<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 502; <i>CPR 1340-1343</i> , 154; <i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 509); and was keeper of the fortlet of St Michael's Mount (<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 99); he died at Crécy (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 479); his widow, Margaret, was assigned some of his lands by Edward III in 1347, though the king retained the bulk of them as a result of Hamley's indebtedness (<i>CIPM</i> , ix, 66).			
John	Hamley II	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1355	<i>MPs, 157</i>
		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1355	<i>MPs, 157</i>

		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1355	<i>MPs</i> , 157
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1355	<i>MPs</i> , 157
		Knight of the Shire, 1357	<i>MPs</i> , 159
		Knight of the Shire, 1360	<i>MPs</i> , 163
		Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1360-1	<i>MPs</i> , 166
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1360-1	<i>MPs</i> , 166
		Knight of the Shire, 1362	<i>MPs</i> , 169
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Justice of the Peace, 2 July 1377-December 1377	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 45
Notes: The family tree of the Hamleys is somewhat confused, and so it is unclear if John Hamley II sat in all these parliaments or not.			
Osbert	Hamley I	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1309	<i>MPs</i> , 30
		Coroner until 1328	<i>CCR 1327-1330</i> , 249
Osbert	Hamley II	Justice of the Peace, 4 March 1378-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
Richard	Hampton, de	Constable of Tintagel Castle, 15 February 1377-January 1386	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 169
		Havener, 22 March 1378-January 1386	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 169
		Joint Constable of Tintagel Castle, January 1386-January 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 97
		Joint Havener, 5 January 1386-December 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 97
Notes: Hampton served as Richard II's esquire (<i>CCR 1381-1385</i> , 2); he lost office after saying 'rebellious words', but was reinstated at the supplication of Simon de Burley (<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 371).			
Peter	Hatton	Receiver of Cornwall, 10 October 1399	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 10
John	Hawley	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 12 December 1390-December 1391	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Receiver of Cornwall, 20 December 1390	<i>CFR 1383-1391</i> , 342
Notes: Hawley was a notorious Devonian 'pirate', who also acquired lands in Cornwall through the agency of marriage (<i>HOP</i> , iii, 328-331).			
Sir John	Herle	Sheriff of Cornwall, 7 November 1393-November 1394	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21

		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1394-February 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396, 436</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 97</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1398	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 237</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1398-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 436</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 28 November 1399-February 1400	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
Notes: Herle was of Northumberland and Worcestershire extraction, but he had married Margaret, co-heiress of William Chaumpernoun, which implanted him into Cornish society (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 120).			
Earl John	Holand of Huntingdon	Constable of Tintagel Castle, 6 January 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389, 537</i>
		Constable of Trematon Castle, 25 June 1392	<i>CPR 1391-1396, 102</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 97</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 237</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1399-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 436</i>
Sir Richard	Huish I	Knight of the Shire, 1307	<i>MPs, 27</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 24 December 1307-March 1308	<i>CPR 1307-1313, 30</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1311	<i>MPs, 32</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1314	<i>MPs, 45</i>
		Steward of Cornwall, 4 November 1315-May 1316	<i>SC6/811/14 m. 1r; SC6/811/16</i>
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 4 November 1315-May 1316	<i>SC6/811/14 m. 1r; Sheriffs, 21</i>
		Constable of Restormel Castle, 1315-16	<i>Sheriffs, 21, CCR 1313-1318, 298</i>
		Havener, September 1315-May 1316	<i>CFR 1307-1319, 262</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1325?	<i>MPs, 73</i>
Notes: The Huishs held extensive estates in Cornwall and Devon (<i>FA</i> , i, 208-218); Huish received the lands of his father, another Richard Huish, in 1303 (<i>CCR 1302-1307, 13</i>); he held numerous other commissions in Cornwall, including that of tax collector (<i>CPR 1313-1317, 49, 474; CPR 1317-1321, 96, 349</i>); he died in 1330-1 (<i>CFR 1327-1337, 244</i>).			
Sir Richard	Huish II	Knight of the Shire, 1331	<i>MPs, 94</i>

		Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1332-March 1332	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 286
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1332-November 1333	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 294, 296, 348
		Justice of the Peace, 26 July 1335-April 1336	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 209
		Knight of the Shire, 1336-7	<i>MPs</i> , 113
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 146
		Knight of the Shire, 1352	<i>MPs</i> , 152
Notes: Sir Richard Huish II received his father's lands in 1331 (<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 244); he served on many commissions in the county, including those of taxer and arrayer (<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 358; <i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 146); he died in 1369 (<i>CIPM</i> , xii, 347-348).			
Robert	Hull	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 10 February 1377-November 1377	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1389-November 1389	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 136
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1389-June 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 138
		Justice of the Peace, 28 June 1390-December 1391	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 342, 344
		Justice of the Peace, 28 February 1393-June 1394	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 292
Notes: Hull held land in Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset, while sitting in parliament for several Devonian boroughs (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 130).			
William	Hureward	Knight of the Shire, 1323-4	<i>MPs</i> , 69
John	Hustyng', de	Coroner until 1369	<i>CCR 1369-1374</i> , 14
Thomas	Hyde, de la	Sheriff of Cornwall, Easter 1296-June 1312	SC6/811/3 m. 1r; SC6/811/11 m. 1r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, Easter 1296-June 1312	SC6/811/3 m. 1r; SC6/811/11 m. 1r
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, before 1306-March 1312	E372/152B m. 9r; SC8/53/2638
		Constable of Restormel Castle, March 1312-October 1312	<i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 454
		Justice of the Peace, 20 March 1312-April 1314?	<i>CPR 1307-1313</i> , 473
		Justice of the Peace, 5 June 1314?	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 122

Notes: Hyde was a Staffordshire-man who served as sheriff-steward to Earl Edmund, Edward I, and Piers de Gaveston; Edward I tried to replace him in 1302, but re-instated him almost immediately; it seems that despite the gaps suggested by the *L&IS*, he held the stewardship for some sixteen years to 1312; he also served as collector of customs in Cornwall, keeper of the coinage of tin, and assessor of several parliamentary subsidies (*CPR 1301-1307*, 127, 202, 456; *CFR 1272-1304*, 493; *CPR 1307-1313*, 23); he held the constableness of Tintagel Castle from at least 1306; it is possible that he held the castle from 1300, as he had petitioned for the post at this time, though John le Barber appears holding the office (*E372/152B m. 9r*; *SC6/811/5 m. 4r*; *CPR 1301-1307*, 454); Hyde's final appointment as a JP and tax collector (*CPR 1307-1313*, 521; *CPR 1313-1317*, 122) may instead have been his son, with whom he shared a name; Hyde died in 1314, having acquired some lands and wardships in the county (*CRO, AR/1/971*; *ME/333*; *FF*, i, 226-227; *CIPM*, v, 276; *CPR 1307-1313*, 523; *CFR 1307-1319*, 162, 215); it was presumably his son and namesake who was brought before the county assize of 1315-16 (*JUST1/1368 m. 19v*) and who in 1317 sold land in Tintagel while retaining land in La Hyde, Staffordshire (*C143/128/18*).

Sir Henry	Ilcombe	Knight of the Shire, 1388	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 472-474
		Knight of the Shire, 1395	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 472-474
		Coroner until 1395	<i>CCR 1392-1396</i> , 445
		Escheator of Cornwall, 18 November 1395-November 1399	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1402	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 472-474

Notes: Illcombe had a remarkable career, which saw him fight overseas and engage in much lawlessness at home (*HOP*, iii, 472-474).

Sir Roger	Ingepenne, de	Sheriff of Cornwall, 1 October 1302 (did not account)	<i>SC6/816/9</i> ; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 1 October 1302 (did not account)	<i>SC6/816/9</i>

Notes: Ingepenne was of Berkshire origin (A. R. Ingpen, *An Ancient Family: A Genealogical Study showing the Saxon Origin of the Family of Ingpen* (London, 1916), pp. 76, 82, 86-87); he had served as Earl Edmund's steward in 1285-8 (*Sheriffs*, 21); Edward I appointed him sheriff-steward of Cornwall in 1302, but removed him from office and prosecuted him for his lawlessness (*CPR 1301-1307*, 122; *KB27/171mm. 63d-64r*; *SCKB*, iv, lxxiii); Ingepenne was also a retainer of the earl of Pembroke (*CPR 1307-1313*, 105, 581); Ingepenne rented and owned some lands in Cornwall (*CRO, AR/1/279-283*), later granting these to his nephew, Roger Ingepenne Junior (Ingpen, *Ingepen*, pp. 87-88; *FA*, i, 206, 349, 352; *C143/51/21*; *CIPM*, vii, 260-261; *Maclean*, ii, 25-27, 43), who had married Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir John Halton of Halton in St Dominick; Sir Roger senior was dead by 1306 (*CFR 1272-1307*, 536).

Roger	Juyl	Receiver of Cornwall, 1377-81	<i>SC6/818/7 m. 1v</i> ; <i>CFR 1377-1383</i> , 7
		Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 25 October 1381-December 1382	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 1 November 1383-November 1384	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1391	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 506

Notes: Roger Juyl was probably the son of John Juyl, who represented Bodmin in 1371 and 1381; Roger was a prosperous tin merchant (<i>HOP</i> , iii, 506-508).			
Ralph	Kayl I	Coroner until 1373	<i>CCR 1369-1374</i> , 501
Ralph	Kayl II	Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1402	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 509
Notes: Ralph Kayl II's father, Ralph Kayl I, was dead by 1385; Ralph Kayl II had extensive tin interests (<i>HOP</i> , iii, 509).			
John	Kelerioun	Coroner until 1409	<i>CCR 1405-1409</i> , 450
Sir Edmund	Kendale	Steward of Cornwall, 1346-November 1347	<i>DCO 3</i> ; <i>RBP</i> , i, 5
Notes: Sir Edmund was a bachelor of the Black Prince who served as steward of Cornwall and, indeed, all the prince's lands (<i>DCO 4</i> ; <i>RBP</i> , i, 5, 13; Sharp, 'Black Prince', p. 432); although Thomas atte Fenn was appointed steward in 1347, Kendale still appeared as steward in the ministers' accounts of 1348-9 (<i>DCO 4</i> ; <i>RBP</i> , i, 141).			
John	Kendale I	Constable of Restormel Castle, 12 February 1337-65?	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 383
		Receiver of Cornwall, 1348-September 1365	<i>DCO 4</i> ; <i>SC6/817/1 m. 1r</i>
Notes: The Kendales originated from Westmorland, but Edward III appointed John Kendale constable and parker of Restormel on a posthumous promise of John of Eltham (<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 383); Kendale served the Black Prince as receiver from 1348 until 1365, although he held the position jointly with John de Portes in the first year, perhaps under the supervision of Tideman de Lymbergh (<i>DCO 4</i>); he was also keeper of Tywardreath 'castle' (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 87); in 1365 he requested that he be removed from office because of his inability, asking that his kinsman Richard Kendale be appointed in his stead (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 213).			
John	Kendale II	Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, Jan. 1397	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 513
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, Sep. 1397	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 513
Notes: John Kendale II was the son of John Kendale I (<i>HOP</i> , iii, 513-514).			
Richard	Kendale	Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174
		Receiver of Cornwall, 30 September 1365-8	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 213
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1369	<i>MPs</i> , 181
		Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 26 November 1377-October 1381	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1379-80	<i>MPs</i> , 203
		Justice of the Peace, 23 June 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 194
		Justice of the Peace, 20 December 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 251

		Sheriff of Cornwall, 11 November 1384-October 1385	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: Richard Kendale was a kinsman of John kendale I, though the pedigree in Vivian's <i>Visitations</i> is not reliable; he held office in Devon as well.			
Sir John	Kentwood	Steward of Cornwall, 26 August 1378-November 1388	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 269
		Knight of the Shire, 1378	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 517
		Justice of the Peace, 28 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301
		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
		Knight of the Shire, 1380	<i>MPs</i> , 206
		Knight of the Shire, 1381	<i>MPs</i> , 207
		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 23 June 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 194
		Justice of the Peace, 20 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 348, 251
		Justice of the Peace, 8 February 1385-July 1387	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 502, 503
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
Notes: Kentwood was a Berkshire-man who had served the Black Prince and was appointed steward of Cornwall by Richard II; he sat on a multitude of commissions in Cornwall for over a decade (<i>HOP</i> , iii, 517-519).			
Alan	Kerneke, de	Coroner until 1324	<i>CCR 1323-1327</i> , 237
Ralph	Kerneke, de	Coroner until 1320	<i>CCR 1318-1323</i> , 176
John	Keynes	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 30 November 1388-November 1390	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Notes: Keynes hailed from Devon (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 121).			
Henry	Kirkestede	Constable of Trematon Castle, 2 December 1381-June 1392	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 56
		Constable of Trematon Castle, 15 June 1402	<i>CCR 1399-1402</i> , 535-536

Notes: Kirkestede was an esquire of Richard II, later shifting his loyalty to Henry IV, whom he also served as an esquire; he held the post of parker of Trematon and Liskeard (<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 87); he is mistakenly called John in 1387 (<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 395).			
John	Knyveton	Joint Havener, 30 August 1395-October 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 620
John	Lambourne	Knight of the Shire, 1327	<i>MPs</i> , 78
Notes: John Lambourne is an obscure character; he probably held land in the county (<i>FF</i> , i, 288); it seems that he served with the earl of Lancaster in France (<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 190).			
Sir William	Lambourne	Knight of the Shire, 1376-7	<i>MPs</i> , 195
		Knight of the Shire, 1383	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 428
		Justice of the Peace, 20 May 1384-February 1385	<i>MPs</i> , 217
		Knight of the Shire, 1388	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 544
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1389-November 1389	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 136
		Knight of the Shire, 1390	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 544
		Knight of the Shire, 1399	<i>HOP</i> , iii, 544
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1400-May 1401	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405</i> , 516
Notes: Like John Lambourne, Sir William's early career is obscure; he may have been John's son, as a William son of John Lambourne assaulted John Dinham's park at Carn Brea in 1348 (<i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 74); William had an active career in county administration (<i>HOP</i> , iii, 544-545).			
William	Langbrok	Receiver of Cornwall, 13 August 1398	<i>CFR 1391-1399</i> , 279
Notes: Langbrok was a clerk (<i>CFR 1391-1399</i> , 279).			
William	Ledes	Controller of the Stannary of Cornwall and Devon, 1395	<i>CFR 1391-1399</i> , 168
Sir John	l'Ercedekne	Knight of the Shire, 1332	<i>MPs</i> , 98
		Knight of the Shire, 1335-6	<i>MPs</i> , 108
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266

Notes: The seat of the l'Ercedeknes lay at Ruan Laniorne, with the family maintaining a prominent place in Cornish affairs throughout the fourteenth century; Sir John was the son and heir of Thomas, Lord l'Ercedekne; he was twenty five on his father's death in 1331 (*CIPM*, vii, 253-254; *CP*, i, 187); John sat on numerous commissions, but was more notable for his lawlessness; he died in 1377 and his eldest son, Stephen, soon followed him, leaving his second eldest son, Sir Warin, to inherit (*CIPM*, xv, 29).

Sir Michael	l'Ercedekne	Knight of the Shire, 1382-3	<i>MPs</i> , 214
		Knight of the Shire, 1390	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 45
Odo	l'Ercedekne	Constable of Trematon Castle, March 1312-15?	<i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 454
		Knight of the Shire, 1313	<i>MPs</i> , 43
		Knight of the Shire, 1318	<i>MPs</i> , 54
		Knight of the Shire, 1319	<i>MPs</i> , 57

Notes: Odo l'Ercedekne was probably the brother of Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne; and held some lands in the county (*FF*, i, 263); he may have held Trematon Castle in 1318 as well (*CPR 1317-1321*, 291)

Thomas	Lord l'Ercedekne	Knight of the Shire, 1304-5	<i>MPs</i> , 18
		Justice of the Peace, 17 March 1308-March 1312	<i>CPR 1307-1313</i> , 54
		Justice of the Peace, 20 March 1312-April 1314	<i>CPR 1307-1313</i> , 473
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, March 1312-August 1314	<i>SC6/811/11 m. 1r</i> ; <i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 454
		Knight of the Shire, 1312-13	<i>MPs</i> , 39
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1313-November 1314	<i>SC6/811/12 m. 1r</i> ; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, Mich. 1313-November 1314	<i>SC6/811/12 m. 1r</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1314-15	<i>MPs</i> , 48
		Knight of the Shire, 1321	<i>MPs</i> , 62
		Justice of the Peace, 20 November 1327-May 1329	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 156
		Knight of the Shire, 1328	<i>MPs</i> , 83
		Justice of the Peace, 18 May 1329-July 1330	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 431

		Knight of the Shire, 1330	<i>MPs</i> , 91
Notes: Lord l'Ercedekne received the lands of his father Odo in 1290 (<i>Maclean</i> , iii, 254-255; <i>FF</i> , i, 211, 260-261); he was a busy man who served on many commissions in Cornwall, but he also had a penchant for lawlessness; there may have been two Thomas l'Ercedeknes alive concurrently; from 1321-5 the king summoned our Thomas to parliament by writ, making him Lord l'Ercedekne (<i>CP</i> , i, 186-187); he died in 1331 (<i>CIPM</i> , vii, 253-254), leaving his son, John, as his heir.			
Sir Warin	l'Ercedekne	Knight of the Shire, 1380	<i>MPs</i> , 206
		Knight of the Shire, 1382	<i>MPs</i> , 210
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 24 November 1382-November 1383	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Knight of the Shire, 1382	<i>MPs</i> , 212
Notes: Sir Warin was the son of Sir John l'Ercedekne; he enjoyed an active career in county administration but died without male issue before 1402, ending his line (<i>CP</i> , i, 188).			
Robert	Lestre	Knight of the Shire, 1324	<i>MPs</i> , 71
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1326-7	<i>MPs</i> , 75
		Knight of the Shire, 1329-30	<i>MPs</i> , 89
		Knight of the Shire, 1338-9	<i>MPs</i> , 124
Notes: Lestre held land in Cornwall (<i>FF</i> , i, 273, 316); he served as tax collector on a number of occasions (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 158).			
John	Lewis, clerk	Under-constable of Tintagel Castle for John Holand, 4 November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 267
Thomas	Leygrave	Havener, May 1317-March 1324	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 329
Sir Neil	Loring	Constable of Trematon Castle, 29 January 1372-after March 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 209
Notes: Loring was chamberlain and bachelor to the Black Prince (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 94), a Founder Knight of the order of the Garter, and later one of Richard II's knights (<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 209).			
William	London, de	Havener, January 1331	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 40
Notes: London was a king's serjeant to Edward III and tailor of Queen Philippa (<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 40).			
Tideman	Lymbergh, de	Receiver of Cornwall, 1347-50	<i>RBP</i> , i, 92; SC6/812/3; DCO 3-4
Notes: Lymbergh was a Hanseatic merchant who served the Black Prince (DCO 3-4; <i>RBP</i> , i, 10, 120-121; <i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 373; SC6/812/3); Lymbergh relied heavily on John Coyng, his attorney in Cornwall (DCO 4).			

Sir William	Marny	Sheriff, 28 October and 4 November 1400-Mich. 1401	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: Marny was an Essex lawyer whose marriage to a Sergeaux heiress introduced him into the county (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 126); he died in 1414 (<i>CIPM</i> , xx, 60-61).			
Thomas	Marsely	Coroner until 1379	<i>CCR 1377-1381</i> , 277
Roger	Martyn	Coroner until 1388	<i>CCR 1385-1389</i> , 516
John	Mattesford	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 12 December 1372-December 1376	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Notes: Mattesford was a Devonian, holding land in that county (<i>CCR 1369-1374</i> , 250).			
John	Maudeleyn	Havener, 27 December 1388-May 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 535
Mark	Michelstow	Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1400-May 1401	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
Notes: Michelstow was a shipman and burgess of Fowey who served as Henry IV's 'pirate admiral' (Drake, 'Michelstow').			
John	Mohun, son of Reynold	Coroner until 1365	<i>CCR 1364-1368</i> , 129
John	Morton, de	Coroner until 1332	<i>CCR 1330-1333</i> , 372, 432
John	Moveroun	Knight of the Shire, 1335	<i>C219/5/18; MPs</i> , 106
		Constable of Launceston Castle, before November 1336-51	<i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 336
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1337-8	<i>MPs</i> , 119
		Receiver of Cornwall, 1338-46	<i>SC6/816/11 mm. 1r, 5v; DCO 2-3</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 20 July 1344-November 1344	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 394, 399
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1346-November 1349	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 232
		Controller of the Stannaries, 1347	<i>RBP</i> , i, 141
		Justice of the Peace, 25 November 1349-July 1352	<i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 383

Notes: Moveroun may have hailed from Essex (*CCR 1343-1346*, 666); he had been a royal yeoman; John of Eltham appointed him constable of Launceston Castle and gaol in 1336 (SC6/816/11 m. 1r); he served as attorney to the controller of the prince's stannary (*RBP*, i, 71); he also held the posts of taker of tin, and keeper of St Michael's Mount, Tywardreath, and the king's silver mines (*CFR 1337-1347*, 307, 70, 78, 268); from 1346 he held the posts of surveyor of the prince's parks, lieutenant of the steward, deputy receiver, and controller of the stannaries (*RBP*, i, 5, 106, 130, 141); it seems that there were two John Moverouns active by 1345 (*CCR 1334-1346*, 666); John Moveroun the elder probably held all of the above posts; by 1346 Moveroun owned land in the county with Henry Trethewey (*FA*, i, 208-218).

Henry	Nanfan	Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1360-1	<i>MPs</i> , 166
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1363	<i>MPs</i> , 172
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1363	<i>MPs</i> , 172
		Feodary, 1371	SC6/818/4 m. 9r
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1373-December 1375	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 397
		Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1375-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 139
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1377-March 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301

Notes: Henry Nanfan served as under-bailiff of Kerrier in 1344-5 (DCO 2); he was the salaried bailiff of Helston Manor from 1350 to 1370 (SC6/817/1 m. 19r; SC6/818/1 m. 7v; *RESDCornwall*, 38); and bailiff of Penwith from 1362 (*RBP*, ii, 197); he served as attorney for the late Thomas Carminow (*CIPM*, xvi, 254).

John	Norbury	Havener, 1399	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 122
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Notes: Norbury was a retainer of the house of Lancaster, being appointed treasurer of England by Henry IV (*HOP*, iii, 843-846).

Roscelin	Ostery, de	Constable of Restormel Castle, 24 January 1373-December 1398	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 228
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Notes: Ostery was a yeoman of the Black Prince and Richard II (*CPR 1377-1381*, 228).

Noel	Paderda	Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1379	<i>MPs</i> , 201
		Coroner until 1386	<i>CCR 1377-1381</i> , 261, 400; <i>CCR 1385-1389</i> , 43

Notes: Paderda served as Bishop Stafford's steward in Cornwall (*Reg.Stafford*, 26, 288, 314).

James	Park, atte	Bailiff-Errant to Princess Joan, 1379	<i>Duchy Servants</i> , 310
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Henry	Pengersick	Knight of the Shire, 1315-16	<i>MPs</i> , 50
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		Knight of the Shire, 1327	<i>MPs</i> , 78
Notes: The Pengersick family took their name from a hamlet in St Breage; they had close connections with Helston, with John Pengersick sitting for the borough in the late fourteenth century (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 46-47); Edward II summoned Henry to a great council in 1323-4 (<i>Parliamentary Writs</i> , ii part 2, p. 655).			
John	Penhirgharth	Coroner in 1365	<i>CCR 1364-1368</i> , 97
Notes: Penhirgharth was under-bailiff of Stratton in 1348-9 (DCO 4).			
Sir Walter	Penhirhard	Knight of the Shire, 1368	<i>MPs</i> , 179
Notes: Penhirhard travelled to Aquitaine from the south west in 1368 (<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 133).			
John	Penkevelle	Coroner until 1383	<i>CCR 1381-1385</i> , 199
John	Penrose	Justice of the Peace, 20 May 1375-February 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 141
		Justice of the Peace, 23 February 1376-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 310
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Justice of the Peace, 4 March 1378-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 26 June 1385	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 80
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1389-June 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 138
Notes: Penrose was a Cornish lawyer whom Richard II raised to the rank of justice of the king's bench, despite his lawlessness (<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 364).			
Oger	Penwore	Coroner until 1367	<i>CCR 1364-1368</i> , 362
Henry	Perchay, de	Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-May 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418; <i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
		Justice of the Peace, 20 May 1375-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 141
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Justice of the Peace, 2 July 1377-December 1377	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 45
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1377-March 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 4 March 1378-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301

		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
Notes: Perchay served as chief baron of the exchequer from 1375 and a justice of common pleas from 1377 (<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 170; <i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 64).			
Robert	Person	Bailiff-Errant, 24 March 1378-86	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 156
Notes: Person was a yeoman of Richard II's buttery.			
Sir Antonio	Pessagno	Constable of Restormel Castle, 1313	E159/86 m. 76
Notes: Pessagno served as Edward II's banker (Fryde, 'Pessagno'); he became entrenched in stannary finance; he almost certainly never visited Restormel, but the castle served as the centre of his tin-buying operations.			
Sir John	Petit	Sheriff of Cornwall, 28 October 1334-November 1336	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21; <i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 422, 500
		Steward of Cornwall, 28 October 1334-Christmas 1336	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Launceston Castle, 28 October 1334-Christmas 1336	<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 422; <i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 2
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 146
		Knight of the Shire, 1339	<i>MPs</i> , 126
Notes: The Petits were an 'eminent Cornish family'; John held considerable lands in the county (<i>FF</i> , i, 186, 189-190; <i>Maclean</i> , i, 317) and was assessed at 4s. in 1327 (E179/87/7 m. 2r); he held numerous other offices, including that of tax collector (<i>CCR 1339-1341</i> , 177; <i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 52, 54, 97, 147); the king later incarcerated him in the Fleet and the Tower for falling behind on the collection of money accruing from the sheriff-stewardship (<i>CCR 1339-1341</i> , 169).			
Michael	Petit	Coroner until 1311	<i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 35, 313
		Knight of the Shire, 1314	<i>MPs</i> , 45
		Knight of the Shire, 1320	<i>MPs</i> , 59
Notes: It is unclear if the same Michael served as coroner and MP (<i>Maclean</i> , i, 317).			
James	Peverell	Knight of the Shire, 1309	<i>MPs</i> , 30
		Knight of the Shire, 1311-12	<i>MPs</i> , 37
Notes: The Peverells were well established in Cornwall, supposedly holding a place in the county since the Norman Conquest; by the fourteenth century there were several branches of the family (<i>Maclean</i> , i, 382-383).			
John	Peverell	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1382	<i>MPs</i> , 212

Hugh	Peverell	Justice of the Peace, 10 May 1300-December 1307	<i>CPR 1292-1301</i> , 516
Sir Hugh	Peverell	Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-December 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418
Notes: Sir Hugh was a bachelor of the Black Prince (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 142, 148).			
Thomas	Peverell	Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1377-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301
		Knight of the Shire, 1379	<i>MPs</i> , 201
		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1385-July 1387	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 503
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1389-November 1389	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 136
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1389-June 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 138
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 15 November 1389-November 1390	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 28 June 1390-December 1391	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 342, 344
		Justice of the Peace, 15 December 1391-February 1393	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 525
		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1394-February 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 436
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 97
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1400-May 1401	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
Sir Thomas	Pinchbeck	Justice of the Peace, 8 February 1385-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 502
Notes: Pinchbeck served as chief baron of the exchequer from 1388 (<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 428).			

Sir John	Pirier	Receiver of Cornwall, 1344-7	DCO 2-3; <i>RBP</i> , i, 92
Notes: Pirier was the Black Prince's clerk and receiver of all his lands (Sharp, 'Black Prince', pp. 327, 350-351).			
John	Poddyngge	Coroner until 1393	<i>CCR 1392-1396</i> , 176
William	Poer, le	Coroner until 1306	<i>CCR 1302-1307</i> , 421, 473; <i>CPR 1301-1307</i> , 494
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1309	<i>MPs</i> , 30
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1314-15	<i>MPs</i> , 48
Notes: Poer was allegedly imprisoned on the Scilly Isles by Sir Ranulph Blanchminster and others in 1306 (<i>CPR 1301-1307</i> , 538).			
William	Polgas	Knight of the Shire, 1357-8	<i>MPs</i> , 160
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1361-March 1364	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 65
Notes: Polgas was probably a lawyer, serving as William Botreaux's attorney in 1364 (<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 464); and sitting on judicial commission in Cornwall (<i>CPR 1358-1361</i> , 67).			
Richard	Polhampton	Sheriff of Cornwall, 18 November 1314 (accounted from 16 December)-November 1315	SC6/811/13 m. 1r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 18 November 1314-November 1315	SC6/811/13 m. 1r
Notes: Polhampton hailed from Berkshire and served as sheriff of Oxford and Berkshire before his death in 1317 (<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 320, 342; <i>CIPM</i> , vi, 68).			
Sir John	Pomeroy, de la	Justice of the Peace, 4 March 1378-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
Notes: The Pomeroy held extensive estates in Devon and Cornwall (<i>FA</i> , i, 208-218).			
John	Portes, de	Joint-Receiver of Cornwall, 1348-9	DCO 4
Walter	Raynold	Controller of the Stannaries, before 1386	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 107
Sir John	Reprenne	Justice of the Peace, 23 June 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 194
		Justice of the Peace, 20 December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 251
John	Rescarrek'	Knight of the Shire, 1348	<i>MPs</i> , 145
John	Reskymer I	Justice of the Peace, 10 May 1300-December 1307	<i>CPR 1292-1301</i> , 516
		Coroner in 1306	<i>CPR 1301-1307</i> , 482

Notes: The Reskymers were long established in Cornwall (Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , p. 395); it seems that John's father was Richard Reskymer (<i>FF</i> , i, 118, 224-225); John Reskymer served on many commissions, including buying wine for Edward I's household and assessing the county for parliamentary subsidies (<i>CPR 1301-1307</i> , 456, 482).			
Sir John	Reskymer II	Justice of the Peace, 20 May 1384-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 428
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
		Knight of the Shire, Feb. 1388	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 194-195
		Knight of the Shire, Sept. 1388	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 194-195
		Deputy Havener, 18 February 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 197
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 7 November 1390-July 1391	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Knight of the Shire, 1390	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 194-195
Notes: There is no contemporary evidence of Reskymer's parentage, but it seems that he received his father's lands in 1374 (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 194-195); he died in 1391.			
Walter	Reynold	Controller of the Stannaries, before 1386	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 107
		Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 8 November 1401-November 1402	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Notes: Reynold was probably a Devonian, holding other offices in that county (Tyldesley, 'Local Communities', p. 131).			
William	Rikhill	Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1385-July 1387	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 503
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1389-November 1389	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 136
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1389-June 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 138
		Justice of the Peace, 28 June 1390-December 1391	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 342
		Justice of the Peace, 15 December 1391-February 1393	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 525
		Justice of the Peace, 28 February 1393-June 1394	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 292
		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1394-February 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 436
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 97

		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 237</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1399-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 436</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 28 November 1399-February 1400	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1400-May 1401	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 16 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405, 516</i>
Notes: Rikhill was a serjeant-at-law in 1383 and justice of the common pleas from 1389 (<i>CPR 1388-1392, 43</i>).			
John	Roskier	Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1381	<i>MPs, 207</i>
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1384	<i>MPs, 219</i>
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1384	<i>MPs, 222</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1389-June 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392, 138</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 28 June 1390-December 1391	<i>CPR 1388-1392, 342</i>
John	Rynsy	Coroner until 1386	<i>CCR 1385-1389, 174</i>
Richard	Seck	Sheriff of Cornwall, 1 May 1370 (and 21 November)-May 1371	<i>Sheriffs, 21; SC6/818/1 m. 18 r</i>
		Steward of Cornwall, 1 May 1370-May 1371	<i>SC6/818/1 m. 18 r</i>
Robert	Seliman, de	Justice of the Peace, 22 July 1330-February 1331	<i>CPR 1327-1330, 567</i>
Notes: Seliman held the office of escheator south of the Trent (<i>CFR 1327-1337, 161</i>).			
John	Sergeaux	Sheriff of Cornwall, 26 October 1376-November 1377	<i>Sheriffs, 21</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385, 85</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385, 142</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-May 1384	<i>CPR 1381-1385, 248</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 20 May 1384-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385, 428</i>
Notes: The Sergeauxs had been established in Cornwall since the start of Edward I's reign, holding a prominent place in the peninsula, with their seat at Colquite (<i>HOP, ii, 506-507</i>).			

Sir Richard	Sergeaux I 'Lesine'	Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 146
		Knight of the Shire, 1339	<i>MPs</i> , 126
		Knight of the Shire, 1341	<i>MPs</i> , 133
		Knight of the Shire, 1355	<i>MPs</i> , 157
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1361-March 1364	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 65
Notes: Sir Richard Sergeaux I received the considerable lands of his father in 1308; but he was only seven at the time and his mother also pursued a claim to some of these estates (<i>CIPM</i> , v, 19, 83); from the late 1330s he served on many commissions in the county, including that of array and tax collector (<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 279; <i>CCR 1341-1343</i> , 506; <i>CFR 1347-1356</i> , 5, 15).			
Sir Richard	Sergeaux II 'Junior'	Knight of the Shire, 1360-1	<i>MPs</i> , 166
		Knight of the Shire, 1363	<i>MPs</i> , 172
		Justice of the Peace, 8 March 1364-February 1367	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 528
		Knight of the Shire, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174
		Justice of the Peace, 10 July 1368-October 1369	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 195
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-December 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 1 October 1375-October 1376	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 1 October 1375-October 1376	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1375-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 139
		Steward of Cornwall, 12 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CFR 1369-1377</i> , 355
		Knight of the Shire, 1377	<i>MPs</i> , 197
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1377-March 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301
		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
		Knight of the Shire, 1381	<i>MPs</i> , 207

		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Knight of the Shire, May. 1382	<i>MPs</i> , 210
		Knight of the Shire, Oct. 1382	<i>MPs</i> , 212
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Knight of the Shire, 1382-3	<i>MPs</i> , 214
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248, 428
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1385-July 1387	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 503
		Knight of the Shire, 1385	<i>MPs</i> , 225
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 1 December 1388-November 1389	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1389-November 1389	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 136
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1389-June 1390	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 138
		Knight of the Shire, 1390	<i>HOP</i> , ii, 506
		Justice of the Peace, 28 June 1390-December 1391	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 342
		Justice of the Peace, 15 December 1391-February 1393	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 525
		Justice of the Peace, 28 February 1393	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 292
Notes: Sir Richard Sergeaux II was the son of Sir Richard Sergeaux I, receiving his father's lands at some time after 1367 (<i>HOP</i> , ii, 506-507); like his father, he served on numerous commissions in Cornwall; he was a retainer of the Black Prince from at least 1368 (E101/29/24); he often engaged in disorder and died in 1393.			
Sir William	Shareshull	Justice of the Peace, 20 July 1344-December 1346	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 394, 399
		Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1352-December 1354	<i>CPR 1350-1354</i> , 285
		Justice of the Peace, 16 December 1354-December 1355	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 123
		Justice of the Peace, 10 December 1355-February 1358	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 227
		Justice of the Peace, 17 February 1358-March 1361	<i>CPR 1358-1361</i> , 68

Notes: Sharesull was a justice of assize who sat on the Black Prince's Council and later served as chief justice of the king's bench (JUST1/1422 m. 111r; <i>RBP</i> , i, 106, 135; <i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , <i>passim.</i> ; Putnam, <i>William Sharesull</i>).			
Thomas	Shelley	Controller of the Stannaries, 1397 (mistakenly named John)	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 292
		Steward of Cornwall, 23 August 1398-September 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 409
Notes: Shelley had humble origins but became a king's esquire, owing his spectacular rise to John Holand, earl of Huntingdon, whom he served from 1395 (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 353-355).			
John	Skirkbeck	Sheriff of Cornwall, 6 July 1349-February 1350	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 6 July 1349-February 1350	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 25 November 1349-July 1352	<i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 383
		Constable of Launceston Castle, before June 1351-after 1359	SC6/817/1 m. 19r; <i>RBP</i> , ii, 9, 166.
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, 22 July 1351-after 1365	DCO 6; <i>RBP</i> , ii, 14
		Controller of the Stannaries, 1351-9?	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 6, 152
		Justice of the Peace, 16 December 1354-December 1355	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 123
		Feodary, 9 September 1354-October 1359	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 66; SC6/817/4 m. 13v
		Escheator of Cornwall, 24 November 1355-November 1361	<i>Escheators</i> , 30
		Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1367-July 1368	<i>CPR 1364-1367</i> , 434
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
Notes: Skirkbeck was the Black Prince's butler in 1347 (<i>RBP</i> , i, 57); he served on a profusion of commissions in Cornwall.			
John	Slegh	Joint Havener, 5 January 1386-December 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 97
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, 5 January 1386-January 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 97
		Sole Havener, before 24 May 1389-August 1395	<i>CCR 1385-1389</i> , 585
Notes: Slegh was an esquire of Richard II (<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 97).			
John	Son of William	Coroner until 1306	<i>CCR 1302-1307</i> , 367
Robert	Son of William	Coroner until 1329	<i>CCR 1327-1330</i> , 432

Ranulph	Spekcote	Knight of the Shire, 1341	<i>MPs</i> , 133
Geoffrey	St Aubyn	Coroner until 1394	<i>CCR 1392-1396</i> , 315
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 17 October 1398-October 1399	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: The St Aubyns had held land in Cornwall since Henry III's reign (Vivian, <i>Visitations</i> , p. 437); Geoffrey's brass in Crowan church survives (Lack et al, <i>Brasses</i> , pp. 27-28).			
Sir Richard	Stapeldon	Knight of the Shire, 1314	<i>MPs</i> , 46
Notes: Richard Stapeldon was the brother of Walter Stapeldon, bishop of Exeter; he served as knight of the shire in Devon in 1314 as well; he held some land in Cornwall and acquired more, being taxed at 13s. 4d. in 1327 (E179/87/7 m. 9r).			
Bishop Walter	Stapeldon of Exeter	Constable of Tintagel Castle, 1326	<i>CCR 1323-1327</i> , 591; <i>CFR 1319-1327</i> , 401
Robert	Stonard	Coroner until 1365	<i>CCR 1364-1368</i> , 129
Ralph	Stonehouse, de	Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 146
James	Stonore, de	Justice of the Peace, 22 July 1330-February 1331	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 567
Odo	Stor	Coroner until 1342	<i>CCR 1341-1343</i> , 439
John	Stouford	Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1352-December 1354	<i>CPR 1350-1354</i> , 285
		Justice of the Peace, 16 December 1354-December 1355	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 123
		Justice of the Peace, 10 December 1355-February 1358	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 227
		Justice of the Peace, 17 February 1358-March 1361	<i>CPR 1358-1361</i> , 68
Notes: Stouford was a royal justice who repeatedly served as a justice of assize in Cornwall (JUST1/1448 m. 83r).			
John	Stour, de	Coroner until 1338	<i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 297
Simon	Sudbury	Knight of the Shire, 1321	<i>MPs</i> , 62
David	Sulgene, de	Coroner until 1329	<i>CCR 1327-1330</i> , 460
William	Sulgene, de	Coroner until 1353	<i>CCR 1349-1354</i> , 533
John	Syreston	Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, May 1382	<i>MPs</i> , 214
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, Oct. 1382	<i>MPs</i> , 212

		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1383	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 556-557
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1385	<i>MPs</i> , 225
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1386	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 556-557
		Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, Feb. 1388	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 556-557
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1390	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 556-557
		Escheator of Cornwall, 26 November 1399-November 1401	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Notes: Syreston's background is obscure, but he was a lawyer by training; he was also connected to the Bodrugans and Sergeauxs by marriage; he served as under-sheriff of Cornwall and as a tax collector (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 556-557).			
Sir William	Talbot I	Knight of the Shire, 1379-80	<i>MPs</i> , 203
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 18 October 1380-November 1381	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248
		Knight of the Shire, 1385	<i>MPs</i> , 225
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 5 August 1391-November 1391	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 9 November 1395-December 1396	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Sir William	Talbot II	Knight of the Shire, 1402	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 564
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405</i> , 516
		Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 1 December 1405	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
Notes: Sir William Talbot II was the son of Sir William Talbot I; he first appears in 1393 when he and his father were involved in an attack on Trematon Castle; he later attained a position of significance in Cornwall (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 564-565).			
William	Talcarn	Havener, c. 1302	<i>Havener's Accounts</i> , p. 318

Notes: Talcarn was possibly from Talcarn in St Just-in-Roseland (<i>Havener's Accounts</i> , p. 318).			
Sir Nicholas	Tamworth, de	Knight of the Shire, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174
Notes: Tamworth served as a King's Admiral and Captain of Calais (<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 331, 469); he held land in Cornwall; in 1365-6 he and his wife were brought before the county assize for dispossessing William Monk of land in the peninsula (JUST1/1473 m. 15r); in 1370 Tamworth received rights to free warren in St Winnow (<i>CChR 1341-1417</i> , 216).			
Robert	Thorley	Receiver of Cornwall, 19 February 1388	<i>CFR 1383-1391</i> , 225
		Receiver of Cornwall, 27 February 1395?	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 588
		Constable of Restormel Castle, 8 December 1398-October 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 458
Notes: Thorley was initially connected to Thomas of Woodstock, but by 1396 Richard II had wooed him and he became a royal esquire (<i>CPR 1392-1396</i> , 720).			
Simon	Tregawore	Coroner until 1381	<i>CCR 1381-1385</i> , 27
William	Tregosedek	Coroner until 1334	<i>CCR 1333-1337</i> , 193
John	Tregoose	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1379	<i>MPs</i> , 201
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1383	<i>MPs</i> , 217
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1385	<i>MPs</i> , 225
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1386	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 643
		Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1395	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 643
		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, Jan. 1397	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 643
		Coroner until 1406	<i>CCR 1399-1402</i> , 457; <i>CCR 1405-1409</i> , 169
Notes: Tregoose was a lawyer who originated from Tregoose, near St Columb Major; he also served as under-sheriff of Cornwall and steward of Penwith (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 643-644).			
John	Tregorrek	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1382	<i>MPs</i> , 212
		Justice of the Peace, 23 June 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 194, 251
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1383	<i>MPs</i> , 217
		Knight of the Shire, 1384	<i>MPs</i> , 219
		Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1385	<i>MPs</i> , 225

		Justice of the Peace, 8 February 1385-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 502
William	Tregudek	Coroner until 1338	<i>CCR 1337-1339</i> , 297
Sir John	Treiagu	Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1304-5	<i>MPs</i> , 18
		Knight of the Shire, 1306-7	<i>MPs</i> , 24
		Knight of the Shire, 1312-13	<i>MPs</i> , 39
		Knight of the Shire, 1318	<i>MPs</i> , 54
		Knight of the Shire, 1320	<i>MPs</i> , 59
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Easter 1321-Mich. 1321	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, Easter 1321-Mich. 1321	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Restormel Castle, Easter 1321-Mich. 1321	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 26 September 1324-Easter 1327	E389/63 m. 1r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 26 September 1324-Easter 1327	E389/63 m. 1r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Constable of Restormel Castle, 26 September 1324-Easter 1327	E389/63 m. 1r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Knight of the Shire, 1327-8	<i>MPs</i> , 80
		Justice of the Peace, 8 July 1329-October 1329	<i>CPR 1327-1330</i> , 431
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1331-February 1332	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 137
		Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1332-March 1332	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 286
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1332-November 1333	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 294
		Knight of the Shire, 1340?	<i>MPs</i> , 130
Notes: Treiagu held land in Cornwall, paying 2 <i>s.</i> in the 1327 lay subsidy (<i>FA</i> , i, 198-204; 215, 216; E179/87/7 m. 11v); he also served as Bishop Stapeldon's steward in Cornwall, receiving robes and a £10 annuity (<i>Reg.Stapeldon</i> , 392); Treiagu was a busy man who served on a multitude of commissions and from at least 1309 was a knight (CRO, AR 16/1); he engaged in much gangsterism; it seems that the Londoner Richard Causton acquired his lands before 1346, but that the Black Prince subsequently bought these for 400 marks and sold them back to Treiagu (<i>RBP</i> , i, 5-6).			
Reginald	Trelouthes	Coroner until 1329	<i>CCR 1327-1330</i> , 432

John	Tremayne	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1323-4	<i>MPs</i> , 69
		Knight of the Shire, 1344	<i>MPs</i> , 138
		Knight of the Shire, 1346	<i>MPs</i> , 140
		Knight of the Shire, 1354	<i>MPs</i> , 155
		Knight of the Shire, 1355	<i>MPs</i> , 157
		Knight of the Shire, 1357	<i>MPs</i> , 159
		Knight of the Shire, 1357-8	<i>MPs</i> , 160
		Knight of the Shire, 1360	<i>MPs</i> , 163
		Knight of the Shire, 1360-1	<i>MPs</i> , 166
		Knight of the Shire, 1362	<i>MPs</i> , 169
		Knight of the Shire, 1366	<i>MPs</i> , 176
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1368?	<i>MPs</i> , 179
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1368?	<i>MPs</i> , 179
		Knight of the Shire, 1369	<i>MPs</i> , 181
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1369?	<i>MPs</i> , 181
Notes: John Tremayne was a lawyer of distinction who often served the Black Prince (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 116), Bishop Grandisson (<i>CCR 1354-1360</i> , 288), Nicholas Tamworth (<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 126), and William Botreaux (<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 464), to name but a few of his clients; it seems that he was active until 1376, but that there were as many as four 'John Tremaynes' by this time, causing much confusion (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 646-648).			
John	Tremayne, son of John Tremayne	Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1344	<i>MPs</i> , 138
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1351-2	<i>MPs</i> , 150
		Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1351-2?	<i>MPs</i> , 150
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1351-2?	<i>MPs</i> , 150
		Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1355?	<i>MPs</i> , 157

		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1355?	<i>MPs</i> , 157
Notes: John son of John Tremayne represented Launceston in 1344 and 1351-2; he may have represented these other boroughs as well (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 647).			
John	Tremayne Junior	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1364-5	<i>MPs</i> , 174
		Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1368	<i>MPs</i> , 179
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1368?	<i>MPs</i> , 179
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1368?	<i>MPs</i> , 179
		Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1369?	<i>MPs</i> , 181
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1371?	<i>MPs</i> , 185
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1373?	<i>MPs</i> , 190
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1376-7	<i>MPs</i> , 195
Notes: John Tremayne Junior may have represented Lostwithiel in 1368 and 1369, and Launceston in 1371 and 1373 (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 647).			
John	Tremayne, son of Richard	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1369	<i>MPs</i> , 181
John	Tremayne	Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301
		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 23 June 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 194
		Justice of the Peace, 20 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248, 251
		Justice of the Peace, 8 February 1385-July 1387	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 502, 503
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-July 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 385
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, Feb. 1388	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 646
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1388-July 1389	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 545
		Justice of the Peace, 28 June 1390-December 1391	<i>CPR 1388-1392</i> , 342

		Justice of the Peace, 15 December 1391-February 1393	<i>CPR 1388-1392, 525</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 28 February 1393-June 1394	<i>CPR 1391-1396, 292</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 18 June 1394-February 1397	<i>CPR 1391-1396, 436</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 97</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 237</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1399-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399, 436</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 28 November 1399-February 1400	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1400-May 1401	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 16 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401, 557</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405, 516</i>
Notes: Tremayne was another lawyer of distinction who ran a busy practice and attained the position of Common Serjeant and Recorder of London (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 646-648).			
William	Tremayne	Parliamentary Burgess for Lostwithiel, 1360-1	<i>MPs, 166</i>
William	Trembetheu	Coroner until 1345	<i>CCR 1343-1346, 539</i>
Richard	Trenaga	Coroner until 1392	<i>CCR 1392-1396, 10</i>
Henry	Trenaswethen	Coroner until 1365	<i>CCR 1364-1368, 97</i>
John	Trenewith	Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1369	<i>MPs, 181</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1371	<i>MPs, 185</i>
Michael	Trenewith (the elder?)	Knight of the Shire, 1337-8	<i>MPs, 119</i>
		Knight of the Shire, 1338	<i>MPs, 121</i>
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340, 139, 146</i>
Notes: The lives of Michael Trenewith the elder and the younger are difficult to disentangle; both had major tinning interests and a penchant for lawlessness (Hatcher, <i>Tin</i> , pp. 80-82).			
Nicholas	Trenewith	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1379-80	<i>MPs, 203</i>

		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, Sep. 1397	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 649
Notes: Nicholas Trenewith may have been related to Ralph Trenewith II, and served as deputy havener to Richard Hampton (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 649).			
Ralph	Trenewith I	Knight of the Shire, 1351-2	<i>MPs</i> , 150
Ralph	Trenewith II	Justice of the Peace, 10 July 1368-October 1369	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 195
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
		Receiver of the Cornwall, 1369-77	SC6/818/1 m. 16v; DCO 18; <i>CFR 1369-1377</i> , 355
		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-June 1373	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418
		Justice of the Peace, 26 June 1373-December 1375	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, Jan. 1377	<i>MPs</i> , 195
		Justice of the Peace, 2 July 1377-December 1377	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 45
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, Oct. 1377	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 650
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1377-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1393	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 650
Notes: Ralph Trenewith II was the son of Walter Trenewith, and kinsman to Ralph Trenewith I and Michael Trenewith; he held considerable estates in the county and had interests in tin; he died before December 1393 (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 650-651).			
Ralph	Trenewith III	Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1395	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 651
Notes: Ralph Trenewith III was the grandson of Ralph Trenewith II, receiving his grandfather's lands in 1393 (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 651).			
Ralph	Trenewith of Padstow	Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405</i> , 516
Stephan	Trenewith	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, Jan. 1397	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 651-652
Sir Robert	Tresilian	Knight of the Shire, 1368	<i>MPs</i> , 179
		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-June 1373	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418

		Justice of the Peace, 26 June 1373-December 1375	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
		Justice of the Peace, 6 December 1375-July 1376	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 139
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Justice of the Peace, 2 July 1377-December 1377	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 45
		Steward of Cornwall, 20 July 1377-August 1378	<i>CFR 1377-1383</i> , 7
		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1377-March 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Justice of the Peace, 12 August 1378-May 1380	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 301
		Justice of the Peace, 26 May 1380-February 1381	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 513
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 23 June 1382-December 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 194
		Justice of the Peace, 20 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248, 251
		Justice of the Peace, 8 February 1385-July 1387	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 502, 503
		Justice of the Peace, 16 July 1387-8	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 80, 385
Notes: Tresilian was a Cornish lawyer and royal servant who rose to become chief justice of the king's bench; the Appellants murdered him in 1388 (Leland, 'Robert Tresilian').			
Henry	Trethewey	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1325	<i>MPs</i> , 73
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 5 July 1333-October 1334	E372/179 m. 17r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 5 July 1333-October 1334	SC6/812/1
		Constable of Launceston Castle, 5 July 1333-October 1334	<i>CFR 1327-1337</i> , 364
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 139, 146
		Steward of Cornwall, Mich. 1340-2	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1340-Mich. 1343	DCO 1; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Justice of the Peace, 20 July 1344-November 1344	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 394, 399
		Justice of the Peace, 10 November 1344-December 1346	<i>CPR 1343-1345</i> , 396

		Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1346-November 1349	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 232
Notes: Trethewey's origins are obscure, though it seems that he paid 18 <i>d.</i> in Lanlivery in 1327 (E179/87/7 m. 12r); he held some lands in Cornwall, jointly paying the 1346 feudal aid with John Moveroun (<i>FA</i> , i, 209; <i>FF</i> , i, 359); he enjoyed an active administrative career, serving as a tax collector (<i>CCR 1338-1341</i> , 437) and keeper of Tywardreath (<i>CFR 1337-1347</i> , 268) amongst other things; he was a yeoman of the Black Prince (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 37).			
William	Trethewey	Bailiff-Errant, 1351?	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 4, 55
Notes: Trethewey was probably related to Henry Trethewey, but accumulated considerable debts during his duties (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 55).			
Henry	Treualuard	Coroner until 1379	<i>CCR 1377-1381</i> , 180, 182, 235
John	Treury	Parliamentary Burgess for Bodmin, 1347-8	<i>MPs</i> , 143
		Justice of the Peace, 8 December 1356-February 1358	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 389
John	Trevaignon	Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1332-March 1332	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 286, 296
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1332-November 1333	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 348
		Justice of the Peace, 2 November 1333	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 496
Notes: Trevaignon was a Cornishman who rose to the rank of king's serjeant-at-law, justice of assize, and judge of the common pleas (<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 350; <i>JUST1/1418</i> m. 20r; <i>CPR 1334-1338</i> , 12; <i>FF</i> , i, 312-313).			
John	Trevarthian I	Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
		Justice of the Peace, 4 July 1376-July 1377	<i>CPR 1374-1377</i> , 313
		Justice of the Peace, 2 July 1377-December 1377	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 45
		Justice of the Peace, 4 March 1378-August 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
John	Trevarthian II 'the younger'	Knight of the Shire, 1393	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 657-658
		Justice of the Peace, 28 February 1393-June 1394	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 292
		Knight of the Shire, 1397	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 657-658
		Knight of the Shire, 1401	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 657-658
		Sheriff of Cornwall, Mich. 1401-After Easter 1402	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21

Notes: Richard II retained Trevarthian II as an esquire from 1392 (<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 190).			
Peter	Treveluargh, son of William	Constable of Tintagel Castle, August 1314-May 1316	<i>CPR 1313-1317</i> , 163; SC6/811/14 m. 1r
Notes: Treveluargh was a Cornishman who held land in the county (<i>FF</i> , i, 213-214).			
John	Treverbyn	Justice of the Peace, 18 December 1377-March 1378	<i>CPR 1377-1381</i> , 48
		Knight of the Shire, 1391	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 659-660
		Knight of the Shire, 1393	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 659-660
		Knight of the Shire, 1394	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 659-660
Notes: By 1388 Treverbyn was an esquire of Richard II (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 659-660).			
Henry	Trewinnard	Justice of the Peace, 15 July 1352-December 1354	<i>CPR 1350-1354</i> , 285
		Justice of the Peace, 16 December 1354-December 1355	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 123
		Justice of the Peace, 10 December 1355-February 1358	<i>CPR 1354-1358</i> , 227
		Justice of the Peace, 17 February 1358-March 1361	<i>CPR 1358-1361</i> , 68
		Justice of the Peace, 21 March 1361-March 1364	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 65
		Justice of the Peace, 8 March 1364-February 1367	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 528
		Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1367-July 1368	<i>CPR 1364-1367</i> , 434
		Justice of the Peace, 26 June 1373-December 1375	<i>CPR 1370-1374</i> , 388
James	Trewinnard	Knight of the Shire, 1346	<i>MPs</i> , 140
William	Trewinnard	Parliamentary Burgess for Liskeard, 1351-2	<i>MPs</i> , 150
		Knight of the Shire, 1354	<i>MPs</i> , 155
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1355	<i>MPs</i> , 157
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1360-1	<i>MPs</i> , 166
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1362	<i>MPs</i> , 169
Notes: William Trewinnard mainprised the prior of Launceston (<i>CPR 1364-1367</i> , 241); he was probably related to Henry and James Trewinnard.			

John	Trewoef	Coroner until 1366	<i>CCR 1364-1368</i> , 228
Thomas	Trewyn	Controller of the Stannaries, 1388	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 382
Notes: Trewyn was one of Richard II's servants.			
Stephen	Trewynt, de	Coroner until 1311	<i>CCR 1307-1313</i> , 313
Roger	Trewythenick	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1381	<i>MPs</i> , 207
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1382-3	<i>MPs</i> , 214
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1383	<i>MPs</i> , 217
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1385	<i>MPs</i> , 225
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1386	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 662
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, Feb. 1388	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 662
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1390	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 662
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1391	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 662
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1395	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 662
		Justice of the Peace, 20 February 1397-November 1397	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 97
		Justice of the Peace, 12 November 1397-February 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 237
		Justice of the Peace, 26 February 1399-November 1399	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 436
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1399	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 662
		Justice of the Peace, 28 November 1399-February 1400	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 February 1400-May 1401	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Justice of the Peace, 16 May 1401-March 1403	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 557
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1402	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 662
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405</i> , 516
Notes: Trewythenick was a lawyer who also served as receiver of the earl of Warwick's manors in Cornwall (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 662).			

Simon	Trewythosa	Knight of the Shire, 1328	<i>MPs</i> , 85
		Knight of the Shire, 1331-2	<i>MPs</i> , 95
Notes: Trewythosa was a Cornish lawyer who took the coif (Baker, <i>Serjeants</i> , p. 541).			
John	Tunsy	Coroner until 1387	<i>CCR 1385-1389</i> , 234
Wynand	Tyrel the younger	Havener, March 1315-May 1316	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 238, 278
Richard	Tyrel	Coroner before 1372-92	<i>CCR 1369-1374</i> , 363; <i>CCR 1389-1392</i> , 422
John	Urban	Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1381	<i>MPs</i> , 207
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1382	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 690-692
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1383	<i>MPs</i> , 217
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1384	<i>MPs</i> , 222
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1385	<i>MPs</i> , 225
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1386	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 690-692
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1390	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 690-692
		Parliamentary Burgess for Truro, 1391	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 690-692
		Justice of the Peace, 28 February 1393-June 1394	<i>CPR 1391-1396</i> , 292
		Parliamentary Burgess for Helston, 1397	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 690-692
Notes: Urban was a Helston-based merchant whose interests in tin resulted in him serving as a royal ambassador during the reigns of Henry IV and V (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 690-692).			
John	Vautort	Knight of the Shire, 1327-8	<i>MPs</i> , 80
Ranulph	Vautort	Constable of Trematon Castle, 1323	E389/63 m. 1r
William	Venour	Receiver of Cornwall, February 1386 (vacated the office)	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 109
John	Waksham, de	Escheator of Cornwall and Devon, 11 November 1371-December 1372	<i>Escheators</i> , 31
William	Waldeshef	Havener, 1272-1300	<i>Havener's Accounts</i> , p. 318
Philip	Walwayn	Bailiff-Errant, 1398	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 355

Notes: Walwayn served as an esquire to Richard II.			
Nicholas	Wamford, de	Justice of the Peace, 10 February 1362-March 1364	<i>CPR 1361-1364</i> , 207
		Knight of the Shire, 1366	<i>MPs</i> , 176
		Justice of the Peace, 12 February 1367-July 1368	<i>CPR 1364-1367</i> , 434
		Justice of the Peace, 10 July 1368-October 1369	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 195
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-December 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418
		Knight of the Shire, 1375-6	<i>MPs</i> , 193
		Knight of the Shire, 1377	<i>MPs</i> , 197
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 26 November 1377-November 1378	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Knight of the Shire, 1379	<i>MPs</i> , 201
		Justice of the Peace, 14 December 1381-March 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 85
		Justice of the Peace, 9 March 1382-June 1382	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 142
		Justice of the Peace, 21 December 1382-February 1385	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 248
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 18 November 1386-November 1387	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
Notes: Wamford died in 1398; his Cornish estates were then divided between his daughter Joan – who had married John Kaynes – and his great great grandson John Durant, whose grandmother, Eleanor, had been Wamford’s daughter (<i>CIPM</i> , xvii, 400).			
Sir John	Whalesbrew I	Knight of the Shire, 1344	<i>MPs</i> , 138
		Knight of the Shire, 1353	<i>MPs</i> , 153
Notes: Whalesbrew ‘died in parts beyond the sea’ sometime before 1382, leaving his fifteen-year-old son, another John Whalesbrew, as his heir (<i>CIPM</i> , xv, 258-259).			
John	Whalesbrew II	Knight of the Shire, 1402	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 822
		Justice of the Peace, 14 March 1403	<i>CPR 1401-1405</i> , 516
		Sheriff of Cornwall, 22 October 1403-Mich. 1404	<i>Sheriffs</i> , 21

William	Wichyngham	Justice of the Peace, 10 July 1368-October 1369	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 195
		Justice of the Peace, 26 October 1369-January 1370	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 266
		Justice of the Peace, 28 January 1370-December 1375	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 418
Notes: Wichyngham was a justice of the common pleas (<i>CPR 1364-1367</i> , 177).			
Robert	Wisdom	Feodary, 4 October 1359-69	<i>RBP</i> , ii, 164; DCO 15
		Escheator of Cornwall, 5 November 1361-November 1371	<i>Escheators</i> , 30
		Parliamentary Burgess for Launceston, 1363	<i>MPs</i> , 172
Notes: Wisdom was a servant of the Black Prince who served as Liskeard's Parker from 1353 (<i>RBP</i> , ii 52, 164); the prince later appointed him feodary in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset (<i>RBP</i> , ii, 185).			
James	Wodestock, de	Justice of the Peace, 6 July 1338-August 1338	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 139
		Justice of the Peace, 3 August 1338-July 1344	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 139
Notes: Wodestock served as steward of all the Black Prince's lands in 1337-8 (Sharp, 'Black Prince', p. 439); he served as a justice of assize in Cornwall (JUST1/1426A m. 21r); and as a judge in the central courts (<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 415).			
Alan	Wolwayn	Havener, 1308-9	<i>Havener's Accounts</i> , p. 318
Sir Henry	Wylinton	Sheriff of Cornwall, 15 May 1316- Easter 1321	SC6/811/17 m. 1r; <i>Sheriffs</i> , 21
		Steward of Cornwall, 15 May 1316-Easter 1321	SC6/811/17 m. 1r
		Constable of Restormel Castle, 15 May 1316-Easter 1321	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 278-279
		Constable of Tintagel Castle, 15 May 1316-Easter 1321	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 278-279
		Constable of Trematon Castle, 15 May 1316-Easter 1321	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 278-279
		Constable of Launceston Castle?, 15 May 1316-Easter 1321	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 278-279
		Havener, 15 May 1316-July 1317	<i>CFR 1307-1319</i> , 278-279

Notes: Wylington was of Gloucestershire baronial stock (*CP*, xii part 2, 642-649); he held the manors of Lanteglos-by-Fowey and Fawton in Cornwall, which his elder brother, John, had granted jointly to him and Christina, the widow of their other brother Edmund (SC8/149/7409); Sir Henry served on a multitude of commissions in Cornwall; he fought against the king in 1321 (*CCR 1321-1324*, 15-16); he again sided with Edward's opponents in the Civil War of 1322, which cost him his life (*CCR 1318-1322*, 519, *CPR 1321-1324*, 148, 378; SC8/149/7408; SC6/1146/21); he was probably constable of Launceston Castle, but his appointment was not stated expressly (*CFR 1307-1319*, 278-279).

William	Wyncelower	Controller of the Stannaries, 1386-8	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 248
Notes: Wyncelower was a yeoman of Richard II's chamber.			
John	Wynter	Steward of Cornwall, 29 September 1399-February 1402	<i>CPR 1396-1399</i> , 595
		Constable of Restormel Castle, 5 October 1399	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , 1
Notes: Wynter was a thoroughgoing Lancastrian who was appointed steward 'on the advice of the duke of Lancaster' before Richard II's formal deposition (<i>HOP</i> , iv, 929-931).			
John	Wysa	Coroner until 1392	<i>CCR 1389-1392</i> , 445

Appendix III

Cornish Men-at-Arms and Mounted Archers who fought for the King between c. 1298 and c. 1415

The names of Cornish gentlemen who hailed from leading lineages have been standardised, but for those outside the ranks of the elite the original spelling has been preserved. The rank of each named individual is based solely on the information relating to their specific incidence of military service.

First Name	Surname	Rank	Captain	Year	Military Service/Expedition	Reference
Odo	Ludderal	Yeoman	Walter Treverbyn	1296	Berwick	<i>CPR 1292-1301</i> , 193
Walter	Treverbyn	Knight		1296	Berwick	<i>CPR 1292-1301</i> , 193
Robert	Giffard			1298-9	Scotland	C67/14 m. 15
John	Tregor			1298-9	Scotland	C67/14 m. 17
Ranulph	Beapel	Esquire	Hugh Courtenay	1298	Falkirk	<i>Falkirk</i> , ed. Gough, pp. 38, 208
Richard	Beapel	Esquire	Thomas of Lancaster	1298	Falkirk	<i>Falkirk</i> , ed. Gough, p. 212
Robert	Beapel	Esquire	Hugh Courtenay	1298	Falkirk	<i>Falkirk</i> , ed. Gough, pp. 38, 208
William	Botreaux	Esquire	John de Warenne	1298	Falkirk	<i>Falkirk</i> , ed. Gough, pp. 20, 86
Robert	Giffard	Knight		1298	Falkirk	<i>Falkirk</i> , ed. Gough, pp. 50, 236; <i>CCR 1296-1302</i> , 167
William	Lacy, de			1298	Scotland	<i>CPR 1292-1301</i> , 385
Serlo	Nansladron	Esquire		1298	Falkirk	<i>Falkirk</i> , ed. Gough, pp. 47, 87
Richard	Portilly			1298	Scotland	<i>CPR 1292-1301</i> , 363
William	Trewent	Esquire		1298	Falkirk	<i>Falkirk</i> , ed. Gough, p. 218
Simon	Trewyke, de			1298	Falkirk	<i>Falkirk</i> , ed. Gough, p. 33
Henry	Bodrugan	Knight		1299-1300	Scotland	C67/14 mm. 7, 10

Michael	Bloyou	Esquire		1300	Scotland	E101/8/23
John	Carminow	Esquire		1300	Scotland	E101/8/23
Robert	Giffard	Knight		1300	Scotland	E101/8/23
John	Hamley	Knight		1300	Scotland	E101/8/23
Richard	Huish	Esquire		1300	Scotland	E101/8/23
Thomas	l'Ercedekne			1300-1	Scotland	C67/14 m. 6
Serlo	Nansladron			1300-1	Scotland	C67/14 m. 6
Adam	Crofton, son of Ralph de			1301	Scotland	<i>CPR 1292-1301, 563</i>
Thomas	Hugun			1301	Scotland	<i>CPR 1292-1301, 614; CPR 1301-1307, 166, 200</i>
Stephen	Swynk			1301	Scotland	<i>CPR 1292-1301, 608</i>
Roger	Trewervenens, son of Henry de			1301	Scotland	<i>CPR 1292-1301, 563</i>
Robert	Halegod			1302	Scotland	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 24</i>
Henry	Bodrugan	Knight		1302	Scotland and Gascony	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 63</i>
Peter	Bodrugan		Henry Bodrugan	1302	Scotland and Gascony	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 63</i>
John	Bodrugan		Henry Bodrugan	1302	Scotland and Gascony	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 63</i>
John	Fughelere, le		Henry Bodrugan	1302	Scotland and Gascony	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 63</i>
Adam	Markewelle, de		Henry Bodrugan	1302	Scotland and Gascony	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 63</i>
Serlo	Wysa		Henry Bodrugan	1302	Scotland and Gascony	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 63</i>
Henry	Bodrugan		Hugh Despenser	1302-3	Scotland	C67/15 m. 8
Peter	Bodrugan		Hugh Despenser	1302-3	Scotland	C67/15 m. 8
William	Botreaux			1302-3	Scotland	C67/15 m. 4
John	Carminow			1302-3	Scotland	C67/15 m. 11

Ralph	l'Ercedekne			1303	Scotland	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 115</i>
John	Hamely			1303-4	Scotland	<i>C67/15 m. 14</i>
Ranulph	Blanchminster		Edward of Caernarfon	1306	Scotland	<i>CPR 1301-1307, 480</i>
Thomas	Geveley			1310	Scotland	<i>CPR 1307-1313, 362</i>
Philip	Beville		Aymer de Valence	1314	Bannockburn	<i>C71/6 m. 5</i>
Otto	Bodrugan		Ralph de Monthermer	1314	Bannockburn	<i>C71/6 mm. 4, 5</i>
Thomas	Geveley		Henry de Beaumont	1314	Bannockburn	<i>C71/6 m. 4</i>
Henry	Godrevy		Aymer de Valence	1314	Bannockburn	<i>C71/6 m. 5</i>
Odo	l'Ercedekne		Aymer de Valence	1314	Bannockburn	<i>C71/6 m. 5</i>
Thomas	l'Ercedekne		Aymer de Valence	1314	Bannockburn	<i>C71/6 m. 5</i>
John	Pican		Aymer de Valence	1314	Bannockburn	<i>C71/6 m. 5</i>
Michael	Trenewith		Aymer de Valence	1314	Bannockburn	<i>C71/6 m. 5</i>
Robert	Beaupel		Bartholomew de Badelesmere	1318	Siege of Berwick	<i>C71/10 m. 12</i>
John	Chyneden		Bartholomew de Badelesmere	1318	Siege of Berwick	<i>C71/10 m. 12</i>
Thomas	Geveley			1320	Scotland	<i>C71/10 m. 4</i>
John	Aignell			1322	Scotland	<i>C47/5/10 m. 2</i>
Reginald	Botreaux	Knight		1322	Scotland	<i>C47/5/10 m. 2</i>
John	Caynhes			1322	Scotland	<i>C47/5/10 m. 2</i>
John	Chenduyt		Sir Thomas l'Ercedekne	1322	Scotland	<i>CPR 1321-1324, 200</i>
William	Cherward			1322	Scotland	<i>C47/5/10 m. 2</i>
Osbert	Hamley			1322	Scotland	<i>C47/5/10 m. 2</i>
Thomas	l'Ercedekne	Knight		1322	Scotland	<i>CPR 1321-1324, 200</i>

Matthew	Trenewith		Thomas l'Ercedekne	1322	Scotland	<i>CPR 1321-1324</i> , 200
John	Tresuhkan			1322	Scotland	<i>C47/5/10 m. 2</i>
Wyan	Tyrel		Thomas l'Ercedekne	1322	Scotland	<i>CPR 1321-1324</i> , 200
Thomas	l'Ercedekne	Knight	Ralph, Lord Basset of Draton	1323	Beyond the Sea	<i>CPR 1321-1324</i> , 338
Adam	Bloyou			1324	War of Saint-Sardos	<i>E101/17/2 m. 1</i>
Otto	Bodrugan			1325	War of Saint-Sardos	<i>CPR 1324-1327</i> , 108, 109; <i>CCR 1327-1330</i> , 503
Thomas	l'Ercedekne	Knight		1324	War of Saint-Sardos	<i>C61/36 mm. 28, 40</i> ; <i>CPR 1324-1327</i> , 80
John	Pikard		Otto Bodrugan	1325	War of Saint-Sardos	<i>CPR 1324-1327</i> , 108
John	Baghowe			1327	Scotland	<i>CCR 1327-1330</i> , 176
Otto	Bodrugan		Roger Mortimer	1327	Scotland	<i>C71/11 m. 6</i>
Nicholas	Dauney			1327	Scotland	<i>C71/11 m. 6</i>
Ralph	Bloyou	Knight	Oliver de Ingham	1331	Aquitaine	<i>CPR 1330-1334</i> , 154, 180
Ralph	Bloyou	Knight		1333	Halidon Hill	<i>C71/13 mm. 9, 20</i>
William	Chenduyt			1333	Halidon Hill	<i>C71/13 m. 5</i>
John	Trengde, de			1333	Halidon Hill	<i>C71/13 m. 8</i>
William	Treveshkeu			1333	Halidon Hill	<i>C71/13 m. 12</i>
John	Fowey			1336	Scotland	<i>C71/15 m. 15</i>
John	Penles, junior			1336	Scotland	<i>C71/15 m. 16</i>
John	Penles, senior			1336	Scotland	<i>C71/15 m. 16</i>
Ranulph	Trenewith, de			1336	Scotland	<i>C71/15 m. 16</i>
Roland	Treres			1336	Scotland	<i>C71/15 m. 16</i>
John	Chaupernoun			1338	Flanders	<i>C76/12 m. 4</i>

Thomas	Fenne, atte			1338-40	Flanders	<i>William de Norwell</i> , p. 309; <i>Treaty Rolls</i> , ed. Ferguson, p. 150
John	Lambourne, de			1338	Flanders	C76/12 m. 4
John	l'Ercedekne			1338	Flanders	C76/12 mm. 6, 7; <i>Treaty Rolls</i> , ed. Ferguson, pp. 136, 142
Hugh	Peverell			1338	France	<i>Treaty Rolls</i> , ed. Ferguson, p. 149
Ralph	Bloyou	Knight		1340	Sluys-Tournai	C76/15 m. 23
William	Botreaux	Knight	Walter Mauny	1340	Sluys-Tournai	C76/15 m. 24
Walter	Carminow			1340	Sluys-Tournai	C76/15 m. 21
Richard	Erth, de			1340	Sluys-Tournai	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 457
James	Hamley			1340	Sluys-Tournai	C76/15 m. 22
John	l'Ercedekne			1340	Scotland and Sluys-Tournai	<i>CPR 1338-1340</i> , 457
Richard	Trewelone		Walter Mauny	1340	Sluys-Tournai	C76/15 m. 24
John	Whalesbrew		Henry de Ferrers	1340	Sluys-Tournai	C76/15 m. 21
John	Betheware			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 9
Walter	Bodrugan		Hugh Courtenay	1342	Brittany	C76/17 m. 37
Richard	Channonn?			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 7
John	Dauney		Hugh Courtenay	1342	Brittany	C76/17 m. 37
John	Dauney	Knight	Hugh Courtenay	1342	Brittany	C76/17 m. 37
Thomas	Fenne, atte			1342	Brittany	E36/204 f. 87r
John	Gayregrave			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 11
John	Goustard			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 7
Philip	Hoba			1342	Brittany	C76/17 m. 1
Roger	Leyde			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 2

Roger	Nansteglos			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 7
Hugh	Peverell		Hugh Courtenay	1342	Brittany	C76/17 m. 37
Reginald	Tredaek, de			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 7
Serlo	Tregonon			1342	Brittany	E36/204 f. 108v
Roger	Tresawel, de			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 6
John	Trevaignon		Hugh Courtenay	1342	Brittany	C76/17 m. 35
John	Welde			1342	Brittany	C76/18 m. 11
John	Whalesbrew		Hugh Courtenay	1342	Brittany	C76/17 m. 37
John	Lynyen		Henry of Lancaster	1345	Aquitaine	<i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 548
John	Lambourne		Henry of Lancaster	1345	Aquitaine	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 190
Nicholas	Beaupel		Thomas de Daggeworth	1346	Brittany	E101/25/18
Hugh	Bere, de la, son of David	Knight	Hugh Despenser	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 150
John	Beville, son of Laurence		The Black Prince	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 135
William	Bodrugan	Knight	William de Bohun	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 7, 34, 133
William	Botreaux	Knight	The Black Prince	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 7, 33, 131
Walter	Carminow	Knight	William de Bohun	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 34, 133
John	Dauney	Knight	The Black Prince	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 93, 280
William	Gwenha			1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 232; <i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 500
John	Hamley	Knight		1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 280
Robert	Hamley		The Black Prince	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 246
John	Hillary		Reginald de Cobham	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 228; <i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 505

John	l'Ercedekne	Knight	Reginald de Cobham	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 6, 33, 118, 240; <i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 494
Hugh	Peverell	Knight	Gerard d'Lisle	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 34, 94
Hilary	Polmorva, de		William de Bohun	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 228, 264; <i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 505
Thomas	Prideaux		John Trevaignon	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 130
Adam	Selk			1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 220; <i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 513
Richard	Sergeaux	Knight	Maurice de Berkeley	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 137
Matthew	Soor, le		Hugh Despenser	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 83
Serlo	Tregonan, de			1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 124, 208
William	Trenedon, son of Walter		William de Bohun	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 523
Michael	Trenewith the younger			1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>CPR 1345-1348</i> , 518
John	Trevaignon	Knight	William Kildesby	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, pp. 37, 94
William	Trevaignon		William Kildesby	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 94
Robert	Trevaignon		William Kildesby	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 94
Richard	Trevaignon		William Kildesby	1346-7	Crécy-Calais	<i>Crécy</i> , ed. Wrottesley, p. 94
Roland	Penfoun		John d'Lisle	1342-7	Brittany, Calais, Aquitaine	<i>CPR 1348-1350</i> , 538
Ralph	Beapel		The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 197
John	Beapel	Knight	The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 197; <i>RBP</i> , ii, 86
John	Blanchminster	Knight	The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 198
Otto	Bodrugan		The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 198
William	Bodrugan	Knight	The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 198
Richard	Huish	Knight	The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 205
William	Lambourne		The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 206

Hugh	Peverell		The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 209
John	Sergeaux		The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 200
John	Trevaignon	Knight	The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 213
Robert	Trevaignon		The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 213
John	Whalesbrew		The Black Prince	1355-7	Poitiers	Hewitt, <i>Expedition of 1355</i> , p. 214
William	Botreaux	Knight	Guy de Brian	1359-60	Rheims	C76/37 m. 2; C76/40 m. 10; <i>RBP</i> , ii, 164; <i>Rot. Gascones</i> , ed. Carte, p. 73
Thomas	Carminow		The Black Prince	1359-60	Rheims	C76/37 m. 3
Richard	Flaunche		John of Gaunt	1359-60	Rheims	<i>CPR 1358-1361</i> , 506
Ralph	Giffard		The Black Prince	1359-60	Rheims	C76/37 m. 3
Thomas	Gregga			1359-60	Rheims	<i>CPR 1358-1361</i> , 383
Geoffrey	Hamley		The Black Prince	1359-60	Rheims	C76/37 m. 3
Roland	Penford		The Black Prince	1359-60	Rheims	C76/37 m. 3
John	Sergeaux		The Black Prince	1359-60	Rheims	C76/37 m. 3
Simon	Pengressek			1361-3	Ireland	E101/28/11 m. 4r
Walter	Penhigard			1368	Aquitaine	<i>CPR 1367-1370</i> , 133; Walker, <i>Lancastrian Affinity</i> , pp. 68-69
Richard	Sergeaux	Knight	The Black Prince	1368-9	Aquitaine	E101/29/24
Walter	Bluet	Knight	William Botreaux	1369	France	C76/52 m. 11
William	Botreaux	Knight		1369	France	C76/52 mm. 11, 12
Thomas	Botreaux		William Botreaux	1369	France	C76/52 m. 11
John	Dauney			1369	France	C76/52 m. 5
John	Hamley			1369	France	C76/52 m. 21
Thomas	Tregodeck		William Botreaux	1369	France	C76/52 m. 11

William	Tredewy	Archer		1369	Southampton, garrison	E101/29/29/no1 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Beville	Archer		1369	Portsmouth, garrison	E199/1/35 m. 7v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Boscaweyn	Archer		1369	Portsmouth, garrison	E101/29/32 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Botreaux	Knight		1370	France	<i>Issue Roll of Thomas Brantingham</i> , pp. 461, 486
Thomas	Arundell	Archer	Lord Guy Brian	1370	Keeping the Sea	E101/30/21 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Ralph	Carminow	Knight	Lord Guy Brian	1370	Keeping the Sea	E101/30/21 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Fowey, de		Lord Guy Brian	1370	Keeping the Sea	E101/30/21 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Penrose		Lord Guy Brian	1370	Keeping the Sea	E101/30/21 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Odo	Sede		Lord Guy Brian	1370	Keeping the Sea	E101/30/21 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Constantyn		William de Windsor	1371	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/25 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Polruwan		Lord Guy Brian	1371	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/11/no2 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	St Aubyn			1371	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/11/no2 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Trensawithen		Lord Guy Brian	1371	Keeping the Sea	C76/54 m. 13; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Beville	Knight	Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/31/39 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Nicholas	Beville		Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/31/39 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Botreaux	Knight	Lord Guy Brian	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/36/16 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Fowey		William Neville	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/32/24 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Fowey			1372	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/32 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Fowey			1372	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/32 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Ilcombe	Esquire	William de Salisbury	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/32/30 m. 6; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

Warin	l'Ercedekne	Knight	Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/31/39 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	l'Ercedekne		Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/31/39 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Penhergarth	Esquire	William de Salisbury	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/32/30 m. 6; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	Penhircard	Knight	John of Gaunt	1372	Naval Expedition	C76/55 m. 21; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Trenger	Archer	William Montagu	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/32/30 m. 6v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Treverbyn	Esquire	William Montagu	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/32/30 m. 6; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Trewennack	Esquire	William de Salisbury	1372	Naval Expedition	E101/32/30 m. 6; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Dauney	Esquire	Edward, Lord Despenser	1372-4	Naval Expedition/France	E101/32/26 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
?	Tregoy	Esquire	Edward, Lord Despenser	1372-4	Naval Expedition/France	E101/32/26 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Bodrugan	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Fitz Wauter	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Kylloyowe		Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	C76/56 m. 35; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Lambourne	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Lanwernek	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Monshole	Archer	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Nicholas	Penbon	Archer	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Opy	Penpole	Archer	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Roscarrek	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Tregeu	Archer	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Tregos	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Treanon	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

James	Trevanour	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Whalesbrew	Esquire	Philip Courtenay	1372-3	Keeping the Sea	E101/31/31 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Ilcombe		John of Gaunt	1373	France	<i>Register of John of Gaunt</i> , i, p. 33
John	Treyage	Archer	John of Gaunt	1373		E101/32/39 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Harfot	Chapl.	John Montfort	1373		C76/56 m. 12; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Roger	Stronassham		John Montfort	1374		C76/57 m. 13; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Blanchminster		Philip Courtenay	1374	Naval Expedition	E101/33/9 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Philip	Seneschall		John Blanchminster	1374	Naval Expedition	C76/57 m. 21; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Trewonenech		John Blanchminster	1374	Naval Expedition	E101/33/9 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Arundell		Edmund of Langley	1374	Brittany	C76/57 m. 12; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Boleugh		Edmund of Langley	1374	Brittany	C76/57 m. 12; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Lambounre		Edmund of Langley	1374	Brittany	C76/57 m. 12; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Cornwayle, de		Philip Courtenay	1374	Naval Expedition	E101/33/9 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Baldwin	Ilcombe			1374	France	C76/57 m. 13; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Ilcombe junior			1374	France	C76/57 m. 13; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Lambourne		Philip Courtenay	1374	Naval Expedition	E101/33/9 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Vivian	Penrose		Benedict Botteshale	1374	Naval Expedition	E101/33/17 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Joce	Penrose		Benedict Botteshale	1374	Naval Expedition	E101/33/17 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Alan	Rospagh		Benedict Botteshale	1374	Naval Expedition	E101/33/17 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	Trelewyth		Philip Courtenay	1374	Naval Expedition	C76/57 m. 22; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Treverbyn		Edmund of Langley	1374	Brittany	C76/57 m. 12; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	Trelewyth		Edmund of Langley	1374	Brittany	C76/57 m. 12; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Ralph	Trethern		Benedict Botteshale	1374	Naval Expedition	E101/33/17 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

John	Chaumpernoun		Philip Courtenay	1375	Escort	E101/34/1 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Beville		Edward, Lord Despenser	1375	France	E101/34/3 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Trefusis		Edmund of Langley	1375	France	E101/35/6 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Geoffrey	Tregeneth		Edward, Lord Despenser	1375	France	E101/34/3 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Edmund	Trelener		Edmund of Langley	1375	France	E101/35/6 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Treverbyn		Edmund of Langley	1375	France	E101/35/6 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Trewynnack		Edmund of Langley	1375	France	E101/35/6 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Fowey	Archer	John, duke of Brittany	1377-8?	Naval Expedition	E101/42/13 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Chaumpernoun		Waryn d'Lisle	1378	Naval Expedition	E101/36/32 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Ilcombe		John Arundel	1378	Naval Expedition	C76/62 m. 14; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Roskarrok		Aubrey de Vere	1378	Naval Expedition	E101/36/32 m. 7; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John?	Treverbyn		John Arundel	1378	Naval Expedition	E101/36/39 m. 10v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Odo	Steven		John, Lord Neville	1378	Gascony	C61/92 m. 10; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Man		John, Lord Neville	1378	Gascony	C61/92 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Vyvyan		Aubrey de Vere	1378	Naval Expedition	E101/36/32 m. 7; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Trewennet		Richard Craddock	1379-80	Aquitaine, standing force	E101/28/27 m. 3i; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Vivian	Penrose		Richard Craddock	1379	Aquitaine, standing force	E101/38/27 m. 3i; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Treverbyn		Thomas Percy	1379	Brittany	C76/64 m. 24; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Alour			1380	Brittany	C76/64 m. 7
Thomas	Giffard			1380	Brittany	C76/64 m. 7
Richard	Keche		Ralph, Lord Basset	1380	France	C76/65 m. 26; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Lesard		Hugh Hastings	1380	Brittany	C76/64 m. 7

John	Treverbyn		Thomas de Percy	1380	Brittany	C76/64 m. 24
Gerard	Tyrell			1380	Brittany	C76/64 m. 7
Thomas	St Aubyn			1381	Aquitaine	C61/94 m. 8; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Trethewey	Clerk		1380-1	The King's Service	C76/65 m. 10
William	Lambourne	Knight		1381	The King's Service	<i>Rot. Gascones</i> , ed. Carte, p. 135
Geoffrey	St Aubyn	Esquire	Edmund of Langley	1381	Overseas	C76/75 m. 10; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Quellesbreme (Whalesbrew?)		Edmund of Langley	1381	Overseas	C76/65 m. 10; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Eyr	Esquire	Matthew Gournay	1381		C76/65 m. 11; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Bodrugan	Knight	Matthew Gourney	1381	Portugal	C76/65 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Fawy			1381	Portugal	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 256
Richard	Glyn			1381	Portugal	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 256
Henry	Ilcombe	Knight		1381	Portugal	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 179, 256, 349, 494, 534
William	Ilcombe			1381	Portugal	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 179, 256, 534
Baldwin	Ilcombe			1381	Portugal	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 256, 534
Henry	Pentry			1381	Portugal	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 349
Robert	Trethewey	Clerk		1381	Portugal	C76/65 m. 1
John	Luke		John Roches	1381	France	C76/65 m. 14 <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Botreaux	Knight		1382	Portugal	C76/67 mm. 30, 21
John	Trevarne	Clerk		1382	Portugal	C76/67 m. 29
Thomas	Trewynnak			1382	Portugal	C76/67 m. 29
Reginald	Martyn	Esquire		1382	Overseas	C76/67 m. 24; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Polkessen		John Baker	1382	Keeping the Sea	E101/39/25 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Treverbyn	Esquire		1382	At his own Expense	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 160

John	Jowy alia Juwy			1383	Despenser's Crusade	C76/67 m. 16
Thomas	Forde			1383	Despenser's Crusade	C76/67 m. 17; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Rescarek			1383	Despenser's Crusade	C76/67 m. 18; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Tregne			1383	Despenser's Crusade	C76/67 m. 16
John	Trevarthian			1383	Despenser's Crusade	<i>HOP</i> , iv, 657-658
Odo	Ude			1383	Despenser's Crusade	C76/67 m. 16
William	Bodyere	Mariner		1383	Cherbourg, garrison	C76/67 mm. 25, 20
Thomas	Trewynnack			1383	Keeping the Sea	C76/67 m. 29
William	Bodyere			1384	Brest, garrison	C76/68 m. 6; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	Hall		Thomas de Percy	1384	Brest, garrison	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , 471
Alexander	Hekelyng		Fernando Alfonso de Albuquerque	1384	Portugal	C76/69 m. 20; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Hekelyng		Fernando Alfonso de Albuquerque	1384	Portugal	C76/69 m. 20; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Ilcombe	Knight		1384	Portugal	C76/69 m. 11
William	Ilcombe			1384	Portugal	C76/69 m. 11
John	Tregorek			1384	Portugal	C76/69 m. 9
John	Rescarek			1385	Naval Expedition	E101/40/39 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	Hall		Thomas de Percy	1385	Brest, garrison	C76/69 m. 15
John	Treverbyn			1385	Keeping the Sea	C76/69 m. 4
Peter	Pollard		Richard Tempest	1385	Scottish Marches	C71/65 m. 9; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Roger	Juyl		Fernando Alfonso de Albuquerque	1385	Portugal	C76/69 m. 11; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	Hall		William Beauchamp	1385	Calais, garrison	C76/70 m. 37; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Ilcombe	Knight	John Roches	1386	Brest, garrison	C76/71 m. 24; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

William	Ilcombe		John Roches	1386	Brest, garrison	C76/71 m. 24; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Treneref		William Beauchamp	1386	Calais, garrison	C76/70 m. 36
Vivian	Penrose	Knight	Thomas Trivet	1386	Naval Expedition	C76/70 m. 13; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Carndon	Esquire	John of Gaunt	1386	Spain	C76/70 m. 11; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Kenegy		John Holand	1386	Spain	C76/71 m. 15; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Lambourne	Knight	John of Gaunt	1386	Spain	<i>Rot. Gascones</i> , ed. Carte, p. 154
John	Lambourne		John of Gaunt	1386	Spain	C76/70 m. 11
John	Reskymer	Esquire	John of Gaunt	1386	Spain	C76/70 m. 20
Nicholas	Trenage		John of Gaunt	1386	Spain	C76/70 m. 11
Robert	Trevanyon		John of Gaunt	1386	Spain	C76/70 m. 20
John	Trevenour		John of Gaunt	1386	Spain	C76/71 m. 22; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Philip	Trewythosa		John of Gaunt	1386	Spain	C76/70 m. 20
Richard	Forde		John Roches	1386	Brest, garrison	C76/71 m. 21; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Roger	Juyl		John Roches	1386	Brest, garrison	C76/70 m. 27; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Tresevellak		Thomas Swineburne	1386	Scottish Marches	C71/66 m. 8; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Alet	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 1i; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Baak		Richard Fitzalan	1387	Naval Expedition	C76/71 m. 15; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Nicholas	Baak		Richard Fitzalan	1387	Naval Expedition	C76/71 m. 15; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Beville	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	Bluet	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Nicholas	Cook	Esquire	John Treverbyn	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 19; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Lamelyn	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Launcelegron	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

Warin	l'Ercedekne	Knight	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	l'Ercedekne	Esquire	Thomas Trivet	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 7; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Mark	Michelstow	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Penhonell	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Queynte	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Reginald	Stratton	Archer	John Treverbyn	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 19; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Trechenown	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Tredeway	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Tregenawen	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 1ii; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Laurence	Tremer	Esquire	John Treverbyn	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 19; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Trescollard	Esquire	John Treverbyn	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 19; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Trethewey	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/34 m. 1ii; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Treverbyn	Esquire	John Treverbyn	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 19; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Trevylak	Archer	Thomas Trivet	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/34 m. 11; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Raulyn	Trewent	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Gerard	Tyrell	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Vyvyan	Esquire	Piers van Busch	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 20; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Wysa	Esquire	John Treverbyn	1387	Naval Expedition	E101/40/33 m. 19; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Treverbyn		John Roches	1388	Brest, garrison	<i>CPR 1385-1389</i> , 380
Nicholas	Trenewyth		William Beauchamp	1388	Calais, garrison	<i>C76/72</i> m. 14; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Bloyou	Esquire	John Coupeland	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 14; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Botreaux	Knight	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Walter	Hamley	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

William	Kendale	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Kendale	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Lamelyn	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Michael	l'Ercedekne	Knight	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Mark	Michelstow	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Michelstow	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Penpons	Esquire	John Coupeland	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 14; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Penpons	Esquire	Alan St Just	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 17v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Richard	Peryn	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 6; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Polsheth	Archer	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Polskoc	Esquire	Benet Cely	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 17; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Resemelyan	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Rosmilian	Archer	Benet Cely	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 17; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Alan	St Just	Esquire		1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 17v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Talbot	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Tregos	Esquire	Richard Fitzalan	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Raulyn	Treheufen	Esquire	Thomas atte Lee	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 17v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Laurence	Tremere	Esquire	Benet Cely	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 17; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Janyn	Treuren	Archer	Benet Cely	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 17; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Treverbyn	Esquire	Benet Cely	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 17; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Robert	Trewen	Archer	Thomas West	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 8v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Trewent	Esquire	John Wogan	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 13; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Trewonneck	Archer	Richard Fitzalan	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

Thomas	Trewyn	Esquire	Thomas West	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 8; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Vyvyan	Esquire	John Clavering	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 13v; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Wysa	Esquire	Edward Courtenay	1388	Naval Expedition	E101/41/5 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Roger	Ivyll		John Stanley	1389	Berwick, garrison	C71/68 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Hill		William Beauchamp	1389	Calais, garrison	C76/73 m. 5; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Trevarthian junior		John Holand	1392	Overseas	C76/76 m. 9; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Talbot			1394	Ireland	CPR 1391-1396, 482
Henry	Kyrkestede		Thomas, duke of Gloucester	1395	Ireland	CPR 1391-1396, 537
Stephen	Trevelowe		John Holand	1396	Brittany, Brest, garrison	C76/81 m. 12; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Tregorreck		John Holand	1399	Calais, garrison	C76/83 m. 10; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Henry	Ilcombe	Knight	John Holand	1399	Ireland	CPR 1396-1399, 540, 573
William	Talbot	Esquire	John Holand	1399	Ireland	CPR 1396-1399, 537
John	Trebost		John Haddley	1400	Scotland	E101/42/16 m. 38; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Ralph	Botreaux	Knight		1401	Calais, garrison	C76/85 m. 9; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Treverak		Edward of York	1401	Aquitaine	C61/108 m. 9; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Ralph	Botreaux	Knight		1402	Wales, standing force	E101/43/21 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Pengersek			1402	Calais, garrison	C76/86 m. 6; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Tregonan	Archer		1402-4	Narberth, garrison	E101/42/23 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Ralph	Botreaux	Knight		1404	Calais, garrison	C76/87 m. 7; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Michelstow	Esquire		1404	Keeping the Sea	E101/43/23 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Treverak		Thomas Swineburne	1405	Bordeaux, garrison	E101/33/8 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Polmorva	Esquire	John Lardiner	1410	Calais March	C76/93 m. 14; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Michael	Treyage		John Lardiner	1410	Calais March	C76/93 m 14; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

Nicholas	Bromford		Thomas of Lancaster	1412	Overseas	C76/95 m. 21; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Roland	Roche		Thomas Fitz John	1413	Ireland	CPR 1413-1416, 146
John	Hoigge		Thomas Fitz John	1413	Ireland	CPR 1413-1416, 146
John	Arundell, son of Nicholas of Trerice		Edward Courtenay	1415	Agincourt	<i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 571
Philip	Basset	Esquire	William, Lord Botreaux	1415	Agincourt	<i>Agincourt</i> , ed. Nicolas, p. 376; <i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 561
John	Botreaux	Esquire	Lord John Harrington	1415	Agincourt	<i>Agincourt</i> , ed. Nicolas, p. 376
William	Botreaux	Baron		1415	Agincourt	E101/45/18 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Botreaux	Esquire	William, Lord Botreaux	1415	Agincourt	E101/45/18 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i> ; <i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 565
John	Chenduyt	Esquire	Henry V	1415	Agincourt	<i>Agincourt</i> , ed. Nicolas, p. 377; E101/44/30/1 m. 18; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Colshull	Esquire		1415	Agincourt	<i>Agincourt</i> , ed. Nicolas, p. 378; <i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 563
Tristram	Curteys		Edward Courtenay	1415	Agincourt	<i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 570
Jas	Ethenenes		Nicholas de Haywood	1415	Agincourt	<i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 561
John	Lansadren	Archer	Watkin Lloyd, et al	1415	Agincourt	E101/46/20 no. 3 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Moyle	Esquire	John Holand	1415	Agincourt	E101/45/18 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Pentryth	Archer	Ralph Cromwell	1415	Agincourt	E101/45/4 m. 11; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Ralph	Reskymer		Edward Courtenay	1415	Agincourt	<i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 570
Alan	St Just	Esquire		1415	Agincourt	E101/45/18 m. 4; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
?	St Aubyn		Thomas of Lancaster	1415	Agincourt	E101/44/30 no1 m. 2; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Talbot	Clerk	William, Lord Botreaux	1415	Agincourt	<i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 565

William	Tregaven		Richard de Veer	1415	Agincourt	E101/46/36 m. 3; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
William	Trelawny		Edward Courtenay	1415	Agincourt	<i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , pp. 569, 571
John	Trelawny	Knight		1415	Agincourt	<i>CPR 1422-1429</i> , 9; <i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 569; <i>HOP</i> , iv, 645
Michael	Trenewith		Edward, duke of York	1415	Agincourt	E101/45/19 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
Thomas	Trerewne		John Holand	1415	Agincourt	E101/45/7 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>
John	Tretherf		Edward Courtenay	1415	Agincourt	<i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 570
Richard	Trevaga		Edward Courtenay	1415	Agincourt	<i>Forty-Fourth Deputy Keeper Report</i> , p. 570
Thomas	Treunwith		John Tiptoft	1415-17	Aquitaine, standing force	E101/48/4 m. 1; <i>The Soldier in Later Medieval England</i>

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C 47	Chancery Miscellanea
C 61	Gascon Rolls
C 67	Supplementary Patent Rolls
C 71	Scottish Rolls
C 76	Treaty Rolls
C 131	Extents for Debts
C 143	Inquisitions <i>Ad Quod Damnum</i>
C 219	Parliamentary Election Writs and Returns
C 241	Certificates of Statute Merchant and Statute Staple
E 36	Treasury of Receipt, Miscellaneous Books
E 101	King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts
E 122	Particulars of Custom Accounts
E 159	Memoranda Rolls and Enrolment Books
E 179	Particulars of Account, Lay and Clerical Taxation
E 372	Pipe Rolls
E 389	Pipe Office, Miscellanea, New Series
JUST 1	Justices of Assize, Oyer and Terminer, etc, Rolls
JUST 3	Gaol Delivery Rolls and Files
KB 9	Indictments Files
KB 27	<i>Coram Rege</i> Rolls
PROB 11	Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Will Registers
SC 1	Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and Exchequer
SC 2	Court Rolls
SC 6	Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts
SC 8	Ancient Petitions

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Additional Roll 64320	Edward Courtenay, 3 rd Earl of Devon, Deeds
Additional Roll 64323	Devonshire and Cornwall Rolls, c. 1400-c. 1563
Harley Rolls	

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DCO	Ministers' Accounts
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CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440	Brewers' Company Memoranda Book
CLC/L/PE/D/002/MS07086/001	Pewterers' Company Wardens' Accounts
CLC/L/SE/A/004A/MS31692	Skinners' Company, Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Register

London, London Metropolitan Archives

DL/AL/C/002/MS09051	Archdeaconry Court of London, Will Registers
DL/C/B/004/MS09171	Commissary Court of London, Will Registers

Truro, Cornwall Record Office

AR	Arundell Family of Lanherne, Mawgan in Pydar
BHEL	Helston Borough
BLAUS	Launceston Borough
BLIS	Liskeard Borough
CF	Coode and French, Solicitors, of St Austell
CM	Connock Marshall Family of Treworrey, St Cleer
CY	Coryton Family of Pentillie, Pillaton
EN	Enys Family of Enys, St Gluvias
G	Gregor Family of Trewarthenick, Cornelly
ME	Edgcumbe Family of Cotehele, Calstock and Mount Edgcumbe, Maker
R	Rashleigh Family of Menabilly
RP	Rogers Family of Penrose, Sithney
SN	Trelawny Family of Coldrenick, St Germans
WM	Wynell-Mayow Family of Bray, Morval

Truro, Royal Institution of Cornwall

HA	Henderson Collection
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