Tinners and the Stannaries: Law, Life, and Labor in Fourteenth-Century Cornwall

Michael Kurt Deen

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to begin by acknowledging the members of my thesis committee, Dr. Robert Berkhofer, Dr. Thomas Amos, and Dr. Rand Johnson, for their contributions to the development of this project and for their encouragement throughout the process. Their experience and knowledge were greatly appreciated, especially for developing a broader significance from the thesis. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Teviotdale for her help in transcribing the documents, and Mr. Malcolm Mercer for his assistance in archival research in the Public Record Office. Finally, I would like to thank the Graduate College and the History Department at Western Michigan University for their generous support of my archival research.

Michael Kurt Deen
Based on extensive archival research, this thesis analyzes the socio-economic position occupied by fourteenth-century tinners in Cornwall, England. The tinners represented a privileged group of laborers in the later Middle Ages, and the records of their stannary courts provide a unique glimpse into their lives. The evidence from these records show that the stannaries of Cornwall experienced a transformation of the structure of labor after the Black Death out of tin production and into agriculture. The result was a shift from a system overwhelmingly dominated by independent prospectors, dependant on credit for survival, to one which included large-scale operations owned by wealthy entrepreneurs and worked by wage laborers.

This thesis demonstrates that the tinners experienced difficulties in everyday life, in their laboring conditions, and in attaining economic success. The difficult nature of their life and labor caused them to seek work elsewhere after the plague, when opportunities for peasants were more abundant. Faced with a shortage of laboring tinners, those creditors who had formerly exploited tin production through lending began to exploit directly the mineral wealth of Cornwall by forming large-scale operations and hiring laborers. The significance of these changes goes far beyond the Cornish tinner, as they represent the rise of capitalist elements such as the motivation of profit, the use of currency, and entrepreneurs who own the means of production and purchase the labor of a free work force.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Mankind has exploited tin, a soft and easily melted metal, for over 4,000 years. During the ancient and medieval periods, tin was primarily used as an alloying agent in the production of bronze and pewter. These alloys had wide applications in medieval Europe, which made tin a valuable resource.¹ The most significant deposits of tin available during the medieval period were in England, specifically in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. Historical and archaeological evidence points to the British tin trade beginning around 500 B.C.E., while mining for local purposes may have began long before that time.² By 300 C.E., Devon and Cornwall had become the main source of tin for Europe and the Middle East. The English dominance of the tin trade continued, despite the discovery of deposits in Bohemia and Saxony in the thirteenth-century, until the seventeenth century.³

During the central and later Middle Ages, the tin-producing areas of Devon and Cornwall were referred to as “stannaries.” The stannaries began to appear on the Pipe Rolls of taxes in the year 1156, and they continued to be taxed by the English kings throughout the later Middle Ages.⁴ This stannary revenue became a lucrative asset for the English Crown, and John I and Edward I both granted substantial rights and exemptions to those involved in the production of tin in order to encourage the

³ Hatcher, English Tin Production, 2-3.
industry. These included status as tenants of the royal demesne, freedom from
ordinary taxation and from pleas of villeinage, and the right to be tried in their own
court system, the stannary courts. These rights applied to a diverse group of miners,
smelters, merchants, and lords, who together were referred to as “tiners.” Because
they held special legal and economic privileges, these tinners were exceptional, and
provide an interesting opportunity to examine the standard views of the social and
legal status of medieval laborers and, thus, warrant further study.

The focus of this project is the status and everyday life of the laboring tinners
of Cornwall in the fourteenth-century. During this century the amount of documents
produced relating to the stannaries increased dramatically, thus allowing for a more
detailed study of tinners. Tin production in Cornwall rose to great heights in the first
half of the century, then plummeted after the Black Death in 1349. This slump lasted
well beyond the time of the plague, and it was not until the 1380s that tin production
began to match the earlier quantities. The decline in production was not a result of
mortality among the tinners, instead it was the result of large-scale movement on the
part of laboring tinners from the stannaries into agricultural production. The Black
Death offered the English peasants the chance to improve their station in life, and the
tiners of Cornwall seized this opportunity to become farmers. The thesis of this study
is that the extensive privileges granted to the tinners and the potential for economic
success in the stannaries were not enough to entice the laboring tinners to continue to
work as professional miners when opportunities in the agrarian sector were available.
Many left the stannaries for positions in agriculture, and when laborers began to return
after the Black Death, there is evidence for a larger proportion of hired labor than

Academy of America, 1950), 89.
6 Hatcher, English Tin Production, 156-7.
before, while the numbers of professional tinners have begun to decline.

In the following chapters the position occupied by the tinners in fourteenth-century English society will be thoroughly analyzed. In chapter two the overall history of tin production in England will be traced from prehistoric times until the end of the fourteenth century, with particular notice being paid to the royal administration of the stannaries and the trends in tin production. In chapter three, the social and legal status of tinners will be discussed, along with the details of their everyday life and the effects of the Black Death. In chapter four, the nature of stannary labor, the economic potential of tin production, and the changes wrought by the Black Death will be analyzed. Finally, the conclusion will discuss the overall picture of tin production before and after the Black Death and the larger historical significance of the events.

Primary Sources

There are a number of sources available for the study of the fourteenth-century tinner. The most promising of these are the stannary court rolls, which record the proceedings of the stannary courts in each of the seven stannary districts in Devon and Cornwall. During this period Cornwall had three districts: Penwith-and-Kerrier, Blackmore, and Tywarnhaile. Devon contained the four districts of Ashburton, Chagford, Plymton, and Tavistock. These courts generally addressed five subjects: the rights and exemptions acquired by tinners under stannary law, the toll of tin owed to the lord of the land, dealings between miners and smelters, the enforcement of the coinage, and civil disputes between tinners or between a tinner and an outsider.

These rolls represent a significant source for the social history of the tinners, since they

8 Lewis, The Stannaries, 96.
cover nearly every matter of litigation in which the tinner could be involved. Since Penwith-and-Kerrier and Blackmore were by far the most productive stannaries in the fourteenth century, this study will focus on their court records. Specifically, I will examine a court session from each of the two stannaries held in three different periods: 1333, 1355, and 1379. These documents provide a look into the stannary courts before, during, and after the plague. This is a significant body of sources for a relatively short period of time, and the vast majority of these documents have yet to be edited or examined systematically.

A word should be said on the physical appearance of these documents. The stannary court records are unimposing and reflect their intended purpose as documents of practice. They were composed on sheets of medium-quality parchment approximately one meter in length, which have been stitched together at the top to form a large sheaf. Unfortunately, most of the membranes recording the sessions from 1355 have suffered considerable water damage along their lower edges, rendering approximately five to ten percent of the entries illegible. Attempts to repair the damage were made, most likely in the nineteenth century by the Public Record Office, by pasting Chinese paper and parchment to the damaged sections. Other changes wrought by the PRO in the nineteenth century are the addition of pencil marks on each membrane denoting their place in the sequence and the ink stamp of the PRO on each membrane.

Most membranes have text on their face and dorse, which is laid out in a very practical manner. Each entry for a court session begins with the header. This header

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9 The court records from 1333 are in PRO E 101/260/1; the records from 1355 for Blackmore are in PRO SC 2/156/26 and those for Penwith-and-Kerrier are in PRO SC 2/161/81; the records from 1379 for Blackmore are in PRO SC 2/156/27 and those for Penwith-and-Kerrier are in PRO SC 2/161/83. 10 I am indebted to Malcolm Mercer, a member of the MEMRIS specialist staff at the PRO, for his knowledge of the previous attempts at preservation.
first gives the name of the stannary district, such as Penwith-and-Kerrier. The header then gives the type of court, the town, the day of the week, the nearest Saint’s Day, and finally the regnal year. After this header, the individual cases of the court are given. The left margin of each membrane is ruled, in dry point, on each side and serves as the space for the scribe to write a highly abbreviated term (such as *summomitio*, *districtio*, or *attachietur*) that describes the type of action brought in each case. The scribe then writes a detailed account of each case to the right of this abbreviation. These accounts are written in a formulaic style and include many abbreviations seen in other types of legal records. After all the cases are given, a sum of the fines and fees earned by the court are given. Then, after a blank space the height of a few lines of text, the process repeats itself with the next court session. In order to illustrate the form of these documents and to provide the reader with an opportunity to examine them, I have transcribed the sessions held in Penwith-and-Kerrier in 1333, 1355 and 1379 that are analyzed in this study. These transcriptions can be found in the appendices.

While the records of the stannary court proceedings are the most useful sources available for this study, there are other documents that relate to this topic. The first of these is a letter issued by William de Wrotham, the first Warden of the Stannaries, in 1196 that describes the arrangement of royal administration of the tin industry during the reign of Richard I. Next, there are the charters of Kings John and Edward I, which granted the exemptions and rights that the tinner possessed in the fourteenth-century. There is also the registers of the Black Prince, which include

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11 The letter is held in PRO E 36/266, and is edited in Lewis, *The Stannaries*, 233-8.

12 The original charter issued by John does not survive, but a confirmation issued by Henry III in 1252 is PRO C 53/44/18. This charter has been edited and appears in *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. 1, 380, and in Lewis, *The Stannaries*, 238. Edward issued two charters in 1305 that survive, PRO C 53/91/40-41. These are also edited in *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, vol. 3, 53-4, and in Lewis, *The Stannaries*, 239-241.
much of the correspondence relating to his administration of Cornwall in the years 1351-65. bli Finally, there is a petition introduced into parliament in 1376 by the people of Devon against the stannaries. The subject of this petition was the extent to which stannary privileges were being claimed and increasing power of the stannary officials. This petition resulted in the clarification by Parliament of tinners as manual laborers employed in the tin works.

Methodology

In approaching this topic, the primary methodology will be a quantitative analysis of the court records. This approach is determined by the nature of the stannary court records. Most entries in the court rolls are very brief, giving only the names of the litigants, the type of legal process at work (distraint, inquiry, attachment, etc.), and the nature of the plea (debt, trespass, covenant, etc.). Only rarely are the details of a crime or fault given. While the more extensive cases can be used to elucidate certain points, such as the defense of tinners’ rights, they should not and will not be taken as expressions of the normal state of affairs. A quantitative analysis of the court rolls is much more effective. This shows how prevalent matters of debt, crime, and breach of contract were and how these trends changed after the Black Death.

The court sessions selected for analysis all come from the stannaries of Blackmore and Penwith-and-Kerrier. This is due, in part, to the fact that these were the most productive stannaries in the fourteenth century. Also, the only extant records from the stannary court of Tywarnhaile from the fourteenth century are for the years 1333 to 1334 and from 1374 to 1377. The lack of evidence in this stannary for the

14 This petition is held in PRO C 65/30, and is edited in Lewis, The Stannaries, 242-244.
conditions immediately following the Black Death makes it difficult to trace any changes in that area. Both Blackmore and Penwith-and-Kerrier have a more even distribution of surviving court records that show the patterns of change in the fourteenth century. The selection of records from 1333, 1355 and 1377 is justified by the facts that both stannaries have surviving records for those years, and that these years represent distinct periods in English labor history.

In addition to quantitative analysis of the court records, there are other sources available that can be analyzed more closely. The letter of William de Wrotham, the charters of John and Edward I and the petition to Parliament all present evidence for the nature of tin production and the status of tinners. The evidence found in these sources often frames the everyday litigation in the court records, and will be used conjunctively. Also, there are two narrative works written in the late sixteenth century that discuss many aspects of stannary life. These works provide many details that are not available in the medieval sources. Particular care will be taken, however, to apply the evidence in these later works to the fourteenth century only in cases where the medieval documents provide corroborating evidence.

Historiography

The broad historical theme of this project, namely the history of medieval labor, has received much attention from past scholars. Economic historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century offered a progressive view in which the rise of the money economy, urban centers, and trade worked against the backward agrarian society of the Middle Ages and eventually triumphed with the rise of capitalism and the industrial revolution. This concept of steady progress was challenged by Michael

15 These are The Bailiff of Blackmore, written in 1586 by Thomas Beare, the bailiff in the Blackmore stannary, and The Survey of Cornwall, written by Richard Carew and first published in 1602.
Postan during the middle decades of the twentieth century. He argued that economic change was cyclical, and that the prime determinant of the economy in pre-industrial societies was population and the productivity of the land.\(^{16}\) Postan’s conclusions were well received, but his use of a neo-Malthusian argument without considering social and legal institutions was not. Proponents of Marxist theory, led by Robert Brenner, argued that the economic contraction of the fourteenth-century was primarily a result of class conflict, not overcrowding.\(^{17}\) Subsequent historians have generally modified either Postan’s or Brenner’s thesis to fit their own needs. The idea that England’s population grew faster than its ability to support itself has been countered by evidence that the population experienced periods of growth and decline. Most scholars agree that the high mortality rates that followed the Great Famine and Black Death did not cause the changes in the structure of labor that occurred in the later fourteenth century, just that they hastened a process that was already underway. Also, research has shown that agricultural methods improved with the use of mills, crop rotation, and irrigation.\(^{18}\) Finally, scholars have reasserted the importance of urban centers and commerce, but now they are seen as interacting with the countryside and thus increasing trade.\(^{19}\)

The previous scholarship of the tin mining in Devon and Cornwall during the Middle Ages is surprisingly extensive for such a specialized topic. George Randall


Lewis produced the first general work on this topic in the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{20} His work focused on the overall history of tin production in England up to the modern era, although he also explored the position enjoyed by the tinners themselves. Subsequent historians have noted a number of mistakes in his calculations on tin production, and his reliance on comparative evidence to fill in the blanks for the tinners is dubious. His work remains, however, the most extensive treatment of the subject and continues to be cited frequently by modern scholars.

Other works have been published occasionally that deal with the stannaries. H.P.R. Finberg’s impressive study of Tavistock Abbey in Devon discusses the stannaries in some detail, but he focuses on their role as a source of revenue for the abbey.\textsuperscript{21} Rarely does he mention the tinners themselves. John Hatcher produced a detailed study of tin trade and production in medieval England that is invaluable for its analysis of the coinage receipts.\textsuperscript{22} While Hatcher was mainly interested in commerce, he did on occasion discuss the status of the tinners. Robert Pennington published an analysis of stannary law from the Middle Ages to the present day.\textsuperscript{23} This work deals extensively with tinners and their litigation, but since Pennington focused primarily on the post-medieval stannaries most of the evidence comes from the sixteenth and subsequent centuries. In addition to these works, a number of general works on medieval industry and labor deal with the stannaries.\textsuperscript{24} The dominant theme of this scholarship is the trade and production of tin. Only Lewis attempts an analysis of the

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social position of the tinners themselves, and his work is in many respects outdated, erroneous, and indicative of dubious historical methods.

The gap in the history of the stannaries is clearly the actual conditions of life and labor among the laboring tinners. Most of the authors mentioned above discuss the tinners without distinguishing between the conditions in the stannaries before and after the plague. John Hatcher, for example, argues that individual tinners, small-scale partnerships, and “large-scale capitalistic units of production” were common in the stannaries from a very early date. 25 In defense of this position, he regularly cites cases from the stannary courts ranging in date from the 1350s on into the fifteenth century. There is little attempt in his work or others’ to search for a transformation in the structure of labor in the stannaries. To be fair, this question of the labor structure and quality of life in the stannaries occupies a small portion of Hatcher’s study, while the bulk of the work focuses on the larger question of trade. Nevertheless, there is an obvious gap in the scholarship, and the answer to this question will contribute to the larger questions of labor and the fortunes of the English peasants in the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF ENGLISH TIN PRODUCTION TO 1400

Any attempt to analyze the position occupied by fourteenth-century tinners in Cornish society must begin with an understanding of the overall history of tin production in Cornwall. Archaeological and historical evidence show that tin production in southwest England began during the Bronze Age and continued, at varying degrees of intensity, through the Middle Ages. The antiquity of the tin industry, along with its continuous existence, imply that the tinners' way of life and institutions remained fairly stable. The importance of stannary revenues to Anglo-Norman kings such as John and Edward I led them to support the tinners by confirming their ancient rights and insulating them from most seigneurial obligations. By the fourteenth century, the degree of privilege granted to the stannaries had reached its height, and the term tinner, or stannator, represented a specialized group of laborers. Exempted from almost all forms of regular taxation and subject to their own court system, the tinners of the fourteenth century enjoyed a unique legal and economic position in society. The nature of this group, along with the external influence wrought by the Black Death and the subsequent social upheavals, define the characteristics of the fourteenth-century tinner and serve as the foundation for this study.

Tin Production to 1066

The evidence for the earliest instance of tin production in Cornwall comes from

1 Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 47-8.
archaeology. A large number of artifacts have been recovered from streamwork sites, and many of these can be identified as prehistoric. These include a fragment of a dagger found near some tin slag (c. 1500-1400 B.C.E.), a rapier (c. 1300-1000 B.C.E.), and an axe (c. 2000 B.C.E.). Unfortunately, the fact that such items are located in or around tin deposits that have been mined for thousands of years has created difficulties for archaeologists. Most of the artifacts were recovered during mining operations by laborers in the modern era. A staggering amount of the reported discoveries have subsequently been lost, leaving researchers with little more than inadequate notes and sketches. Even when an artifact does survive, details on the surrounding area and the depth of the find are rare. In addition, the extreme age and continuous nature of tin production in Cornwall means that artifacts have been repeatedly disturbed over the centuries, rendering their position in the strata suspect.

Luckily, there are other types of evidence to support prehistoric tin production in Cornwall. The most promising is the remains of prehistoric settlements, which survive in greater numbers in Southwest England than in any other part of the island. Although these settlements have a dominant agricultural orientation, tin ore and slag have been found in dwellings at the Bronze Age settlements of Trevisker and Dean Moor and at the hillforts of Carloggas and Kenidjack Castle. Studies of settlement patterns on Dartmoor in Devon have shown that the larger prehistoric settlements were generally closer to alluvial tin deposits than the smaller ones. Finally, the position and layout of fortified sites such as Carn Brea and Bolster Bank suggest strongly that part of their function was to protect tin deposits.

While this evidence shows that prehistoric inhabitants of Cornwall exploited

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the tin deposits, it does not support a larger trade network with the Mediterranean voiced in the popular notion that the Phoenicians regularly traded for tin in Cornwall. The evidence suggests that the scale of operations was quite small early on, and there is no archaeological or historical evidence to show that the Phoenicians ever visited the island. This belief arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries primarily as an attempt to explain the prevalence of tin in the Mediterranean during the Bronze Age, and has led to an overestimation of the size and output of the early Cornish tin industry. In fact, there is evidence that the tin deposits of Spain were known during Antiquity, and these are a much more reasonable source for Phoenician trade than the deposits in Cornwall.

The earliest historical evidence to support a tin trade between Britain and the Mediterranean is found in the *Historiae* of Herodotus. This work, written around 440 B.C.E., resulted from its author’s extensive travels and the information he learned on his journeys. In Book III, while discussing the various luxuries and commodities produced around the Mediterranean, he devotes a section to the goods that come from Western Europe:

But concerning the farthest western parts of Europe I cannot speak with exactness; for I do not believe that there is a river called by foreigners Eridanus issuing into the northern sea, whence our amber is said to come, nor have I any knowledge of Tin-islands, whence our tin is brought. . . . This only we know, that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts.

While this passage does not prove that Mediterranean peoples received their tin from Cornwall, it does seem rule out all other possibilities except Spain. Since the Phoenicians most likely controlled the trade of Spanish tin, and since they had been

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5 Penhallurick, *Tin in Antiquity*, 123.
6 In Ezek. 27:12, the author states that Tarshish (now identified as Cadiz) brought silver, iron, tin and lead to the fairs of Tyre.
7 Herodotus *Historiae* 3.115.
allied with Persia against Greece during the Greco-Persian Wars, it is very likely that this passage represents an alternative source of tin sought out by the Greeks. This position is further strengthened by the prevalence of tin in Greek artifacts of the period and the similarity between the passage in the *Historiae* and later descriptions of the route taken by Cornish tin to the Mediterranean.  

The topic of tin does not appear again in the surviving sources until the first century B.C.E. It is fortunate, however, that three separate works of this century discuss tin in general, and in particular the British sources of the mineral and the circumstances of its production and trade. The first of these is the *De Bello Gallico* of Julius Caesar. In Book V, Caesar puts aside the topic of warfare in order to describe the island of Britain and its inhabitants. In a brief comment, he states that the midland districts of the country produced tin. The inaccuracy of this statement is understandable since he was never able to venture far from the eastern coast.

Following this, Strabo published his *Geography* around 44 B.C.E. Citing Poseidonius, an earlier author of the first century, as his source, Strabo writes that tin is brought to Marseilles from the British Isles. This account is verified in the works of Diodorus Siculus, who wrote around 8 B.C.E. His account supports the movement of British tin overland through Gaul and also describes the process by which the tin was produced:

> The inhabitants of Britain who dwell about the promontory known as Belerium [Land’s End, Cornwall] are especially hospitable to strangers and have adopted a civilized manner of life because of their intercourse with merchants of other peoples. They it is who work the tin, treating the bed which bears it in an ingenious manner. This bed, being like rock, contains earthy seams and in them the workers quarry the ore, which they then melt down and cleanse of its impurities. Then they

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9 Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 5.12.  
10 Strabo *Geography* 3.2.9.
work the tin into pieces the size of knuckle-bones and convey it to an
island which lies off Britain and is called Ictis. . . . On the island of Ictis
the merchants purchase the tin of the natives and carry it from there
across the Strait to Galatia or Gaul; and finally, making their way on
foot through Gaul for some thirty days, they bring their wares on
horseback to the mouth of the river Rhone. 11

The preceding passage not only gives an excellent account of the trade route from
Britain to Marseilles, it also characterizes the inhabitants of Cornwall as accustomed to
trade and to the production of tin. The description of the mining process, sounding
very similar to the medieval practice of streaming, lends further credibility to the
account. Thus, all available evidence shows that Cornwall had become a major
supplier of tin no later than the first century B.C.E., and consequently that the
inhabitants of the region considered the production of tin to be a valuable occupation.

It is at this point, interestingly enough, that the evidence also points to a
temporary decline in British tin mining. The only compelling archaeological evidence
for tin production in Cornwall from the end of the first century B.C.E. to the third
century C.E. consists of a first-century tinwork at Boscarne and a second-century
manufacturing site at Castle Gotha. 12 Authors of this period, such as Pliny the Elder,
are either silent on the topic or state that their tin comes from northwest Spain. 13 This
is no surprise, since the Spanish deposits were easier to exploit and were nearer to
Rome, while the bulk of tin deposits in Cornwall lay on the extreme western portion of
the Empire. In fact, the Roman advance originally halted at Exeter, leaving the
western portion of the area virtually untouched until the third century C.E. 14 While
this evidence shows that the British tin trade with the Mediterranean declined

11 Diodorus Siculus 5.22.2-4.
14 Hatcher, English Tin Production, 13.
drastically during this period, it would be overly zealous to believe that production ceased. Tin was most likely still mined and manufactured, even at a significantly reduced rate, for local use.

Evidence for renewed interest in British tin becomes available in the third century. Frequent discoveries of Roman coins of this date show that there was movement into Cornwall, and the inscriptions that survive imply that roads were present in the area no later than the early fourth century. The fact that most of the tin and pewter vessels from Roman Britain that can be dated survive from this period means that Cornish tin was once again being produced, and this was at least one reason for the movement of the Romans into the area. More direct evidence is provided by three tin ingots discovered in the area, all of which have been dated to the late Roman period. This renewed interest in British tin resulted, in general, from the prosperous nature of Britain during the late Roman period and, more specifically, from the depletion of the Spanish tin deposits in the third century.

While it is clear that tin production was active up to the Roman departure, continuity in the industry is difficult to trace in Anglo-Saxon Britain. The only literary source for tin production in these centuries comes, oddly enough, from the life of St. John the Almsgiver, the Patriarch of Alexandria who died in about 616. The biography, written by a contemporary of John around 641, relates the story of a captain who asked the Saint for aid. John gave the man a ship loaded with 20,000 bushels of grain but, soon after leaving Alexandria, the vessel was blown off course. By chance, the captain landed in Britain during a famine and, in return for the grain, was offered either one nomisma per bushel or a cargo of tin. Accepting half of each

16 Gerrard, The Early British Tin Industry, 22.
17 Hedges, Tin in Social and Economic History, 10.
payment, the captain sailed back to Alexandria where he discovered the tin had been transformed into silver.\textsuperscript{18} Although this tale contains much that is unbelievable, it at least demonstrates that an Alexandrian author knew Britain to be an abundant source of tin.

Archaeological evidence is more helpful for proving continuous tin production in Anglo-Saxon Cornwall. A shovel recovered from a tin stream in Boscarne, dated using C-14 between 635 and 1045, is strong evidence of tin production. In addition, a large horde of Saxon silver was found in the eighteenth century in a stream work at Trewhiddle. This find included a large number of coins, and a late ninth-century date is almost definite.\textsuperscript{19} Finally, a distinctive form of pottery known as “bar-lip” is found in large quantities in Cornwall but rarely anywhere else on the island. This type of pottery, which begins to appear around 800, is also quite common in the region of Frisia. The most compelling explanation for this exchange is that it was a by-product of trade, most likely in tin.\textsuperscript{20} The archaeological and historical evidence is also supplemented by a strong circumstantial argument involving the vast amounts of tin used in the manufacture of pewter, bronze, and bells during the early middle ages. Cornwall is the only reasonable source for such a large amount of tin.\textsuperscript{21}

The Tin Industry and Royal Administration, 1066-1300

Although the evidence supporting tin production in Cornwall during the early Middle Ages is slim, the overall lack of literary sources for that period eases some of the burden. Since the tin industry was operating up to the arrival of the Anglo-

\textsuperscript{19} Penhallurick, \textit{Tin in Antiquity}, 237, 181-2.
\textsuperscript{20} Penhallurick, \textit{Tin in Antiquity}, 240-2.
\textsuperscript{21} Hatcher, \textit{English Tin Production}, 14.
Saxons, and since Cornwall was less disturbed by invading forces than other tin-producing areas (such as northwest Spain), it is reasonable to assume that Cornwall remained Europe's main supplier of tin and, consequently, that production continued on some level. With the arrival of the Normans in the eleventh century, however, a major problem arises: the Domesday Book never mentions the tin industry. A number of theories have been put forward to explain this situation. G.R. Lewis theorized that tin deposits could have been considered royal property and, therefore, were excluded since they were not taxable. But the fact that tin production was taxed from the twelfth century on does not support this argument. Lewis also thought that attacks by the Danes and the uprising led by the sons of Harold, son of Godwin, could have caused a temporary cessation of mining. This theory seems more plausible, and is similar to H.P.R. Finberg's theory that the tax on tin production after the Conquest was negligible and was included in the farm of the county. Whether the tin industry halted or merely slowed, the rate of production was certainly less than it had been for some time.

It is not until 1155 that the tin industry first appears in English documents, namely the Pipe Rolls. From this year until 1214 there is an almost unbroken series of accounts that include the receipts of the farm of the tax on tin output in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. Until 1194, the farm was thirty *denarii* per thousandweight of tin in Devon and five shillings per thousandweight in Cornwall. Even though the accounts only give the sums collected for both counties these figures can serve as a rough indicator of total production. John Hatcher, in his study of tin trade and production, produced a conservative estimate between 100 and 130 thousandweights

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22 Lewis, *The Stannaries*, 34.
24 Kew, Public Record Office, PRO E 372/2-60.
of tin produced in 1156, which subsequently grew to an amount between 600 and 720 thousandweights in 1194. In 1198 a new tax of one mark per thousandweight of tin produced in Devon and Cornwall was introduced. The records of this tax allow a much more precise assessment of the tin industry. Hatcher estimated production for 1198-9 at just over 900 thousandweights, then a slow decline until 1209, and finally a peak of almost 1,200 thousandweights in 1214. Throughout this period, Devon seems to have been the leader in tin production. After 1214 the records fail, and such a continuous estimation of tin production is not again possible until the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the surge in production recorded in the documents listed above shows that the tin industry experienced a veritable explosion of activity in the early twelfth century.

The creation of the new tax in 1198 was part of an attempt by King Richard to administer the stannaries more closely. This move was marked by the placement of a royal official in the area that could oversee the process of coinage, during which tin that was fully refined was weighed, taxed and marked for sale. This new office, the Warden of the Stannaries, was first filled by a particularly able administrator named William de Wrotham. His letter to the royal court is still extant and gives an excellent description of the new bureaucracy that monitored the tin industry. In this document, de Wrotham established the new coinage tax of one mark per thousandweight of tin, standardized the weights used during coinage, and described the various officials who would monitor the process of coinage. The officials included two “law-worthy” men of the town and a clerk of the King’s court who would weigh and stamp the tin, and two additional “law-worthy” men who would collect the tax and record the date, the amount of tax received, the amount of tin taxed, the name of the tinner and the name

of the merchant to whom the tin was sold. De Wrotham also established regulations to prevent the unlawful selling of tin and set up port officials around Devon and Cornwall to combat smuggling.  

Additionally, de Wrotham discusses the various classes of tinners who live under this administration. His first mention of these groups occurs midway through the letter:

All who dig and buy black tin [tin in its ore state] and refiners of tin of the first smelting and merchants of tin of the first smelting retain those just and ancient customs and liberties established in Devon and Cornwall.  

In this short passage, de Wrotham identifies four separate stages in tin production prior to the process of coinage. This shows a high division of labor and implies a social hierarchy within the stannaries. The second part of this passage is also revealing, for it states that the tinners had liberties that extended into the distant past. These liberties are described in the same manner as the “just and ancient weight of Exeter,” which was adopted as the model for the weights used during the coinage. It is unclear if these liberties were Anglo-Saxon, Roman, or even British in origin, but it is clear that the stannaries possessed an infrastructure of their own before the arrival of the Normans. Any right that was a Norman innovation, such as the right of any tinner to sell his or her tin outside the stannaries once the coinage had been paid, is mentioned separately. Finally, in the latter portion of the letter, de Wrotham places a number of restrictions on the movement or sale of tin outside the stannaries. Significantly, the subjects of the restrictions are described as Christian and Jewish men and women, thus showing that tinners were a diverse group.

In 1201, soon after de Wrotham’s appointment, King John issued a charter to

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the tinners of Devon and Cornwall, most likely as an attempt to encourage the industry and the stannary revenue, which had exceeded five hundred pounds in 1200.²⁹ Although the charter roll from 1201 has not survived, the text of John’s charter is preserved in a confirmation issued by Henry III in 1252.³⁰ The focus of the document is the clarification of rights and exemptions enjoyed by tinners and stannary officials. In regard to the latter group, the charter states that the Warden and his officials should have full power over the tinners for administering the law, and that they could imprison tinners at the stannary jail at Lostwithiell and seize their property for failure to appear in court. The charter also mandates that all officials of the coinage are to be exempt from obligations of support, such as tallage, while fulfilling their duties. Obviously, difficulties in administering the stannaries made these clarifications necessary.

The document is more concerned, however, with the rights and exemptions of the laboring tinners. It is apparent from the language of the charter that some of these predate the arrival of the Normans:

So that they might be able, in liberty and peace for all time without the disturbance of any man, to dig tin and turfs for smelting the tin anywhere in the moors and in the fiefs of bishops and abbots and nobles, just as they were in the habit of and have been accustomed to, and acquire firewood for smelting tin without the fine of the forest, and divert waterways for use in the stannaries, just as these things were established from ancient custom.³¹

These privileges stand in contrast to those that John claims as his own grants: freedom from pleas of villeinage and the right to ignore the summons of all but the Warden of the stannaries. The privileges described as ancient all pertain to the process of

²⁹ Hatcher, English Tin Production, 154.
extracting tin, while those granted by John are meant to ensure that the tinners remained undisturbed in their work. The ancient customs seem quite radical, giving tinners free rein throughout Devon and Cornwall to ply their trade. This fact, along with the protection offered to villeins employed in the stannaries, would have understandably upset the relatively new nobles and churchmen who had to suffer the ravages of tin mining in their fields. Although John, under pressure from the Cornish landowners, assured them that they would lose no customs or services on account of the stannaries, Henry’s confirmation of the 1201 charter again granted freedom from pleas of villeinage and customary labor to tinners. By clarifying the ancient and more recent privileges of the tinners, John was attempting to weaken resistance to the rapidly growing tin industry in Devon and Cornwall.

The steady increase in the amount of tin produced up to 1214 suggests that John’s efforts were successful. In 1215, however, a cash-strapped John began to lease the revenues of the stannaries and it is at this point that the continuous account of tin production in the Pipe Rolls ceases to exist. Although the lack of records makes it impossible to estimate total production, the amounts of the leases, recorded in 1220 at one thousand marks for Cornwall and two hundred marks for Devon, show that the focus of the industry had shifted to Cornwall. In 1225 the stannaries were granted to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and they remained under the Earldom’s administration until the death of Richard’s son Edmund in 1300. Stannary revenues probably contributed much to Richard’s bid to become King of the Romans, while Edmund granted the profits of the stannaries as loans to his cousin, Edward I, on numerous occasions.

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Aside from this, little can be known about the stannaries in Cornwall in the thirteenth century.

Royal Control of the Stannaries in the 14th Century

In 1300 Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, died without heir and the stannaries, along with the other holdings of the earldom, reverted to Edward I. Records of Cornish tin production and the coinage duty commence in the following year and continue, with some small gaps, to the end of the Middle Ages. Coinage receipts from 1301 show that production had declined to nearly half of the amount produced in 1214. It is unclear at what point in the preceding century this decline began, but the return of the royal administration seems to have reversed it. In 1302 production rose to over seven hundred thousand pounds, and it remained at or above this level until 1316.35

Much like the expansion of the industry in the early thirteenth century, this increase in productivity was accompanied by a new charter confirming the previous grants and extending the rights of the tinners. In 1305, Edward I issued two charters, identical in all respects except that one addressed the tinners of Cornwall and the other those of Devon.36 Like John, Edward was most likely concerned with increasing royal revenue from the stannaries. Edward’s charter, however, became the ultimate expression of the rights and responsibilities of tinners, and remained in force until the nineteenth century.37 The provisions of this charter can be grouped into three categories. The first group consists of simple confirmations of the previous charters. These include freedom from pleas of villeinage for all actively employed tinners, the mandate that only the Warden could compel tinners to leave their works, and the

35 Hatcher, English Tin Production, 156.
37 Lewis, The Stannaries, 39.
rights to dig for tin and turves on all land, to divert water courses for the purpose of tin production, and the right of all tanners to sell their tin after the coinage had been paid. The second category includes four points that clarify the nature of the judicial process in the stannaries. The charter of 1201 granted full judicial authority to the Warden, along with the rights to imprison tanners and to seize their property. Edward I expanded the authority to include not only disputes between tanners, but also cases where one litigant was not employed in the stannaries. He also specified that tanners were to be imprisoned only in the stannary jail at Lostwithiell and that seized property had to be appraised by the Warden and then delivered to royal officials in the nearest town. Finally, he ordered that inquests in the stannary courts into matters of tin production should be judged only by tanners, while tanners and non-tanners should be consulted equally in matters not related to the tin industry. The third category is composed of entirely new mandates. Tanners were now subject only to the stannary court (except in cases involving life, land, or limb) and were exempted from all fees, tolls, tallages or other customs except those relating to tin production. Lastly, Edward I ordered that the assessment and coinage of tin was to be performed only in the towns of Lostwithiell, Bodmin, Liskerrell, Truro or Helston and that this was to be done prior to Michaelmas on pain of forfeiture of the tin.38

The provisions of this charter served a number of purposes. The most obvious goal was to ensure that tanners would be subject only to the judicial authority of the Warden. The previous charters had left the specifics of judicial administration in question, and Edward realized that this process needed clarification. This clarification meant that practically any litigation involving tin production had to be presented in the stannary court before royal officials and witnesses, all of who had to be tanners. Such

an arrangement excluded those not involved in the tin industry and, subsequently, prevented any prejudice against the industry from coloring the judgments of the court. The mandates concerning imprisonment and the seizure of property also served to insulate the stannaries from external authority. In addition, the guarantee of a separate stannary court served to encourage employment in the stannaries, as did the confirmation of preexisting rights. The most enticing privilege, however, was the freedom from all fees and customs in the county not related to tin production. This provision quickly grew to include not only fees and duties, but also ordinary forms of taxation such as the tenth and the fifteenth.39 Finally, by specifying the five towns where the assessment and coinage of tin were to be held, Edward sought to increase the efficiency of royal control and to decrease the illegal sale of uncoined tin. The charter of 1305 ultimately served to establish the King and the Warden as the only authority in the stannaries, and further separated the tinners from other groups in society.

The steady rise in tin production during the first half of the fourteenth century demonstrates the success of Edward’s reforms. From 1302 to 1316 the production of tin in Cornwall remained at or above seven hundred thousand pounds per year. Production fell off significantly in 1317, but had risen to nearly one million pounds in 1324. When the records resume in 1332, the amount had reached an astounding 1.6 million pounds. From this point until 1342, the last account of tin production before the Black Death, production rates remained well over one million pounds per year.40

It is interesting that the only significant decline in tin production during this period occurred in 1317, during the Great Famine that ravaged Europe and Britain from 1315-1319. Unfortunately, no record of tin production survives between 1317

40 Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 156.
and 1324, so it is impossible to say how long this slump lasted. One possible reason for this decline, regardless of its duration, would be a high mortality rate caused by the Famine. However, this does not appear to have been the case. Cornwall seems to have fared much better than other areas during the Famine, and Cornish grain was sent as famine relief to less fortunate areas such as London.41 Nevertheless, such a situation would have caused food prices to escalate, while tin prices remained the same throughout the first half of the fourteenth century.42 At the same time, demand for land in Cornwall was increasing and a large amount of waste and moorland was being converted into arable land.43 Thus, confronted by the rising demand for food and increasing amounts of arable land, some tinners might have left the mines for employment on the manors. Such movement between the two occupations can be seen again in the aftermath of the Black Death.

Cornish tin production in 1342 totaled over one million pounds, as it had for the years of the previous decade. The next extant coinage roll, from the year 1351, shows that production had fallen to a meager 237,000 pounds.44 This catastrophic collapse of the industry was but one of the results of the Black Death in Cornwall. The accounts of Cornish manors record extremely high revenues from death-duties in 1349 and the failure to collect fines and tallage on account of the widespread poverty and deaths among the tenants.45 Unfortunately, it is very difficult to quantify the mortality rate in Cornwall during this period. The most reliable general indicator of mortality is the number of institutions of priests to vacant benefices. From March 1349 to April 1350 eighty-five institutions were granted throughout the diocese of

42 Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 90.
44 Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 156.
Exeter, which had a total of one hundred and fifty-five benefices in Cornwall. A second outbreak of the Plague from 1360 to 1362 is illustrated by the granting of an additional sixty-three institutions, as well as by further evidence from the manorial accounts. In comparison, the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield suffered a death rate of thirty-six percent among the parish clergy in 1349. Although this evidence does not prove that the tinners experienced high mortality rates, it does suggest that Cornwall lost a significant portion of its population during these years.

The decline in tin production shown by the coinage roll of 1351 was the start of a long slump in stannary output. Production slowly climbed to over five hundred thousand pounds in 1361, but fell by more than thirty percent in the following year. The return to the levels attained before the Plague was a slow one, and it is only in 1386 that production again reached one million pounds. While it is clear that this slump was a result of the Black Death, it should not be attributed simply to a high mortality rate amongst tinners. In reaction to the decline the Black Prince, as Duke of Cornwall, issued an order to the tinners in 1351 that they were to expend the same cost and labor in their works as before or forfeit their claims. This reaction stands in contrast to Edward’s policy toward the Duchy manors, which was to remit fines and reduce rents based on the lack of demand for land. If the depression in stannary output had actually been a result of high mortality rates among the tinners, one would expect Edward to entice labor to the stannaries as he did with his manors. It seems, then, that the number of tinners was reduced not so much from death but instead from

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50 *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 1.
changes in occupation. So many newly vacant positions on the manors being offered at reduced rates of rent would have been a sore temptation for most tinners, especially considering the rising costs of food in the two decades following the plague. The speed at which vacant lands were leased and rents climbed shows that large groups of people were entering agriculture, and that these people had surplus money to pay rents or to purchase freeholds. In light of the Black Prince’s reaction to the decline in tin production and the similar experience during the Great Famine, it is clear that tinners comprised a large percentage of these new tenants.

Although it took time, the stannaries eventually recovered from the exodus of labor that followed the Black Death. In 1386 production surpassed one million pounds, and it remained between 1.1 and 1.4 million pounds for the remainder of the century. Indeed, by 1376 the stannaries were active enough to warrant a petition to parliament by the people of Cornwall and Devon, asking for an exposition and limitation of the 1305 charter. This petition was a reaction to abuses of stannary privileges by the tinners, tin merchants and the Warden. The particulars of these abuses were namely that employers of tinners enjoyed the stannary privileges reserved for their employees, that tinners regularly disturbed meadows, forests and residential areas by digging for tin, that the stannary courts claimed jurisdiction beyond that granted by the charter, and that the Warden allowed tinners convicted of felony to remain at large instead of imprisoning them. The resulting exposition confirmed the tinners’ right to dig everywhere, limited the stannary privileges to laboring tinners, and limited the jurisdiction of the stannary courts to that specified in the 1305 charter.


This exposition was not confirmed by the king until 1386, and there seems to have been little attempt to enforce it.\textsuperscript{54} Thus tinners remained, in practice, as favored a group at the end of the fourteenth century as they had been before.

The history of tin production in Cornwall is ancient, and extends beyond the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. The continuity of the industry allowed many of its customs to survive from Antiquity into the later Middle Ages. In addition, the importance of stannary revenues to the English Crown caused John and Edward I to grant a number of privileges and exemptions to the tinners. These grants had made the \textit{stannatores} a distinct legal group by the fourteenth century, one that also operated largely outside of seigneurial control and the ordinary economy. Under the stannary charters of 1201 and 1305, the tinners of Cornwall enjoyed a privileged position in society. Freed from all normal taxation and customary labor, they were able to concentrate on the production of tin. The confirmation of their ancient rights meant that they could pursue their occupation practically anywhere in the county and that they could procure the necessary resources. The existence of the stannary court offered the promise of real justice, administered by an officer of the Crown and untainted by local bias. Thus, tinners participated in a pseudo-capitalist economy, where hard work and luck could potentially result in a lucrative income. As enticing as this seems, tin production experienced a serious decline in the fourteenth century following the Black Death. During this period of high food costs and population decline, tinners neglected the industry in favor of agriculture. The reasons for this shift lie in the actual conditions of life and labor in the stannaries and the true economic potential of tin production.

\textsuperscript{54} Lewis, \textit{The Stannaries}, 96-8.
CHAPTER III

THE STATUS AND EVERYDAY LIFE OF TINNERS

Under the terms of the 1305 charter, tanners of the fourteenth century enjoyed a privileged position in society. Freed from most forms of external authority and taxation, they could go throughout the county practicing their trade as they wished. As a group, they represent a unique type of labor: the rural entrepreneur. The most well-known type of rural entrepreneur in later medieval England is the yeoman farmer. The presence of yeomen in England bolstered local markets and had a commercializing effect on the local nobility.1 The tanners had a similar effect on the Cornish economy and, therefore, provide a venue to explore a group that was central to the medieval economy. The legal and social status of the tanners must first be understood before the conditions under which they lived can be analyzed. Once their position in society is clear, I will proceed to analyze their everyday life and circumstances. With this goal accomplished, we can better understand the advantages and problems particular to the tanners.

The Status of Tanners

In attempting to define the status of the fourteenth-century tanner, the first point to be considered is their identity. The sole determinant of the tanner legal identity was the royal charters. If the charter applied to someone, then they were a

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tinner, and had access to the stannary courts. The extent to which the charter was applied, however, quickly became modified from its initial character. The grants made by Edward I's charter originally applied only to tinners working on the royal demesne. In practice, tinners throughout the county successfully claimed all of the rights and exemptions in the charter. The defense for this claim lay in the fact that John's charter of 1201 had made no such distinction. Their claims were supported by the stannary officials, who were eager to extend their jurisdiction and, in turn, the profits of the stannary courts. Similarly, it soon became custom for the charter provisions to apply not only to laboring tinners, but also to smelters, tin merchants, and local magnates who offered credit to tinners. These extensions of stannary privileges prompted the petition to parliament in 1376 mentioned in the previous chapter, which was partially concerned with limiting the privileges to laboring tinners. Thus, soon after 1305, it had become customary practice for the provisions of the royal charter to be applied to all persons in Devon and Cornwall who were involved in tin production.

The rights granted to tinners by the charter of 1305 not only defined tinners as a group, it also predetermined the type of person likely to become a laboring tinner. In the first half of the fourteenth century, Cornwall enjoyed a large population and extensive cultivation of land. This swelling population was due in large part to the fact that the Great Famine had little effect on Cornwall, so that the inhabitants enjoyed a long period of agricultural prosperity. As population grew, however, opportunities in agriculture diminished. The formerly unproductive wastes and moorlands were slowly being converted to arable, but this process could not match the rate of population growth. The excess population naturally gravitated toward tin production, as it

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provided a comparable income to wage labor and a number of freedoms unavailable in
other trades. Particularly important was the freedom from pleas of villeinage for
laboring tinners. This right allowed tenants of the servile class to leave their lord’s
land and pursue tin mining, while their former lord could do nothing to stop them.
Although the charter of 1305 granted this freedom only to tinners employed on the
royal demesne land, it was applied throughout the stannaries and defended by the
Warden of the Stannaries.\(^5\) Therefore the majority of laboring tinners in the early
fourteenth century were either serfs or marginal agricultural producers who began tin-
mining as a means to improve their station in life or because they had been pushed out
of agriculture by rising population and the increased demand for land.

Whether a former serf or wealthy creditor, all tinners enjoyed the same basic
legal status: tenants on the royal demesne. As such, the tinners held a specific legal
status. In addition to the freedom from pleas of villeinage, this status meant that they
could be compelled to leave their work only by the Warden, that they were free to dig
for tin almost anywhere in the county, and that they had access to the water and
supplies necessary for their work.\(^6\) These freedoms insured that they could focus on
their labors without concern for external authorities. Their status also meant that they
were exempted from payment of tallages, tolls, and subsidies. The exemption from the
lay subsidies lifted a large financial burden from the tinners, since the crown passed a
number of subsidies of one-tenth and one-twelfth of an individual’s property between
1290 and 1348. Aside from the tinners, only the men of the Cinque Ports (who
contributed their ships to military actions) and the inhabitants of Cheshire and Durham
(who paid taxes of a different sort) enjoyed such freedom from taxation.\(^7\) In return for

\(^6\) Salzman, “Mines and Stannaries,” 89.
these exemptions, tinners had to pay the coinage duty of forty shillings per thousandweight of tin before the metal could be sold.

The final and most important right enjoyed by tinners was the creation of their own court system, the stannary courts. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the charter of 1305 clarified the nature of the stannary court system and defined its jurisdiction as covering any dispute where one or more tinners were involved in all pleas except those of life, land, or limb.8 The extent of the court’s jurisdiction was insured by the stannary officials’ desire to increase the profits of the court and by Edward I’s order that no tinner was to be impleaded in another court. The stannary court functioned much the same as manorial and hundred courts, in that they were courts of common law that used oral pleas as opposed to writs. Tinners brought their complaints to the court, which usually consisted of civil claims of debt and trespass.9 If a litigant failed to receive justice in the stannary court, he could appeal to the Vice-Warden of the Stannaries and, failing that, he could take his complaint to Duchy Council.10 This final option, as recorded in the registers of the Black Prince, often led to a satisfactory conclusion.11

The status of tinners in fourteenth-century Cornwall varied widely in terms of their socio-economic standing. A stannator could be the poorest laborer or the richest merchant, or on a variety of levels in between. The one trait common to all of these individuals was their legal status as tenants on the royal demesne. It was this trait that defined the tinner, and it was the rights and exemptions that went along with it that compelled many to claim this status. The laboring tinner, however, is the focus of this

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8 See above, 24.
9 Pennington, Stannary Law, 29; For a description of the process followed in the stannary court, see below, 40.
10 Pennington, Stannary Law, 30-1.
11 See the case of John de Treeures, who received a larger portion of toll tin in return for damage done to his fields by tinners, Register of Edward the Black Prince, vol. 2, 178.
study, so we should now turn to an examination of their everyday life.

Everyday Life

The first point that should be considered is where the tinners lived. To understand this, one must understand the geography of Cornwall and the location of tin deposits. The majority of the county is very rocky, resting on granite foundations. A combination of low elevation and poor soil made vast tracts of the interior unsuitable for farming during the Middle Ages, and these areas were considered to be wastes or moorland. Most of the arable land was found near the coast, along major rivers, and in the eastern portion of the county. It is in the moorlands that the medieval tin industry thrived. Lying near the granite bedrock and experiencing frequent floods, these regions had a large amount of tin ore on or near the surface. Tin could also be easily found in some of the more fertile valleys, but to a lesser extent. Therefore, in the Middle Ages when tin was sought near the surface, much of the industrial production was centered in the moorlands.

Having established the general location of tin deposits, we must next determine the distance between the tinners’ workplace and residence. This issue is a difficult one due to the lack of conclusive documentary or archeological evidence. Without solid evidence of tinners’ residences in the later Middle Ages, we must search for the most reasonable solution. As was stated above, many of the best tin sites were located in the moorlands. These regions were relatively unpopulated, and were poorly suited for agriculture or husbandry. Therefore, if a tinner made his or her home on the moor, the necessities of life would have been hard to attain. On the other hand, a tin site was the major source of income for most tinners. If a laborer lived too far away from the tin

site, travel would become unfeasible. Additionally, as will be seen later, the stannary court records show that theft of tin and violation of tin bounds were constant concerns for tinners. This threat was more pressing for the smaller independent miners since they had no one to share the duties of guarding the site and of procuring supplies. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that all tinners lived in close proximity to their worksite, with the distance between workplace and home decreasing as the scale of the operation decreased. This position is supported by medieval settlement patterns in Dartmoor and Foweymore, two minor tin-producing areas in the southwest of England, where settlements and churches lie near, but rarely in, the tin-rich wastelands.

The location of a tinner’s residence was a crucial aspect of everyday life for a number of reasons. First, it determined to what extent the tinner enjoyed a sense of community. For those unfortunate enough to be solitary prospectors, it was a lonely life. The threat of thievery and the meager returns from a small operation required these laborers to remain on or near their site most of the time. Other laborers had family assisting them in their work, which provided them with company and allowed them to leave the tin bounds while their spouse or a son or daughter kept watch. Finally, there were many cases in the stannaries of two or more unrelated tinners cooperating in the exploitation of a tin site. Not only did these individuals enjoy a community of laborers at work, but they could also afford to live in a nearby settlement, while taking turns guarding the site.

Looking beyond the interaction within individual tin sites, we find a larger sense of community among tinners. In the Middle Ages, there were very large

14 See below,
16 For a discussion on communal labor in the stannaries, see below,
numbers of people involved in the tin industry. John Hatcher estimated that there were at least 2,000 people in 1307 that were classified as tanners in Cornwall. This figure includes not only the laboring tanners, but also smelters, tin merchants and non-laboring partners in tinworks. Hatcher is able to approximate the numbers of laboring tanners for the stannaries of Penwith-and-Kerrier and Blackmore in the same year, which are 450 and 650 respectively.\textsuperscript{17} This represents a significant proportion of the Cornish population, and there is no reason to believe that the numbers declined until after the Black Death. As a group, the tanners were bound together by the provisions of the royal charters. They had their own court system, where they faced juries comprised of their fellow tanners, and they met regularly at the coinages where they presented their tin to the royal officials for assessment. The shared sense of community seen in the tin-mining community is clear when one realizes that the charter of 1305 was requested by the tanners of Blackmore stannary, who purchased it and their seal, and continued to pay for the occasional confirmation.\textsuperscript{18}

Religion is another area in which the tanners interacted. Cornwall in the fourteenth century was well supplied with secular clergy and monastics, although the latter was concentrated primarily in the central and eastern portions of the county and had relatively little effect on the populace.\textsuperscript{19} The largest monastery in southwest England, Tavistock Abbey, was located in Devon. Records show that Tavistock was a relatively poor abbey, as they were assessed in the mid-fourteenth century as having endowments worth only two hundred and eight pounds.\textsuperscript{20} Such a low level of funding for the principal monastery in the southwest suggests that the local people as a whole

\textsuperscript{17} Hatcher, \textit{Rural Economy}, 30-1.
\textsuperscript{18} Thomas Beare, \textit{The Bailiff of Blackmoor, 1586: An Examination of the History, Laws and Customs of Medieval and Sixteenth Century Tanners}, J.A. Buckley, ed. (Camborne: Penhellick Publications, 1994), 2; The lead seal of the tanners was attached to the 1305 charter, and bears the image of two laboring tanners, one wielding a spade and the other a pick, Penhallurick, \textit{Tin in Antiquity}, 244.
\textsuperscript{19} Eliott-Binns, \textit{Medieval Cornwall}, 368-9.
\textsuperscript{20} Finberg, \textit{Tavistock Abbey}, 27.
did little to support the Church. Evidence of popular piety among tinners is given by the position of St. Piran as patron saint of tinners. Piran is a Celtic saint of Ireland, known there as St. Ciran, who was adopted in Cornwall in the central Middle Ages. Religious life for the tinners, however, was far from ideal. Instances of pluralism, absenteeism, clerical ignorance, simony and general lawlessness were common in the Cornish church, as was anti-clerical sentiment and violence against the clergy among the laity. These were problems not just for the general population, but also specifically for the tinners. The clergy appears quite often in stannary court records loaning money at interest to tinners, owning and operating mines and even smuggling tin. Such activities could have done little to endear the clergy to the stannary laborers.

Having examined some of the communal aspects of tinners, let us now explore other facets of the stannary life. Employed in an industrial profession, the tinner was forced to either tend crops and livestock on the side or purchase foodstuffs from neighboring farmers. The extent to which tinners were devoted to tin production and the attendant issue of their dependence on agricultural communities for food was fuel for an intense debate between John Hatcher and Ian Blanchard. In an article analyzing the Cornish economy in the fourteenth century, Hatcher theorized that “mining communities almost certainly relied upon the market for the greater part of their food needs.” Blanchard took the opposite position soon afterwards, theorizing that tinners, along with other mining groups in medieval England, were primarily involved

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23 Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 58-9; An early example is found in PRO E 101/260/1, m. 4d, the record of a stannary court session in Penwith-and-Kerrier, 1333, where Peter Carville, prior of Mount St. Michael, is under distraint for a trespass plea.
in agriculture and only practiced mining as a source of extra income. The two continued the debate in another set of articles in which each decried the other’s methods, Hatcher accusing Blanchard of generalizing data from the lead mining industry and Blanchard accusing Hatcher of projecting the situation of miners in later centuries back to the Middle Ages.

Although it is clear that this debate will not soon be solved, an examination of the stannary court proceedings provides us with some much-needed evidence and focus. The first court session held in Blackmore stannary in 1333 contains entries for one hundred and seventy-five cases, of which only three mention foodstuffs. These include the theft of four bushels of malt from a home, the detainment of one cow, and the unlawful farming of another’s land. Of these three cases, only the last two can be evidence for tinners practicing agriculture and husbandry. In the case concerning the theft of malt, the plaintiff is identified as William Baker of St. Austell, and is obviously not a tinner. Therefore, the defendant is a tinner, and is certainly not in possession of large quantities of food. Similarly, the first court session held in Penwith-and-Kerrier stannary in the same year documents one hundred and seventy-four cases, of which there are only four cases that mention foodstuffs (two cases of seizing animals and two cases involving the distraint of a bull), and one that involves the surrender of one-half acre of land. All of these five cases could signify tinners owning cattle and farmland, but they, like the cases in the Blackmore session, represent a tiny fraction of the litigation.

There are many cases in the sessions described above that do not offer details

27 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1.
28 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 4, 4d.
on the matters at hand. Many of these simply refer to a debt, trespass or unlawful
detainment with no regard for the property involved. However, there are other
instances where the property is specified as tin, money or coal, and such instances
outnumber those dealing with food by more than six to one in these sessions. This
disposition stands in stark contrast to a contemporary session of the hundred court of
Penwith, where, out of a total of seventy-four cases, nine mention money and chattel
while seven mention foodstuffs. These facts suggest that tinners during this period
were devoted to their trade and getting their sustenance through purchase rather than
their own production.

All medieval people had to deal with crime, and the tinners are no exception.
The stannary court records are an excellent glimpse into this aspect of daily life, and
should be considered in detail. The previously mentioned 1333 session held in
Blackmore stannary lists thirty-seven cases that fall under the action of trespass. Nineteen of these cases omit the details, stating only that a trespass was committed.
The remaining eighteen include four cases of theft, eleven cases of battery and the one
case of illegal farming of another’s land. The session held in Penwith-and-Kerrier for
the same year contains only eleven instances of trespass. Four of these are
identifiable, two of which concern the theft of animals and one regarding the
concealment of tin. The final case is interesting because it involves a fundamental right
of the tinners. It is an inquiry regarding the plaintiff’s trees being destroyed by a
tinner. The defendant claimed that he acted not out of malice but was attempting to

30 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d; For a general discussion of trespass in this period see John Hamilton
Baker, An Introduction to English Legal History, 4th edition (London: Butterworths LexisNexis,
2002), 60-1; Robert C. Palmer, English law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-1381: A
Transformation of Governance and Law (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993),
147-8.
31 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 4, 4d.
lead a stream to his tinwork. He had the presence of mind to claim his rights as a tinner and is found to be innocent by the court. This type of dispute, along with the other instances of theft and concealment of tin, represent the majority of identifiable trespass cases in these early court sessions and underscore the importance of both the rights of the tinner and the everyday production of tin.

While the previous example of a tinner’s rights being upheld by the stannary court is revealing, on the whole the court records from 1333 document the inability of the stannary court to provide justice. A short description of the legal mechanism of the stannary court is required to make this clear. The stannary courts functioned much the same as other types of local courts in England. After the plaintiff had notified the court of his or her complaint, the defendant was brought before the court. This process began with a summons, whereby the defendant was ordered to appear before the court. If the defendant did not appear, the court issued a *dstringas* (an order for distraint) and goods of the defendant were seized as compulsion. If this failed, or if the defendant had no goods to seize, the defendant was attached or arrested and brought to court. Once the plaintiff and defendant were present, an inquiry was generally held and, if found guilty, the defendant was amerced. Less often, the defendant “wagered his law” and left the decision to the compurgators. Occasionally, the parties were convinced to reach an amicable settlement and were given a “loveday” to come to an agreement.

The process described above appears to be highly ineffective in the stannary courts of 1333. The session held in Blackmore contains a total of one hundred and seventy-five cases, of which there are four summons, seventy-one distraints, seventeen

32 See Appendix B, 78.
attachments and forty inquiries, with only forty-three cases being resolved by amercements and agreements. In the session held in Penwith-and-Kerrier there are a total of one hundred and seventy-four cases, of which there are three summons, ninety-four distrains, eight attachments and twenty-six inquiries, while forty-one cases are resolved through amercements and agreements.\footnote{PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d; 4, 4d.} In both sessions, more than half of the cases are being delayed because the litigants have not come to the court. The reason for this failure to process justice lies in the difficulty of bringing participants to the court. The vast majority of cases in both of these sessions are at the level of distrain, and the officer of the court (usually a bailiff or tithingman) who is responsible for ensuring attendance of all parties is quite often under amercement for failing in his duties. When the number of defaults on attendance is examined, we find that the worst offenders are those charged with debt. However, cases involving trespass also move slowly. For example, in the Blackmore session there are eight cases wherein the same group of ten men is attached for assaulting eight different individuals.\footnote{PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1.} In the two other sessions for the year, we find that these men have still not been brought before the court.\footnote{PRO E 101/260/1, m. 2, m. 3.} Failures such as these show just how ineffective the stannary courts were.

The significance of an ineffective stannary court should not be understated. The guarantee of a court solely for tinners where they would be judged by their peers and the stannary officials was a fundamental part of the 1305 charter, and was most likely a highly effective motivator for stannary employment. A tinner could not reasonably expect to receive a favorable judgment in manorial or hundred courts when they were accused of destroying property and produce during their work. Therefore,
the tinners needed an effective court system that could ensure their security. Had they even been able to expect favorable treatment in another court, this option was not available to them. The establishment of the stannary court was a double-edged sword. While it gave the tinners special legal consideration, it also barred them from seeking justice in other courts, aside from cases of life, land or limb.38 Thus, when the stannary courts proved inadequate for the dispensation of justice, their existence was more of a curse than a blessing.

Status and Everyday Life after the Black Death

The high mortality rates that resulted from the Black Death had their effect on the relative importance of the status of tinners and on everyday life in the stannaries. In terms of status, some of the formerly attractive qualities of the stannator became less so. The access to water rights, necessary supplies, and the continued existence of the stannary court continued to encourage tin production, as did the all-important freedom from normal taxation. The freedom from pleas of villeinage and work requirements, however, decreased in importance. One of the major results of the Black Death is that it created more opportunities for land tenure, a greater variety of tenure, and led to the ultimate end of villeinage. In a situation where much arable land was no longer being worked and where foodstuffs were in high demand, lords could not afford to enforce customary labor requirements and rent payments. Villeinage slowly evolved into other types of land tenure, particularly copyhold, and the English peasantry enjoyed a general improvement in their conditions.39 For the many tinners who had entered the trade to escape serfdom, this new situation meant that they could leave tin production without fear of returning to their previous status. The marginal

38 Lewis, The Stannaries, 90-1.
producers who had been forced into tin production on account of the dearth of land now faced a situation where tenements were abundant. Additionally, both groups would have quite possibly had some disposable income on hand to procure a tenement, or possibly even a freehold.

This movement was also a reaction to the poor quality of life in the stannaries. Tinners lived in unproductive farmlands and relied on their revenue to attain the necessities of life. In the aftermath of the Plague, when supplies were scarce, the product of their labor could not meet their needs. The fact that tinners had to find other sources of food is attested by the stannary court rolls. In the sessions held in 1333, there is practically no mention of livestock or grain. In the sessions from 1355 and 1379, however, cases involving animals are much more frequent. For example, in the session held in Blackmore in 1355, there are four cases that mention theft of animals and food, as opposed to three that mention the theft of tin. There are also three mentions of unlawful detainment of animals and two cases of unlawful pasturing of livestock. These cases show not only that tinners were less focused on their industrial pursuits, but also that they had begun to move into agricultural pursuits.

In addition to the need for sustenance, the movement of tinners away from tin production was greatly influenced by a sharp rise in crime and the continued ineffectiveness of the stannary court system. In the sessions from Blackmore and Penwith-and-Kerrier held in 1333, trespass comprises twenty-one percent and six percent of the total content respectively. This figure rises sharply after the Black Death. In the sessions held in 1355, thirty-five percent of the cases in Blackmore and twenty-six percent of cases in Penwith-and-Kerrier concern matters of trespass.

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40 PRO SC 2/156/26, m. 1, 1d.
41 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d; 4, 4d.
42 PRO SC 2/156/26, m. 1, 1d; PRO SC 2/161/81, m. 1, 1d.
with the sessions from 1333, actions of summons, distraint and attachment are the majority while resolution of disputes is relatively uncommon. Moreover, many of the trespasses recorded in the later sessions target tinners and their livelihood, with harassment and assault of tinners and the theft of tin being the more common of offenses. In conjunction with scarce resources and available arable land, the rise in violence may have led many tinners to seek employment on the manors.

In the aftermath of the Black Death, the English peasantry was faced with a number of opportunities. With so much land no longer being cultivated, the landlords desperately needed laborers and were in no position to require the workers to accept their former position. Villeinage began to decline and was replaced by copyholds. In addition, the peasant who had sufficient coin could procure a freehold in the hopes of one day becoming a yeoman farmer. These same opportunities were available to the tinners of Cornwall. With the decline of customary labor and duties, tinners who had once lived in serfdom felt secure in returning to agricultural production. Likewise, those tinners who had been marginal producers now saw their chance for success in agriculture. Their reliance on others for food was obviously a motivating factor in the flight from the stannaries, as was the rampant crime and ineffectual court system. Although the rights of a tinner, especially exemption from taxation, were important, many of these former tinners retained their status by working as part-time wage laborers in the stannaries. The life of a tinner was difficult and lonely, so it is no surprise that many left the stannaries when better opportunities existed.

CHAPTER IV

LABOR AND ECONOMY IN THE STANNARIES

In spite of the privileged position granted to tinners in fourteenth-century Cornwall, there was a mass exodus from tin production in the aftermath of the Black Death. If the tinner's lot in life was as enviable as the charters suggest, one would expect the industry to have recovered fairly quickly and to have retained its former characteristics. As we will see, this was not the case. The nature of tin production in Cornwall experienced significant changes after the Black Death, and these changes became standard characteristics of the tin industry in the following centuries. While the overall poor quality of life in the stannaries contributed to this shift, the root cause lay in the nature of tin production itself. The decline in population after the Black Death liberated people from poverty throughout England, allowing them the freedom to choose their profession and causing increases in wages and available land. In order to understand the transformation of the tin industry, we must first understand how the fourteenth-century tinners worked and what chance for economic gain was available to them.

The Nature of Stannary Labor

The most significant shared feature of everyday life for tinners was undoubtedly the work they performed in their tin sites. The nature of labor in the stannaries is therefore a key to understanding the lives of tinners. The first step in tin production was the location of the ore, or prospecting. Tinners generally found ore

1 Christopher Dyer, Making a Living, 278-9.
deposits by walking around a prospective site looking for tin lying above ground. This
tin, called shoad, often marked larger deposits close to the surface. Once a potential
site was located, the tinner would next dig a small pit down to the bedrock, examining
the extracted material and noting the depth at which any shode was found. This
process was then repeated until the richest deposit of tin was located, at which point
the tinner would mark off the area with a pile of turfs at each corner. This act was
referred to as bounding, and it signified that the tinner had staked a claim to the site.
After the site had been claimed, the actual process of ore extraction could begin.²

During the Middle Ages, the most common method of extraction was called
streaming. After locating a deposit of ore and claiming the site, the tinner began to
remove the ore. Although different approaches were employed in streaming, the
essence of this method was to dig down to the tin deposit, and then to conduct
running water across the surface. Since tin is a much denser material than sand, clay,
and the components of granite, the water carried off the other components of the soil
while leaving the ore behind. To employ this method, the tinner had to clear away
objects or plants on the surface of the site, then dig a trench down to the deposit,
direct a flow of water from a stream or river to the site, and dig a canal to allow the
runoff to escape.³ This method of production required large amounts of time and
labor, with no way of gauging the size of the return until it was accomplished.

Having thusly extracted the ore, the tinner next had to refine the tin. Tin in its
ore state was called black tin, while the refined variety was called white tin. Under the
charter of 1305, no tin could be sold outside the stannaries until the coinage duty had

² Gerrard, The Early British Tin Industry, 26-8, 32; For an early modern account of all aspects of tin
mining see Richard Carew, The Survey of Cornwall, ed. F.E. Halliday (London: Andrew Melrose,
1953), 89-93.
³ Gerrard, The Early British Tin Industry, 60-3.
been assessed and paid, and only white tin could be presented for coinage. Most tinners cleaned the ore themselves, but it is doubtful that they were skilled in smelting. Although the royal charters granted to tinners the right to dig turfs for smelting tin, there is evidence that the two occupations were separate. The earliest document describing the industry, the letter of William de Wrotham written in 1198, lists diggers of black tin separately from refiners of tin. In addition, cases in the early stannary court sessions occasionally deal with disputes between laboring tinners and smelters. Finally, Thomas Beare, writing in the sixteenth century, stated that few tinners could extract the ore and refine it, and he considered refiners to be tinners just the same as the laborers. This is reasonable since the extraction of tin was such a time-consuming venture and since refining required a separate set of skills. Only the most prolific of tinners could prepare their product without outside assistance.

Once the tin was refined, it was ready to be assessed for coinage. In the early fourteenth century coinages were held frequently in a number of towns in Cornwall. For example, in 1333-4 there were nine coinage sessions held in Lostwithiell and four in Truro. The tinner had to stockpile the ore until a session approached, then arrange for transportation to the stannary town where it was held. At the coinage a crown official would weigh the tin, examine its quality, and, if it was acceptable, assess the coinage dues. In Cornwall, the tax amounted to 40 shillings per thousandweight. Only when the coinage duty had been paid could the tinner sell the product and, finally, receive a return on the investment of labor.

The process described above was difficult and lengthy, and resulted in an

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5 See above, 20.
6 See PRO E 101/260/1, m. 4d, where a smelter is accused of withholding a portion of refined tin from a laboring tinner, Appendix B, 82.
7 Beare, Bailiff, 6-7.
8 Hatcher, English Tin Production, 77.
9 Hatcher, English Tin Production, 6.
exceptionally hard life for laboring tinners. The only way available to tinners to decrease the burden of their toils was to share the labor in some form of cooperative venture. The structure of labor in the stannaries could take a variety of forms. The first, and most basic, was that of the lone prospector. The solitary tinner faced the arduous task of tin production alone, while also having to protect the site and arrange for smelting and transportation to the coinage. In return, the tinner could expect to eke out a meager existence, although the possibility of a big strike was an enticing one. Also, these tinners were lured by the freedoms granted to tinners and an independent way of life. Finally, the overpopulation of Cornwall before the Black Death made tin mining less of a choice and more of a necessity for many of these solitary workers. The court rolls from the stannaries of Blackmore and Penwith-and-Kerrier in 1333 show the prevalence of solitary miners in the early fourteenth century. In the session from Blackmore, seventy-eight percent of the cases recorded involve one plaintiff and one defendant who is most likely a laboring tinner. In Penwith-and-Kerrier the numbers are even greater, with ninety-two percent of all litigation being between one plaintiff and one defendant. While it is true that all of these cases might not represent solitary tinners, the fact that many of them deal with debt, usually expressed in tin, suggests strongly that the majority of stannary laborers were individual operators dependent on credit.

In addition to solitary operations, there were also cooperative groups of laboring tinners. These take two forms: family groups engaged in tin production and partnerships between unrelated tinners. Family groups appear as defendants in the stannary court records of 1333, but in much smaller numbers than most other groups.

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10 Hatcher, *Rural Economy*, 120.
11 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d.
12 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 4, 4d.
In the court session of Blackmore, there are three cases involving a husband and wife, two involving a father and son, and one that involves a brother and sister, which amount to three percent of the cases. In the stannary of Penwith-and-Kerrier there are only two cases involving a husband and wife who are likely to be tinners, a mere one percent of the total litigation. These family groups are significant because they are usually the only occasions on which women appear as laboring tinners.

Instances of partnerships between unrelated tinners are more common in the court records. In the court session of Blackmore stannary in 1333, twelve percent of the cases involve partnerships, with fifteen cases where two tinners are the defendants, two cases of three defendants, and one case of four, eleven, thirty-four and forty-seven defendants. In the session from Penwith-and-Kerrier, there are seven cases where two tinners are defendants and three cases where three tinners are defendants, which constitute six percent of the total. As with cases involving familial groups, Penwith-and-Kerrier has fewer instances of cooperative ventures than Blackmore. Additionally, we see larger partnerships of tinners operating in the stannary of Blackmore. This is largely due to the fact that Penwith-and-Kerrier had only recently begun to attract laboring tinners, while Blackmore was the most productive stannary in Cornwall for most of the fourteenth century. Thus we see that, in a period of overpopulation, the marginal independent tinners were forced to find new areas to stake their claims.

Historical writing on the subject of stannary labor has always included a third type of labor organization: the ownership of tinworks by wealthy entrepreneurs who employ hired labor. Previous historians have described hired labor as taking a number

13 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d; 4, 4d.
14 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d; 4, 4d.
of forms. There is the cost-agreement system, wherein a portion of the tinwork is owned by a non-laboring partner who contributes money and sometimes wage laborers known as “spaliards.” The cost-agreement system is one form of organization where laboring tinners are paid a wage by the owner of a tinwork. In addition to wage labor, there is also the tribute system. Under this system, the owner of a mine allowed laborers to work the site in exchange for a portion of the product.\(^{16}\) Both Lewis and Hatcher, the two most important historians of the stannaries, have argued that hired labor existed in the stannaries from an early date.\(^ {17}\) The evidence for this argument, however, is less than clear. Both used the account of tin mining written by Thomas Beare in the sixteenth century, which describes the nature of stannary labor at that time. The author included individual prospectors, partnerships between laboring and non-laboring tinners, and the various forms of hired labor in his description.\(^ {18}\) It must be noted, however, that Beare is describing the state of stannary labor in the late sixteenth century, and makes no claims that these divisions existed in the distant past. In fact, while discussing the nature of stannary customs, he makes it quite clear that he will only discuss those matters that he can recall from memory, and that these might be incorrect.\(^ {19}\) Such a warning shows that Beare cannot be used as evidence for the organization of labor in the fourteenth century without corroborating evidence. Aside from Beare, the evidence for hired laborers in the stannaries almost always comes from the second half of the fourteenth century. One exception, noted by Hatcher, is a case from 1342 involving a number of wealthy entrepreneurs, led by Michael Trenewith, who seized a number of tinworks and compelled laborers to work therein for a small

\(^{16}\) Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 60, 65.


\(^{19}\) Beare, *Bailiff*, 16.
wage. Although this is a form of wage labor, the workers were anything but willing. Aside from this case, neither Hatcher nor Lewis cite instances of hired labor in the stannaries until after the Black Death.

In light of these facts, the accounts of the stannary court sessions held in 1333 take on special importance. If hired labor were present in the stannaries at this time, one would expect to see evidence of it in the court records. Significantly, there is no case that specifically mentions hired laborers. It is possible that cases involving a covenant could represent an agreement between an employer and an employee, but the evidence is simply not conclusive. There are three cases involving a plea of covenant in the court session held in Blackmore and seven in Penwith-and-Kerrier. In both sessions, the details of these covenant pleas, when given, provide no evidence of wage labor. In addition, I have examined the other court sessions held in Blackmore and Penwith-and-Kerrier and have found no evidence of wage labor.

The court sessions of Blackmore and Penwith-and-Kerrier held in 1333 show that individual tinners represented the dominant form of stannary labor at that time. Cooperative ventures undertaken by families and partnerships of unrelated tinners appear in the court rolls to a lesser degree, while conclusive evidence of wage labor is nonexistent. The prevalence of individual laborers in the court records is due, in part, to the fact that they had to endure the burden of production alone, and therefore were more likely to fail. The fact that most tinners lived with the constant risk of failure is a significant factor in the transformation of stannary labor that occurred during and after the Black Death.

21 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d; 4, 4d.
The Economic Potential of Tin Production

The production of tin ore was a long and difficult endeavor that offered little promise of a substantial return. Laboring tanners scouted a potential site as best they could, but the only way to determine the size of a deposit was to exploit it. The exploitation of tin deposits required few tools, and the stannary charter allowed them to procure the natural resources that they needed and to redirect watercourses. However, as we have seen previously, most professional tanners did not produce their own food, and relied on the neighboring agricultural communities for sustenance. Since the stannary charters required all tin to be presented for coinage before it was sold, tanners labored for months at a time before they were able to sell their product. This fact, in conjunction with their reliance on local markets for food, meant that most laboring tanners had to seek out loans in order to support themselves between coinages.

This reliance upon credit is best seen in the dominance of debt-related litigation in the stannary courts. In the Blackmore session from 1333, sixty-eight percent of all cases involve tanners who have defaulted on loans, while seventy-five percent of the session from Penwith-and-Kerrier that same year deals with debt cases. Moreover, the majority of debt cases that specify the terms of the loan state that payment is to be in the form of tin, not in cash. Such a situation meant that many laboring tanners never actually presented their product for coinage nor sold it on the open market, but instead perpetually owed their ore to moneylenders. Unfortunately, the amounts loaned to tanners are never specified, so it is impossible to determine the rates of interest involved. However, if the accounts of the sixteenth century are any indication of earlier conditions, loans were often made at usurious interest rates ranging from

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22 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d; 4, 4d.
twenty to sixty percent per year.\textsuperscript{23}

Even if a tinner was able to retain his or her product, it still had to be refined and transported to the coinage. Cases in the stannary courts between laborers and smelters imply that the refining of tin was paid for with a percentage of the product. This situation further reduced the amount of product that the tinner could present for coinage. Instead of borrowing money or attempting to present the product for coinage, some tinners resorted to selling the raw ore to smelters or tin dealers. The buyers of black tin generally offered a much lower price than that of coined tin, and a report from the reign of Elizabeth I states that raw tin ore sold for half the price of refined tin.\textsuperscript{24} Although family laboring groups and partnerships of tinners could share the burden of production, they still had to face the same prohibitive costs as solitary laborers, and often resorted to loans and selling the raw ore.

It is very difficult to estimate the potential income of laboring tinners due to the lack of supporting evidence. There is no record from the Middle Ages that states how much tin the average laborer produced, what its value was, or the rate of wages paid to hired laborers. However, an attempt to analyze the production and income of tinners must be made. John Hatcher analyzed the payment of black rent (a tax of two \textit{denarii} per head levied on the laboring tinners) in Devon from 1288 to 1301 in an attempt to estimate average per capita production. From this analysis he estimated that production ranged from 145-327 pounds per laborer.\textsuperscript{25} The problem with this analysis is that it attempts to show the rate of tin production in Cornwall by using figures from Devon. By the late thirteenth century, the tin industry in Devon was much less productive than in Cornwall, largely due to the earlier exhausting of the

\textsuperscript{23} Hatcher, \textit{English Tin Production}, 56.
\textsuperscript{24} Lewis, \textit{The Stannaries}, 215, n. 2.
\textsuperscript{25} Hatcher, \textit{English Tin Production}, 84-5.
easily extracted alluvial tin, and it is likely that the tinners of Devon had other sources of income.\textsuperscript{26} In addition, Hatcher estimated that the population of tinners in Cornwall alone, based on a unique subsidy levied on tinners, was approximately two thousand in 1307, when eight hundred thousand pounds of tin were produced.\textsuperscript{27} These figures produce an average of four hundred pounds per tinner, but there were surely some tinners who evaded the subsidy. The tinners that evaded notice, however, could not have been very productive, so it is reasonable to assume that the average Cornish tinner during the early fourteenth century produced around 350 pounds of tin per year.

Corroborating evidence for the productivity of tinners is found in the stannary court records. In debt cases where an inquiry is held, the amount of money or tin that is to be repaid is often expressed. For example, in the 1333 stannary court session held in Blackmore, there are twenty-seven cases of debt where a single defendant has pledged an amount of tin as repayment for a loan.\textsuperscript{28} The average amount pledged is 5.8 \textit{pedes} of tin. The “foot” unit of measurement referred to here is a unit of dry measure, and Thomas Beare defines it as containing five and one-half gallons.\textsuperscript{29} The gallon converts to 268.8 cubic inches, which means that 5.8 \textit{pedes} of tin are roughly equivalent to five cubic feet.\textsuperscript{30} These pledges all relate to tin ore, not pure refined tin. In discussing the practice of purifying tin, Beare explains that one \textit{pes} of good-quality tin ore will yield thirty-five pounds of pure tin.\textsuperscript{31} Thus the average amount of tin pledged in matters of credit would yield two hundred and three pounds. Since most loans were made for less than six month’s duration,\textsuperscript{32} this figure suggests that the

\textsuperscript{26} Finberg, \textit{Tavistock Abbey}, 187-8.
\textsuperscript{27} Hatcher, \textit{Rural Economy}, 30-1.
\textsuperscript{28} PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, ld.
\textsuperscript{29} Beare, \textit{Bailiff}, 35.
\textsuperscript{31} Beare, \textit{Bailiff}, 108.
\textsuperscript{32} Hatcher, \textit{English Tin Production}, 56.
average individual tinner depended on producing between three and four hundred pounds of refined tin per year.

If we take as a rough average of the annual production of a solitary tinner to be three hundred and fifty pounds, we can extrapolate a tinner’s potential income. First of all, a number of deductions were taken. If the tin was extracted from land held by a lord, as was usually the case, the tinner owed a customary portion of the product, known as toll tin, to the lord. Although tinners were exempt from most taxes and subsidies, they did have to pay the coinage duty when their tin was assessed for sale. The duty in Cornwall in the fourteenth century amounted to forty shillings per thousandweight, so the average tinner owed fourteen shillings per year to the king. Most laboring tinners, however, either owed their tin to creditors or sold it to black tin merchants, so the coinage duty was rarely an issue for them. Instead, they had to face either usurious interest rates or accept a much smaller price for their unrefined tin.

For the first half of the fourteenth century, refined tin was valued at approximately one and one-half denarii per pound. If we assume that a tinner, producing the average amount of tin in a year, owed no toll tin and was able to refine the product himself, his tin would have had a market value of two pounds, three shillings, and nine denarii. After payment of the coinage duty, the tinner would have earned one pound, nine shillings, and nine denarii. This is, of course, only a rough estimate, and it is clear that some tinners would have earned much less from their labors and others much more. For the sake of comparison, unskilled laborers in Cornwall around this time earned one and one-half denarii per day, while skilled laborers earned three denarii. When one factors in the taxes and dues that ordinary

36 Hatcher, *Rural Economy*, 143.
laborers owed, the cost of their equipment and supplies, and the fact that wage laborers usually worked for no more that three-quarters of the year, the successful laboring tinner approaches the same revenue earned by a skilled laborer. While this is an adequate income, it is clear that the possibility of real economic improvement for laboring tinners was practically nonexistent.

Even though laboring tinners faced many obstacles on the road to financial success, others were able to reap large profits from the tin industry. Of course, smelters who received tin as payment for their work were able to make a tidy profit at the coinage. Also, dealers in black tin seem to have had a large margin of profit. It is the individuals who advanced credit to tinners, however, that appear to have profited the most. Interestingly enough, many of these speculators were officers of the Black Prince. John Kendale, receiver of Devon and Cornwall, appears as a creditor in ten separate debt cases in a single session of the Blackmore stannary court in 1355. John Purlee, the Prince’s servant, is the plaintiff in another four debt cases in the same session. Richard de Rosogan, the Prince’s yeoman, stands as the plaintiff in four debt cases in that same session. Finally, Michael Trenewith represents the ultimate speculator. He appears in the Blackmore court session in 1333 as the creditor for a group of forty-seven laboring tinners and again in the Blackmore session in 1355 as a plaintiff in a debt case. In the registers of the Black Prince, a list containing eleven separate debts owed to him is recorded, ranging from a few feet of tin to an impressive thirteen thousand-weights of tin (worth approximately one hundred pounds). Trenewith even appears later in the register as creditor to Richard de Rosogan. Not surprisingly, Trenewith was selected by Edward III to organize the defense of the

38 PRO SC 2/156/26, m. 1, 1d.
39 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1d; PRO SC 2/156/26, m. 1.
40 Register of Edward the Black Prince, vol. 2, 30-1; 160.
Along with loaning money to laboring tinners, these speculators also harassed the tinners of Cornwall. We have already seen how Trenewith compelled a number of tinners to work his tin sites for a meager wage. John Kendale and John Purlee were both named by Abraham the Tinner as the principal assailants who removed him and his fellow workers from their tin sites. Although they did this, supposedly, in order to prevent damage to Fowey harbor from the silt produced in the tin sites, the extent of extortion in this case makes it plain that they sought only to increase their profits even more. These cases serve to strengthen the argument that the tin speculators who advanced credit to laboring tinners sought to increase their own profits and most likely offered highly unfavorable rates of interest. It was these speculators, not the laboring tinners, who actually profited from the tin industry.

Labor and Economy after the Black Death

As was mentioned previously, surviving evidence indicates that the population of Cornwall declined significantly in the wake of the Black Death. The accounts of the Cornish manors, the Black Prince’s attempts to attract laborers to his lands, and the high numbers of benefices granted to priests all suggest that the county suffered greatly from the plague. Also, the tin industry experienced a decline in production that lasted well into the 1380s. This decline does not seem to have been caused by high mortality rates among the tinners, but rather by movement from the tin industry into agriculture. At the same time, the evidence provides conclusive proof of the existence of wage laborers in the stannaries after the Black Death. These two phenomena, the

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41 Hatcher, English Tin Production, 82.
42 See above, 50-1.
exodus of independent laborers from the stannaries and the rise of wage labor, are clearly related and mark a change in the structure of the tin industry that would continue into the early modern period.

Before analyzing the causes of this change, we should look at the evidence and what it has to say. The stannary court sessions are a good source, but after the Black Death their use is more difficult. The sessions from 1333 predominantly deal with cases of debt that usually involve amounts of tin. This evidence allows the researcher to identify many of the debtors as tinners. The stannary courts after 1349, however, contain a larger proportion of trespass cases that often times do not provide details. In these cases it is not possible to establish the positions of the people involved. Therefore, a much smaller proportion of these sessions provide evidence of the structure of labor. Bearing this in mind, the court sessions held after 1349 are still useful for analyzing the structure of labor. In a court session held in Blackmore in 1355, there are one hundred and thirty-seven cases out of one hundred and eighty-six that clearly involve tinners. Out of these, there are one hundred and four cases that deal with individual tinners, ten cases of family laboring groups and thirteen involving partnerships of laboring tinners. In a session held in Penwith-and-Kerrier that same year, there are eighty-nine cases out of one hundred and sixteen that can be used to analyze labor. Of these, there are eighty cases that involve individuals, three cases with family laboring groups and six cases of partnerships. As in the sessions from 1333, we find that individual laborers are the dominant type, with partnerships and family groups present in smaller numbers. Also, there is again no conclusive evidence of wage labor. It must be noted, however, that the level of tin production in 1355 was less than half of that from 1333, and that the laborers mentioned in the court session

44 PRO SC 2/156/26, m. 1, 1d.
45 PRO SC 2/161/81, m. 1, 1d.
were not necessarily employed solely in the tin industry.

Although the court sessions described above provide no evidence of hired labor in the stannaries, it is clear that this type of organization was present soon after the first wave of the Plague. In the registers of the Black Prince we find mention of one person owning large tin sites and employing laborers therein. Abraham the Tinner appears in the register three times in 1357 petitioning the Prince to intervene on his behalf. Abraham states that he, along with his servants and fellow workers, had been arrested by the Receiver of Cornwall and other men and imprisoned at the stannary jail in Lostwithiel. They were held there until they had paid a fine and pledged a portion of their tin to their captors.\(^{46}\) The petitions state that Abraham operated six tin sites and worked with three hundred other men. It is not clear how many of these were employed by Abraham and how many were his partners, but the scope of his operations and the mention of servants suggests strongly that some of the laborers worked for either a wage or a share of the product. Additionally, the Register records that in 1359 Edward granted a large parcel of moorland to sixteen tinners for a period of twelve years.\(^{47}\) Among the recipients of this grant are prominent Cornishmen such as John and Richard Nanfan, the son and brother of Henry Nanfan, bailiff of Helston Manor and Penwith Hundred. It is quite reasonable to assume that such individuals would not work such an extensive site directly, but instead would hire the necessary laborers.

Having found suggestions of wage labor soon after the Black Death, we now turn to the stannary court sessions of 1379. At this point the output of the stannaries was well on its way to pre-plague levels and, therefore, laborers were once again focused on tin production. Out of one hundred and sixty-seven cases in a court

\(^{46}\) Register of Edward the Black Prince, vol. 2, 109-11; see above, 57.

\(^{47}\) Register of Edward the Black Prince, vol. 2, 158.
session held in Blackmore that year, eighty-eight cases show the nature of labor at that time. There are seventy-five cases that involve individual tinners, seven that involve partnerships, and two instances of family labor. In addition, there are four cases that mention a tin site operated by an owner and hired laborers. In a court session held in Penwith-and-Kerrier in 1379 there are ninety-nine cases out of a total of one hundred and seventy-two that discuss tinners. Of these, eighty-eight involve individual laborers, ten cases relate to partnerships, and one case discusses a husband and wife as laboring tinners. Thus we see that individual laborers continue to dominate the industry, but there is at last conclusive evidence of some wage labor.

Up to the onset of the plague in Cornwall, there is no clear evidence of the ownership of larger tin sites by non-laboring individuals and the employment of wage labor. During the first half of the fourteenth century, the evidence shows that tin production was still a small-scale enterprise carried out by individuals or small groups of laborers. Soon after 1349, instances of large-scale tin works begin to appear, and by 1379 it is clear that hired labor is a part of tin production. A number of factors led to this situation, perhaps the greatest of which being the decline in the population of Cornwall. A large segment of the Cornish population succumbed to the Plague, and the policy of the Black Prince toward his manorial holdings shows that agricultural labor suffered greatly. The speed with which the agricultural sector recovered, along with the large numbers of tinners in Cornwall, suggests that there was much movement from tin production into agriculture.

During the first half of the fourteenth century, laboring tinners were able to provide themselves and their families with sustenance, but little more. After 1349, this situation was changed drastically. The decline in stannary output after 1349 inflated

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48 PRO SC 2/156/27, m. 1-2.
49 PRO SC 2/161/83, m. 2d-4.
the price of tin, so that laboring tinners could get three or even four *denarii* per pound after the coinage.\(^{50}\) At the same time, there was no increase in the coinage duty, which meant tinners had a greater amount of disposable income. This increase in revenue, unfortunately, was accompanied by a decrease in agricultural labor and rising prices for foodstuffs.\(^{51}\) The Black Death hit the tenants of the Cornish manors especially hard, which left much arable land uncultivated. Although there is little evidence of agricultural prices during this period specific to Cornwall, the average price of grains throughout England had reached a low point in the 1340s and then began to rise in the years before the Black Death. The trend of rising costs was aggravated by the mortality rates of the Black Death, and prices fluctuated wildly until the 1380s. During this period, the average cost of a quarter of wheat ranged from three and one-half shillings to twelve shillings, with the price usually falling between six and eight shillings.\(^{52}\) Faced with rising costs of food and declining population, many tinners left the tin industry, for a time at least, and replaced some of the agricultural laborers that had succumbed to the Black Death. The exodus from the stannaries was encouraged by the Black Prince’s policy of remitting fines and lowering rents on the seventeen Duchy manors.\(^{53}\)

In response to this exodus and the decrease in stannary revenue, the Black Prince issued an order to all tinners that they must work their tin sites as they had in the past or forfeit their claims to the Prince.\(^{54}\) The continued decline in output and the quick recovery of the agricultural labor force suggest that the tinners did not return to work and that the Black Prince repossessed a large amount of tin sites. Additional

\(^{50}\) Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 91.

\(^{51}\) Hatcher, *Rural Economy*, 147.


\(^{53}\) Hatcher, *Rural Economy*, 120.

\(^{54}\) *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, vol. 2, 1.
evidence is seen in the court records of 1355, where the sessions held in Blackmore and Penwith-and-Kerrier both record a marked decrease in cases of debt from 1333. The court session held in Blackmore in 1333 was dominated by debt cases, which comprised sixty-eight percent of the court’s business. The session in Penwith-and-Kerrier that year was even more concerned with debt, as seventy-five percent of its cases dealt with that charge. In 1355, however, debt cases had declined significantly, representing only forty-nine percent of the litigation in a Blackmore court session and fifty-nine percent in the session of Penwith-and-Kerrier. Moreover, a larger proportion of debts were expressed in terms of money as opposed to tin in 1355, which implies that debtors were either employed outside of the stannaries or had become wage laborers.

This trend continues in the court sessions from 1379. In the session from Blackmore that year, only forty-two percent of the cases relate to debt. In the session from Penwith-and-Kerrier, the instances of debt cases decline to fifty percent of all litigation. In both sessions, cases where money is either pledged or owed for payment of a loan represent the majority, while cases where tin is owed have declined significantly. The fact that production had risen to over eight hundred thousand pounds in 1379 means that this shift cannot be ascribed to a lack of stannary labor. The decline of debt cases in the later sessions, in conjunction with the occurrences of wage labor, shows that the independent tin prospector was in decline, while ownership of the tin sites by local magnates and the employment of wage labor was on the rise.

Finally, the fact that the royal administration was largely unsympathetic to the

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55 PRO E 101/260/1, m. 1, 1d; 4, 4d.
56 PRO SC 2/156/26, m. 1, 1d.
57 PRO SC 2/161/81, m. 1, 1d.
58 PRO SC 2/156/27, m. 1-2.
59 PRO SC 2/161/83, m. 2d-4.
hardships faced by the tinners led to the exodus from the mines. As was mentioned previously, the Black Prince issued an order to the tinners in 1351 that they were to expend the same cost and labor in their works as before or forfeit their claims. Additionally, during the 1340s, the stannary administration reduced the number of coinage sessions held annually to two, one on Easter and one on Michaelmas. Although Edward considered increasing the number of sessions to four in order to spur production after the Black Death, there was no change. Considering that all tin had to be presented for coinage before it could be sold and that it had to be presented within a year of its extraction, this situation was an added hardship for the small-scale tinner. The burden of transporting large quantities of ore to the coinage was greater for the solitary laborer than it was for larger operations, and this only increased the appeal of agriculture for many tinners.

The economic situation of laboring tinners was never exceptional. Before the Black Death, tinners could expect to earn a marginal wage that would support themselves in a buoyant economy. After the Black Death, however, the rate of increase in the price of foodstuffs outpaced that of tin, leaving the laboring tinners without enough income to survive. At the same time, positions in the agricultural sector were becoming available at an alarming rate, and the temptation to become tenant farmers was great. As the individual tinners left the industry, tin sites reverted to the Black Prince, who granted them to new tinners. These new tinners seem to have quite often been the tin speculators of the early fourteenth century. With the population of tinners on the decline, the revenue that they had received from credit dropped drastically. Now they seized the opportunity to own the sites themselves, and after labor returned to the stannaries they were able to reap higher profits by

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60 Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 77.
employing laborers.

With so many tinners leaving the industry, many tin sites became available to new tinners, some of whom operated on a larger scale. The case listed in the registers of the Black Prince where Edward granted a parcel of moorland to sixteen tinners is a prime example. Edward begins by stating how tin revenues have plummeted due to tin sites remaining idle, then grants the land, and finally orders that no other tinner is to work that land. Edward most likely received this land as a result of claims forfeited by inactive tinners. Instead of allowing small-scale operators to work the land, he granted it to men of substance who could exploit the site more effectively. The existence of large-scale operators is also attested by indirect evidence from the court records. After the Black Death, the amount of cases of debt declined significantly, signaling that fewer tinners were dependant on credit. It is unreasonable to assume that small-scale producers were able to get by without credit, since they had always relied on loans to make it to the next coinage and since later authors would remark that debt remained a major problem for independent tinners. Moreover, the debt cases in stannary court sessions after 1349 are often expressed in monetary units, while those recorded in 1333 usually specified an amount of tin. This fact suggests that more tinners were working for a wage than for the product of their labor.

Tin production up to the Black Death had been carried on by solitary operators and small-scale partnerships. This situation was fine as long as the county was relatively overpopulated and resources were in abundance. After the Plague, however, many of the agricultural producers perished and resources became scarce. Faced with rising costs, high crime rates, and an unsympathetic bureaucracy, in addition to an

61 Register of Edward the Black Prince, vol. 2, 158.
62 Beare, Bailiff, 110; Carew, Survey of Cornwall, 97-8.
already harsh lifestyle, large numbers of tinners left the industry for agriculture. This exodus caused the slump in tin production and revenue while simultaneously opening up many tin sites for new operators. Along with individual prospectors and small-scale partnerships, non-laboring tinners claimed these sites and employed wage laborers therein. This shift in the structure of stannary labor marks a step toward a proto-capitalist arrangement. Even though the larger English and European economies would not be characterized by the desire for profit, the investment of capital, and the separation of laborers from the means of production for many years, these elements did appear in the stannaries after the plague.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have described the nature of life and labor in the fourteenth-century Cornish stannaries in detail. We have seen how the extensive rights and privileges granted by Edward I enticed large numbers of laboring tinners to the stannaries, and that their work in turn produced large amounts of revenue for the crown. We have also seen that the quality of life and labor for the tinners was quite poor, and that there was little hope of true economic success. The bulk of profit from tin production went to the speculating tin merchants, who advanced credit to the laboring tinners and received the product of their labors as payment. When the population of Cornwall declined in the wake of the plague, there was a mass exodus of laboring tinners from the stannaries into agriculture. This exodus is the ultimate expression of their poor quality of life. The decline in stannary output and the vast numbers of tin sites that became idle led the Black Prince to repossess much of the tin-rich land in Cornwall, and this land was subsequently granted to the rich tin merchants. When labor returned to the stannaries in the 1370s, it had a new form: hired laborers working part time for the owners of larger tin sites. While the solitary tinner continued to make up a large part of stannary labor after the Black Death, he now had to compete with these larger operations.

What then is the greater significance of these trends? First of all, the events that played out in the stannaries during and after the plague clearly show that life for a laboring tinner was very difficult. Tinners lived an isolated existence in marginal lands, had little chance for economic success, and had to depend primarily on their earnings.
for all of the necessities of life. During the first half of the fourteenth century, population pressure and an overall lack of arable land meant that many had no choice but to work in the stannaries. However, after the Black Death, population pressure fell and land quickly became available at reduced rates of rent. Just like the underprivileged masses of peasants throughout England who survived the plague, the tinners took advantage of the opportunities presented by the depopulation of their county. No amount of rights and exemptions could make up for a poor quality of life. The success of tinners in moving out of the stannaries and into agriculture provides more evidence of the increased mobility of the English peasantry in the later fourteenth century.¹

Tinners left the stannaries not only because of newly available land, but also due to the increasingly violent nature of their work. The evidence from the stannary court records show that life in the stannaries was more violent after the plague than it had ever been before. The numbers of trespass cases in 1355 are much higher than in 1333, and more of the cases involve violence in general and, in particular, violence against laboring tinners. This sharp increase in violent crime is part of a larger trend of violence that swept over Europe in the aftermath of the Black Death.² The problem for the tinners is that the stannary courts remained as ineffective at providing justice as they had been in the first half of the century. The ineffective nature of the stannary courts continued to be a problem after the plague receded, as is seen in the 1376 petition to parliament which complained that felonious tinners remained at large in the counties of Cornwall and Devon.³ With the failure of justice, the stannary courts ceased to be an enticement to prospective tinners.

The exodus of tinners from the stannaries was not a unique situation in the fourteenth century, and the failure of peasants to continue working as they had before led the English government to act. After 1349, parliament enacted the Ordinance and Statute of Laborers, which were intended to regulate wages and prices and to require laborers to be gainfully employed throughout the year. Throughout England in all courts, cases involving a master whose servant had left his employment unlawfully abounded. While this same problem was widespread in the stannaries, the court sessions analyzed above provide no evidence that the government sought to maintain the status quo in the stannaries. There is no mention of trespass against the statute, and the amounts of cases involving the breach of covenant have not risen from the levels seen in 1333. The only attempt to coerce tinners to remain at their work was the proclamation by the Black Prince that all tinners were to continue to work in their tin sites on pain of forfeiture of their claims. This requirement is hardly unfair, as the charter of 1305 granted the status of tinner to individuals only so long as they were employed as such. Edward’s mild reaction to declining production and the lack of litigation relating to the statutes is most likely due to the fact that tinners were free to enter and leave the stannaries whenever they wished. Such a reaction to a catastrophic lack of labor presents an interesting counterargument to Robert Palmer’s thesis that the English government used labor law to retain the status quo in the aftermath of the Black Death.

The end result of the flight from the stannaries was a transformation in the structure of labor. While the tinners employed in the stannaries before the plague were

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either independent operators or members of small-scale partnerships, after 1349 there is evidence of large-scale operators employing hired laborers. Such an occurrence directly applies to the ongoing debate over the rise of capitalism in Western Europe. The presence of entrepreneurs who own the means of production, buy the labor of a free work force, then sell the product at a profit fits the classic Marxist definition of capitalism and describes perfectly the large-scale operations that arise after the plague. Historians have recognized for some time early proto-capitalism in medieval free-mining throughout Europe. The rise of these operations present an interesting opportunity to analyze the birth of proto-capitalistic endeavors, and offers a counter-argument to the idea that capitalism was nonexistent in the Middle Ages. In addition, the evidence from the stannary court rolls show that Cornwall was becoming increasingly monetarized after 1349. Whereas in 1333 most debt cases referenced a quantity of tin as the debt, the cases of debt in the court records after 1349 are expressed in terms of currency. While this fact is surely related to the slow decline of the individual laboring tinner and the rise of wage labor, it also shows that tinners were becoming increasingly more accustomed to dealing with money, a necessary requirement for the growth of capitalistic thought. Finally, the desire to ascend the social and economic scale through trade and production and the rise of wealthy entrepreneurs are inherently capitalistic traits, and is clearly seen in the large-scale operators of the later fourteenth century.

Finally, the study of the stannaries is essential to the development of a well-

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rounded history of the medieval English economy. While such endeavors as wool production and lead mining have received attention from past historians, the fact that the Cornish stannaries have been the object of so few historical studies points to an important lacuna in the current economic history of medieval England. The British Isles boasted a number of important industries in the later Middle Ages, including fisheries, mining, and craft production. These trades employed large numbers of people who neither participated in agriculture nor lived in the cities. Before a balanced view of medieval English society can be attained, the study of the English peasantry must move beyond those employed in agriculture and study the lives of peasants such as the Cornish tinners.

Appendix A

Editorial Methods
In the following appendices, I have provided transcriptions of the court sessions for the stannary court of Penwith-and-Kerrier that are analyzed in this thesis. The structure of the transcriptions reflects that of the manuscripts. The session begins with a header, and then the individual cases are listed, with an abbreviated term in the left margin describing the type of legal action. When the text reaches the foot of the membrane it continues on either the dorse of the parchment or a new membrane. Sometimes the scribe repeats the header at the top of each side of the parchment, but not always. When the session is complete, the scribe entered the sum of the court fees below the last entry.

The script of these records is a cursive gothic variety and, like many local court records, the terms are highly abbreviated. I have attempted to expand all abbreviations, although at times this goal was not possible. In these cases, most often involving personal names, the letters that are written out are given, and the mark of abbreviation is noted with an apostrophe. In other cases, damage or poor writing have rendered a word, phrase, or entire section unreadable. These instances are marked by square brackets. If the number of missing letters can be estimated, each letter is represented by a period within the brackets. If it is unclear how many letters are missing, the brackets will contain three hyphens. Large sections of damaged text will contain a brief explanation in italic text within the brackets. If the scribe crossed out a section of text, the deleted text will be found between double square brackets.¹

One aspect of these records that differs from most medieval documents is the use and purpose of interlineated text. The court records were meant to be documents of practice that could be referred to at a later date. Thus, when a previously

¹ Whenever possible, I have used the editorial conventions provided in M.L. West, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1973).
unresolved case was settled, the scribe would often make a note in previous documents relating the final outcome of the case. These notes were written between the lines above the relevant case, usually above the name of the litigant in question. Also, corrections to the entry were sometimes written between the lines. This interlineated text is provided in these transcriptions directly following the name of the litigant to whom it refers. All interlineated text is inserted between square brackets, followed by a symbol designating the point at which it was inserted. Interlineated text that represents a correction to the original entry is followed by A¹, while text that represents a later court ruling is followed by A².

Finally, the scribes wrote all numbers as Roman numerals (except for some instances of “one”), and I have done the same. These numbers conform to common usage except for the medieval practice of rendering the final occurrence of the number one as a long “I,” which is reflected in the use of the letter “j” in the transcriptions. I have also rendered monetary units in the scribal abbreviated form: shillings as “s.” and denarius as “d.”
Appendix B

Penwith-and-Kerrier Stannary Court Session, 1333
Curia tenta apud Redruth die Martis in festo Sanctae Margaretae Virginis anno regni regis Edwardi septimo

Districtio Henricus de Pengersik per attornatum queritur de Henrico de Kellbellan [inquiratur si detinuit j miliarem stanni A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Districtio Joceus de Talstoys queritur de Richardo Anir [essonium A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Districtio Joceus de Talstoys queritur de Laurentio Fecam [defalta A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Districtio Richardus filius Johannis de Talgullon per attornatum queritur de Rogero Robert [defalta plegii ballivi A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Districtio Thomas Vian queritur de Osberto Dany [defalta plegii ballivi A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Districtio Thomas Vian queritur de Willelmo Gaillard [defalta A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Districtio Thomas Vian queritur de Ricardo Swet [defalta A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Inquiratur Inquiratur si Willelmus de Talkaran [defalta A] fregit conventionem Petri Alen de dimittendo ei dimidii acri terrae ad damnum suum x s.

Districtio Petrus Alen queritur de Waltero Smal [defalta A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Mia. ij d. Pastasius de Tresedorn in misericordia pro iniusta detentione ij s. vj d. versus Gunnarum de Redruth in placito debiti.

Districtio Gunnarus de Redruth queritur de Rogero Ande [defalta A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Districtio Gunnarus de Redruth queritur de Johanne Paston [defalta A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.


Districtio Ricardus de Penpons queritur de Johanne de Tremorlton [defalta A] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.


Districtio Hamelinus de Caran queritur de Johanne Ponucyn [defalta A]

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1 PRO E 101/260/1.
2 Although the king is identified only as Edward, internal evidence identifies this record as being written during the reign of Edward III; see Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 52 n. 2.
3 "Misericordia"
Mia. iij d. apparente et Ipolito de Treunla [defalta plegii precepti A2] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et idem Ipolitus attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Mia. ij d. Johannes Heym in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Henricum Manship in captione animalium.

Districtio Willemus Sul queritur de Johanne Muthal [defalta A2] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Michaelis Cwenna queritur de Gilberto de Trewila [defalta plegii ballivi A2] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Thomas filius Johannis Gosbian queritur de Ricardo Swet [defalta A2] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Inquiratur Inquiratur si Johannes Ermyt [defalta A2] fregit conventionem Ricardi de Glyn de eo quod conventionem manu eo quod haberet iij pedes et dimidium stanni de ij cipho et j quarterio nigri stanni quod ab eo emit et cetera ad damnum suum x s.

Summonitio Johannes Corn per attornatum queritur de Johanne Russa [essonium A2] qui non summonitatus in placito debiti.


Districtio Richardus Brokepeny queritur de Johanne de Trenrysky [vacabundus A2] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.


Districtio Hamelinus de Caran queritur de Richardo Poly [defalta plegii ballivi A2] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.


Inquiratur Inquiratur si Gervasius de Trenenythek iniuste detinuit x s. Waltero de Bodilugan ad damnum suum dimidii marcae.

Districtio Thomas Vian queritur de Gregorio filio fabri [defalta plegii ballivi A2] qui4 unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Atth.5 Willemus Sul praesentat quod Stephanus Wyth’r fregit attachiamentum suum [[fregit attachiamentum]] de una supertunica quia non venit ideo attachiamentum.

Summonitio Johannes Wynan queritur de Henrico Gregor [defalta A2] qui non summonitatus in placito debiti.

Summonitio Michaelis de Lannergh queritur de Richardo Danne de Tregoys [defalta A2] non summonitatus in placito debiti.

Summonitio Ricardus de Trenarwethon queritur de Roberto Bian de Trefyns [defalta A2] non summonitatus in placito debiti.

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4 “dqui” in the text.
5 “Attachiamentum”
Johannes Comit' in misericordia pro iniusta detentione iiij pedum stanni versus predictum Ricardum in placito debiti.

Richardus de Glyn queritur de Rogero Godyon [defalta A²] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Willemus de Metheres queritur de Roberto [misericordia s' licencia concordandi vadiat ix pedes et iiij libras stanni A²] filio Clineri de Trenargh essoniato in placito debiti.

Johannes de Penhal queritur de Thoma Wyon [defalta A²] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Johannes de Penhal queritur de Richardo Tresissarn [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Johannes de Penhal queritur de Adam de Belodan [misericordia detentione Belothan iiij pedum stanni A²] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Robertus de Penhal queritur de Richardo Spergor [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Johannes Bramwel in misericordia pro una defalta et iniusta detentione iiij pedum stanni versus Michaelam Wenna.

Michaelis de Cwenna queritur de David Lagasek [defalta A²] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.


Idem Robertus queritur de Thoma Reynyn [defalta A²] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Idem Robertus queritur de Thoma Reynyn [defalta A²] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Johannes de Humbirlond queritur de Johanne Annan [defalta A²] et Alicia uxor eius [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Johannes Tolnen in misericordia pro una defalta et iniusta detentione iij s. vij d. versus Petrum Roswethegen.

Johannes de Bosseg'h'n in misericordia pro una defalta et iniusta detentione iij s. vij d. versus predictum Petrum.

Galfridus Humffrey et Johanna uxor eius per attornatum queritur de Petro Rey [defalta plegii ballivi A²] essoniato post unam defaltam in placito debiti.

Adam Molend queritur de Ricardo Cals' [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Thomas Tollamans queritur de Richardo filio Marinae Saron [defalta A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Inquisitio inter Ranulfum de Bossnaynon querentem per attornatum et Johannem Eglyn [defalta A²] essoniatum in placito debiti ij ciphorum et dimidii stanni.

Inquisitio inter Robertum de Carran querentem per attornatum et
Willelmum de Cusgaran essoniatum in placito debiti xij s. viij d.

Willelmus Tablarn in misericordia pro iniusta detentione viij pedum albi stanni versus Petrum Alen ad dampnum suum vj d. querela clericorum.

Robertus de Caran per attornatum queritur de Ipolito de Trenula [defalta A^2] qui v fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Idem Robertus per attornatum queritur de Rogero Colon [defalta A^2] qui vi fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Dies Amoris


Idem Odo in misericordia pro iij defaltis versus eundem Robertum.

Johannes Kendoron [inquiratur si pand' stannum suum A^2] queritur de Galfrido Bian [misericordia defalta A^2] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito transgressionis [ad dampnum c s. A^2].

Richardus Lanum in misericordia pro falsa querela versus Rogerum Treskewys in placito debiti.

Idem Rogerus in misericordia pro una defalta versus eundem Ricardum.

Robertus de Cardren per attornatum queritur de Amicia [defalta A^2] que fuit uxor Odonis Kerter que v fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Hamelinus de Ryker queritur de Galfrido Modyfort [defalta plegii predicti A^2] qui vij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Johannes Synpel in misericordia pro iniusta detentione xxij d. versus Ricardum de Porkell ad dampnum suum ij d. querela clericorum.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Willelrum Agaca querentem et Laurentium Putoun [defalta A^2] in placito detencionis unius juvence precii x s. remanet.

Dies Amoris


[[Rogerus]] Willelms de Soulum in misericordia pro una defalta et iniusta detentione j pedis stanni versus Willelmm Sul.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Robertum Berson querentem per attornatum et Johannem de Carn in placito debiti iij pedum stanni.


Inquiratur

Inquiratur si Gervasius de Treneteneth inustae detinuit iij pedes albi stanni Thome Ithener ad dampnum suum iij s.

Idem Gervasius in misericordia pro una defalta versus eundem Thomam.

Robertus de Cardran per attornatum queritur de Henrico de Enys [defalta plegii ballivi A^2] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Johannes Hombirlond queritur de Henrico de Enys [defalta A^2] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.
Mia. j d. Willelmus Sul in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Thomam Ethener in placito debiti.
Districtio Thomas de Tollamms queritur de David Lagasek [defalta A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.
Districtio Idem Thomas queritur de David Lagasek [defalta A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.
Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Ricardum de Glyn querentem et Petrum Alen in placito debiti xx summorum carbonum.
Districtio Robertus de Carran queritur de Henrico Manship [defalta plegii predictus A²] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.
Mia. ij d. Rool’ Mlyn in misericordia pro iij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum Michaele de Lannergh vadiat ei x s. in placito debiti.
Mia. ij d. Rool’ Mlyn in misericordia pro iij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum predicto Michaele in placito debiti nil vadiat.
Mia. iij d. Ricardus Bek de Widicwall in misericordia pro iij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum predicto Michaele vadiat ei vj d.
Mia. ij d. David Delhaye in misericordia pro licencia concordandi cum predicto Michaele in placito debiti nil vadiat.
Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Willelmum de Kencay querentem et Ricardum Troghr’ de Chyenween’ in placito transgressionis hutesii quod tollonarius de Sancta Beriana presentavit iuste pro eo quod abcidit arbores suas de malicia sua ad dampnum suum c s. Et Ricardus dicit quod venit ut stannator ad ducendum cursum aque ad minierem ad proficium domini Edwardi. Et non ex malicia remanet.
Mia. ij d. Thomas Hir de Cambyns in misericordia pro iniusta detentione v quarteriorum stanni versus Hamelinus Caran.
Districtio Richardus Bon queritur de Petro Amabul [defalta plegii Willelmi Sul A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.
Mia. iij d. Willelmus de Soulem in misericordia pro duabus defaltis et iniusta detentione iij pedum et j quarterii stanni versus Richardum Bon ad dampnum suum iij d. querela clericorum.
Districtio Richardus Bon queritur de Thoma Mark qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.
Districtio Richardus Bon queritur de Richardo Poly [defalta A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.
Districtio Andreus Margh [essonium A²] queritur divisor de Johanne de
Mia. iij d. Richardus filius Johannis Barom in misericordia pro iij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum Richardo Yurl vadiat ei iij d.
Districtio Hamelinus de Caran queritur de Johanne Surra [defalta A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.
Inquisitio inter Laurentium de Pengareth querentem et Johannis de Carn de placito debiti viij pedum stanni.

Inquisitio inter Laurentium de Pengareth querentem et Pastasium Wybeson [defalta A²] in placito transgressionis remanet.

Districtio Christophorus de Casewoldra [attornatus A²] queritur de Matella de Trewilard [defalta A²] que iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Dies Amoris Dies datus est Ricardo de Penpons querenti per attornatum et Richardo de Trewortharap in placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes Hervy queritur de Willelmo Gillot [defalta A²] qui unam fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Mia. iij d. Johannes Penskyons in misericordia pro una defalta versus Richardum Talgullon in placito debiti.

Districtio Ricardus filius David Tyrel de Trelenbus per attornatum queritur de Willemo Prysk [defalta plegii predicti A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et modo attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Remanet Pastasius Wybeson habet dictum ad hanc curiam ad audiendum judicium suum versus Ricardum filium David Tyrel de Trelenbus quod defecerit de lege sua qua’ vadiat versus eundem Richardum de xx s. rene’ unum denarium dei ei liberat’ dampnum x s.6

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Petrum de Roswethegon querentem et Johannem Saren [defalta A²] qui fecit defaltam in placito debiti iij pedum stanni.

Dies Amoris Dies datus est Henrico Maynard querenti per attornatum divisorii et Johanni de Trenargh’ et Edwardo de Cusgaran in placito debiti.

Mia. iii d. Eidem Johannes Edwardus in misericordia pro iij defaltas versus eundem Henricum.

Inquiratur Inquiratur si Willelmus de Cusgaran iniuste detinuit iij pedes albi stanni precii viij s. Henrico Maynard querente per attornatum ad dampnum suum v s.

Dies Amoris Dies datus est Johanni Reyneward querenti et Laurentio Hobbe in placito conventionis.

Mia. j d. Idem Laurentius in misericordia pro una defalata versus eundem Johannem.

Districtio Ranulfus de Bossnaynon per attornatum queritur de [---] de

Mia. iij d. Tremor [defalta A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et modo attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Mia. iij d. Johannes Tegan in misericordia pro iij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum Petro Alen vadiat ei iij pedes albi stanni.

Mia. iij d. Radulfus Mynythy in misericordia pro licencia concordandi cum Waltero de Bodilugan vadiat ei iij pedes iij ciphos stanni.

6 The final clause in this entry is unclear.
Respice intergo

M. 4d

Mia. ij d. Petrus Michel in misericordia pro iniusta detentione x summarum carbonum versus Henricum de Tresrus ad dampnum suum iii d. querela clericorum.

Mia. ij d. Radulfus de Penhal in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Ranulfus Sort in placito debiti.

Districtio Henricus de Trenrus per attornatum queritur de Johanne Tynheyn [defalta A²] qui iiij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Johannem de Polgrun querentem per attornatum et Radulfum Denys in placito debiti vij pedum stanni.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Joceum de Bedon querentem et Willelmum Eson essoniatum in placito debiti iiij pedum et vij librarum stanni.

Districtio Joceus de Bedon queritur de Ipolito de Trenula [defalta A] qui iiij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Mia. ij d. Rooll' Milyn in misericordia pro ij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum Michaele de Lannergh' in placito debiti nil vadiat.

Districtio Michaelis de Lannergh' queritur de Johanne Wirel [defalta A²] qui iiij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes Garronde queritur de Willelmo de Trethilon [mort' A²] qui iiij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Vivianam Richard querentem et David de Trestribyk in placito debiti vij ciphorum j quarterii stanni remanet.

Mia. j d. Michaelis de Mynythy in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Richardum Lamanna in placito transgressionis.

Districtio Michaelis de Mynyth queritur de Richardo de Trewrosel [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui iiij fect defaltas in placito debiti. Et modo attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Districtio Johannes Talsteyis per attornatum queritur de Warino de Boswithey [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui v fect defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes Talsteyis per attornatum queritur de Johanne Rons de Tregodwal [defalta A²] qui iiij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Joceus de Talsteyis queritur de Juane Valla [defalta A²] qui v fect defaltas in placito debiti. Et modo attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Mia. iij d. Thomas Whyther in misericordia pro iiij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum Ricardo de Penpons vadiat ei iiij pedes et iij ciphos stanni.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Willelmum Sul querentem et David de Trestrybek qui
fecit defaltam in placito debiti ij pedum stanni.

Districtio

Galfridus Humfrey queritur de Henrico Heny [defalta $A^2$] qui v fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio

Andreus Cook queritur de Clarica de Hendr’ [defalta $A^2$] que iiiij fecit defaltas in placito detentionis unius juvence. Et modo attachiata est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsam non habuit.

Mia. iij d.

Johannes Caryly in misericordia pro iij defaltis versus Ricardum Tyrel in placito debiti.

Dies Amoris


Districtio


Mia. iij d.

Laurentius Coges et Richardus Tudren in misericordia pro licencia concordandi cum Hamelino de Carran vadiant ei dimidium ciphi stanni.

Mia. iij d.

Johannes de Carastorn in misericordia pro iij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum Michaelae de Lannergh’ in placito debiti nil vadiat.

Districtio


Dies Amoris

Adhuc dies datus est Johanni Gernos querenti per attornatum et Johanni Sebil de Trestaw apperenti per attornatum in placito debiti.

Atth.

Attachiare Radulfum Osb’ [defalta $A^2$] ad respondum tam presentamento tollonarii de Ridruth quam Richardo de Talgullon in placito transgressionis hutesii iuste levati.

Districtio

Willelmus de Magur per attornatum queritur de David Lepier [defalta $A^2$] qui xxvij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio


Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Hamelimum Wille querentem per attornatum et Johannem Aley [defalta $A^2$] in placito debiti de uno quarterio stanni.

Atth.

Attachiare Henricum Brendel [defalta $A^2$] ad respondum tam presentamento tollonarii de Ridruth quam Roberto de Caran in placito transgressionis hutesii iuste levati.

Districtio

Hamelinus de Caran queritur de Johanne Conyng [defalta $A^2$] qui x fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio

Ricardus Glyn queritur de Daniele de Bodily [defalta $A^2$] qui x fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio

Ricardus de Penpons queritur de Johanne filio vicarii sancti Pauli

Mia. iij d.

[defalta plegii ballivi $A^2$] qui x fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et modo attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Mia. j d.

Richardus Brokepeny in misericordia quia non prosequitur hutesium
versus Rogerum de Trehak quod tollonarius de Polheysy presentavit iuste pro insultu facto.

Inquiratur
Inquiratur si dictus tollonarius bene presentavt dictum hutesium versus predictum Rogerum nec ne.

Districtio
Johannes de Carastorn per attornatum queritur de David Lepier [defalta A²] qui xlvj fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Atth.
Attachiare Vivianam Poer [defalta A²] ad respondum tam presentamento tollonarii de Bosuran quam Laurentio Tyrel serviento Willelmi Basset in placito transgressionis hutesii iuste levati.

Judicium
Adhuc judicium inter Richardum de Talgullon querentem per attornatum et Gervasium de Trenenythik apperentem per attornatum in placito conventionis.

Districtio
Johannes Wynan queritur de Ricardo Treghr’ [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui xijj fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et modo attachiatus est per plevinan ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Districtio
Gunnarus de Ridruth queritur de Waltero Onoth’ [defalta A²] qui xijj fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Inquisitio
Inquisitio inter Richardum de Glyn querentem per attornatum et Thomam de Hernans essoniatum in placito debiti iiiij pedum dimidii ultra unum pedem et dimidium quos cognitum remanet.

Inquisitio
Inquisitio inter Willelmum Sul querentem et Robertum Bovene [licencia concordan
di vadiat xlij pedes stanni A²] in placito debiti iiiij pedum stanni.

Districtio
Hamelinus de Rysker queritur de Matheo Maddok [defalta A²] qui vij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Mia. ij d.
Richardus Anny in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Robertum de Bokeon in placito debiti.

Inquiratur
Inquiratur si Odo’ Lauranum fregit conventionem Hervicio de Kellihiellan [essonium A²] ubi tradidit ei xxiiij ciphos et dimidium stanni ad dealbandum. Idem Odo convenit [...] quod haberet xx pedes albi stanni contra quam conventionem amisit decem pedes ad dampnum suum xii⅞.

Mia. ij d.
Idem Odo in misericordia pro duabus defaltis versus eundem Hervicium.

Districtio
Johannes Petit queritur de Gunnota de Trelonb’ [defalta A²] que vj fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Mia. j d.
Hamelinus de Caran in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem de Penhal in placito transgressionis.

Districtio
Hamelinus de Caran queritur de Johanne de Trenensyn [defalta A²] qui vj fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio
Robertus de Caran queritur de Martino Leclerk [defalta A²] qui v fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

7 Monetary unit missing, presumably shillings.
Inquisitio inter Johannem Humffrey querentem et Ricardum de Porkell in placito debiti ij s. viij d.


Districtio Willelmus Rostasewal per attornatum querur de Luca de Bostasul [defalta A²] qui vij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Willelmus Tum queritur de Andreo Coig’ apperente et Johanne Golven [defalta A²] qui viij fecerunt defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes de Trethak queritur de Johanne Toker [defalta A²] qui viij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Alanus de Bossrawel queritur de Martino Erynsy [defalta A²] qui viij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Hamelinus de Carran queritur de Lucia de Telligon [defalta A²] que ix fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes Carastorn queritur de Willelmus Trenenythik [defalta A²] qui ix fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes Pollard queritur de Johanne Tresor [defalta A²] qui ix fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

Districtio Willelmus de Metheres queritur de Johanne Mores de Tregergest [defalta A²] qui x fecit defaltas in placito captionis animalium.

Districtio Johannes Lannergh queritur de Willelmo de M’threnny [defalta A²] qui x fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et attachiatus est per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Johannem de Lannergh querentem per attornatum et Gervassium de ‘Trelonb’ in placito debiti viij pedum stanni.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Willemmum Agate querentem et Robertum Capil in placito debiti ij s. viij d. remanentis.

Summa x s. vj d.
Appendix C

Penwith-and-Kerrier Stannary Court Session, 1355
Curia tenta apud Ruddruth die Jovis proxima post festum Sanctae Fidis Virginis anno regni regis Edwardi Tertii vicesimo nono

Mia. ij d. Johannes Hirnans in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem Toly de placito debiti.

Atth. Tolonarius de Kerrier presentavit quod Johannes Calwe levavit hutesium iuste super Willelmum Hamud [defalta plegii ballivi A²] pro eo quod fecit ei insultum qui non venit ideo attachiatus.

Mia. ij d. Johannes Hirnans in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem Toly de placito debiti.

Mia. ij d. Johannem Toly in misericordia pro una defalta versus dictum Johannem de placito predicto.

Mia. ij d. Simon Man[...] in misericordia pro detentione dimidii millis stanni versus Johannem Purle de placito debiti.

Summonitio Johannes Purlee [dies amoris A²] queritur de Richardo Gonnhew non summonitato de placito debiti.

Districtio Radulfus Tayl queritur de Stephano David de Trepydannan [defalta plegii ballivi A²] non attachiatus de placito transgressionis.

Districtio Radulfus Tayl queritur de Stephano David de Trepydannan [defalta plegii ballivi A²] non attachiatus de placito transgressionis.

Summonitio Radulfus Tayl queritur de Stephano David de Trepydannan [defalta A²] non summonitato de placito debiti.

Mia. ij d. Isabella de Roskesaek in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Philipum Yullewa de Talgarrek de placito detentionis catalli.

Mia. ij d. Idem Philipus in misericordia pro j defalta versus dictam Isabellan in placito predicto.

Mia. ij d. Ricardus Goffre de Trenewyth in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Galfridum Thomelyn in placito transgressionis.

Summonitio Alanus Denerol queritur de Danyole de Bodyly [inquiratur si detinuit ij s. A²] non summonitato de placito debiti.

Districtio Isabella Renald queritur de Philipo Yelwa [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui j facit defaltam de placito detentionis catalli.

Districtio Rogerus Stripa queritur de Johanne C’lak [[---]A²] qui ij fecit defaltas in placito transgressionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit. Et nihilominus attachiatus et cetera.

Districtio Rogerus Stripa [[.....] A²] queritur de Johanne C’lak essonio de termino domini Edwardi post j defaltam de placito transgressionis.

Mia. iiij d. Willelmus Thomas de Rosorogon in misericordia pro j defalta et detentione unius pedis et dimidii stanni versus Willelmum Coysgaran ad
dampnum suum vj d. et iij d.

**Districtio**

Hamelinus de Carran queritur de Henrico Kenerol [defalata plegii ballivi A²] qui j facit defaltam in placito debiti.

**Mia. ij d.**

Alanus Vinfre in misericordia pro detentione iij pedum stanni versus Johannem Thomas de Mousehole de placito debiti ad dampnum suum iij d. querela clericorum.

**Mia. ij d.**

Alanus Vinfre in misericordia pro detentione iij pedum stanni versus Johannem Thome de placito debiti ad dampnum suum iij d. querela clericorum.

**Mia. ij d.**

Alanus Vinfre in misericordia pro detentione iij pedum stanni versus Johannem Thomas ad dampnum suum iij d. querela clericorum.

**Mia. ij d.**

Johannes Thomas in misericordia pro falsa querela versus Alanum Vinfre de placito transgressionis.

**Districtio**


**Mia. ij d.**

Thomas Dycas in misericordia pro transgressione facto Rogero Honnta ad dampnum suum iij d.

**Mia. ij d.**

Thomas Dycas in misericordia pro falsa querela versus Rogerum Honnta de placito transgressionis.

**Mia. ij d.**

Thomas Dycas in misericordia pro conventione fracta versus Rogerum Honnta ad dampnum suum iij d.

**Inquisitio**

Inquisitio inter Petrum Aleyn querentem et Ricardum Cur essoniatum de placito debiti viij pedum stanni precii et cetera ad dampnum suum xl s. remanet pro defecto inradi.

**Mia. ij d.**

Johannes Gerneys de Talgeron in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Eustachium Marasion et Euotam uxorem eius de placito debiti.

**Mia. ij d.**

Idem Eustachius Marasion et Euota uxor eius in misericordia pro iij defaltis versus dictum Johannem de placito predicto.

**Districtio**

Radulfus Gayl queritur de Edwino de la Lamide [essonium A²] qui iij fecit defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

**Inquisitio**

Inquisitio inter Petrum Aleyn [[.....] A²] querentem et Johannem de Rosmeryn essoniatum de placito debiti xiiiij s. iiiij d. ad dampnum suum xl d. remanet pro defecto inradi.

**Inquisitio**

Inquisitio inter Petrum Aleyn [[.] A²] querentem et Johannem de Rosmeryn essoniatum de placito debiti xxvij s. viij d. ad dampnum suum xl s. remanet pro defecto inradi.

**Summonitio**

Thomas de Trelegh queritur de Willelmo de Tregonan [defalata A²] non summonitato de placito conventionis.

**Districtio**

Thomas de Trelegh queritur de Willelmo de Tregonan [defalata plegii

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2 "non habuit" omitted.
ballivi A$^2$] qui j facit defaltam de placito debiti.

Mia. ij d. Willelmus Seys in misericordia pro falsa querela versus Johannis Pholp' de Consgaran de placito debiti.


Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Johannem Polper querentem et Reginaldum Yurb' [pro defalta A$^2$] de placito debiti viij pedum stanni precii et cetera ad dampnum suum xx s. remanet pro defecto inradi.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Johannem Polper querentem et Reginaldum Yurb' [pro defalta A$^2$] de placito debiti viij pedum stanni precii xx s. ad dampnum suum xx s. remanet pro defecto inradi.

Districtio Johannes Puddyng queritur de Ricardo Sans de Helleston qui iiii fecit Mia. ij d. defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Rogerum Sagy de Kerresin querentem et Radulfum Denys [pro defalta A$^2$] de placito essonii de placito debiti iij quarterii stanni precii et cetera.

Districtio Willelmus Cuny queritur de Johanne de Trenatheles [misericordia Mia. ij d. defalci placito debiti iij s. vii d. dampnum ij d. querela clericorum A$^2$] qui iij fecit defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Mia. ij d. Willelmus Seys in misericordia pro falsa querela versus Matheum Ranekyn et Isoldam Stobbas de placito transgressionis.

Mia. ij d. Isolda Stobbas in misericordia pro iij defaltis versus dictum WillelmuM in placito predicto.

Mia. ij d. Richardus Thomy in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Thomam Anre de Wike in placito conventionis.

Mia. ij d. Thomas Anre de Wike in misericordia pro una defalci versus Richardum in placito predicto.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Bernardum Claek' [essonium quod[....] A$^2$] querentem et Johannem Modyforth de placito transgressionis si situm stanni nec ne et si m' animalies suos depastus in blada sua et ipsum eicat de domo ad dampnum suum x librarum remanet pro defecto inradi.

Districtio Alfridus de Trewynnard queritur de Johanne Jowy [misericordia Mia. ij d. [...] dampnum c s. A$^2$] qui iij fecit defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum et cetera.

Mia. iij d. Reginaldus persona ecclesie de Seint Just in misericordia pro iij defaltis et licencia concordandi cum Johanne Margham de Penryn de placito debiti.

Mia. ij d. WillelmuM Cusgaran in misericordia pro licencia concordandi cum Galfrido Carthere de placito debiti vadiat ei xx d.

Mia. ij d. Johannes Bost' in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Rogerum de Treskawes de placito transgressionis.
Mia. iij d. Rogerus de Treskewys in misericordia pro j defalta versus dictum Johannem de placito predicto.

Districtio Johannes Bost' queritur de Johanne Carnky [misericordia defalta A²] qui ij fecit defaltas de placito transgressionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit. Et nihilominus attachiatus et cetera.

Mia. iij d. Districtio Hamelinus de Carran queritur de Michaele Pol[... ] qui ij fecit defaltas de placito detentionis unius [...]. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Hamelinum de Carran [---] querentem et Gregorium Richard de Bollancan [---] de placito debiti ij ciphorum stanni precii et cetera ad dampnum suum xl s. remainet pro defecto inradi.

Districtio Johannes Brun [non prosequitur A²] queritur de Henrico Maynard [misericordia defalta A²] qui ij fecit defaltas de placito conventionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit. Et nihilominus attachiatus et cetera.

Districtio Ricardus Rythol [non prosequitur A²] queritur de Richardo Martyn de Ragynes [misericordia defalta A²] qui ij fecit defaltas de placito transgressionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Districtio Johannes Wille queritur de Philipo de Trendreynon [misericordia defalta A²] qui j fecit defaltam de placito debiti.

Mia. iij d. Rogerus Sagy de Kerresin in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Henricum Dormel de placito debiti.

Mia. iij d. Henricus Dormel in misericordia pro iij defaltis versus dictum Rogerum in placito predicto.

Districtio Johannes Polper queritur de Rogero Bagge Bodmin [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui vj fecit defaltas de placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes Polper queritur de Rogero Bagge Bodmin [defalta A²] qui vj fecit defaltas de placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes Polper queritur de Johannes Symon Bodmin [misericordia defalta A²] qui plurimas fecit defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Mia. iij d. Walterus Coly in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Thomam Hoder de placito debiti.

Mia. iij d. Thomas Hoder in misericordia pro iij defaltis versus dictum Walterum de placito predicto.

Mia. iij d. Richardus Kellyhollan in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Ricardum Marotly de Tresrithion de placito transgressionis.

Mia. iij d. Ricardus Marotly de Tresrithion in misericordia pro ij defaltis versus Richardum Kellyhollan de placito debiti.

Districtio Johannes Pengersek queritur de Johanne Carwemiek [defalta plegii ballivi A²] clerico qui v fecit defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum.
Districtio  Johannes Pengersek queritur de Johanne Carwemiek [defalta A²] clerico qui v fecit defaltas de placito debiti.
Mia. xij d. Johannes Mynythy arrestetur pro transgressione hutesii facta contra pacem Willelmo Guard facit finem pro imprisonato pro xij d.
Districtio  Richardus Cardren executor testamenti Roberti de Cardren queritur per attornatum de Johanne Seys de Trenhaal [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui x fecit defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit. Et nihilominus attachiatus et cetera.
Inquisitio  Inquisitio inter Petrum H'uy querentem et Johannem de Polglas essoniatum de placito debiti iiiij pedum stanni precii et cetera ad damnnum suum xl s. remanet pro defecto inradi.
Mia. iij d. Johannes Olymer de Carrenner in misericordia pro j defalta et licencia concordandi cum Petro H'uy de placito debiti vadiat ei iiiij pedes stanni et xlij d. pro damno.
Mia. iij d. Johannes de Tresimsyn in misericordia pro detentione iij quarteriorum et unius pedis stanni versus Alanum Denerol de placito debiti.
Mia. iij d. Rogerus Ranslec in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Thomam Penneck de Carsyly de placito conventionis.
Mia. iij d. Rogerus Ranslec in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Margeriam filiam Thomae Penneck de placito conventionis.
Inquisitio  Inquisitio inter Walterum Metheros [non prosequitur A²] querentem et Richardum Ranscar-on de placito debiti iiiij pedum stanni precii et cetera ad damnnum suum xl s. remanet pro defecto inradi.
Inquisitio  Inquisitio inter dominum principem querentem et Johannem Gadbomida de placito transgressionis de eo quod cepit howam Johannis Pollard stannatorum pro toloneo prout que support' vel prochiavit in sola [ipsius] prioris Montis Sancti Michaelis contra ballivus et cetera pro defecto inradi.
Mia. iij d. Alanus Denerol in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Danyolem de Bodyly de placito debiti.
Mia. iij d. Ricardus Marl in misericordia pro v defaltis et detentione v pedum stanni et dimidiis versus Petrum Aley in placito debiti.
Mia. iij d. Johannes Symon de Penryn in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem Coly de Manek de placito debiti.
Mia. iij d. Johannes Hony in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem Roda de Helleston de placito transgressionis.
Districtio  Johannes Thome de Mousehole queritur de Roberto Page [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui iij fecit defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus
per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit. Et nihilominus attachiatus et cetera.

Mia. ij d.    Ridwardus de la Lamide in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Petrum Gowy de Tolgoys de placito debiti.

Districtio    Radulfus Aly [non prosequitur A²] queritur de Ridwardum de la Mia. ij d.    Lamide [misericordia defalta A²] qui iiiij fecit defaltas de placito transgressionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit.

Inquisitio    Inquisitio inter Johannem de Tregenay querentem et Petrum Aleyn Mia. viiij d.    [misericordia detentio vj d. dampnum querela clericorum A²] de placito debiti iiiij s. vj d. et unius buselli sal’ precii vij d. ad dampnum suum xl d. remanet pro defecto. Jacobus de Bodon Willemus Glasson odonis Brasygorma et Johannes Hirnans qui in misericordia quia non venit hutesio inquisito stannarii cum Alano Vinfre Johanne Gerneys de Talcorn Johanne Pholy et Reginaldo Sohorono qui venit et cetera.

Mia. ij d.    Richardus Durant in misericordia pro transgressione Willelmo Gruwes ad dampnum suum iiij s. et cetera c’ xij d.

Mia. ij d.    Richardus Durant in misericordia pro falsa querela versus Willelum Gruwes de placito debiti.

[paene 30 lineae vacant]

M. ld

Inquisitio    Inquisitio inter Alanum de Kernek querentem et Johannem Layeyn de placito debiti xx s. pro denariis de recepto ad dampnum suum xx s. remanet et quod ballivus non receptus pauculus inter precios predictios in misericordia.

Arrestetur    Margeria Pennek arrestetur quia de licencia concordandi formam statuo domini Edwardi de querela eiusdem versus Rogerum Ransco et cetera.

Districtio    Johannes de Trenarthian queritur de Johanne Fur’ [defalta plegii Mia. ij d.    ballivi A²] qui v fecit defaltas de placito conventionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia quia ipsum non habuit. Et nihilominus attachiatus et cetera.

Mia. ij d.    Philipus Deny in misericordia pro licencia concordandi cum Hamelino de Carran de placito conventionis.

Inquisitio    Inquisitio inter dominum principem querentem et Ricardum de Sancto Just de placito transgressionis de eo quod vexavit et implicavit Ricardum de Bosc[....] stannatorum in comitato Cornubiae in Lestormel [.....] stannaria et cetera remanet pro defecto inradi.

Inquisitio    Inquisitio inter Petrum Aleyn querentem et Johannem de Rosmeryn essoniatum de placito debiti x s. ad dampnum suum xx s.

Districtio    Alanus de Kernek per attornatum queritur de Johanne Peat Chivaler qui vj fecit defaltas de placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi qui
Inquisitio inter Odonem Brasygorma querenem et Ricardum Sort de placito debiti unius mille et dimidii stanni precii et cetera ad dampnum suum xxx s. remanet pro defecto inradi.

Inquiratur si Robertus de Carth' n executor testamenti Johannis de Carth' n iniuste detinet Willelmo de Rosorogan unius [......] cultro et una tunna precii viij s. in toto ad dampnum suum xx s.

Summa xij s. ij d.
Appendix D

Penwith-and-Kerrier Stannary Court Session, 1379
Curia tenta apud Redruuth die Martis in festo Sancti Lucae Evangelistae anno regni regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum Anglorum tertio

Districtio Johannes Preortlyn per attornatum suum queritur de Johanne Bosporthynys [defalta plegii A\textsuperscript{2}] qui j fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Atth. Johannes Trenarthon queritur divisor de Johanne Boswyns Thoma Caran et Thoma Leithon non attachiati in placito transgressionis.

Summonitio Reginaldus Bredeb per attornatum queritur de Johanne Hert' [[...]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in placito detentionis catalli.

Districtio Richardus Walter queritur de Johanne Body qui j fecit defaltam in
Mia. ij d. placito trangressionis. Et attachiatus.
Mia. iiiij d. Willelmus Quol et Michaelis Portel in misericordia pro tumultuante in curia.

Atth. Ballivus presentavit quod Johanna Carn levavit hutesium iuste super Johannem Begeg vicarem de Seynt Sytheny pro insulto et quia cepit cartam suam et asportavit dampnum xl s. illius. Attachiatus ad respondum.

Atth. Idem presentavit quod Johannes Begeg [defalta plegii ballivi A\textsuperscript{2}] fecit ei restitutionem versus ipsum attachiamentum vocabatur in dictum hutesium.

Summonitio Grigorius Henry Redruyth queritur de Johanne Hudyn nos' non summonitato in placito debiti.

Summonitio Johannes Remy queritur de Radulfo Dodda [[...]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in ij divisii placitis debiti.

Summonitio Idem queritur de Johanne Bray de Lanplus [[...]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in ij placitis debiti.

Summonitio Idem queritur de Stephano Tewes [[...]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in placito debiti.

Summonitio Idem queritur de Johanne Jowyan [[...]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in placito debiti.

Summonitio Idem queritur de Wilberto Barat [[---]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in placito debiti.

Summonitio Idem queritur de Benedicto Rus de Helston [[---]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in iij divisii placitis debiti.

Summonitio Idem queritur de Willelmo de Tudryn [[---]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in placito debiti.

Summonitio Gallfridus Bunker [per attornatum A\textsuperscript{2}] queritur de Ricardo Lily [[......]] A\textsuperscript{2} non summonitato in placito debiti.

Districtio Johanna Carn per attornatum Crelegh' queritur de Johanne Begeg
Mia. iiiij d. Vicare de Seynt Sytheny qui j fecit defaltam in iij divisii placitis

\footnote{PRO SC 2/161/83.}
transgressionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi.

Districtio

Ricardus Rosmordrum per attornatum queritur de Johanne Ogier [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui j fecit defaltam in iij divisis placitis debiti.

Mia. iiij d.

Thomas Robyn queritur de Thoma Rodan qui j fecit defaltam in iij divisis placitis transgressionis. Et attachiatus.

Summonitio

Idem queritur de eadem non summonitato in placito debiti.

Districtio


Districtio

Idem Richardus queritur de Johanne Oromlegh qui j fecit defaltam in placito transgressionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi.

Mia. ij d.


Mia. ij d.

Idem queritur de Richardo Robyn Bosweb [defalta A²] qui j fecit defaltam in placito transgressionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi.

Summonitio

Johannes Condarew queritur de Ricardo [Roger] [districtus Rygian [.....] A²] non summonitato in placito debiti.

Atth.

Richardus Rowyellan queritur de Willelmo Rodda [.....] A² non attachiatus in placito transgressionis.

Summonitio

Johannes Romyn queritur de Johanne [Teriengen] [Terynryn A¹] [.....] A²] non summonitato in placito debiti.

Summonitio

Berth’ Predimans queritur de Ricardo Ganiwek [....] A²] non summonitato in placito debiti.

Summonitio

Radulfus Meab’ queritur de Willelmo Caladra [.....] A²] non summonitato in iij divisis placitis debiti.

Summonitio

Idem queritur de Johanne Redalan [---] A²] non summonitato in iij divisis placitis debiti.

Summonitio

Petrus Robyn queritur de Richardo Methres [....] A²] non summonitato in iij divisis placitis debiti.

Atth.

Stephanus Rens queritur de Radulfo Uda de Helleston non attachiatus in placito transgressionis.

Districtio

Petrus Robyn queritur de Ricardo Vilam [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui j fecit defaltam in placito debiti.

Summonitio

Richardus Thomy Penhal queritur de Johanne Sort non summonitato in iij divisis placitis debiti.

Districtio

Michaelis Portel queritur de Willelmo Enyk [defalta plegii ballivi A²]

Mia. j d.

qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam.

Mia. ij d.

Michaelis Portel in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem

Mia. ij d.

Solew in placito debiti. Et remanet defendens in misericordia pro defalta versus idem in placito predicto.

Mia. ij d.

Idem in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem Luby in placito debiti. Et idem Johannes in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in placito predicto.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Agnem uxorem Johannis Varthen per attornatum
querentem et Ricardum Maw in plactio transgressionis hutesii ei fecit ei insultum et intravit in domum suam et asportavit bona sua dampnum xl s.

**Inquisitio**

Willelmus Bosworlast queritur de Johanne Varthen in plactio conventionis unde inquiratur quod idem conventionem de iij acris terrae si divissit ad tertiam terram ut supra dampnum xl s.

**Mia. ij d.** Thomas Ducas in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Gervasium

**Mia. ij d.** Dal et Johannem Sylion in plactio debiti. Et idem Gervasius in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in plactio predicto.

**Districtio**

Ricardus Methek queritur de Martino Gaslanam qui j fecit defaltam in plactio debiti.

**Mia. ij d.** Ricardus Vylam in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Petrum Fremet in plactio conventio. Et idem defendens in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in plactio predicto.

**Summonitio**

Johanna Jamon queritur de Rogerus Pemb [misericordia defalta A2] non summonitato in plactio debiti.

**Inquiratur**

Inquiratur si Philipus Trewornegew iniuste detinuit ix examenta [...] versus Johannem [---] in plactio detentionis catalli.

**Districtio**


**Inquisitio**

Inquisitio inter Willelmum Bosworlast querentem et Henricum Baker Byhn' in plactio debiti dimidii quarterii stani precii xxvjd. ultra dimidium quarterium quem ei vadiat in plactio debiti remanentem pro defecto.

**Inquisitio**

Inquisitio inter eundem querentem et Johannem Panly in plactio debiti j quarterii stanni remanentis pro defecto.

**Dies Amoris**

Dies datus est Willelmo Bosworlast querenti et Johanni Van' in plactio debiti. Et idem defendens in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in plactio predicto.

**Essonium**

Willelmus Bosworlast queritur de Johanne Ban' essoniato in plactio debiti.

**Mia. ij d.** Johannes Romyn in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus

**Mia. ij d.** Richardum [.....] in plactio debiti. Et idem Richardum in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in plactio predicto.

**Inquisitio**

Inquisitio inter Willelum Bolleym' querentem et Petrum E' Pollyew in plactio [---] j cartum et iij capita [.....] in iij divisis plactis debiti.

[paene 4 lineae vacant]
Johannes Henricus queritur de Stephano Grygor [defalta A²] non summonitato in placito debiti.

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Johannes Henricus queritur de Stephano Grygor [defalta A²] non summonitato in placito debiti.

Johannes Henricus queritur de Stephano Grygor [defalta A²] non summonitato in placito debiti.
Varthyn in placito trangressionis hutesii si fecit ei insultum et cepit unam vaccam suam et abduxit damnum x l s.

**Districtio**
Radulfus Hynyeyn per attornatum queritur de Willelmno Ranfr' [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito transgressionis. Et attachiatus.

**Mia. iij d.**

**Districtio**
Johannes Athrow queritur de Viviano [defalta plegii ballivi A²] serviente Thomae Bailis qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.

**Mia. iij d.**
Edwardus Hend' in misericordia pro licencia concordandi Johanne Tregos in placito debiti.

**Districtio**
Johannes Richard queritur de David Turby [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam.

**Mia. iij d.**

**Districtio**
Idem queritur de eodem [misericordia defalta li' A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam.

**Mia. iij d.**
Johannes lamy Treneleras in misericia pro detentione j pedis et quarterii stanni et iij s. iij d. versus Petrum Robyn in iij divisis placitis debiti damnum iij d. querela clericorum.

**Districtio**
Rogerus Homa queritur de Johannes Bossaneth [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui iij fecit defaltas in placito debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam.

**Mia. iij d.**
Inquiratur si Johanna Treneglas [misericordia defalta damnum xij d. A²] iniuste fregit claustrum Radulfi Sort et abinde cepit pullam suum damnum x l s.

**Mia. iiiij d.**
Martinus Metheres Thomas filius eius et Johannes Cothy in misericia pro licencia concordandi Thoma Roswern in placito debiti.

**Mia. vj d.**
Johannes Rithow Johannes Martyn et Lucasius Cadow in misericia pro licencia concordandi eodem in placito transgressionis.

**Mia. iij d.**
Johanna Lagaston in misericia quia non prosequitur hutesium versus Radulfum Sort [misericordia defalta A²] quod ballivus iuste presentavit pro insulto. Et si ballivus presentavit nec ne inquiratur pro roge contra proximum.

**Inquisitio**
Inquisitio inter Radulfum Sort querentem et Johannam Treneglas in placito transgressionis hutesii si iniuste cepit unum iumentum suum damnum x s. ut supra.

**Atth.**
Attachiare Ricardum Tresa [defalta plegii ballivi A²] ad respondum domino pro transgressione hutesii facta contra pacem Johannis Thoma qui ab ne prosequente dictum hutesium quod ballivus presentavit iuste pro insulto. Et attachiatus per plevinam ballivi.

**Dies Amoris**
Dies datus est Johanni Tresamswel querenti et Johanni Cambian in x divisis placitis debiti.

**Summonitio**
Alic' Pemians per attornatum queritur de Thoma Durend [[.....] A²] non summonitata in placito debiti.
Districtio Ricardus Enys queritur de Johanne Treres [defalta plegii ballivi A²] qui
Mia. ij d. iij fecit defaltas in ij divisis placitis debiti. Et attachiatus per plevinam.
Districtio Willelmus Bosworlast queritur de Johanne Lewer [defalta plegii ballivi
A²] in placito transgressionis.
Districtio Thomas Medeswele et Rogerus Hunta queritur divisores de Henrico
Burwik [defalta plegii ballivi A²] Johanne Wethen [defalta plegii ballivi
A²] qui j fecit defaltam in placito debiti.
Mia. ij d. Ogg'us Hela in misericordia pro detentione unum discum stanni versus
eosdem in placito debiti.
Districtio Idem queritur de Roberto Vag’n qui ij fecit defaltas in placito debiti.
Mia. ij d. Et attachiatus per plevinam.
Mia. iij d. Thomas Robyn Byhan in misericordia pro defalta et detentione j disci
stanni versus eosdem in placito debiti damnum iij d. querela
clerorum.
Inquiratur Inquiratur si Thomas Robyn [misericordia defalta A²] debuit vj d.
Thoma Modeshole in placito debiti.
Mia. ij d. Radulfus Dert in misericordia pro licencia concordandi Thoma
Modeshole et Rogero Hunta in placito debiti.
Remanet Dampnum remanet taxari inter Willelum Rinthan et Johannem Thoma
de placito detentionis j cippi stanni.
Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Johannem Thoma Redruth querentem [districtus A²] et
Ricardum Heil si cepit equum suum et pecorinum in placito
transgressionis damnum x s.
Mia. ij d. Richardus Tresce in misericordia pro detentione j arci versus Johannem
Romyn in placito detentionis et precium remanet taxari.
Mia. iij d. Robertus Joliew in misericordia pro licencia concordandi Is'
Rostomben in ij divisis placitis debiti.
Mia. ij d. Johannes Relegh in misericordia pro licencia concordandi Ricardo
Pentersos in ij divisis placitis conventionis.
Mia. ij d. Idem in misericordia pro licencia concordandi eodem in placito
[[debiti]] detentionis catalli.
Mia. ij d. Johannes Enot in misericordia pro licencia concordandi Willelmo Cales
in placito [[debiti]] transgressionis.
Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Willelum G’narol querentem et Grigoriuim [[Henry]]
Poly in placito debiti iij s. remanet pro defecto.
Atth. Attachiare Willelum Trethaek [finis xij d. A²] ad respondum domino
pro transgressione ij hutesiorum facto contra pacem Johannis Carnbian
qui ab ne prosequente dicta ij hutesia quod ballivus iuste presentavit
pro insulto. Et defendens dicit quod non culpabilis quod² petivit quod
inquiratur pro rogue ad proximum.

² For “et.”
M. 3d

Atth. Attachiare Johannem Body [defalta plegii ballivi A²] ad respondum
dominó pro transgressione hutesii facta contra pacem Richardi Walter
quod ballivus presentavit iustè pro insulto et batteria. Et attachiatus
per plevinam ballivi qui in misericordia et cetera.

Inquiratur Attachiare Richardum Kembre [[...]. A²] ad respondum dominó pro
transgressione hutesii facta contra pagam Henrici Lanry quod ballivus
presentavit iustè pro insulto et batteria. Et defendens dicit quod non
culpablis et petivit quod inquiratur.

Inquisitio Iquisitio inter Johannem Boynel querentem et Grigoriom Henry in
placito debiti xxj d. et vij d. dampnum iij d.

Mia. ij d. David Robyn in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Willelmum
Thoma Bosworlast in placito [debiti] transgressionis.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Johannem Vicar' Tredym querentem et Johannem
Pases' [Trendugnon A¹] si ipsum expulsam ab opere suo stanni in
placito transgressionis dampnum xj s.

Mia. ij d. Willelmus Talkarn in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus
Richardum Cardrew Henricum Lanry et socios suos placito
transgressionis.

Inquiratur Inquisitio ad inquisitum si ballivus presentavit nec ne in hoc quod
Willelmus Talkarn levavit hutesium iustè super Richardum Cardrew et
socios suos ut patuit in curia Pentecoste.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Rogerum Hunta querentem et Ricardum Syng si fregit ei
conventionem ut supra remanet pro defecto.

Mia. ij d. Michaelis Frap in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Robertum
Rowbyn in placito debiti.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Alanum Carcos querentem et David Hicke et Roseam
uxorem eius in placito debiti xv s.

Districtio Willelmus Seys [districtus A²] queritur de Johanne Cambian qui iij fecit
defaltas in vj divisis placitis transgressionis.

Atth. Attachiare Johannem Briton [defalta plegii A²] ad respondum dominó
pro transgressione hutesii facta contra pacem Jacobo Tregrethes qui ab
ne prosequente hutesii quod ballivus presentavit quia asportavit
stannum suum.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Petrum Talmeneth per attornatum querentem et
Rogerum Elsow in placito debiti xx d.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Johannem Rosseth querentem et Johannem Romyn in
placito debiti v s. ix d. et dimidii ciphi stanni.

Atth. Attachiare Johannem Carnbian ad respondum dominó pro restituto
facto ballivo ut supra.

Atth. Attachiare eundem ad respondum dominó pro restituto facto eidem
ballivo versus ipsum aularium voluntatem.

Mia. ij d. David Higob' in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Thomam
Mia. ij d. Thomas in placito debiti. Et idem defendens in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in placito predicto.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Johannem Toher' querentem et David Robyn in placito debiti xl s. remanet pro defecto.

Atth.

Attachiare Johannem Tregasse ad respondum domino pro

Mia. ij d.

transgressione hutesii facta contra pacem Johannis Glyas qui ab ne prosequente hutesii quod ballivus presentavit iuste quia abduxit ij vaccas suas. Et attachiatus per plevnam.

Districtio

Alanus Stokys queritur divisor de Hungone Magot Reginaldo Jolis Johanne Ano' et Johanne Drew in placito debiti pro detentione de una beron' [.....].

Mia. ij d.

Petrus Edward quia non prosequitur versus Willelmo filio Johannis Jowy in placito transgressionis. Et idem defendens in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in placito predicto.

Inquisitio

Inquiratur si Johannes Hub'e debuit xxxiiiij s. Johanni Hudyn per attornatum suum querenti in placito debiti in ij querentibus.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter eundem Johannem querentem et Grigorium Henry in placito debiti xxiiij s. iiiij d.

Districtio

Matheus Clemmol queritur de Johanne Stephen de Penros in placito conventionis.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Oliverum Byhan querentem et Stephanum Bons in placito transgressionis ut supra.

Mia. viij d.

Johannes Michel de Penpons Rogerus filius Michaelis Udreb Odonis Wesena Johannes Kelerion Thomas Loegh Gilbertus Roger Lucasius Helleston et Sandoc' Treac qui in misercordia quia non venit.

Arrestetur

Robertus Symon et Johannes Martyn arrestentur pro transgressione hutesii facta contra pacem Johannis Richard ut supra.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Vivianum Bosworlast querentem et Johannem Archer si manu operavit terram suam in placito transgressionis dampnum c s. remanet pro defecto. Ricardus Mark Johannes Mark Johannes Power Tredyw Jacobus Penros Johannes Maryn Willelmus [.]yna Thomas Enys Beran Ricardus Vans Johannes [---] Johannes Richard et Robertus Penros qui in misericordia quia non venit et Michaelis Porel qui venit.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Johannem Moher querentem et Willelmum Thoma Bosworlast si manu operavit terram suam in placito transgressionis dampnum xl s.

Arrestetur

Johannes Carnbian arrestetur in iiiij districtis hutesii ut patuit in curia assumptionis beatae Mariae.

Inquisitio

Inquisitio inter Willelmum Canerel querentem et Grigorium Poly in placito debiti iiiij s. remanet pro defecto. Robertus Bona Ricardus Hel Margeria Jyow Henricus Cappent' et Ricardus Syng qui in misericordia quia non venit et Grigorius Henry et Radulfus Sort qui venit.

Atth.

Attachiare Johannem Carnbian ad respondum domino pro
transgressione ij hutesiorum patentis contra pacem Willelmi Trethaek qui ab ne proseguent dicta hutesia que ballivus presentavit iuste quia cepit stannum suum.

Inquisitio
Inter Thomam Bayly querentem et Philipum Steffar’ in placito debiti iiiij s. remanet pro defecto.

Inquiratur
Inter Thomam Rosnadras querentem et Petrum Glyn in placito debiti xx s.

Districtio

Mia. ij d.

Districtio
Willelmus Tresruk queritur de Johanne filio David Gomper qui ij fecit defaltam in placito transgressionis. Et attachiatus per plevinam.

Mia. ij d.

Inquisitio
Inter Willelum Bosulow querentem et David Gwor [---].

M. 4

Adhuc de curia tenta apud Redruuth die Martis proxima in festo Sancti Lucae Evangelistae anno regni regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum tertio

Districtio
Finis viij d. Willelmus de Wonton fecit finem domino pro viij d. pro transgressione hutesi contra pacem Willemi Trethaek ut supra.

Mia. iii d Willelmus Calkarn Petrus Cam Ricardus Cam et Johannes Bossaneth in misericordia quia non prosequuntur versus Matheum Tesulo Willelmo Tesulo et socios suos in placito transgressionis ut supra.

Mia. iiijd Idem querentes in misericordia quia non prosequuntur versus eosdem in placito transgressionis.

Districtio Herveus Teneswethen queritur de David Toler Tenenesek [defalta plegii ballivi A2] qui ij fecit defaltas in vj divisis placitis transgressionis.

Mia. ij d. Johannes Wilkok et Margerita uxor eis in misericordia pro licencia concordandi Thoma Modeshole et Rogero Hunca in placito debiti.

Mia. ij d. Willelmus Skus et Basilia uxor eius in misericordia pro licencia concordandi eisdem in ij divisis placitis debiti.


Essonium Martinus Gosrodryuth queritur de Adam Boswher [defalta A2] essoniat in iiiij divisis placitis transgressionis.

Remanet Dampnum remanet taxari [districtus A2] inter Stephanum Rons querentem et Oliverum Byhan et Agnetem uxorem eius in placito transgressionis.

Mia. ij d. Ricardus William in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem Carnbian in ij divisis placitis debiti. Et predictus defendens in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in placito predicto.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Oliverum Bihan querentem et Stephanum Rons si ei insultum fecit in placito trangressionis hutesii.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter eundem Oliverum querentem et Laurentium [essonium A2] filium Stephani Rons in placito trangressionis hutesii si ei insultum fecit et ipsum verberavit dampnum xl s.

Atth. Attachiare Johannem filium Stephani Rons ad respondum tam presentamento ballivi quam eadem Oliverum in placito trangressionis hutesii quod ballivi iuste presentavit pro insulto et bateria et attachiatus ad respondum. Et defendens dicit quod non culpabilis et petivit quod inquiratur.

Inquisitio Inquisitio inter Richardum Cardrew querentem et Johannem Gay Garrartheck in placito debiti miliaris stanni in vj districtis querentibus.


Mia. viij d. Idem in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Petrum Cam

3 For "Eidem."
Ricardum Cam et Johannem Bossaneth in placito transgressionis.

Mia. iiiij d. Olex’ Tegiliall in misericordia pro licencia concordandi Hamelino Arrestetur Teleggh in ij divisis placitis transgressionis hutesii factis contra pacem Hamelini quod ballivus iustè presentavit ut supra. Et arrestetur.

Mia. ij d. Willelmus Lamburn in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem Cifford de Seynt Dey in placito conventionis.

Mia. ij d. Richardus Cardrew in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus Johannem Bossaneth et Petrum Cam in vj divisis placitis debiti. Et idem defendentes in misericordia pro defalsa versus predictum in placito predicto.

Mia. ij d. Idem Richardus in misericordia quia non prosequitur versus eosdem in placito conventionis. Et idem defendentes in misericordia pro defalta versus predictum in placito predicto.

Atth. Attachiare Adam Tregos ad respondum domino pro restituto facto ballivo de requisitione attachiati pro [........]. Et attachiatus per plevinam.

Mia. ij d. Johannes Toker in misericordia pro licencia concordandi Johanne Condorew in placito debiti.

Summa xx s. iiiij d.
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