

THE CORNISH LANDS  
OF THE ARUNDELLS OF LANHERNE,  
FOURTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH  
CENTURIES



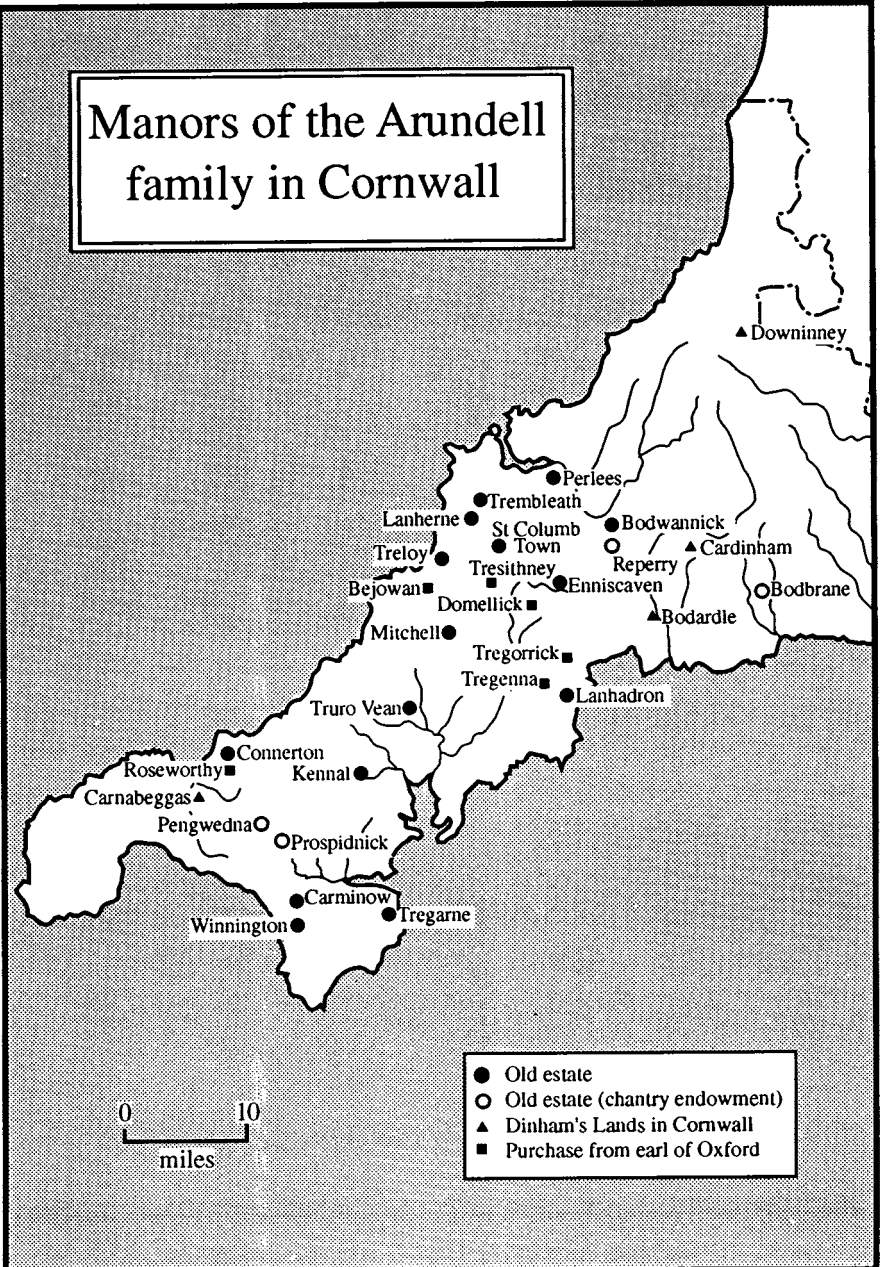
Edited by  
H. S. A. FOX and O. J. PADEL

DEVON AND CORNWALL RECORD SOCIETY

New Series, Volume 41

*Issued to members of the society for the year 1998*

# Manors of the Arundell family in Cornwall



- Old estate
- Old estate (chantry endowment)
- ▲ Dinham's Lands in Cornwall
- Purchase from earl of Oxford

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DEVON AND CORNWALL RECORD SOCIETY

New Series, Volume 41

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OF THE ARUNDELLS OF LANHERNE,  
FOURTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH  
CENTURIES

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H. S. A. FOX and O. J. PADEL

Exeter  
2000

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and H. S. A. Fox and O. J. Padel  
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For Margaret Meeres and Isobel Harvey



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## *Introduction*

### 1. THE ARUNDELL FAMILY

The Arundells of Lanherne were one of the foremost families in Cornwall for about 300 years, from the mid-fourteenth century until well into the seventeenth; and their considerable wealth included estates in most parts of the county, as well as elsewhere, notably in Devon and Dorset. We are fortunate that an extensive archive of their estate survives from that period, and has recently come fully into the public domain as a result of its acquisition by Cornwall County Record Office, Truro. The present volume contains rentals and surveys of the Arundells' Cornish lands from the period of their greatest wealth and influence; the documents show the extent of their properties in the county, and thus can serve as a guide to the archive as a whole. Other parts of the archive, such as deeds and leases, manorial court rolls and account rolls, and more miscellaneous documents, are potentially richer than the rentals and surveys in terms of social and economic history; but the user of those documents requires the overall view provided by the surveys in order for their details to be fitted into the larger picture. Part of the purpose of publishing these documents, therefore, is to render the other riches of the archive, yet unpublished, more accessible and comprehensible for the student of local history in medieval Cornwall.

The surname Arundell (or Arundel) is known from various parts of England from the Norman Conquest onwards.<sup>1</sup> The ramifications of the surname have not been fully worked out, and it is unclear whether all bearers of it were ultimately related. The surname may even have more than one derivation, from the Old English place-name Arundel (Sussex) in some cases, and from Old French

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<sup>1</sup> Yeatman, *House of Arundel*, provides a speculative account of the medieval families.

*arondelle* 'a swallow' in others.<sup>2</sup> The latter derivation was used in our family's coat-of-arms, and by other bearers of the name, but such allusion of course proves nothing about the actual derivation of the surname. Our family first appears, holding a single manor (Treloy, near Newquay) in the early thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The possible relationship of the Cornish Arundells with other, up-country, bearers of the surname is unknown, for lack of records. Nearly a century earlier, in 1130, a Robert Arundell is mentioned in a Cornish context; but he appears in a similar capacity in several other counties, and may belong rather in Dorset.<sup>4</sup> He need have no direct link with the later Cornish family.

The rise of the family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is described in greater detail below ('The growth of the estate'); here a brief summary is needed. After its first appearance in 1216, the family made a series of successful marriages during the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries; these brought a series of additions to their property. (See the family-tree, p. clvi.) Lanherne itself was one of these additions; but the principal seat of the family moved from Treloy to Trembleath in the parish of St Ervan. Lanherne itself does not seem to have become their principal residence until the later fourteenth, or the early fifteenth, century; the exact date is unclear at present, though it may have been during the 1360s and early 1370s, when there were three John Arundells alive at once, one of Lanherne, one of Treloy, and one of Trembleath.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> P. H. Reaney and R. M. Wilson, *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, 3rd edition (London, 1991), p. 15; A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society, vols 6–7 (Cambridge, 1929–30), I, 136–37; Old French *arondelle* 'swallow', A. Dauzat and others, *Nouveau dictionnaire étymologique et historique [du français]* (Paris, 1971), p. 372, compare Modern French *aronde* 'swallow', p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, 247b; *Curia Regis Rolls*, vol. XII, 9 to 10 Henry III, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii vel Magnum Rotulum Pipæ de Anno Tricesimo-Primo Regni Henrici Primi*, edited by Joseph Hunter (London, 1833), pp. 159, etc. Compare Roger Arundel in Somerset and Dorset thirty years later: Pipe Rolls of 1160–61 (6 and 7 Henry II), Pipe Roll Society, vol. 2, p. 59, and vol. 4, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> See the second inquisition post mortem (1442) of John Arundell who died in 1433–35: PRO, C.139/107, no. 36.

It was during the fourteenth century, too, that a younger branch of the Treloy-Lanherne family arose, the Arundells of Trecice. The exact connection between the two families is not clear, although the documents printed here, and others in the archive, go some way towards elucidating it; it was apparently a younger son of the main family, one Ralph or Randulph, who married Joan, daughter and heiress of Michael de Trecice; their son Nicholas thus inherited Trecice and was the progenitor of that line, which from then on functioned effectively as a separate family from that of Lanherne, though retaining tenurial links with the senior branch.<sup>6</sup>

From its height in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the family declined in influence (though not at first in wealth), owing to its adherence to the Roman Catholic faith. There was a temporary setback in 1483–84, when Thomas Arundell (the only head of the family for 400 years not to be called John) took part in the duke of Buckingham's rebellion against King Richard III; as a result of the failure of this rebellion Thomas's lands were forfeited to the king, and he died a year later (1485), leaving a son and heir, John, aged only 11.

This John saw the family lands restored under King Henry VII, and lived, apparently quietly, through the changes of King Henry VIII's reign, changes which he must have greatly deplored. He died in 1545, and his eldest son, John, continued the tradition, taking little part in national events; although he must have sympathized with the Prayerbook Rebellion in 1549, he succeeded in remaining uninvolved, even though it was led by a cousin, Humphrey Arundell;<sup>7</sup> this John died in 1557. However, his younger brother, Thomas, led a very different life, mixing in high circles at the court of King Henry VIII. He married Margaret Howard, sister of the king's fifth wife Katherine; and he purchased monastic estates at their dissolution, founding a junior branch of the family at Wardour, in Wiltshire.<sup>8</sup> This branch was to grow in importance,

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<sup>6</sup> For further details see below, pp. 2, 9, 44, 89, 133, 146 and 157. For this scheme to be right, it is necessary that Odo, son and heir of Michael de Trecice, whose wardship and marriage were granted to John Le Soor of Tolverne in 1345 (AR46/8–11), died without heir. Ralph Arundell de Trecice was dead by November 1369 (AR1/846 and AR32/1).

<sup>7</sup> Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, pp. 120–21 and 232–33.

<sup>8</sup> Twelve important letters of this Thomas Arundell survive from his stays in London: AR25/5–15 and 17.

eclipsing the quieter Cornish branch, until eventually the Cornish male line came to an end when the last Sir John Arundell died in 1701, leaving only a daughter; she was married to one Richard Bellings, who (with her father's approval) took the name of Arundell.

Their son, Richard Bellings Arundell (who died in 1725), in turn had only two daughters, one of whom, Mary Bellings Arundell, neatly perpetuated the family by marrying in 1739 Henry, her seventh cousin once removed, the seventh Lord Arundell of Wardour, and Count of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>9</sup> (Her sister married but had no children.) In this way the two branches of the family were re-united at Wardour, and the two estates came together. The house at Lanherne was not much used by the family after this, but the Cornish lands continued to be run as a discrete estate. In the late eighteenth century the Cornish lands began to be sold, and most were sold by 1808; shortly afterwards the archive was transferred from Lanherne to Wardour, where it remained until 1991.<sup>10</sup> Lanherne itself was retained by the family, and in 1794 was offered as a home to Carmelite nuns fleeing from the Low Countries; it remains a Carmelite nunnery today. The separate administration of the Cornish estate rendered it easy, when the time came in 1991, for the Lanherne section of the archive to be separated and brought to Cornwall Record Office; the Wardour section is now at Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge.

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<sup>9</sup> For wider details see Webb, *Arundell Family History*; Vivian, *Visitations*, pp. 4 and 7.

<sup>10</sup> For further details see Christine North, 'The Arundell archive', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, [3rd series], 1 (1991-93), 47-57; and Lucy McCann, *Introduction to the Arundell Archive* (Truro, Cornwall County Record Office, 1996).

## 2. THE GROWTH OF THE ESTATE

From their modest beginnings at Treloy before 1216 the family made a series of good marriages, each of which added to their estate, for over two hundred years; by the mid-fifteenth century the estate was almost at its fullest extent, though the later documents printed here show further additions, some by purchase.<sup>1</sup> The first of these marriages was by Ralph, son of Remfrey Arundell, to Eve, a daughter of Richard de Tremodret or Roche, in around 1250—perhaps slightly earlier, since Remfrey II, Ralph's son, was himself married by 1268.<sup>2</sup> Eve brought with her lands in the hundred of Pyder, notably Trembleath (St Ervan), which became the Arundells' principal residence in the following century; and also some lands further east, in St Minver parish but later attached to the manor of Trembleath. (See below, p. lxxv, and the map, p. clv.)

The second marriage came in the next generation, with Remfrey Arundell II, who married the heiress Alice de Lanhern, some time before June 1268. Alice's father John (son of Andrew) de Lanhern was perhaps from a Devonshire family, holding manors of the bishops of Exeter in both counties, though his surname was taken from presumably his preferred residence, in Cornwall. Alice brought with her to the Arundells not only the manor of Lanherne, near to Treloy and Trembleath (and including, at this date, the growing town of St Columb Major: see below, pp. 4–5), but also the Devonshire manors later called Morchard Arundell and Uton Arundell (in the parishes of Morchard Bishop and Crediton), both also held, like Lanherne, of the bishops of Exeter. This was Alice's paternal inheritance; but she brought with her much more than that, for her mother Margery had herself been an heiress, descendant of Richard Pincerna who had received the manor of Connerton, in Penwith, from Robert, son of Robert earl of Gloucester, in about 1155. This was one of the richest manors in west Cornwall, and it

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<sup>1</sup> This section of the Introduction expands upon remarks made by O. J. Padel, 'The Arundells of Lanherne and their archive', *Cornwall Association of Local Historians, Journal*, 29 (Spring 1995), 8–23.

<sup>2</sup> AR1/64–66; for the marriage of Remfrey II by 1268, see *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, I, no. 216.

was to remain one of the largest in the Arundell estate; it brought with it also the administrative rights of the Hundred of Penwith, the only Cornish hundred to be held in private hands in this way.<sup>3</sup>

It was to be many years before the male line of the Arundells actually came into this rich estate brought to them by Alice de Lanherne; for, having borne Remfrey a son John, she was widowed, and then remarried to a Devonshire man, John de Umfraville. She also had by him a son (who seems to have become a cleric), and by the laws of inheritance her second husband therefore continued to enjoy her estate after her death (between 1302 and 1311), until his own.<sup>4</sup> Since Alice's son, John Arundell I, died before John de Umfraville did, it was her grandson, John Arundell II, who eventually inherited the Lanherne property, at some time between 1311 (when John de Umfraville was still alive) and 1322, when John Arundell II is found described as lord of Connerton—some half-century after Remfrey's marriage with Alice. John II had apparently come of age in June 1318.<sup>5</sup>

In the meantime the family had, through its upward path, taken its place among the gentry of the county. Ralph, who married Eve, was sheriff of Cornwall in 1259–60, and in 1265 he was temporarily placed in charge of Restormel Castle and the barony of Cardinham during Simon de Montfort's rebellion against King Henry III.<sup>6</sup> By 1277 Remfrey II had become lord of the manor and borough of Mitchell, a town on the ancient spine-road through Cornwall, through a purchase made by Ralph his father in about 1270.<sup>7</sup> The

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<sup>3</sup> Picken, 'Descent of Willington'; Bowles, *Hundred of Penwith*, pp. 19–22, for the grant to Richard Pincerna and its confirmation by King Henry II; and Pool, 'Penheleg manuscript', for the Arundells' later tenure of the Hundred of Penwith.

<sup>4</sup> John son of John de Umfraville a cleric, AR1/82; Alice de Lanherne still alive in 1302, PRO Just.1/117, m.67d. (1302 eyre roll); Alice dead but John de Umfraville her husband still alive in 1311, AR4/415 (lease for term of his life).

<sup>5</sup> John Arundell as lord of Connerton in 1322, AR4/183/1; John due to come of age in June 1318, AR4/347. The bishop of Exeter, who held his wardship, tried unsuccessfully in 1316 to persuade him to marry Joan Kaignes, the bishop's own niece: *Stapeldon*, pp. 33–34.

<sup>6</sup> Ralph as sheriff in 1259–60, AR22/1; his care of Restormel Castle in 1265, AR22/2. The latter deed is reproduced (but misdated and misinterpreted) by Yeatman, *House of Arundel*, plate 34.

purchase presumably represented a deliberate investment in this developing market town; but the town eventually declined, and by the eighteenth century it was among the rottenest of Cornwall's boroughs, and may have been more trouble than it was worth; it was among the first of the Cornish properties to be sold by the Wardour family, in 1775.<sup>8</sup>

Thus in 1300 John Arundell I, the son of Remfrey and Alice and the first of the long line of John Arundells, held the manors of Treloy, Trembleath (with its dependant lands in St Minver) and Mitchell; and he had the expectancy of the reversion of the manors of Lanherne (including St Columb Major), Connerton (together with the Hundred of Penwith) and, in Devon, the manors of Morchard and Uton (later to be called Morchard Arundell and Uton Arundell), after the deaths of his mother Alice and her second husband John de Umfraville. However, as shown above, John Arundell was dead by 1309, so that it was his son who inherited these parts of the estate, after the death of his grandmother's second husband and after himself coming of age in 1318.<sup>9</sup>

### *The fourteenth century*

The Arundell marriages in the fourteenth century have not been studied in detail, and only those which directly concern the acquisition of the estates can be mentioned here. There is even some uncertainty as to how many John Arundells were head of the family during this time. The most important marriage was of a John Arundell, in around 1334, to Elizabeth de Carminow, a daughter of the major west-Cornish family.<sup>10</sup> This is unlikely to be the John

<sup>7</sup> Gloucestershire Record Office, D.421/A2/5-6 (deeds, 1270); D.421/A2/8 (deed, 1277); *Placita de Quo Warranto*, p. 109b (Michaelmas term, 1302). The original grant of a weekly market and yearly fair at Mitchell had been made in 1239 by King Henry III, to Walter de Raleigh and Isabel his wife: *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, I, 241. Mitchell is termed a borough in 1305 (Henderson, *Essays*, p. 54) and 1311 (*Anc.Deeds*, IV, A.9373).

<sup>8</sup> AR25/110 and 129 for dealings concerning the borough; AR2/1196 for its sale in 1775.

<sup>9</sup> John Arundell I dead by 1309, AR16/1; John de Umfraville still alive in 1311, AR4/415 (see above).

<sup>10</sup> *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, I, no. 680; 'Beville obituary' (I), p. 21.

who came of age in 1318; more likely to have been his son, though he would be unlikely to have married as early as 1334. Again, there were apparently three John Arundells alive at the same time in the 1360s, distinguished as 'of Lanherne', 'of Treloy', and 'of Trembleath'; all three seem to have died in the 1370s, one of them earlier than his father.

The marriage to Elizabeth Carminow brought the Arundells no immediate gains; but sixty years later, in February 1396, the Carminow heiress Joan died, as a minor aged 10 or 11. Although her family's surname survived down at least to the mid-seventeenth century,<sup>11</sup> this ended the direct line of the family, and the estate was split between the nearest kinsmen, the Arundells of Lanherne and the Trevarthians of Trevarthian (in St Hilary).<sup>12</sup> The partition brought to the Arundells the manors of Carminow, Kennall and Winnington, together with other property, the advowsons of the churches of Whitstone and Philleigh, a small share of Merthen Wood (Constantine; their share was later called Arundell's Wood) and all of Treloweth Wood (St Mewan), later to become an important tinning area. Trevarthian received the manors of Merthen, Trethevas (Landewednack) and Rosuick (St Keverne), most of Merthen Wood, and the advowsons of Ruan Major and Ruan Minor churches. This inheritance is the reason why, in the rental of 1480, the glebe-land of Philleigh and Whitstone parishes, attached to the advowsons of those churches, was listed under Carminow manor (below, p. 85).

### *Luscott inheritance, c.1400*

Later in the fourteenth century, before November 1367, a John Arundell (probably the son of John III and Elizabeth Carminow) married Joan Luscott, a Devonshire heiress. She brought with her the Devonshire estates of Loddiswell, Ideford and Battishorne (Honiton parish), and maybe other lands in that county. After her husband's death she remained in possession of her inheritance, residing at Lanherne and Loddiswell, and granting leases of the

<sup>11</sup> CRO Index to Wills, William Carminow of St Teath, esquire.

<sup>12</sup> Inquisition post mortem of Joan Carminow, *Calendar of IPMs*, XVII, 241-42 (nos 615-16); *Anc.Deeds*, IV, A.10409 (and other copies, AR1/192); compare Henderson, *Constantine*, pp. 93-94.

latter.<sup>13</sup> After some years she remarried, to Sir William Lambron (as his second wife also): the earliest evidence yet noted of their marriage is in July 1394, though there are suggestions that it had occurred a little earlier.<sup>14</sup> (Sir William Lambron was also, independently, the father of the next heiress to marry an Arundell, Annora Lambron; this was by his first wife, Joan Lanhadron.) The Devon estates were presumably inherited by John Arundell (who died in 1433–35), her son, after the deaths of Joan and of William Lambron, some time after 1397. The earliest date at which he has been noted holding the five Devon manors (three from the Luscott family and two from the Lanherne one) is September 1407.<sup>15</sup>

Thus in c.1400, after the deaths of Joan his mother and her second husband Sir William Lambron, John Arundell held the Cornish manors of Treloy, Trembleath (including its lands in St Minver), Mitchell, Lanherne (including St Columb Major), Connerton (including the Hundred of Penwith), Carminow, Winnington and Kennall; and the Devonshire manors of Morchard Arundell, Uton Arundell, Battishorne, Ideford and Loddiswell; and perhaps also other properties in Devon.

It is not yet clear what happened to all these Devonshire estates (both the Lanherne and the Luscott inheritances) in later years. They were still in the hands of the family in 1605;<sup>16</sup> but there is little evidence for them in the Lanherne estate after about 1610.

### *Soor manors, c.1420*

With John Arundell who died in 1433–35, the family was at its height. He served King Henry V at sea in 1418–19, when he was in his early fifties; was sheriff of Cornwall four times, and M.P. for the county; and is said to have been known as John Arundell ‘the Magnificent’, though the fifty-two suits of gold cloth which he was

<sup>13</sup> *Brantyngham*, I, 374 (licence for Joan to celebrate in her chapel at Lanherne, 1376); AR20/14 (Joan at Loddiswell, 1391); AR4/2020–25 (leases at Loddiswell granted by Joan, 1376–85).

<sup>14</sup> Married by 1394, AR17/1–2; AR30/5 may suggest it already in 1391. ‘Beville obituary’ (I), p. 21, misleadingly states that Joan died in 1384.

<sup>15</sup> AR20/16–17, trust leases of the manors.

<sup>16</sup> AR20/51 (final concord, whole estate, November 1605); AR21/28 (draft will of Sir John Arundell, December 1605); compare AR1/546 (sale of part of the manor of Morchard Arundell, 1629).

reputed to have owned at his death do not appear in his will.<sup>17</sup> He was probably the first of the line to make substantial acquisitions of land by purchase, rather than inheritance. In making these he seems to have had two particular aims: providing his younger sons with good estates, and endowing a chantry in St Columb Major (see below).

The family of Soor or Le Sor had held Tolverne, in Philleigh, from as early as the eleventh century.<sup>18</sup> The last of them, Ralph Soor, died between 1409 and 1416;<sup>19</sup> and during the fifteenth century the Arundells acquired three manors formerly Soor's, Tolverne itself, Prospidnick (Sithney) and Bodwannick (Lanivet)—two of them, Tolverne and Prospidnick, within a few years of Ralph Soor's death. However, the mode of acquisition is not clear. It is said that John Arundell I (who died before 1309) had been married to Joan Soor; but no authority has yet been found for that statement.<sup>20</sup> In fact, John Arundell who died in 1433–35 seems to have acquired his interest in Tolverne in 1417–18, along with other manors not formerly Soor's (see below, 'Other acquisitions');<sup>21</sup> so it may be that the eventual acquisition of three Soor manors was due to policy, rather than inheritance. Indeed, in 1371 an entailment of

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London, 1992), pp. 224–25 and 228–29, also AR22/5–9; *Lacy*, IV, 20–22, for his will (also AR21/2, a nineteenth-century copy); *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Arundell of Cornwall, for the suits of gold (also AR21/2). The will (dated 18 April 1433) purports to have been proved on 7 June 1433; yet his inquisition post mortem, held in August and October 1435 (13–14 Henry VI) states that he died on Tuesday after Epiphany last, i.e. Tuesday 11 January 1435 (PRO, C.139/72, no. 39); so, too, the inquisition held when his grandson came of age in 1442 (PRO, C.139/107, no. 36). The 'Beville obituary' (I), p. 21, states that he died on 17 January 1433 (i.e. 1434, a Sunday). This discrepancy over the date of his death has yet to be resolved.

<sup>18</sup> *Episcopal Acta, Exeter*, I, 1–2 (no. 1); compare II, 153–54 (no. 170; AR46/1–2), a dispute between Soor and Plympton Priory in c.1188–89.

<sup>19</sup> AR1/225 (Ralph Soor alive in 1409); AR1/346–47 (Thomas Colyn lord of Bodwannick in 1416).

<sup>20</sup> It is asserted by Yeatman, *House of Arundel*, p. 255; and by subsequent authorities, including Vivian, *Visitations*, p. 2. Judging by the reference given by Vivian, this seems to stem from a misapprehension of *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, I, no. 682 (October, 1334).

<sup>21</sup> *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, II, nos 930 and 933.

certain Arundell manors included (in default of Arundell heirs) Ralph Soor of Tolverne and his male heirs; this suggests a marriage-link between the two families, but rather that an Arundell daughter had married a Soor, instead of the other way around.<sup>22</sup> There are also indications of business links between Arundell and Soor in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

At about the same time as he acquired Tolverne, c.1420, John Arundell also acquired the Soor manor of Prospidnick;<sup>24</sup> it remained a possession of the main line of Arundells, but does not appear very much in the fifteenth-century documentation, because it was made a part of the endowment for the Arundell Chantry in St Columb Major (below). However, a third Soor manor, Bodwannick, appears in the rentals printed here, but does not seem to have come to the Arundells at the same time. After Ralph Soor's death it was in the hands of a kinsman of Arundell, Thomas Colyn de Hellond, who held other properties further west by lease of Arundell; but he seems to have held Bodwannick in his own right.<sup>25</sup> Unlike Tolverne and Prospidnick, Bodwannick is not mentioned among John's lands at his death (1435). It seems to have entered the Arundell estate in 1463–64, just before the date of its earliest rental printed below (February 1464), for it is still absent from the general account of the manors in 1462–63, but present in that of 1463–64.<sup>26</sup> It looks as though it was a deliberate, and later, acquisition.

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<sup>22</sup> AR20/2; by a similar arrangement in 1404 Ralph Soor left Tolverne, in default of his heirs, to Ralph Arundell (presumably of Trerice), Joan his wife and their heirs, and in default of such heirs to Sir John Arundell (presumably of Lanherne) and his heirs: *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, II, no. 854. It is unclear why the will and testament of Rose, wife of John le Soor de Taluren, appears in the archive (AR46/6–7). John her husband was her executor; and she was apparently daughter of Geoffrey Pridias, and died in April 1342 ('Beville Obituary', II, p. 35).

<sup>23</sup> AR24/3 (1350), AR26/1 (1355) and AR20/2 (1371).

<sup>24</sup> Deed of 1428, recited in his inquisition post mortem (1435), showing John granting the manor of *Pryspynnek Soor* (PRO, C.139/72, no. 39).

<sup>25</sup> As Thomas Colyn's property in 1416–33: AR1/346–53. In 1371 John Colyn of Lelant was married to Rose, kinswoman of Sir John Arundell (AR20/2).

<sup>26</sup> AR2/905, mm. 1–2; compare a dispute with the heirs of Colyn concerning its ownership, in December 1464, AR1/358.

*Lambourne and Lanhadron inheritance, before 1433*

John Arundell who died in 1433–35 married Annora Lambron, daughter of Sir William Lambron by his first wife, Joan Lanhadron. Joan Lanhadron herself was the heiress of John and Amity Lanhadron. As mentioned above, Sir William Lambron, Annora's father, independently married Joan Luscott, mother of John Arundell, thus marrying his own daughter's mother-in-law; but it is unclear at present which marriage occurred first. John Arundell and Annora must have been married by 1390–1400: John had come of age in about 1387;<sup>27</sup> and his son John Arundell of Bideford was dead by 1424, having himself a son born in 1421. William Lambron and Joan Arundell (née Luscott) were married by 1394.<sup>28</sup> Annora brought with her the inheritances of her father and mother: the manors of Lambourne (Perranzabuloe), Tregarne (St Keverne and St Anthony in Meneage), Nansladron or Lanhadron (St Ewe), Langoran (Goran), Enniscaven (St Dennis) and Penwerris (Budock). John Arundell thus held these manors in his wife's right at his death in 1435. Nansladron (including Langoran), Enniscaven and Tregarne Condurrow remained Arundell manors through to the eighteenth century; the others appear occasionally in accounts during the fifteenth century, but seem to have been lost to the family, or perhaps granted out to junior branches; they do not appear in the rentals printed below. Lambourne itself was certainly granted to a younger son (see below).

*Other acquisitions by John Arundell in c.1415–30*

In 1417–18 Arundell acquired, along with Soor's manor of Tolverne, the manors of Treveneage and Penberthy (St Hilary), Reperry (Lanivet), and one-third of Pengwedna (Breage).<sup>29</sup> Treveneage and Penberthy, along with Tolverne, were later (in 1426) granted to a younger son, Thomas, and do not appear among the Lanherne lands in this volume; but Pengwedna and Reperry were included in the estate in 1433–34,<sup>30</sup> and remained the property of

<sup>27</sup> He was aged 22 in 1387–88, according to the inquisition post mortem of his elder brother Ralph, *Calendar of IPMs*, XVI, no. 507; but aged 28 in 1396, according to that of Joan Carmynowe, *Calendar of IPMs*, XVII, no. 615.

<sup>28</sup> AR17/1–2, dispute between them and John Arundell.

<sup>29</sup> *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, II, nos 930 and 933.

<sup>30</sup> AR2/887, manorial accounts for the estate, 1433–34.

the family through to the eighteenth century. However, they do not appear among the fifteenth-century extents of the main estate printed below, because of being made into part of the chantry-endowment (below).

Similarly the manor of Bodbrane (Duloe) had become Arundell property by about 1430; it appears in the estate account-roll of 1433–34, and in Arundell's inquisition post mortem (1435). Bodbrane had been the property of John Billon of Trethewell in St Eval, a close neighbour of the Arundells at Trembleath or Lanherne (compare the dealings of their predecessors in about 1340: below, pp. 15 and 19). This acquisition was presumably made by purchase, since no marriage connection between the families is known. It occurred after 1398, when John Billon of Trethewell was still lord of Bodbrane; in 1429, John Arundell was able to make a grant including other lands formerly Billon's, so he may have acquired Bodbrane by then too.<sup>31</sup>

### *Gifts to John Arundell's sons, 1420s*

John Arundell's eldest son, John Arundell of Bideford, predeceased his father, being dead by February 1424;<sup>32</sup> he had a son, born in 1421, who was thus the heir to the estate, but due to remain in his minority until 1442. This may be why John Arundell, by now aged about sixty (he was born in 1365–68: see above, n. 27) went to considerable lengths during the 1420s to put his estate into the hands of his other sons, perhaps to ensure that the wardship of his under-age heir should not harm the family estates. However, this action also served to set these other sons up with their own estates, and in one case this created an enduring junior branch of the family: this was Thomas Arundell, whose line remained at Tolverne, in Philleigh, until selling it in 1598 and moving to Truthall, in Sithney.<sup>33</sup> Thomas Arundell received from his father the manors

<sup>31</sup> Trelawny deeds of 1398 and 1429, formerly W. M. M. Picken's, now in the RIC, Truro. Compare also *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, II, no. 991, Billon's land of Trethewell, among others, acquired by John Nanfan and others in 1431, also Billon's advowson of St Tudy church; this advowson later belonged to Arundell (Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, III, 314 n. 2).

<sup>32</sup> *Cal. Pat.*, 1442, p. 130; *Inquisitiones Post Mortem* (RC), IV, 216.

<sup>33</sup> Henderson, 'Ecclesiastical antiquities', pp. 409 and 442.

of Treveneage and Penberthy in 1426, Tolverne itself in 1428, and Lanhadron and Lambourne in 1431.<sup>34</sup> Most of these manors disappeared from the Lanherne estate after John's death in 1435, though Lanhadron returned. Thomas's brother Remfrey had received the manors of Treloy and Trink (Lelant) in 1421 (after his marriage to Joan, daughter of Sir John Colshull), Lanherne and St Columb in 1429, other lands in 1430, and Tregarne and Penwerris in 1431. Most of these returned to the Lanherne estate during the fifteenth century, though Remfrey Arundell's widow later married the vigorous John Nanfan, and there was a law-suit in 1456 about her rights of dower.<sup>35</sup>

### *The chantry at St Columb, 1428*

In March 1428 Sir John Arundell founded a chantry (an endowment for the maintenance of priests) at St Columb Major, probably the richest chantry in Cornwall in the Middle Ages. The Lanherne family evidently regarded St Columb Major as their chief ecclesiastical possession: the heads of the family chose to be buried there, rather than in St Mawgan church adjacent to their residence.<sup>36</sup> Even before the chantry was founded, St Columb Major was the most valuable church-living in secular hands in the later Middle Ages.<sup>37</sup> The chantry was endowed with four manors, plus land in St Tudy parish formerly belonging to the Billon family; most of these had been bought by Arundell in the previous ten years, perhaps with the specific aim of creating the chantry. The four manors were Bodbrane, Pengwedna, Prospidnick and Reperry; of these, it is fairly clear that Bodbrane, Pengwedna and Reperry were purchases; and so, probably, was the former Soor manor of Prospidnick.

The endowment was created by settling upon John's son Thomas Arundell five manors, the fifth being Tolverne; later events suggest that Tolverne was intended for Thomas himself and his family,

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<sup>34</sup> Deeds recited in the inquisition post mortem of John Arundell (1435), PRO C.139/72, no. 39.

<sup>35</sup> AR17/74-77, John Arundel versus Remfrey Arundell (son of Remfrey) and John Nanfan.

<sup>36</sup> Henderson, *St Columb Major*, pp. 45-53; compare John Arundell's will (1433): *Lacy*, IV, 20.

<sup>37</sup> Page, 'Ownership of advowsons', p. 338. As is apparent above, St Columb did not come fully into Arundell ownership until 1310-20.

while the other four were intended as the endowment proper.<sup>38</sup> Those five manors were thus removed from the Lanherne estate; but later in the fifteenth century, John Arundell (Thomas's nephew) claimed that the Tolverne family was failing to maintain his grandfather's chantry, and that the four endowment-manors should revert to the Lanherne line.<sup>39</sup> This happened, but they continued as the endowment for the chantry (which now became the care of the Lanherne family), and so remained outside the family's ordinary estate. That is why they do not appear in the fifteenth-century surveys printed below, nor in the accounts of the whole estate for the period; but they did have their own roll of rentals (below, pp. 143–55). There is evidence that the endowment was not actually sufficient to cover the costs of maintenance, and that the difference was made up by the head of the family.<sup>40</sup>

The chantry served to maintain five priests, who had their own college, adjacent to the church; there is evidence that there was also a school there.<sup>41</sup> Although all the property of chantries fell to the Crown under the Chantry Act of 1545, the family managed to retain the chantry-endowment lands, and even the site of the college, though a law-suit lasting until 1628 was necessary for some of them.<sup>42</sup> From the second half of the sixteenth century the four endowment manors became a normal part of the Lanherne estate. Under Queen Mary the family no doubt hoped to reinstate the chantry, and it actually appears in the manorial accounts for the whole estate in 1558–61, though not thereafter; but that could have been merely a continuation of earlier accounting procedures.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> For the chantry and its endowment, see Henderson, *St Columb Major*, pp. 38–45. The deed itself is recited in the inquisition post mortem of John Arundell, PRO C.179/32, no. 39, and in its Chancery enrolment, *Cal. Close*, 1430, pp. 35–37. Henderson dated the deed to 1427, but its date is 24 March, 6 Henry VI (1428). See also Snell, *Chantry Certificates*, pp. 16–18.

<sup>39</sup> Henderson, *St Columb Major*, pp. 40–41.

<sup>40</sup> Henderson, *St Columb Major*, p. 42.

<sup>41</sup> Henderson, *St Columb Major*, p. 41.

<sup>42</sup> Henderson, *St Columb Major*, pp. 42–43.

<sup>43</sup> The manors are absent from the estate accounts all through the fifteenth century and down to 1529–30; then manorial accounts for the whole estate are lacking until 1558. The chantry appears as a unit in the accounts for 1558–59 and 1560–61 (AR2/955–956), but from 1561–62 the four manors appear as ordinary ones within the estate (AR2/958).

In addition to this chantry located at St Columb Major church, in 1512–13 the then head of the family, Sir John Arundell who died in 1545, planned to create another chantry, together with an almshouse, at the church of St Mawgan, immediately adjacent to the family residence of Lanherne. He obtained a licence from King Henry VIII, and a foundation-deed was drawn up; but it was never executed.<sup>44</sup> The reason is unknown; it is much too early for Arundell to have prudently anticipated the later events of Henry VIII's reign.

### *Truro Vean, mid-fifteenth century*

Land in *Trurw*, termed a 'manor' (but probably meaning tenements merely) was included by Sir John Arundell (died 1433–35) in a lease of certain of his manors (Connerton, Carminow, Winnington, and Kennall) in 1407, and a tenement there was leased by him in 1426.<sup>45</sup> However, Truro Vean is absent from the manorial accounts of the Arundell estate in 1433–34,<sup>46</sup> and the manor is not mentioned among his properties at his death in 1435, merely 14s. rent in the borough of Truro, held of Sir William Bodrugan, knight. The earliest clear evidence for Arundell ownership of Truro Vean, named as such, is in 1445–46; it is not clear when Truro Vean was first termed a manor, but it is so recorded in 1451.<sup>47</sup>

In addition, lands in Carvedras, held of Newham manor (Kenwyn parish) appear in the estate accounts for 1467–68 and 1468–69.<sup>48</sup> These lands were not part of the manor of Truro Vean, and in those years the lands of Carvedras accounted separately from Truro Vean; they do not appear in the rentals printed below. However, a *Carvederas Street* (not the same thing) was part of Truro Vean manor in 1767.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> AR16/15–16.

<sup>45</sup> AR20/18 (lease, 1407); AR4/2122 (lease, 1426).

<sup>46</sup> AR2/887.

<sup>47</sup> AR2/891 (account of Cornish estate, 1445–46); AR19/10 (pre-nuptial settlement, 1451); it is notable that this is also the date (anomalously early) of its own section within the extent of 1451–64 (below, p. xli and n. and p. 60).

<sup>48</sup> AR2/908, m. 6, and AR2/909, m. 3.

<sup>49</sup> AR2/1189.

*Chideock inheritance, 1451–80*

In 1451 John Arundell (born in 1421) married, as his second wife, Katherine Chideock; he already had a daughter by his first marriage to Elizabeth daughter of Thomas, Lord Morley.<sup>50</sup> Katherine had also been married before, to William Stafford, and they had a son, Humphrey; so, although Katherine and her sister Margaret (who married Sir William Stourton) were coheirs of their father John Chideock, who died in 1449–50, John Arundell cannot have expected to gain significant property from the marriage. Nor did he need to: at the time, in 1451, he was said to be King Henry VI's wealthiest free tenant in Cornwall, with a yearly income of £2,000.<sup>51</sup> However, Katherine's son Humphrey Stafford, a 'greedy and ambitious man', having been created earl of Devon by King Edward IV in 1469, was killed in Bridgwater, apparently at the hands of a mob, three months later;<sup>52</sup> so the Arundells inherited extensive estates in Dorset and Somerset, including Chideock itself. These do not concern us in the present volume; but Chideock was to remain a part of the Lanherne estate, often administered with the Cornish lands, down to the end.<sup>53</sup>

*Creation of Perlees, 1480 × 1499*

This manor is something of an enigma. It does not appear in the rentals of c.1460 and 1480; but it does in that of 1499 (below, pp. 140–41); so it must have been acquired or created between 1480 and 1499. Nor is Perlees recorded elsewhere as a manor before the latter date; so it appears to be an eclectic manor, created out of lands recently acquired by the Arundells (see below). Most of the lands, including Perlees itself, were members of the great manor of Pawton, which had belonged to the bishops of Exeter since the ninth century;<sup>54</sup> the lands of Perlees paid high rents mainly to that

<sup>50</sup> AR19/8–11, Arundell's pre-nuptial settlement to Katherine, 1451.

<sup>51</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 141–43 (Arundell of Cornwall).

<sup>52</sup> Charles Ross, *Edward IV*, 2nd edition (London, 1983), pp. 78 and 132.

<sup>53</sup> A good list of the Chideock lands which came to the Arundells is found in AR2/1229, the accounts of the lands held by Lady Katherine Arundell in her widowhood. See also *Inquisitiones* (RC), IV, 224 (no. 26), for a full list of Chideock lands.

<sup>54</sup> *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, edited by W. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1895), no. VII.

manor or to that of Padstow. No administrative documents of Perlees appear in the Arundell archive earlier than this rental of 1499: the first surviving court roll covers 1500–02, and the earliest surviving estate accounts to include Perlees are those of 1506–07; the preceding set, for 1497–98, does not mention the manor, and the accounts for the intervening years are lacking.<sup>55</sup> This again makes it likely that the manor was created at about the time that it appears in the 1499 rental. The earliest that Perlees is actually referred to as a ‘manor’ is in 1515;<sup>56</sup> but, as leet courts were held there in 1500–02, it was probably considered one from 1499 onwards.

In the 1499 rental the unit is termed *Penles Treviscan*, with reference to Trevisker in Padstow parish, a conventional tenement of the manor; two of the manorial courts were held at Trevisker in the earliest extant court roll, in 1500–02.<sup>57</sup> The double name recurs occasionally in the sixteenth century, but the normal name of the manor, from 1500 onwards, was *Penles* or the like.<sup>58</sup> One of the free tenements of the manor, Treniow, is earlier found as a free tenement of Trembleath manor, and in 1499 it seems to have become a free tenement of Perlees instead, while remaining a conventional tenement of Trembleath (see below, p. 74, n. 9). However, the other free tenements are not previously recorded as Arundell lands. Several of the lands of the manor, including the free tenements of Trearne and Treniow and the conventional tenements of Trevisker, Roscullion and Crugmeer, had been held as a group by Joce de Penles and Margaret his wife in 1350; and some of them appear again, still in the hands of the Penles family, in 1410–11.<sup>59</sup> Some of these lands reappear in a grant made by John Scovern to John Arundell, in 1458–59, with one Thomas Lymbery appointed by Arundell to receive seisin; and more in a

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<sup>55</sup> AR2/418 (court roll, 1500–02); AR2/943 (estate accounts, 1506–07); AR2/942 (estate accounts, 1497–98).

<sup>56</sup> AR20/39, a trust deed of this and two Devonshire manors.

<sup>57</sup> AR2/418; again, at *Trevithcan*, in July 1578, AR4/1595.

<sup>58</sup> *Penlees and Treviscan* in a manorial account, 1560–61 (AR2/956; but a rough copy of the same account calls the unit *Penlees* simply, AR2/957, fol. 10); *Penles Treviscan* in the 1580s rental, AR2/1343.

<sup>59</sup> *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, I, no. 589, = AR1/376 (1350); and AR1/382–386 (1410–11).

grant made by one John Rosogan to Thomas Lymbery and others in 1465.<sup>60</sup> Thomas Lymbery was later (1478–79) steward of the Arundell lands in Cornwall;<sup>61</sup> and it may well be that he was acting for the family in 1465 in receiving those lands, as in 1459. It thus seems that Perlees manor was created in 1499 out of this group of lands formerly held by the Penles family, plus a few others. It is probably mere coincidence that about 200 years earlier Richard de Mareys had granted to Ralph de Arundell the homage and service of Philip de Penles due for 1½ acres in *Tregiastin*.<sup>62</sup>

### *Dinham inheritance, 1501*

John Arundell (born in 1421) died in 1471 × 1473, and Katherine his wife in 1478 × 1480.<sup>63</sup> In about 1473 their son Thomas Arundell, the only head of the family between 1300 and 1700 not to be christened John, married Katherine Dinham, sister of John Lord Dinham, head of the wealthy and ancient Devonshire family, with extensive lands in Devon, Cornwall and elsewhere as far as Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.<sup>64</sup>

The Dinham family had obtained its lands in Cornwall in an unusual manner. In 1268 the heiress Isolda de Cardinan, last of the great Cornish family of Cardinan, sold or gave away much of her estate, presumably in the knowledge that she would die without heirs. Her family had been the greatest feudal barons in Cornwall for approaching 200 years. They had founded the town

<sup>60</sup> AR1/389–90 (Scovern to Arundell, 1458–59); AR1/393 (Rosogan to Lymbery, 1465).

<sup>61</sup> AR2/1320 (estate accounts, 1478–79).

<sup>62</sup> AR1/306/1, datable to either c.1260 or the early fourteenth century; *Tregiastin* is probably a poor form for Tregawne, in Withiel, in which the Arundells had an interest in 1334 (*Cornwall Feet of Fines*, I, no. 682, = AR20/1), and in which the Penles family had an interest in 1410 (AR1/384).

<sup>63</sup> John Arundell still alive in 1471, AR23/2; dead in 1473, AR19/18, and *Inquisitiones* (RC), IV, 361 (no. 26). Katherine alive in 1478 (remarried to Sir Roger Leukenore), AR7/10, 12; her will, dated 1479, AR21/6–7; dead in 1480, AR20/30.

<sup>64</sup> The Dinham family is well treated by Pearse Chope, *Book of Hartland*, and Jones, *Family of Dinan*.

of Lostwithiel, built Restormel Castle, and greatly endowed Tywardreath Priory. Isolda settled upon three main beneficiaries for her lands. To Henry Champernowne (*de Campo Arnulphi*) she sold her Cornish manors of Tywardreath and Ludgvan.<sup>65</sup> To Oliver de Dinan she sold her Cornish manors of Bodardle (Lanlivery) and Cardinham, together with the honour of Cardinham, that is the feudal overlordship of the considerable number of manors in Devon and Cornwall which were held of either manor.<sup>66</sup> The third beneficiary was Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to whom she gave others of her properties, and who gave her in return a tenancy for life of his Devonshire manor of Kenton.<sup>67</sup> The reasons for Isolda's choice of beneficiaries are unknown. The resulting ownership of the manor of Cardinham by the Dinham family has understandably caused surmise that there was some connection between the two families; but it is clear that the name of Cardinham existed, independently, long before the Dinhams gained possession of it in 1268. It is possible that there was some kinship between them; but that is unknown at present.<sup>68</sup>

The third Dinham manor in Cornwall, Downinney in Warbstow parish, was bought by Oliver de Dinan shortly afterwards from

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<sup>65</sup> Oliver, *Monasticon*, p. 43, no. XX (a deed now lost from the Arundell archive). Isolda's seal on this deed is illustrated by Lysons, *Cornwall*, p. lxxix<sup>\*</sup>; and the confirmation by Richard earl of Cornwall survives as AR37/2. This manor of Tywardreath was a secular one, different from that of the Priory.

<sup>66</sup> British Library, Additional MS. 34,792A (Dinham family cartulary, fifteenth century), fols 3r. and 8v.-9r., and AR1/395; see also AR1/842 (Earl Richard's confirmation of the grant). Isolda retained Cardinham and Bodardle for her own lifetime.

<sup>67</sup> PRO, E.36/57 (Earl Edmund's cartulary), fols 33 and 15v.-16.

<sup>68</sup> Lysons, *Cornwall*, p. lxxix, note *e*, notes a similarity between the seals of Cardinan and Dinan, both showing lozenges; he reports a suggestion that the family of Cardinan was perhaps a branch of the Dinans of Brittany, and named their seat *Car-Dinan*, 'Dinan Castle'; as Lysons says, the manor of Cardinham was not originally so named, having gone under the name of Trezance, *Thersent*, in Domesday Book (Picken, 'Trezance, Lahays'). The question is too uncertain to pursue here, but the name Dinan is not found applied to the Cardinan family, and for the time being no kinship is known between the families of Cardinan and Dinan.

John son of William; John was presumably the son of the tenant of Downinney in 1268, William son of Robert.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to the three Dinham manors, the survey of 1566 printed below (pp. 173–97) also includes the ‘fees’ of Cardinham and *Carbugus*. These were the descendants of the great baronial Honour of Cardinham, composed of the group of twenty-eight manors held in 1086 by Richard fitz Turol, ancestor of the Cardinans (and including the manors of Trezance, later called Cardinham, Tywardreath and Downinney),<sup>70</sup> combined (presumably by marriage) with that group of twenty manors held by Turstin the Sheriff which included the manors of Bodardle (Lanlivery) and Gurlyn (St Erth). Isolda held all this overlordship in 1268. The tenants of these Cornish manors paid their feudal service to the manor of Cardinham, from which the honour took its name, at the ‘Great Ditch’ outside Bodmin town;<sup>71</sup> but the western manors were instead made dependent upon the small farm of *Carbugus* or Carnabeggas, in St Erth.<sup>72</sup> Hence this insignificant place appears below as having a feudal ‘fee’ named from it. It was hardly a manor in the true sense (nor is it so termed in the survey of 1566), rather a tenurial convenience; hence, like the Honour of Cardinham, it had no conventional tenants, only free ones.<sup>73</sup>

The marriage of Thomas Arundell to Katherine Dinham was politically a remarkable one, since the Dinhams were strongly Yorkist, whereas the Arundells were Lancastrian; but this hedging of bets, if such it was, served them well a decade later, when the

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<sup>69</sup> Dinham Cartulary, fols 13r.–15r. (Oliver’s purchase, completed by 1284). The tenants were named in 1268 when Isolda granted the overlordship of the manors in the fee of Cardinham, including Downinney, to Oliver de Dinan (*ibid.*, fols 8v.–9r.).

<sup>70</sup> *Domesday Book: Cornwall*, section 5.3.

<sup>71</sup> See below, pp. 182, etc.; *apud magnum fossatum extra Bodminiam* in 1320 (Dinham Cartulary, fol. 5v.); compare Picken, ‘Trezance, Lahays’.

<sup>72</sup> This arrangement is suggested already in 1294 by a document copied into the Dinham Cartulary, fol. 16r.–v.

<sup>73</sup> Carnabeggas is termed a ‘manor’, held by the co-heirs of Dinham, in 1519 (inquisition post mortem of Richard Vyvyan, PRO C.142/34, no. 39). Leland in c.1540 described it as ‘a castel caullid Carnhangibes, as apperith, or maner place now clene down, not far from the bridg’: *Itinerary*, I, 192.

Arundell lands were confiscated because of Thomas's participation in Buckingham's rebellion against King Richard III in October 1483. Thomas Arundell cannot have expected his family to inherit much, if any, property from the great Dinham estates in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and elsewhere, for John Lord Dinham was already married, with two children, and was to remarry after his first wife's death; he also had three brothers and four further sisters in addition to Katherine. Yet all of the men died without living offspring, John Lord Dinham himself being the last in January 1501; so the great Dinham estates were split between the four surviving sisters and their families.<sup>74</sup> These were Sir Edmund Carew, of Mohun's Ottery, aged 36, son and heir of Nicholas, Baron Carew, and of Margery, John Dinham's eldest sister; Elizabeth Lady Fitzwarin, Dinham's second sister, then aged 50 (she later married as her third husband Sir Thomas Brandon); Sir John Arundell, aged 26, son and heir of Thomas Arundell and Katherine, Dinham's third sister; and Joan Lady Zouche, aged 45, Dinham's fourth sister, and wife of John Lord Zouche.<sup>75</sup>

Instead of being split between the four heirs, these lands continued to be run as a single estate, known as 'Dinham's Lands', for some considerable time, with the yearly revenues being divided between the heirs and, eventually, their own descendants or heirs.<sup>76</sup> This was still true in 1566, when a fine survey of the lands was drawn up for Henry Compton, by then one of the four co-heirs of Lord Dinham (see below, pp. xlvi and 173–97). This survey forms the best succinct guide to the Dinham inheritance in Devon and Cornwall, though it does not cover lands further afield. As early as 1506–07 those of Dinham's Lands in Devon and Cornwall were submitting separate accounts from those in Oxfordshire and elsewhere;<sup>77</sup> so the separate survey does not mean that the lands outside Devon and Cornwall had been sold. Indeed, the archive

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<sup>74</sup> Pearse Chope, 'Manor of Hartland', pp. 434–35, and *Book of Hartland*, pp. 30–37.

<sup>75</sup> See the accounts of 1506–1514 (AR2/1275, 1277, 1279 and 1281); and Pearse Chope, *Book of Hartland*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>76</sup> The account of Dinham's lands in 1590 (AR2/1319) suggests that they were still being so administered at that date.

<sup>77</sup> AR2/1275–76; this arrangement probably goes back to the time of Dinham himself: compare AR2/881 (account of 1489–90).

includes accounts for many of these as late as 1561–62 and 1573–74.<sup>78</sup>

It is thus unclear when, and how, ‘Dinham’s Lands’ ceased operating as a unified group for the four heirs. The last account in the Lanherne archive for the lands as a group is dated 1590.<sup>79</sup> Of the five Cornish units which it contained (three manors and two greater fees), the Arundells later increased their interest in the manor of Cardinham, so that it appears as an Arundell manor in surveys and accounts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from about from 1597 onwards.<sup>80</sup> They do not seem to have acquired Downinney, and it is not heard of in the later administration of the estate. However, the manor of Bodardle does appear for a while in the manorial accounts of the estate, from 1579–80 to 1611–12; in a slightly later account, of 1620–21, it appears but is deleted. Similarly it appears in two surveys of the estate in this period, a lease-book of 1578 and Codner’s Survey of 1618; and Bodardle is also mentioned, along with Cardinham and the other Arundell manors, in two trust deeds of the estate in 1595–97.<sup>81</sup> This suggests that the Arundells acquired some closer interest in the manor for a while, then sold it again in about 1618–20. Unlike the manor of Cardinham, Bodardle does not appear in surveys of the estate after this. (At a later date there are also farming-accounts of Trinity Barton, at Restormel in Lanlivery parish, in 1665–1701;<sup>82</sup> but this does not seem to have been a part of Bodardle manor, since

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<sup>78</sup> An account of Dinham’s Lands in 1561–62 includes Dornford (Wotton parish), Ilbury, Wykham (Banbury parish), Steeple Ashton, Wendlebury, Merton, Horley and Mollington (all in Oxfordshire); and Little Kimble and Cuddington (in Buckinghamshire); and one of 1573–74 includes Souldern, Over Worton, Sesswell’s Barton (Steeple Barton parish), Rousham and North Stoke, formerly *Stokebassett alias Stoke Mules* (all in Oxfordshire), and Oving (in Buckinghamshire): AR2/1306 and 1395. Some of the Arundell quarter-shares were sold in a tidy-up of the estates in 1576: AR1/711–17 and 837–38.

<sup>79</sup> AR2/1319.

<sup>80</sup> Manorial accounts, 1596–98 (AR2/1325), 1611–12 (AR2/981) and 1620–21 (AR2/982); then absent until 1659–60 (AR2/1003–04).

<sup>81</sup> AR2/964 (accounts, 1579–80); AR2/982 (accounts, 1611–12); AR2/982 (accounts, 1620–21); AR2/1342 (lease-book, 1578); AR2/1346 (Codner’s Survey, 1618); AR20/49–50 (trust deeds, 1595–97).

<sup>82</sup> AR3/410–425.

it is absent in the survey printed below, pp. 194–97. It must represent an independent investment.) As for the two fees, of Cardinham and Carnabeggas, if indeed they were still operating, little more is heard. Since they consisted only of free tenancies, which by now were not worth the cost of their administration, there would have been little incentive to acquire them.<sup>83</sup>

After the break-up of Dinham's Lands the Arundells also retained a close interest in the manor of Hartland, in north Devon; but we are not concerned with that here.

### *Earl of Oxford's lands, 1575–76*

Dinham's Lands were the last major Arundell acquisition by inheritance. However, there were two more acquisitions by purchase before the fortunes of the family began to decline. The greater of these consisted of six manors which Sir John Arundell bought from Edward de Vere, earl of Oxford, in 1575–76;<sup>84</sup> the manors were Bejowan in St Columb Minor, Domellick in St Dennis, Roseworthy in Gwinear, Tregenna in St Ewe, Tregorrick in St Austell and Tresithney in St Columb Major (see below, pp. 156–72 and 207–38). These were all adjacent or close to existing Arundell properties: Bejowan to Treloy, Domellick to Enniscaven, Roseworthy to Connerton, Tregenna and Tregorrick to Lanhadron, and Tresithney to St Columb. At first glance it might seem that this proximity was a factor in selecting the manors, since there were other Cornish manors in the Vere estate which Arundell did not purchase, notably Polsue (St Erme), Penhale and Arrallas (both in St Enoder), Eathorne (Mabe), Rosenithon (St Keverne), Treninick (St Columb Minor) and Predannack Wollas (Mullion).<sup>85</sup> However, some of these other Oxford manors were also close to existing Arundell properties; and the six manors later purchased by Arundell were already treated as a group within the Oxford estate in 1556–57,

<sup>83</sup> 'Cardinham fee' is mentioned in the account of 1620–21 (AR2/982).

<sup>84</sup> This is the seventeenth earl, to whom some would give the credit of having written Shakespeare's plays: J. Thomas Looney, *"Shakespeare" Identified in Edward de Vere the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (London, 1920).

<sup>85</sup> The Oxford manors in Cornwall in 1449–51 (omitting the six manors later purchased by Arundell) are usefully listed in an account of their whole Cornish estate, AR2/844.

and probably earlier.<sup>86</sup> So it is likely that they were sold as a pre-existing group, albeit one which happened to relate well geographically to the existing Arundell estate. (See the map, frontispiece.)

The documents show Arundell's purchase of the six manors in 1575–76, for just over £3,000.<sup>87</sup> Four years earlier, in June 1571, Edward de Vere had appointed John Arundell chief steward of all his manors in Cornwall and Devon;<sup>88</sup> this may have been some kind of an overture to the negotiations. The three detailed surveys of individual manors, with valuations (see below, pp. xlvi–xlvi and 207–34), dated earlier in 1575, were clearly made as a preliminary to the sale.

The manors were doubtless sold by the earl to support his 'every form of extravagance'.<sup>89</sup> When the sale occurred, four years after he had come of age, he had already 'run up debts of many thousands', and it accords with his practice elsewhere, including the sale of his estate in Essex; indeed, he 'seemed to take delight in selling every acre of his land at ruinously low prices'.<sup>90</sup> Some at least of those Cornish manors not sold to Arundell also appear in other hands by the late sixteenth or very early seventeenth century. At the time of the sale the earl himself was abroad on a fourteen-month holiday in Italy, which cost him over £4,500, much more than he received for the six manors—'the greatest spendthrift tourist of all'.<sup>91</sup>

Some of the six manors bought by Arundell formed a group by inheritance within the Oxford estate. One of them, Tregenna in St Ewe, was actually two manors, in that it had been split, presumably by descent, into the manors of Tregenna Wartha and Tregenna Wollas; they were re-united in the Vere estate, though

<sup>86</sup> Estreat rolls for those manors, AR2/734–736 (1556–57, 1557–58 and 1569–70) and court rolls, AR2/737 (1572); earlier account rolls and court rolls covering the Vere manors often seem to group the later Arundell or non-Arundell ones separately; and two trust leases of the family, in 1473 and 1488, cover three and two of the later Arundell manors, again suggesting that they were treated separately from the other Vere manors (AR1/848–849).

<sup>87</sup> AR1/854–862; also AR10/3 (letter of 1574).

<sup>88</sup> AR22/38; Arundell was to receive the sum of £4 yearly for his services.

<sup>89</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Edward de Vere.

<sup>90</sup> Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp. 264 and 514 (also pp. 295 and 410); *Dictionary of National Biography*, loc. cit.

<sup>91</sup> Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 701.

occasionally still treated separately. (Note, for instance, the wording 'the manor of Trigennowe Wolas and Trigennowe Wartha' in 1575: below, p. 220.) Four of the six manors (Bejowan, Domellick, Roseworthy and the still undivided Tregenna) had been manors of the Archdeacon or Lercedekne family since at least the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>92</sup> The presumed descent is via Philippa, daughter and coheir of Warin Lercedekne (died 1400) of Haccombe; she married Hugh Courtenay knight (who died in 1425).<sup>93</sup> Their daughter and coheir Joan Courtenay married (second) Sir Robert Vere; assuming that this was Robert, who was the younger son of Richard de Vere the eleventh Earl of Oxford (died 1417), and who was also the grandfather of John de Vere the fifteenth earl (who died in 1540), this marriage would presumably explain the presence of certain Lercedekne manors in the estate of the earls of Oxford from about 1500 onwards.<sup>94</sup>

The other two manors and part of another (Tregorrick, Tresithney and Tregenna Wartha) had come to the Veres through Alice, daughter and heiress of Walter Colbroke and Joan Tresithny; she married John de Vere, son of the same Robert Vere (younger son of Richard the eleventh earl), and father of John the fifteenth earl.<sup>95</sup> This latter John (who died in 1540) was thus the first earl to

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<sup>92</sup> *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, I, no. 453 (Bejowan, Domellick and Roseworthy in 1318); *ibid.*, no. 457 (Tregenna in 1319); *Cal.Pat.*, 1343, p. 181 (Bejowan in 1343); *Black Prince's Register*, II, 28–29 and 32–33 (Roseworthy in 1352); *Brantyngham*, I, 365 (Bejowan in 1375); *Hylle Cartulary*, no. 236 (Domellick in 1401); *Calendar of IPMs*, XIX, no. 217 (Elizabeth widow of Warin Lerchedekene knight; Roseworthy, Bejowan and Domellick, 1407). But the inquisition after the death of Thomas son of Odo Lercedekne, in 1331, mentions only Bejowan of these later Vere manors (*Calendar of IPMs*, VII, no. 345).

<sup>93</sup> Vivian, *Visitations*, p. 107; *Calendar of IPMs*, XIX, no. 217; Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, III, 259.

<sup>94</sup> Vivian, *Visitations*, p. 107; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, X, 234–36 and 245–47. However, of those four manors Hugh Courtenay had held only Bejowan and Domellick at his death in 1425 (*Inquisitiones* (RC), IV, 85); Roseworthy and Tregenna are still unaccounted for.

<sup>95</sup> Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, X, 245–47. A pedigree of 1531 explains the descent of these three manors (AR1/851); see also *Cal.Close*, 1391, p. 269 (John Tregorrek and others, lands in Tregorrek and Tresithny), and AR1/844 (feoffment in trust to Joan, formerly wife of Walter Colbroke, 1488, with remainder to Alice, lately wife of John Veer).

inherit all six manors which were later to be sold to Arundell.<sup>96</sup> Most of the other Oxford manors (Eathorne, Penhale, Polsue, Predannack Wollas and Rosenithon) had come to the family by a much earlier marriage, of Richard, eleventh earl (c.1385–1417; father of Robert the grandfather of John the fifteenth earl); he had married (second) Alice, sister and coheirress of Richard Sergeaux; the Sergeaux family had in turn inherited some of them from the Seneschal family in the earlier fourteenth century.<sup>97</sup> This is the reason why the six manors bought by Arundell may have constituted a sub-group within the Oxford estate, composed of two fairly recent inheritances. All six manors were in areas with considerable potential for tinning, and this may have been a further motive for the investment. They were demonstrating this potential, and also the value of their woods for serving the tinning industry, very soon after their purchase.<sup>98</sup>

### *Manor of Newland Preeze, 1587*

This manor does not appear in the documents printed below, as it was purchased too late to be included in any sixteenth-century survey. It was created in the thirteenth century by the lords of Cardinham, being carved out of the lands of Cardinham itself for the Peverell family;<sup>99</sup> it remained in that family and their successors until Henry earl of Huntingdon sold it in 1564 to Roger Copping, whose family had been yeoman tenants of the manor for at least

<sup>96</sup> Apparently none of the manors was in the Oxford estate in 1449–51 (AR2/844); the manors of Roseworthy, Bejowan and Tregenna [Wollas] were within it by 1473 (AR1/848), and Domellick by 1488–89 (AR2/846). Tregenna [Wartha], and by implication Tresithney and Tregorrick, were still in Colbroke's hands in 1468 (AR1/440); the earliest clear evidence in the Lanherne archive for all three in the Oxford estate is 1527–28 (AR2/856).

<sup>97</sup> Henderson, *Mabe*, p. 29; Henderson, 'St Keverne', p. 74; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, X, 234–36; *Inquisitiones* (RC), III, 260 (Richard Sergeaux knight, 1399–1400, manors including Eathorne, Rosenithon, Predannack, Penhale and Polsue). Note the grant of Oxford manors, including these five, during the minority of John the thirteenth earl: *Cal. Pat.*, 1463, p. 287.

<sup>98</sup> Freeth, 'Ministers accounts'.

<sup>99</sup> AR1/462 (deed of 1307–08, citing an earlier charter, now lost).

100 years.<sup>100</sup> Copping appears in 1566, holding Newland Preeze as a free tenement of the manor of Cardinham (below, p. 177). Twenty-three years later, in 1587, John Copping of St Neot sold his share of the manor to Sir John Arundell; but the Copping family still remained as tenants of the manor in 1717.<sup>101</sup> The tenements of the manor in 1659 were (free) Newland, Bilgars, Old Cardinham, and Preeze (all in Cardinham), Treswigger, *Haycroft* (lost), Pengelly, Penrose, and Scribble (Blisland), Bradford and East Rose (St Breward); (conventional) Newland, Haygrove, Combe Park and Blowing House (Cardinham) and Poldew (Blisland).<sup>102</sup> Within Cardinham parish, the tenements of Newland Preeze manor were intermingled with those of Cardinham manor itself.

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<sup>100</sup> AR1/466–469 (sale, 1564); AR1/464 (William Copping as tenant, 1464).

<sup>101</sup> AR1/472–477 (sale, 1587); RIC rental of 1717.

<sup>102</sup> RIC MS.; the spellings have been modernised. The tenements are substantially the same in Copping's deed of 1564 (AR1/468).

### 3. THE DOCUMENTS

The documents printed below vary greatly in nature and purpose, covering as they do a span of almost 250 years. The distinction between types of survey, particularly between a 'rental' and an 'extent', was not rigidly observed, and no doubt varied over the ages. Discussion on the subject has tended to concentrate on the thirteenth century, earlier than the earliest document printed here (1343). Lennard established that an 'extent' originally must include valuations, a definition endorsed by Lomas and Harvey;<sup>1</sup> yet, of the documents printed here, only some of the sixteenth-century ones contain true valuations, and they do not call themselves 'extents'. Lomas also suggested that, in its true sense, 'the extent had become superfluous by the fifteenth century' and was largely replaced by the rental; the list of documents which he considered from around the country ends in 1409.<sup>2</sup> Harvey has confirmed that, by the fifteenth century, the rental had become very similar to, and indeed had largely replaced, the extent; 'the distinctions between the different sorts of medieval survey are not always clear-cut in practice.'<sup>3</sup> This suggests that even those of our documents which do actually call themselves 'extents' may have had more the purpose of a rental, and perhaps the term 'extent' was used out of habit. We have tried to observe the usage of the documents themselves, but have not attempted precision nor, necessarily, consistency; 'survey' is used as a general term covering all such documents. Even a 'rental' may vary between a formal list of rents due (such as that of 1480, below) and an informal list of rents collected or to be collected; the documents covering the chantry-endowment manors (below, pp. 143–55) are closer to the latter category.

The three fifteenth-century surveys of the whole manor are spaced almost exactly at twenty-year intervals, being dated 1451–64 (mainly 1459–60), 1480 (by deduction: see below) and 1499.

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<sup>1</sup> Lennard, 'What is a manorial extent?'; Lomas, 'Development of the manorial extent'; Harvey, *Manorial Records*, pp. 20–22.

<sup>2</sup> Lomas, 'Development of the manorial extent', pp. 270–73.

<sup>3</sup> Harvey, *Manorial Records*, pp. 22–23; see also Harvey, *Cuxham Records*, pp. 72–78.

Whether this was due to policy or to chance is not clear; but the turnover of conventional tenants at this period (see below) was such that a rental would have been very dated after twenty years. It is possible that the 1451–64 extent was the first such covering the estate as a whole (as opposed to ones covering individual manors, such as the fourteenth-century documents printed here), and so was perhaps regarded as having a particular authority, especially in relation to free tenements and their descents. The extent of 1499 was in places considerably updated at a later date or dates (particularly in the town of St Columb), and gives the impression of being a document which continued in use for some time; so it is possible that the gap following it (the next survey extant covering the whole estate being that of 1571) represents a real one in terms of the management of the estate.<sup>4</sup> If these two surmises are correct (that the extent of 1451–64 was the first such for the estate as a whole, and that the gap following 1499 was a real one), then the surviving documents provide an interesting record of what was needed in the way of administrative documents in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but it is possible that documents have been lost. At all events, the existence of three such surveys, at roughly equal intervals in the second half of the fifteenth century, adds to their interest, in making it possible to study aspects of the manorial system which could not be treated from a single survey.

It must be emphasized that even the ‘whole-estate’ surveys do not quite give a complete picture of the Arundell lands in Cornwall. At times there are glimpses of other properties which do not appear in the documents printed below, presumably because they did not form part of any Arundell manor. The inquisition post mortem of John Arundell (died 1433–35) mentions various properties which do not appear in this book, such as smallholdings at Tremorkin (St Neot) and St Tudy (part of the chantry-endowment), and land in Killiow, Bolotho and Nansilgans (all in Kea).<sup>5</sup> A ‘manor’ of Trefrink and Penpol (named from Trink, in Lelant, and Penpol, in Phillack) appears in the estate accounts, and in deeds of the estate, in the fifteenth century; it had already been held by the family in

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<sup>4</sup> A rental of St Columb town (only) exists from 1537: AR2/189.

<sup>5</sup> PRO, C.139/72, no. 39.

1391, and was still apparently part of the estate in 1477;<sup>6</sup> yet it does not appear in the rental of 1451–64, except insofar as Trink was held as free tenements of Connerton manor (below, pp. 44 and 47). We have already seen how the Arundell lands in Truro included lands in Carvedras, not part of Truro Vean manor; a reeve's account for them appears in the estate accounts between 1459 and 1475, so that we might expect to see those lands in the extent of 1451–64.<sup>7</sup> Similarly land in Trewinnion (in St Enoder) appears in the accounts in 1467–69 and 1474–75, paying high rent to the manor of Degembris (in Newlyn East);<sup>8</sup> and lands in Sticker and Treloweth, both in St Mewan and part of the former Carminow estate, appear in 1476–77.<sup>9</sup> None of these appears in the fifteenth-century surveys. Finally, the last section of the 1480 rental (below, pp. 99–100) is of a kind not represented in the other surveys, and seems to cover some lands not mentioned otherwise. Although most tenements were indeed placed under some manor or other, if only for administrative convenience, what appears printed below is surveys of the manors held, not necessarily surveys of all property.

#### *Fourteenth-century extents, AR2/1336 and AR2/376*

The extent of Lanherne and Trembleath in 1343 (AR2/1336) is the earliest manorial survey in the archive. This is late by up-country standards; but the preservation of earlier manorial documents from Cornwall has not been good. The document consists of a single piece of parchment, written on both sides. It purports to cover *duas partes* 'two parts' of the 'manor' (singular) of Lanherne and Trembleath; since Lanherne was still considered to include the town of St Columb at this date, this survey actually deals (in part) with three of the fifteenth-century manors. The phrase *duas partes* could mean either 'the two parts', if the manor was regarded as falling into two subdivisions (i.e. Lanherne and Trembleath), or 'two-thirds'. Joan, presumably mother of John Arundell II, had been dowered with a two-thirds share of the 'vill' of Trembleath in 1323,

<sup>6</sup> AR2/885 (receipts from Arundell manors, 1387–88); AR20/29 (deed of whole estate, 1477).

<sup>7</sup> AR2/904–906, 908–910, and 912.

<sup>8</sup> AR2/908–909 and 912.

<sup>9</sup> AR2/915; for the Carminow inheritance, AR1/192 and *Anc.Deeds*, IV, A.10409, and see above, pp. xv–xvi.

and she was still alive, and living at Trembleath, in 1339.<sup>10</sup> It is therefore possible that this survey of two-thirds of Lanherne and Trembleath represents a survey of her dower-shares, made while she was still living. This would explain why a good number of the tenements mentioned in 1459–60, both free and conventional, do not appear in 1343. In addition some of the tenements listed in 1343 do not appear later, notably several in St Minver (Gunvena, Trelawder, Weens and either Treglyn or Treglynes). The reason for this is unclear.

The extent of Lanhadron in 1385 (AR2/376) was drawn up before the manor became Arundell property; Annora's marriage to John Arundell (who died in 1433–35), which brought this manor and others to the Arundell family, must have occurred by about 1395, but it is unlikely to have been as early as 1385 (see above). When the extent was drawn up the manor must still have been in the hands of Annora's parents, William Lambron and his first wife Joan (née Lanhadron), if she was still alive. One-third of the manor had previously been held in dower by Amity, wife of John Lanhadron (and Joan's mother);<sup>11</sup> it was possibly on the occasion of the manor being re-united that this extent was drawn up. This document, like that of 1343, consists of a single membrane, written on both sides; on the reverse are added ten entries from the proceedings of a manorial court of Lanhadron, dated 1 February 1402. The entries all relate to the receipt of conventional land by tenants; they are not printed below. There is other evidence in the document that it was updated, including the amalgamation of tenements (see below, p. 11 and notes).

### *Extent of 1451–64, AR2/1337*

This is a splendid parchment roll, over 32 feet long, in excellent condition except for some decay at the head. As already mentioned,

<sup>10</sup> AR3/29, John Arundell's appointment of attorneys to deliver seisin to Joan, 1323 (there is no mention of Lanherne or St Columb). AR27/1, licence to Lady Joan Arundell to celebrate mass in her chapel at Trembleath, 1339. For two similar divisions in dower see below (Amity Lanhadron).

<sup>11</sup> *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, I, no. 673 (= AR1/262); for a similar arrangement in Devon in c.1400 see AR17/72.

it provides the earliest survey of the Arundell estate as a whole. It is therefore of great value in its list of tenants and their tenements. However, like the later surveys of 1480 and 1499, this roll omits the four manors which formed the chantry-endowment. For them we are dependent upon another roll specially devoted to them (below, pp. 143–55).

There is considerable variation within this roll in the years in which the surveys were made (one manor in 1451, one in 1456, seven in 1459–60, four in 1463 and one in 1464; two sections are undated). This is puzzling: the roll seems thus to be a composite one, though copied in a single hand (except for a few minor alterations). There is no geographical grouping of the manors surveyed in different years; so this cannot have been a matter of practical convenience in administration. Presumably the roll was actually written in about 1464, the date of the latest survey included (that of Bodwannick); but Bodwannick is followed by three manors which were actually surveyed earlier. The date of the Bodwannick survey is immediately after that manor became part of the estate in 1463–64 (see above, 'Soor manors'). It may be that the survey was completed in 1463, without Bodwannick, and the addition of a new manor to the estate caused this fresh copy to be made a year later. The last two manors in the roll, Enniscaven and Truro Vean, are also those with anomalously early dates (1456 and 1451). These seem to be 'tidying-up' sections, not freshly surveyed in 1459–63 but entered here for completeness. The variation in dating may possibly relate to some tenurial arrangement within the family, but that remains unclear at present.<sup>12</sup>

Two of the surveys are undated: the town of St Columb (p. 35) and the second section covering Trembleath (p. 54). In the first case this may be because St Columb was still (as in 1343) considered to be part of Lanherne manor which it follows, so that no additional date was necessary. In the second case the tenements listed duplicate those of 1459, but some of the tenants are different: it seems

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<sup>12</sup> 1451 was also the year in which John Arundell married Katherine, daughter of Sir John Chideock; the Arundell manors of Carminow, Trembleath, Connerton, Tregarne, Kennall, Lanherne, St Columb, Mitchell and Truro Vean were settled upon her; also their manors of Penwerris, Lambourne and Rinsey (not in the extent of 1451–64), further manors in Devonshire, and Ravensbury in Surrey (AR19/8–11).

likely that the survey is of a slightly later date (perhaps 1463–64, as its place within the roll would suggest).

The extent of the manor and borough of Mitchell is missing from the roll. An endorsement on the roll informs us, 'Methsole cut off from the within and sent to Lord Arundell to London: Feb<sup>y</sup> 1771.' This was shortly before the manor of Mitchell was sold by the Wardour family in 1775 to the Scawens of Carshalton (Surrey). Several early deeds concerning the manor went with the extent, presumably at the same time. By a happy chance, these now survive in Gloucester Record Office, so the relevant item is here printed as part of its parent document.<sup>13</sup> It cannot be assigned to its right place, however. The single membrane has sewing-holes at both ends, so it must have come from somewhere in the middle of the roll; but it is unknown where. The only guess that can be hazarded is that Mitchell could have been adjacent to one of the other three sections dated 1463, Connerton, Lanhadron and Rescassa. The survey is not quite complete: it gives only one conventional tenement for the manor, instead of the later three (below, pp. 63 and 95), and it also lacks a total of rents from the conventional tenants, and an overall total for the manor. However, the missing part must have been so small that it cannot have amounted to a whole membrane. Most probably the missing part formed the top of the following membrane, and was cut off and sent to London along with the surviving whole membrane; that membrane from which it was cut would then have had new sewing-holes made, and will now be unrecognizable in the main roll. It is most unlikely that the fragment still survives, since it would be very small, would have no heading and would be meaningless on its own.

### *Rental of [1480], AR2/1339*

This document is a great paper roll, over 23 feet long; it is decayed at its head and foot, and the losses at the head (see p. 65) include

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<sup>13</sup> Gloucestershire Record Office, collection D.421/A2 (the extent is no. 25); see below, p. 61 and n. For the sale in 1775, see AR2/1196 (audit book for that year). A note in the Gloucestershire catalogue points out that Tryphena, the heiress of the Scawens, had married in 1759 the second Earl Bathurst, of Cirencester (1714–94); the records might have passed to the Bathurst family's Lydney branch, of which Lord Bledisloe, the present owner of the documents, is a member.

the only occasion on which a full date, including the year, was given. The date of the roll can, however, be established with some confidence as 1480. (See the Appendix for detailed discussion.) Some of the names of tenements in the left-hand margin have also been lost, in whole or part; but in many cases these can be identified with certainty by comparison with personal names, place-names and tenorial details in the surveys of 1451–63 and 1499 (e.g. pp. 65–66, 78 and 83–84).

It is uncertain whether this roll would have described itself as an 'extent' or a 'rental'. When it is mentioned in the account-rolls (see the Appendix) it is always a 'rental'; but so is that of 1499, which actually calls itself an 'extent' instead. However, two facts make this survey slightly different in kind from those of 1451–63 and 1499. One is that it contains certain details not found in the other documents, notably one section dealing with miscellaneous rents and with receipts from the demesne lands (below, pp. 99–100), and under Carminow manor the rents from the glebe-lands of Philleigh and Whitstone parishes (p. 85), which are absent in 1459 and 1499;<sup>14</sup> the other is that in five cases (Treloy, Truro Vean, Kennall, Tregarne and Carminow, pp. 69, 77, 78, 80 and 85) it gives chief or outgoing rents, as well as revenues. These factors suggest that this is a document of a slightly different kind from the other two; so it is here termed a 'rental', in accordance with its description in the contemporary rolls.

The other problem concerning AR2/1339 is the absence of the manor of Lanhadron, present in the extents of 1451–64 and 1499. It could be surmised that it was originally the first manor on the roll, and has been lost without trace; but the condition of the roll does not otherwise suggest such severe damage, and there are hints suggesting that Lanhadron was deliberately omitted. In the account for 1478–79 of the general receivers of the Arundell estate in Devon and Cornwall, the remark appears that the revenues paid to Thomas Arundell, the head of the estate, included 'the revenues of Lanhaddroun and the revenues of the lands falling to him through

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<sup>14</sup> These glebe-lands, attached to the advowsons of those churches, were listed here because they were part of the Carminow inheritance (above, p. xvi), not because they were members of Carminow manor in any tenorial sense.

the death of Katherine Arundell'.<sup>15</sup> This suggests that Lanhadron had not been part of the main estate lately, for whatever reason. Furthermore, Lanhadron is occasionally absent from the manorial accounts of the whole estate. It is so in 1467–69,<sup>16</sup> but present again from 1469–70 onwards.<sup>17</sup> Although its omission from the rental of 1480 cannot be directly due to whatever reason was operating twelve years earlier, it may be that some arrangement in tenure or accounting was liable to cause it to be treated separately from the rest of the estate. It could have been leased or mortgaged, perhaps to pay debts of John Arundell (died 1471–73) or his son Thomas (died 1485).<sup>18</sup> Perhaps further work on the archive will throw light on the matter.

### *Extent of 1499, AR2/1340*

This is a more straightforward document than the rental of 1480. It has the form of a book, instead of a roll; it is clearly legible except for some fading, especially on the first few pages. In contents it covers the same manors as the surveys of 1451–64 and 1480 (including Lanhadron), but with the addition of the manor of Perlees and Trevisker, probably newly created from recent purchases (see above). This survey continued to be used for nearly thirty years, and perhaps longer (the next surviving rental for the whole estate does not occur until 1571);<sup>19</sup> consequently it contains additions and updatings, not always legible; these occur particularly in the town of St Columb and the manors of Lanherne and Treloy. Further evidence for its later use comes from the manorial accounts, where

<sup>15</sup> AR2/1320; this is Katherine (Chideock), Thomas Arundell's mother, who died in c.1478–79, not Katherine (Dinham), his wife. The lands settled upon Katherine (Chideock) in 1451 did not include Lanhadron: AR19/8–11.

<sup>16</sup> AR2/908–909.

<sup>17</sup> AR2/910; the name is missing but the manor is identifiable. Note the receipt by Thomas Arundell and Katherine his wife of the 'manors' of Lanhadron and St Goran in 1474 (AR19/22), implying that they had been leased or mortgaged.

<sup>18</sup> For these debts, see for instance AR20/29 (lease to pay off debts, 1477; not including Lanhadron), AR2/921 (no. 12), AR2/927, AR2/1235 and AR2/1237 (general receiver's accounts for the estate, 1480–81, 1488–89 and 1489–90).

<sup>19</sup> AR2/1341, a 'renewal' of the extent of 1451–64 (see above).