

Dispersed and Grouped Settlement in Medieval Cornwall

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THE forces of cohesion that bound houses together into the compact villages of England seem—as far as they can be guessed—to have been both social and technological. Elsewhere in Europe the compact and huddled village, cut off from its fields and foes by gates and walls, emphasized different compulsions, those of fear and defence. In Provence, for example, it was only the passing of war and piracy that freed these prisoners from their hill-top fortresses and enabled them to exploit their fields from single farm-houses scattered for full convenience of working. In England the prisoners were freed from the chains of traditional nucleation by new agrarian technologies which encouraged individualism and enclosure; and, where they wished, the proprietors could set their new farms out in their newly-hedged fields.

The farmsteads that have always been out in their fields have been less the subject of study in English agrarian history, and dispersed settlement has only recently come into its own with the Devonshire studies of Dr Hoskins and Dr Finberg. In Devon, it may be broadly said, dispersed settlement has been charted as the creature of late colonization within ground that had been the outer margin of the territory of compact Anglo-Saxon villages of the traditional type. In this view, village comes first and scattered farmsteads second.

In Cornwall, on the other hand, where nucleated villages and scattered settlement also exist side by side, even on the same sheet of the 6-inch O.S. map, the accepted explanation has always been that the nucleated settlement is the later Anglo-Saxon arrival, imposed on the Celtic pattern of isolated churches and scattered farmsteads. In this view, farmsteads come first and villages second. It is not the intention of this article to challenge that view but rather to try and bring precision to the concept of scattered settlement in the light of documentary evidence from the end of the thirteenth century and the decades before the Black Death. It offers a hope of improving on descriptions of medieval settlement that are based on the Victorian Tithe Awards 450 years after the event. This short study is a by-product of an investigation of the petty boroughs of Cornwall, an even later imposition of nucleation than the Anglo-Saxon villages. Several of these boroughs were

planted in rural manors of the Duchy of Cornwall, and the documents from five parishes have been utilized to show where the constituent farmsteads were placed at the presumed high watermark of medieval colonization in Cornwall.

In these five parishes there were 203 separate messuages recorded in the manorial documents, and they lay in 57 separate 'places'. The number of messuages in each 'place' is indicated in the summary of Table VI, and the range of sizes will show why 'place' rather than 'farm', 'hamlet', or 'village' has been employed. The common belief that Cornish settlement was typically of isolated farmsteads is shown to be untrue in the areas studied, which come from three different parts of the county. Indeed, only one messuage in twenty stood absolutely alone. What does emerge as typical is the very small cluster: half the 57 places were made up of no more than two dwellings; or, putting it another way, half of the 203 messuages lay in little communities of up to four dwellings. The largest agglomeration achieved (outside the boroughs, whose messuages are not counted here) were the two groups of thirteen messuages and the one of twelve. These are the measures of dispersion in the manors for which the evidence will now be presented.

The commonest documents from which the size of fourteenth-century settlements may be gauged derive from the royal fiscal enquiries: on the one hand, the assessments of the lay subsidy up to 1334 (when it became conventionalized) and of the poll taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381, especially the first of these; on the other hand, the number of freemen and villeins recorded in the *extents* of manors taken at the enquiry *post mortem*. In parts of England where there is no reason to suspect non-nucleated settlement these figures, imperfect as they are, can be taken to come as near as we are ever likely to get to the assessment of village size. The tax documents in particular are careful enough in their mention of hamlets and subordinate settlements, when such do occur, for us to accept the *capita* (for example) on which four pence were levied in 1377 as dwelling near each other in a nucleated village. The freemen and villeins and cottars of an *extent* may likewise be assumed to be living within a short distance of the manor house of the lord whose death has occasioned the *inquisitio*.

When, in 1334, the *parochia* of Lanteglos paid its quota of 30s. and its neighbour Advent its 20s., where were the farmsteads whose wealth was thus assessed? When 89 heads were each assessed in Advent in 1377 to pay their groat to the poll-tax collector, where did they dwell? Certainly not near the churches from which so many Cornish parishes were named: for Advent and Lanteglos churches have no village alongside them; and no earthworks have been noted that would suggest that, as in the case of the lonely churches of

the Midlands, there has been a village but a subsequent desertion. Since in 1377 the Black Death and its associated pandemic had just passed by, the number of heads in Advent before the plagues must have been greater, perhaps half as many again. Where did they dwell? where were their fields?

It soon became obvious to me that it was little use taking the first edition of the O.S. 6-inch map or the Tithe Awards as a confident basis of reconstruction. Economic change since the early fourteenth century has both added and subtracted houses. Cornwall has seen the arrival (and some retreat) of rural industry, while turnpike roads have encouraged clusters of dwellings that have the appearance and sometimes the names of old hamlets. In Creed parish, for example, the principal medieval cluster at the manor house of Tybeste has completely gone; while at Hewas Water the cluster can be shown to have come into existence *c.* 1750. Nor is it encouraging to find that the only full-scale modern study of Cornish settlement draws its map of dispersed settlement by arbitrarily selecting the more important group of farms on the Tithe Awards of *c.* 1840. This gives a total of nine clusters in Lanteglos, Michaelstow, and Advent, when there were in fact twenty-four.

There seem to be few large-scale estate plans of Cornish estates in the early modern period from which the deficiencies of the Tithe Awards may be remedied, although it is to be hoped that the Cornish estate plans of John Norden and his son, surveyors to the Duchy, will one day emerge. In the absence of maps from this earliest period of English map-making, some kind of map must be reconstructed from documentary sources. By good fortune, the documentation for the Duchy manors is unusually good for the half century before the Black Death, and the documents are cast in such a form that they do not simply list or number the tenantry but assign them to their geographical location. Within these areas the Duchy shared the territory with no other manor and there is thus no problem of allowing for the tenants of other lords; the small size of the holdings (and in land not of the best quality) minimizes the risk that there might be additional farmsteads occupied by under-tenants about whom the documents are silent. (A close examination of the ground, such as that now being carried out by archaeologists on Bodmin Moor, should also show whether there are additional tenements to be accounted for within the parishes studied here.) In the present state of knowledge, the data assembled in the tables below and mapped in the figures are the totality of settlement in the period before the Black Death.

The tables and maps which follow are a summary of information re-assembled from documents which set it out in a different form. The explanation of method and description of sources has been kept to a minimum.

Although not the earliest of the Duchy documents to be used, it is the

Assession Rolls which provide the easiest approach to early fourteenth-century settlement conditions. In these rolls each tenant's rent and services were set out, together with the size of his holding, and the location of the holding was indicated by bold lettering in the left-hand margin. The prime division of the rolls was by status of tenure, but within these divisions it was usual to place together holdings that were in the same place.

Thus, the first membrane of the entry for Trematon manor has in its left-hand margin the place-names *Netherpulle*, *Parva Esshe*, *Worfelton*, *Penwyntel*, *Oldetrematon*, and *Bradmore*. These names continue (with variant spellings) throughout subsequent rolls and then in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century rentals. The final link in their chain of identity is afforded by the *Survey* and large-scale plan of 1819 made for the Duchy by S. Elliott. On this plan each field is numbered, and corresponding numbers appear against each farm's holding in the *Survey*. Thus the *Netherpulle* of the fourteenth century and subsequent rolls and rentals is North Pill (fields 35 to 40) of 1819; *Parva Esshe* has become Little Ash, and the plan shows it as fields 1 to 23 on the east bank of the Tamar, 98 acres in all, the old foothold of the Duchy ferry on the Devon bank. The 1819 plan can then be compared with the first edition of the 6-inch O.S. plan and thence with subsequent editions and the modern field boundaries. Some of the nameless farms on the O.S. map can be named from the Elliott survey, and holdings no longer distinguished can be delineated. Thus Elliott's plan shows that fields 481-492, south-east of Old Trematon village, made up the holding of Penfentle (35 acres in 1819), the *Penwyntel* of the first Assession Roll. Names sometimes change: a chain of references too long to print here links the holding known in 1819 as *Gripes* with the *Ivson* or *Insdon* of the fourteenth-century documents.

The earliest Assession Roll surviving is from 1356, and at first sight this might seem to come too late to serve our purpose of recovering the agrarian topography of the early fourteenth century, for the Black Death had intervened. Fortunately, from the period before the Black Death there survives the Caption of Seisin of 1337, another detailed survey of the Duchy tenants. Unlike the Assession Roll of 1356 it has no place-names as marginalia and the tenants are not grouped according to the location of their farms; but for each tenant the location of the messuage was still recorded, and it is simply a matter of re-sorting the entries. The areas of fields and the rents paid were also indicated, and doubtful and faded entries can be checked by these additional details. There are surprisingly few changes in either the family names or the rents paid between 1337 and 1356, and—more important—there are no place-names in 1337 which do not occur in 1356.

It is even possible to edge a little further back in time and nearer to the peak of medieval colonization by seeking the tenants of the 1337 Caption of Seisin in two other surveys, those of 1331 and 1300, which give surnames, acreages, and rents, but not the place-name of the holdings. Thus a holding of a messuage and seven acres of land held by John Nichol in 1356 for 2s. 8d. rent appears under the *Oldetrematon* rubric; in 1337 it was held for the same rent and with the same acreage by Walter Poly, the seven acres English measure being explicitly equated with a quarter-acre, *ferling*, Cornish measure; in 1331 Walter Poly appears as tenant of a *ferling* paying 2s. 8½d. rent. The survey of 1300 is more curt and more concerned with total numbers; like the manorial accounts of 1296-7 for these manors, it is principally useful in this study for solving some awkward place or surname puzzle when the later documents are torn or faded, and for confirming the values of the manorial assets to the earl.

A final check on the general compatibility of the data before and after the Black Death is afforded by counting the messuages in the three documents; the correspondence is close.

TABLE I
TOTAL MESSUAGES IN EACH MANOR, 1300, 1331, 1337, and 1356

	1300	1331	1337	1356
Helstone in Trigg		96	93	93½
Trematon		59	58	58
Tybeste	49	54	51¼	55
All manors		209	202¼	206½

The first manor to be examined, Helstone in Trigg, was the largest in area, lying between the western edge of Bodmin Moor and the sea, and centred on the Camel valley. If the landscape today seems cold and the trees stunted it is more from the exposure to winds off the sea than from moorish height: the highest point in the manor is 987 feet, and all the high ground of the adjacent Downs and Tors belonged not to Helstone but to other communities, those centred on Davidstow to the north and St Breward to the south.

The manor of Helstone took in the whole of three parishes, Lanteglos, Advent, and Michaelstow. In 1337 there were 93 messuages in these three parishes, and in addition there was the borough of Camelford planted in Lanteglos parish where the main road crossed the Camel. In 1300 there were more burgages in this new town (62) than messuages in the rest of Lanteglos parish.

In Table II the entries on the Assession Roll have been re-grouped and set out under the parishes. Fig. I shows the same data in map form. Since all the place-names of 1337 correspond to existing farms, the symbols for the free and villein messuages have been placed on the map at the site of these farms to which the six-figure National Grid reference is made. Many of these farms have the Gothic type of 'antiquities' on the O.S. map, but architectural

TABLE II
HELSTONE IN TRIGG: DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE MANOR

<i>Modern farm name or place name</i>	<i>Grid Reference</i>	<i>Free messuages</i>	<i>Villein messuages</i>	<i>Total messuages</i>
LANTEGLOS PARISH				
Castle Goff	085825	0	1	1
Fentenwansen	076807	4	0	4
Helstone	088814	2	11	13
Hendre	091837	0	3	3
Kenstock	097811	0	2	2
Treforda	080814	1	1	2
Trefrew	109847	0	1	1
Tregoodwell	114836	3	5	8
Tremagenna	097822	0	4	4
Trevia	098836	1	8	9
Trewalder	074821	0	5	5
Trewen	088834	0	5	5
				<i>Total</i> 57
ADVENT PARISH				
Corndon	c. 110820?	0	1	1
Goosehill	148844	2	1	3
Pencarrow	106825	2	0	2
Tressiney	102814	3	0	3
Trethin	105819	1	1	2
				<i>Total</i> 11
MICHAELSTOW PARISH				
Fentonadle	084780	0	5	5
Michaelstow	080788	0	2	2
Tredarrup	078793	0	3	3
Tegawn	073788	0	4	4
Tregreenwell	075804	0	4	4
Treveighan	075795	0	5	5
Trevillic	069790	0	2	2
				<i>Total</i> 25
Manor total		19	74	93

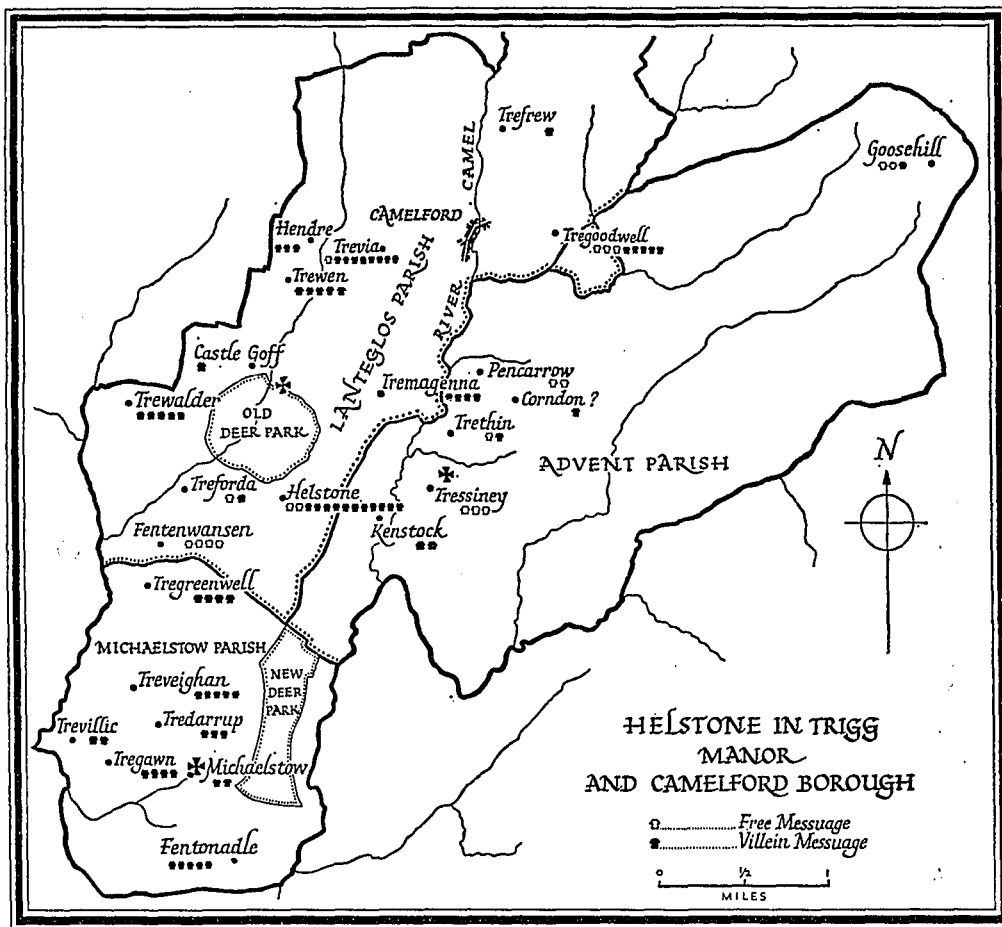


FIG. I

HELSTONE IN TRIGG MANOR

Distribution of free and villein messuages in the early fourteenth century.
(There was a turbary at Goosehill in 1296-7.)

and archaeological examination would be necessary to ascertain whether any of the existing buildings survive from the medieval farmsteads. It is significant of the conservatism of settlement here that there is no place-name of 1337 that fails to reappear in Elliott's survey of 1819.

Of the three parishes in Helstone manor, Michaelstow shows the simplest structure, with no free holdings at all, and the villeins' messuages grouped in globules of 5, 5, 4, 4, 3, 2, and 2. Alongside the parish church was simply a pair of houses. About one-sixth of this parish was taken up by the New Park of Helsbury which lay between the road (now the B.3266) and the river Camel; in 1337 it had seven times as many wild animals as there were villeins in the parish.

Advent parish, with a good deal of poorer land on the Moor edge, was worse placed for arable farming than Michaelstow, all of which lay west of the Camel. Advent's eight free messuages compared with three villein may show the freedom of the frontiersmen colonists. And the holdings were even more scattered: 3, 3, 2, 2, and 1 messuages; and none by the church.

Lanteglos was the largest, most densely settled, and most complex parish of the three. Leaving aside the borough of Camelford, it had at Helstone an agglomeration of thirteen messuages (two villein and eleven free), different from anything else in the manor of which Helstone was the *caput*. At Trevia and Tregoodwell were globules of nine and eight messuages; the rest of the pattern was 5, 5, 4, 4, 3, 2, 2, 1, and 1.

Like Advent, Lanteglos church stood alone. No rectory house is men-

TABLE III

TYBESTE: DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE MANOR

	<i>Free messuages</i>	<i>Villein messuages</i>	<i>Total messuages</i>
PROBUS PARISH			
Bartilver	0	2	2
Trevilvas	0	2	2
		<i>Total</i>	4
CREED PARISH			
Carwinnick	2	0	2
Garlennick	2	1	3
'Garhoda' (?=Carvossa)	0	2	2
'Keuseby' (?=Penchoise)	1	0	1
'Luscoys'	3	1	4
Nancor	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Nantellan	3	0	3
Pendenbethwy	1	0	1
Pengelly	0	1	1
Pennans	3	2	5
Trecaine	4	0	4
Treswallen	1	1	2
Trevillick	3	0	3
Trewinnow Meor (sc. Great)	2	2	4
Trewinnow Vean (sc. Little)	2	0	2
Tybeste	4	0	4
'Tybeste Vyan'	0	2	2
		<i>Total</i>	47 $\frac{3}{4}$
Manor total	34 $\frac{3}{4}$	17	51 $\frac{3}{4}$

tioned in the manorial documents although there may have been one. The houses of Helstone were half a mile away as the crow flies, and such a direct journey was impeded by the Old Park, the lord's deer-park, for the lane winds round the eastern side of the pale. The earthworks of Castle Goff by this park and of Helsbury above the other park resemble those hill-forts which Mr G. R. J. Jones has indicated near some of his centres of lordship. The name Helstone itself, like the more famous Helston in Kerrier, is half Cornish and half Saxon: it is the *tun* of the *henlis*, the settlement around the chief court-house.

The manor of Tybeste lay mainly on the east bank of the Fal, and like Helstone had running through it an important main road, that from Truro eastwards. It was this road, crossing the river by the new *grand pont*, which gave rise to the new borough of Grampound, but the importance of the river-crossing even before the bridge is suggested by the small part of the manor (two pairs of messuages) which lay on the west bank. This segment is now in Probus parish, but most of the manor lies in Creed. (Manor and parish are not now coterminous, for a rectangular projection of about one square mile at the south-east corner contains no names corresponding to any Duchy messuages.) The manorial centre at Tybeste is now deserted; the church of Creed stands aloof from either manor or borough. (Fig. II.)

In 1337 Tybeste itself was a cluster of four free messuages with the villeins at *Tybeste Vyan*; Trewinnow also had a pairing of *Meor* and *Vean*. The dispersion in this manor is very marked: the largest cluster was less than half the size of Helstone, and ten places were made up of only one or two houses. Compared with these, the 28 burgages of Grampound in 1296 made it a giant like Camelford in Helstone. (Four places have been identified only tentatively, but it is unlikely that they refer to some place already on the list, and the degree of dispersion is unaffected by the uncertainty.)

Trematon, the final manor to be examined, also had a small enclave (of two messuages) in another parish, and the analogy with the transpontine portion of Tybeste is close, for Little Ash in Trematon (p. 16 above) was the landing place of the Tamar ferry in Devonshire; this ferry was a seignorial monopoly (worth £7 8s. in 1296-7: about as much as the mill and three times the burgage rents of Saltash). Otherwise all the manor lay in St Stephen's parish; and again the church had no messuages near it. In addition to the thirteen rural clusters there were two boroughs: by 1300 Saltash had 118 burgages on the cliff overlooking the Tamar ferry; and there was a petty borough at Trematon castle, probably wholly within the bailey like the small

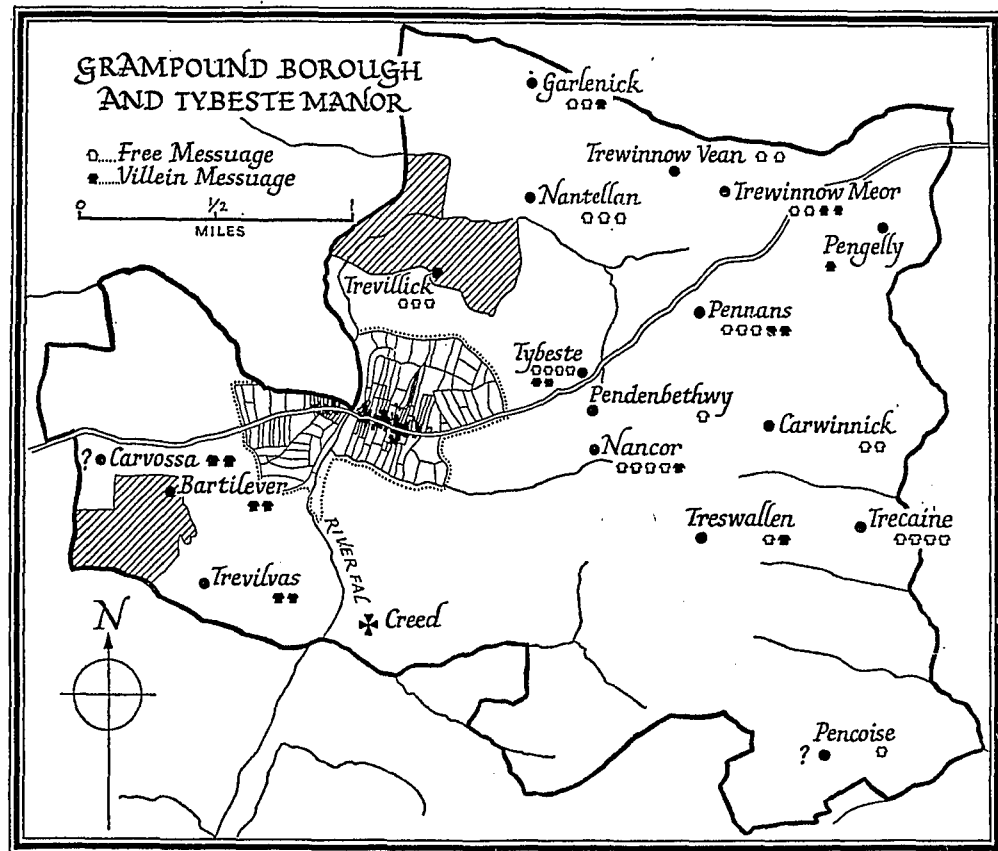


FIG. II
TYBESTE MANOR

Distribution of free and villein messuages in the early fourteenth century. The shading shows the area of two farms in the 1819 Duchy survey.

castle boroughs of south and mid-Wales, or, indeed, like the Norman borough at Launceston. But, judging from the rents paid, it had fewer than a score of burgages in 1300.

It was because of this *novus burgus* at the castle that the old manorial centre was called Old Trematon. There is no possibility of confusion; for two miles separate them. Old Trematon (with its large cluster of thirteen houses and its mixed Saxon and Cornish name) resembles Helstone; a second cluster, almost as large, was to be found at South Pill (*sc.* South Pool), but this was almost exclusively villein, whereas Trematon was predominantly free. (Fig. III.)

The tables and the maps distinguish the legal status of the land-holders.

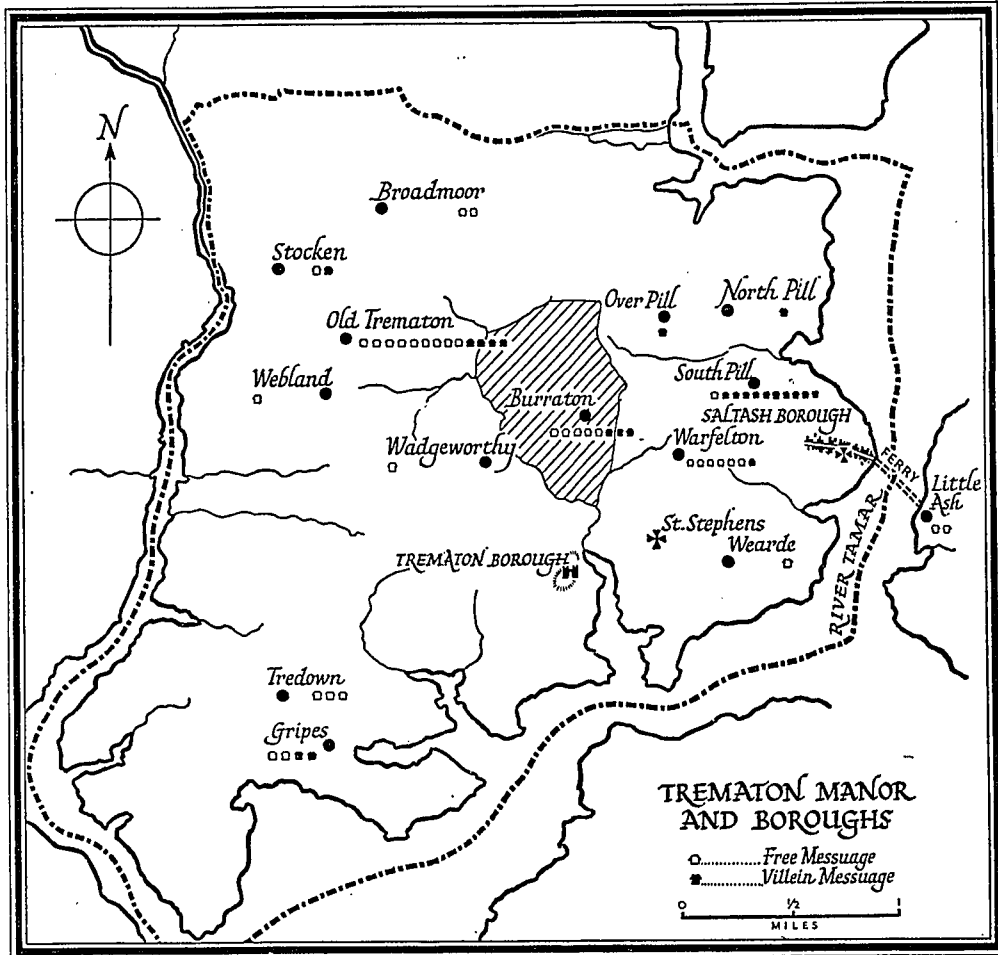


FIG. III

TREMATON MANOR

Distribution of settlement in the early fourteenth century.

The area comprised in the holdings at Burraton is shaded.

No entries corresponding to the modern place-names of Notter, Carkeel, Wivelscombe, Earth, Trevollard, Trehan, Shillingham, or Latchbrook appear in the medieval Assession Rolls; nor in the survey of the Duchy properties in 1819. Tithings of Carkeel and Trevollard are mentioned in the 1296-7 accounts. Earth appears as a personal name there and in the survey of 1331.

The main tenure affecting all Duchy manors in Cornwall was 'conventional'. Thus at Trematon in 1356 52 out of 58 tenants held their lands for a seven-year period, at the end of which a fresh entry or *assession* was made. During the seven years of the *conventio* all these tenants paid rent, were liable to attend the manor court at three-weekly intervals, and were eligible for the offices of reeve, beadle, and tithingman.

TABLE IV

TREMATON: DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE MANOR

<i>Modern farm name or place-name</i>	ST STEPHEN'S PARISH		<i>Total messuages</i>
	<i>Free messuages</i>	<i>Villein messuages</i>	
Old Trematon	9	4	13
South Pill	1	11	12
North Pill	0	1	1
Over Pill	0	1	1
Burraton	5	3	8
Warfelton	6	1	7
Ince (=Gripes)	2	2	4
Tredown	3	0	3
Broadmoor	2	0	2
Wearde	1	0	1
Webland	1	0	1
Wadsworth	1	0	1
Little Ash (Devon: east of ferry)	2	0	2
Stocken	1	1	2
Manor total	34	24	58

The 34 free conventional tenants among these 52, although in a better position than the 18 villeins, were liable to forfeit their best beast as a heriot to their lord when they died, "but no goods else." The rent for a free tenement of average size was 4s. 6d. a year. The 18 villein conventionaries on this manor paid twice this sum for an average house and holding and had all the liabilities of a free tenant, with the additional forfeit of all goods at death. A third small group of villeins (at Trematon there were six) paid 5s. 6d. rent but were tied to the manor for life in addition to the ordinary villein liabilities and to tallage by the lord at his will; their tenements passed to their youngest son: these were the villeins "of blood," *de stirpe*.

At Tybeste the services were similarly defined and the villein rents were at the same level; the free rents were twice these of Trematon and equalled the villeins'; the villeins *de stirpe* here paid 8s., again higher than at Trematon. The entry fines at the renewal of the convention every seven years were equivalent to just over three years' rent in 1356 for the free conventionaries and about twice for the villeins.

In each class of tenancy the acreage assigned to a messuage was not uniform, but considering the differences in geographical position the averages shown for Tybeste and Trematon in Table V are very close.

TABLE V
AVERAGE ACREAGE PER HOLDING, 1356 (ENGLISH ACRES)

	<i>Free conventionaries</i>	<i>Villein conventionaries</i>	<i>Villeins de stirpe</i>
Trematon manor	19½	16	16
Tybeste manor	18	19	22

Finally, the size of settlement clusters has been set out for the three types: settlement clusters of wholly free messuages; settlement clusters of wholly villein messuages; and settlement clusters of mixed tenures.

TABLE VI
SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS, ACCORDING TO TENURES

A. WHOLLY FREE (17 places)										
<i>No. of places with:</i>						<i>Over</i>				
	<i>1 mess.</i>	<i>2 mess.</i>	<i>3 mess.</i>	<i>4 mess.</i>	<i>5 mess.</i>	<i>5 mess.</i>				
Helstone	0	1	1	1	0	0				
Tybeste	2	2	2	2	0	0				
Trematon	3	2	1	0	0	0				
Total	5	5	4	3	0	0				
B. WHOLLY VILLEIN (22 places)										
<i>No. of places with:</i>						<i>Over</i>				
	<i>1 mess.</i>	<i>2 mess.</i>	<i>3 mess.</i>	<i>4 mess.</i>	<i>5 mess.</i>	<i>5 mess.</i>				
Helstone	3	3	2	3	4	0				
Tybeste	1	4	0	0	0	0				
Trematon	2	0	0	0	0	0				
Total	6	7	2	3	4	0				
C. MIXED TENURES (18 places)										
<i>No. of places with:</i>										<i>Over</i>
	<i>1 mess.</i>	<i>2 mess.</i>	<i>3 mess.</i>	<i>4 mess.</i>	<i>5 mess.</i>	<i>6 mess.</i>	<i>7 mess.</i>	<i>8 mess.</i>	<i>9 mess.</i>	<i>10 mess.</i>
Helstone	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Tybeste	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Trematon	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Total	0	4	2	3	2	0	1	2	1	0
Total of all types	11	16	8	9	6	0	1	2	1	0

The total number of messuages concerned is 203, scattered in 57 different places. Just under half these places (27) were made up of a single messuage or a pair of messuages; one-fifth of the places consisted of a single messuage; only one-eighth of the places (7 out of 57) consisted of more than five messuages together, and three of these seven were the largest agglomerations, of 13, 13, and 12 messuages respectively. No difference between typical sizes of the wholly free and wholly villein clusters is apparent. As was stressed earlier, the absolutely isolated messuage turns out to be very unrepresentative: only 5 per cent of the total messuages were so placed and only one-fifth of all the places considered were so composed.

At this stage in the study of medieval agriculture and settlement in Cornwall the full implications of the evidence presented here can only be dimly discerned. The five parishes analysed here do not exhaust the evidence, for there were Duchy manors at Tintagel, Stoke Climsland, Helston in Kerrier, Moresk, Rillaton, Liskeard, Tywarnhaile, Restormel, Calstock, Tewington, Penlyne, and Trefrize: similar analyses could be made for these places, giving a further geographical sample.

It is clear that a good deal of work in the field and among local records in Cornwall will be necessary. The present author will not have the opportunity for these, but now that these deep-rooted little communities have been identified, those who are more fortunately placed than in Leeds can visit the farmsteads to see whether any of the medieval messuages survive, perhaps as no more than a barn or out-building to a more recent farmhouse. Fields near these farms need to be examined for remains of houses of the old communities surviving only as earthworks. The evidence of field-shapes and field-boundaries must also be brought in to reconstruct the acres, Cornish and English, assigned to these messuages. Only then shall we know how they stood in relation to the movement of colonization and conquest of the waste, and begin to see how the little agrarian units produced the pennies for the *finēs, perquisita, et relevia* of the manorial accounts.

These multifarious *tre-* settlements must also be studied alongside the settlement pattern of medieval Wales and the border brought realistically on to the map by the recent studies of Mr G. R. J. Jones. In their names these multifarious *trevs* seem to reach back safely into pre-Saxon Cornwall, although there is yet no sure way of linking (for example) the 96 different messuages in Helstone of 1331 with the 53 holdings enumerated in the Domesday account of that manor.

The old assumption that scattered settlement was divorced from open-field arable has been shaken by Mr Jones's evidence, where co-aration has been shown to be quite compatible with a landscape that today seems all

dispersed farmsteads. Professor Balchin, in one of the few modern sketches of Cornish settlement, reminds us that Domesday Book records in Cornwall "just under a hundred manors with two ploughlands or less," and he continues: "It is clear that these entries can only refer to small hamlets or *trevs* that had no relation to an open-field system, quite apart from the fact that the names in themselves are quite un-English." Mr Jones has shown that a form of open fields could exist in quite un-English surroundings, and further work in Cornwall, marrying field-work and documents, may make it necessary to modify Professor Balchin's assertion. The early publication of Mr Gover's study of Cornish place-names would be a further assistance.

NOTE. This article embodies a paper read to the annual conference of the British Agricultural History Society in April 1961. It has not been revised to take account of subsequent publications, the most important being: W. G. Hoskins, *Provincial England* (1963), pp. 15-52; and G. R. J. Jones, 'The Tribal System in Wales: a reassessment in the light of settlement studies', *Welsh Hist. Rev.*, 1, 1961, pp. 111-32. O. G. S. Crawford's copies of Charles Henderson's tracings of Cornish estate plans are now deposited in the British Museum (Maps 199 d.60).

NOTE ON SOURCES. Data in the text, figures, and tables derive from the following P.R.O. documents:

1296-7	E.119	Ministers' accounts (ed. L. M. Midgley, Camden Soc. 3rd ser., LXVIII, 1945).
1300	E.152/8	Extent.
	E.142/6-7	Survey.
	C.133/95	Extent (calendared in <i>Cal. I.P.M.</i> , III, pp. 456 sqq.).
1300-1	E.372/146 m.30	Accounts.
before 1307	SC.6/816/9	Accounts.
1327	E.179/87/7	Lay Subsidy.
1331	E.142/41	Survey.
1337	E.120/1	Caption of seisin.
1338-9	SC.6/816/11	Accounts.
1347-8	SC.6/812/3	Accounts.
1352-3	SC.6/817/3	Accounts.
1356	E.306/2/1	Assession roll.
1371	E.306/2/2	Assession roll.
1377	E.179/87/29-35	Poll-tax receipts.

The Duchy of Cornwall Office, Buckingham Gate, London, has assession rolls of 1333, 1364, and 1371, as well as rentals and surveys continuing intermittently into modern times. A series of plans with keys was made by S. Elliott in 1819. Other plans of Duchy properties are at the County Record Office, Truro. Acknowledgement is made of permission from these Offices to consult records.

OTHER NOTES. The areas given in the documents are usually in acres Cornish and acres English. Cornish ferlings are equated with holdings of from 9 to 11 acres English; and half-acres with areas from 18 to 20 acres English.