

Thirteenth-century Farm Economies in North Wales

By COLIN THOMAS

RECENT research has tended to refine the traditional view of the medieval economy of North Wales as being one which was dominated by pastoralism in an overwhelmingly free social context.¹ In some localities it has been possible to clarify broad regional contrasts and elucidate variations occurring within them, chiefly as a result of the discovery of evidence in place names and field patterns of share-land cultivation and the calculation of the relative importance of the produce of pastoralism and tillage in the various administrative units for which there are early taxation records. For example, it is clear that the fertile and sheltered lowlands of Anglesey and the Lleyn coast acted as a granary for the incipient Welsh state,² while the vaccaries and upland grazings of the rugged interior of Caernarvon and Merioneth supported considerable numbers of livestock, some of which found their way to the border markets such as Whitchurch,³ thus establishing in a rudimentary form the drovers' routes which became well travelled in later centuries.

Nevertheless, detailed analysis of local economic structure similar to the studies made by Professor Postan⁴ for parts of lowland England has not been possible for North Wales in the closing years of its independence because of the limited content and varying quality of the documentary sources, and indeed we should be forced to rely almost entirely upon the somewhat unsatisfactory idealized picture given in the Welsh Law Codes, with all their later modifications, were it not for the existence of a handful of remarkable lay subsidies for scattered parts of Gwynedd. Following the conquest by

¹ G. R. J. Jones, 'The Tribal System in Wales: a re-assessment in the light of settlement studies', *Welsh History Review*, I, 1961, and 'The Distribution of Bond Settlements in North-West Wales', *Welsh History Review*, II, 1964. See also T. Jones Pierce, 'Pastoral and Agricultural Settlements in Early Wales', *Geografiska Annaler*, XLIII, 1961.

² G. R. J. Jones, 'The Military Geography of Gwynedd in the Thirteenth Century', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Wales, 1948.

³ C. T. Martin (ed.), 'Registrum epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis', London, 1884, vol. II, pp. 455-8. See also C. Thomas, 'The Evolution of Rural Settlement and Land Tenure', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, 1965, ch. 2, pp. 56-108.

⁴ M. M. Postan, 'Village Livestock in the Thirteenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, xv, 1962-3.

Edward I's armies of the last strongholds in the early 1280's and the completion in 1284 of a general extent or survey of property, rights, renders, and dues escheated to the Crown,¹ a series of more precise fiscal assessments was made. Only five of these subsidies are extant: that for Creuddyn commote² has not escaped the agencies of decay and mutilation, while that for Merioneth,³ apart from being incomplete in Ardudwy, gives only a summary of the numbers of households and their taxable value. The remaining three, for the royal vill of Aberfraw and its hamlets in Anglesey,⁴ the *maenor* of Nefyn in the commote of Dinllaen,⁵ and the whole commote of Gafflogion in Lleyrn,⁶ enable a fairly clearly defined image of economic life in these areas to be reconstructed and it may be possible to project it, after careful re-moulding to suit different environmental conditions, on to those regions where the documentary record is weakest or fails us completely.

The first step is to outline the possible methods of analysis:

- (i) Distribution of actual grain output, livestock, and population totals by townships.
- (ii) Elucidation of regional contrasts in wealth, and differences in the range of wealth among individual homesteads, from one area to another, i.e. the distribution of taxable property in relation to the environment.
- (iii) Calculation of the relative importance and value of various facets of the economy on both a township and homestead basis—pastoral, tillage, maritime, commercial.
- (iv) Within the pastoral sector, evaluation of the relative status of oxen, cattle, sheep, and horses, though here it is difficult to draw valid distinctions between bond and free elements because the commote with the best evidence, Gafflogion, was overwhelmingly free.
- (v) Variations in the size of herds and flocks owned by individuals.
- (vi) Reconstruction in general terms of typical homesteads, their livestock, and land use, wealth, and status in the community.
- (vii) The interaction of town and countryside, for example, the relationship between Pwllheli and Nefyn and Gafflogion.

Some preliminary remarks on the value of individual items may be of use in setting the scene. As might be expected in an area which was isolated and remote because of its few harbours and rugged land communications even in

¹ Extent of Merioneth, 1284, printed in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd ser., XIII, 1867, pp. 183–92.

² P.R.O. Lay Subsidy 242/51. ³ P.R.O. 242/53.

⁴ P.R.O. 242/49, printed as App. Af. to F. Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, London, 1895.

⁵ P.R.O. 242/50B, printed in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* [henceforward B.B.C.S.], v, 1929–31, pp. 142–8.

⁶ P.R.O. 242/50A, printed in B.B.C.S., v, 1929–31, pp. 54–71.

the sixteenth century,¹ draught animals were more highly prized than any other type of livestock, and in each of the subsidies both oxen and horses are valued at 5s. each, while cattle were assessed at 3s. 4d. and sheep at 6d., a scale which will be emphasized below. It will be seen that this in no way implies relative numbers of stock in the sense that the least common beast might be expected to command a higher price, but simply reflects the usefulness and importance of different animals within the local economy. Perhaps the same cannot be said of the grains cultivated, because the soils of inherently mediocre fertility, combined with the rigorous coastal climate, involving high incidence of cloud cover, frequent precipitation, and strong winds, deterred extensive cultivation of corn generally, with the result that it was worth 2s. 6d. per crannog,² a measure approximating to four bushels. Oats, the most widely grown field crop, and more closely integrated with a pastoral economy (not forgetting that a staple element of the human diet was oat-cake), were worth 2s. per crannog,³ while peas were valued at $\frac{1}{3}$ d. per bushel.

Of the miscellaneous chattels and movable goods, the fishing nets recorded at Pwllheli and Nefyn, together with the boats, were clearly the most highly prized possessions at 2s. and 13s. 4d. each respectively, and indicate that the non-agricultural source of income was by no means inconsiderable.

Calculations based on data given in these documents help to clarify ideas on the controversial topic of the importance of sheep *vis-à-vis* cattle in medieval Wales. From Table I it will be seen that the extent to which sheep outnumbered cattle in these localities would be negligible were it not for the

TABLE I
NUMBERS OF LIVESTOCK

	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Horses	Total value of Cattle Sheep					
					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Gafflogion	278	761	710	179	95	3	4	17	15	0
Nefyn	87	175	205	48	21	16	8	5	2	6
Aberffraw	136	265	747	69	33	3	4	18	13	6
Total	501	1,201	1,662	296	150	3	4	41	11	0

¹ E. G. Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire Squires, 1558-1625', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Univ. of Wales, 1936, ch. 1.

² i.e. $7\frac{1}{3}$ d. per bushel, quite a high price when one considers that in the 1840's wheat in North Wales cost only 7s. per bushel.—Tithe Schedules.

³ 6d. per bushel, compared with only 2s. 9d. in the mid-nineteenth century.

extraordinary numbers of the former at Aberffraw where the ratio is of the order of 3:1, whereas totals are fairly similar at Nefyn and Gafflogion, but at this point it is as well to recall that the value of a cow was ten times that of a sheep, and the true status of sheep may be gauged from the last column of Table I. Oxen were the third most numerous animals and when their total value is added to that of the 296 horses, it is almost exactly equal to the total value of the 1,201 cattle. Thus, although sheep were numerically strongest their fiscal status was lowest.

The importance of various livestock in the economy of the individual homestead can be illustrated in another way, namely by calculating the percentage of households which held interests in different types of animal (Table II).

TABLE II
HOUSEHOLDS OWNING LIVESTOCK

	No. of families	Percentage of total number of families owning			
		Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Horses
Gafflogion	200	57	90	51	64
Nefyn	93	34	80	28	42
Aberffraw	68	74	97	68	46

Because of the overwhelmingly free social structure of Gafflogion, whose fifteen townships would have permitted the most valid break-down of data, it has not been possible to draw any distinction between the relative importance of the four types of stock to bond and free communities, though it may be assumed that the ratio of draught animals to cattle and sheep would normally be higher in *maerdrefi* and *tir cyfrif* bondvills than in free townships.¹ Nevertheless the broad picture can be deduced from Table II, from which it is abundantly clear that possession of some cattle was a necessity to at least four-fifths of the families in borough, *maerdref*, and rural commote alike,² though their importance was less in Nefyn because of its commercial and maritime activities.³ In contrast, only about half the population had any in-

¹ In Penmaen, the only township in Gafflogion which is recorded in 1352 as being under *tir cyfrif* tenure, the three villeins owned between them three oxen, eight cattle, but no other draught animals (Table IV). See H. Ellis (ed.), *Record of Caernarvon*, pp. 27-31, for social structure.

² Quite apart from the maintenance of a balanced diet, it has been pointed out that "often accumulation in farming societies is realised in the form of livestock."—R. E. F. Smith, *The Origins of Farming in Russia*, Paris, 1959, p. 35.

³ Cf. Pwllheli in Tables IV and V; T. Jones Pierce, 'The Old Borough of Nefyn, 1355-1882', *Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc.*, 1957, pp. 36-55, and the same author's 'The Medieval Manor of Pwllheli', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Univ. of Liverpool, 1927.

terest in sheep, and here again the low values in Nefyn are markedly different from those of the well-stocked pastures of Aberffraw where animal husbandry played a major rôle in the overall economy. Similarly, the higher percentage of owners of draught animals in Gafflogion and Aberffraw than at Nefyn reflects the correspondingly greater emphasis upon cultivation, and suggests that even at this early date the urban economy of the borough was becoming divorced from its rural origins, though not, of course, from its

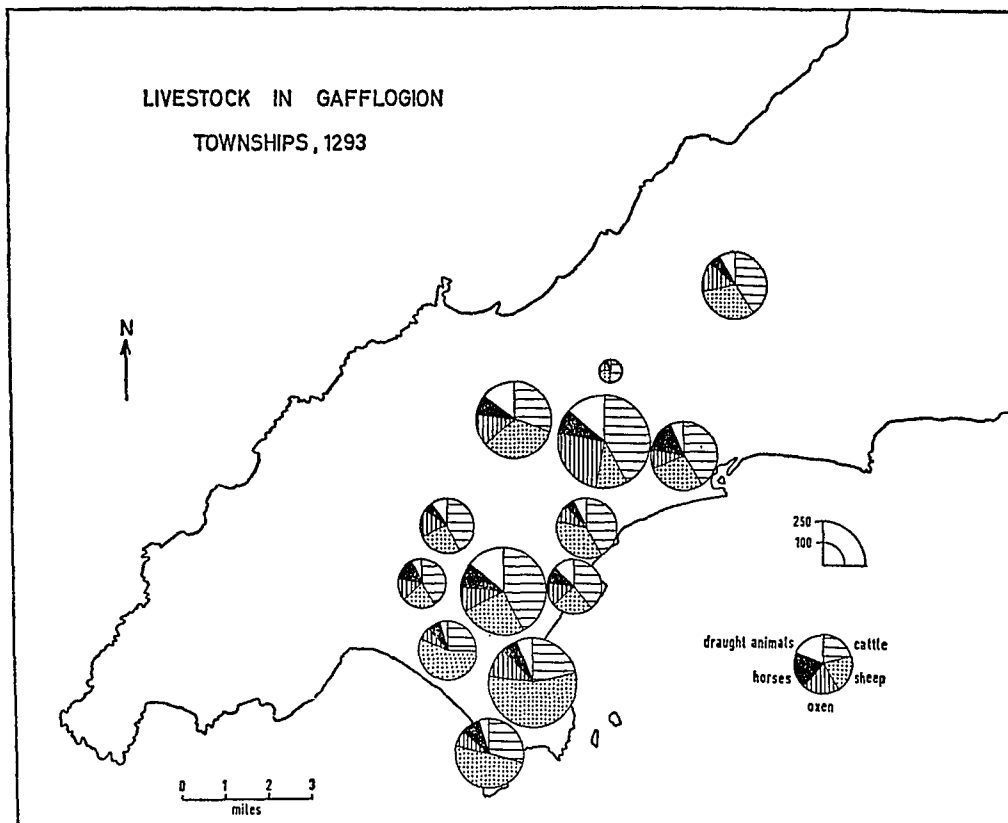


FIG. I

hinterland. Again, relative balance of arable interests in the *maerdref* and the much larger and economically broader-based commote is indicated in the fact that nearly three-quarters of Aberffraw families owned at least one ox while in Gafflogion this proportion was considerably less than two-thirds. Despite correspondingly large numbers of horse-owners in the commote compared with the *maerdref*, it cannot be stated with any degree of certainty that these animals were used in co-aration.

The general impression derived from Tables I to III, then, is one of a large number of mixed farmers on a small scale, the usual holding supporting

TABLE III
SIZE OF HERDS AND FLOCKS

Types of Stock	Place	Percentage of households having the following numbers of animals ¹									
		1	2	3	4	5	1 to 5	6	7-10	10+	Median
Cattle	Gafflogion	5	16	46	4	2	73	20	5	2	3
	Nefyn	37	38	11	3	4	93	4	2.5	0.5	2
	Aberffraw	3	29	16	27	16	91	1	5	3	4
Oxen	Gafflogion	42.4	27.4	12.4	10.6	5.2	98	1	—	1	2
	Nefyn	40.6	25.0	6.5	9.5	3.0	84.6	9.4	6	—	2
	Aberffraw	40	28	18	4	2	92	4	—	4	1
Horses	Gafflogion	68.5	29	1.5	—	—	99	1	—	—	1
	Nefyn	82	13	5	—	—	100	—	—	—	1
	Aberffraw	39	29	19	3	3	93	7	—	—	2
		Percentage of households having the following numbers of sheep									
		1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	1 to 10	11-25	26-50	50+	Median
Sheep	Gafflogion	38	50	8	4	—	88	12	—	—	6
	Nefyn	50	35	4	11	—	85	15	—	—	5
	Aberffraw	20	28	15	13	8	48	36	16	—	11

¹ No consideration is given to those families who did not own animals, for the statistical reasons indicated.

TABLE IV
OWNERSHIP OF LIVESTOCK AND CROPS IN GAFFLOGION TOWNSHIPS

Township	Total number of families	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Number of families owning			Corn	Barley	Peas
					Horses	Oats				
Botwnnog	13	7	11	5	6	8	4	1	3	
Canguwch	11	9	11	6	5	10	—	—	1	
Bodvel	21	10	18	6	15	13	5	2	3	
Penmaen	3	2	3	1	1	3	—	2	3	
Penyberth	7	5	7	5	6	6	3	1	2	
Ystrad Geirch	18	10	16	10	11	14	5	—	3	
Cae Hwsnin	10	7	10	5	7	7	2	—	1	
Bodwrog	2	2	2	1	1	2	—	—	—	
Bachellaeth	11	6	10	6	5	9	2	1	1	
Llandinwael	8	6	8	3	3	7	3	—	2	
Llangian	30?+	12	28	11	20	20	9	4	5	
Marchros	20	18	16	17	12	15	6	1	1	
Bryn-Celyn	8	2	7	6	6	7	2	—	1	
Cilan	17	9	14	12	13	13	2	—	—	
Pwllheli	21	8	18	7	6	10	3	—	1	
Total	200+	113	179	101	117	144	46	12	27	

about five cattle, up to three oxen, perhaps ten or fifteen sheep, and one or two horses. To be more precise, when all the data for each type of stock are plotted on a dispersion graph the median values show that the 'typical' *tyddynwyr* in these parts of Caernarvon and Anglesey in 1293 would have owned three cattle, two oxen, a horse, and five or six sheep (eleven if he lived in Aberffraw). This use of the median is a far more realistic index than plain averages since a dispersion graph obviously gives results based solely on those families who owned beasts, while the average of animals for *every* family in the survey takes into account the theoretical share of all those who did not in fact have animals. For example, the average number of oxen per *tyddyn* in Aberffraw is two (the median shows one), and this distorted view is caused by the existence of two very large herds, one consisting of 20 beasts and the other of 16, whereas in reality, of the fifty households (out of a total of 68 in the *maerdref* and its hamlets) which actually held oxen, no less than 40 per cent owned only one animal. Another example of the average being distorted by extreme values entering the calculations occurs at Nefyn where the *average* number of sheep owned by the 93 heads of families is 2.2, but the truth is that only 28 per cent of the population own any sheep at all, so that the median among this minority is a flock of five animals.

As might be expected, the impression of an ideal, even spread of wealth throughout the population is not a completely accurate one: for example, Angharad verch Ada and her son in Bodvel owned no less than 42 oxen in addition to a herd of 48 cattle and 6 horses, and arable property producing 82 bushels of oats and 24 bushels of corn. David Fychan of Marchros had 4 oxen, 6 cows, 2 horses, and 20 sheep (besides 4 draught animals), together with oats and corn to the value of twenty shillings. Some of their neighbours on the other hand lived in a more modest fashion, often without arable resources but never without some stake in livestock,¹ particularly cattle, and in Pwllheli and Nefyn finding a profitable sideline in fishing.² Throughout Gafflogion as a whole pastoral activities provide two-thirds of the wealth, but Table V reveals that in addition to the unequal distribution of personal property sketched above, there existed, too, subtle local or regional shifts of emphasis in the economic pattern of the commote which reflect variations in land quality or a degree of specialization, and are in turn expressed ultimately in population density.

¹ In Nefyn the poorest tenants had no arable stakes, and usually neither sheep nor oxen, but almost without exception they possessed at least one cow.—P.R.O. 242/50B.

² At Nefyn, 41 out of 93 householders had nets, and in the case of David ap Thomas and Bleddyn Fychan, who also owned a boat each, fishing was clearly a major source of income. At Pwllheli, 9 of the 21 burgesses owned nets.

TABLE V
TOWNSHIP ECONOMIES IN GAFFLOGION COMMOTE

<i>Township</i>	<i>Total number of families</i>	<i>Total number of</i>			<i>Draught animals</i>	<i>Total number of bushels of</i>			
		<i>Oxen</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Corn</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Peas</i>
Botwnnog	13	12	36	13	18	100	32	2	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Canguwch	11	21	55	8	44	212	—	—	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bodvel	21	70	117	24	30	264	56	8	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
Penmaen	3	3	8	1	4	28	—	6	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Penyberth	7	11	31	10	36	120	28	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ystrad Geirch	18	27	62	17	67	250	48	—	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cae Hwsnin	10	15	41	10	25	144	16	—	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bodwrog	2	3	6	1	8	20	—	—	—
Bachellaeth	11	12	56	6	47	136	8	4	—
Llandinwael	8	15	40	4	24	114	28	—	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Llangian	30?+	24	111	24	65	259	58	12	33 $\frac{1}{2}$
Marchros	20	30	59	16	154	216	60	4	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bryn-Celyn	8	9	31	8	69	88	20	—	—
Cilan	17	12	44	13	75	142	8	—	—
Pwllheli	21	14	64	24	44	156	30	—	—
<i>Total</i>	200+	278	761	179	710	2,249	392	38	173

Such regional differences may be seen from Fig. II when analysed in the context of environmental contrasts as represented in Fig. III. This cartographic representation of some of the data contained in Table V brings out immediately a distinction between the three townships of Marchros, Cilan, and Bryn-Celyn, where sheep were numerically dominant in the livestock sector, and the remainder of the commote where cattle almost in-

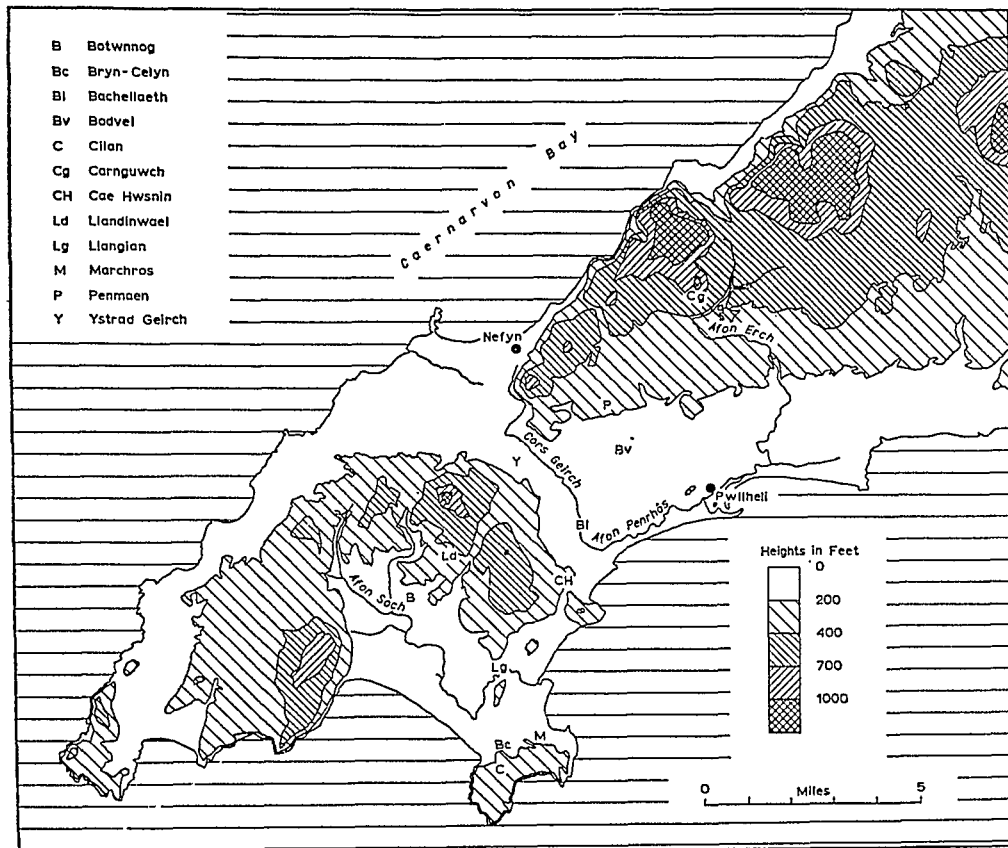


FIG. II

variably constituted at least one-third of all livestock numbers. Part of the explanation no doubt lies in the fact that the southern projection of the peninsula was climatically more exposed and also contained the most extensive areas of freely drained pastureland, whereas the central basis of the catchment areas was to some extent sheltered by the promontory and the hill country to the north, while its soils contained a larger component of imperfectly drained brown earths, and waterlogged soils on the gentler slopes leading down on to the valley floors and coastal marsh, an environment which would have been more conducive to cattle than sheep grazing.

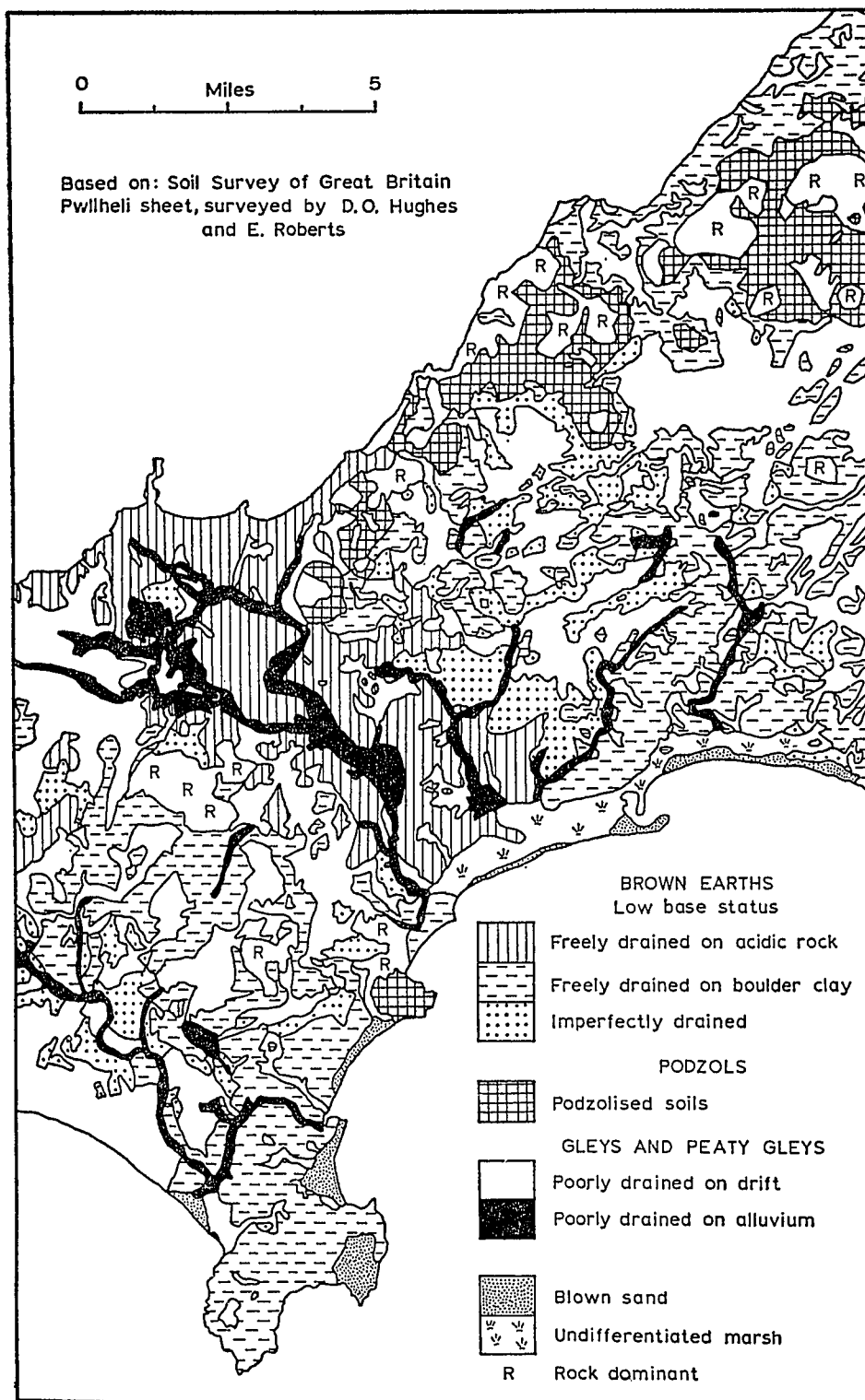


FIG. III

Another regional differentiation emerges when one considers the distribution of field crops by townships. From the point of view of actual quantities produced, Bodvel, Llangian, Marchros, and Ystrad Geirch are pre-eminent for both oats and corn, and it is clear that the arable lands of any township would tend to be found in areas of well-drained, relatively fertile soils, in this case the brown earths of low base status. On the other hand, such soils were fairly widespread in patches of varying size, slope, and aspect in Lleyrn, and mere township output is unrelated here either to population or area. Of far greater significance than this simple pattern is the relationship of cultivation to the livestock sector of the economy. The ubiquity and predominance of oats is abundantly evident from Table V, both in overall production and in its importance to individual farm economies. The output of oats was $5\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the second grain, wheat, and involved three times as many households, a reflection of the physical environment and the integration of tillage with the needs of a pastoral community.

A vivid illustration is given if one looks at townships where the output of oats was high per household, such as Carnguwch (19 bushels per household), Penyberth (17), Llandinwael and Cae Hwsnin (14)—precisely those areas where the ratio of cattle per household was also high. Conversely, this index for oats was low in those townships such as Cilan or Botwnnog (8 bushels per household) where the cattle emphasis on individual farms was weaker.

In conclusion, one may highlight five elements:

1. As Professor Postan has demonstrated a higher ratio of sheep than cattle per capita is in itself no indication of poverty, as might be implied by comparison with modern Welsh farming in Snowdonia. On the contrary, for their size the three hamlets south of Llangian were just as prosperous at this period as their neighbours and their large sheep population must be a local specialization harmonizing with the area's particular physical context.
2. Although the most valid index of wealth was the number of cattle and oxen owned by each family, the last section of Table IV indicates that cultivation, particularly of oats, was an interest shared by almost three-quarters of bond and free clansmen alike, further emphasizing the mixed economy of the communities throughout Gafflogion¹ and the rest of

¹ In Aberffraw, of the total of 68 families, 60 owned crops of oats, 55 corn, and 28 barley, a significantly higher proportion than in the mainland commote where the environment was still far from being tamed. The office of woodward of Gafflogion in 1309 was worth £8 5s. Cf. £9 for Ardudwy and £10 10s. for Eifionydd, the latter being the most backward commote in N. Wales.—P.R.O. Min.Acc. 1170/5. See also T. Jones Pierce, 'The Growth of Commutation in Gwynedd in the 13th century', B.B.C.S., x, 1941. The use of the term 'mixed economy' here exposes the need for a more precise terminology, since most agricultural systems are

North Wales, where 'tillage' and 'pastoralism' are in some senses artificial divisions imposed by modern misinterpretation of what was a fully integrated economy.¹

3. Arable concentration, if such exists, in these localities should not be correlated with social orders: it merely represents the distribution of the most fertile soils which could be exploited by existing techniques, framed around the slopes of Mynydd Nefyn and Garn Fadryn, above the ill-drained open vale of Cors Geirch in the middle reaches of the Afon Penrhos. It should always be borne in mind that, financially, one cow was the equivalent of 6 baskets of oats, 5 of corn, or 10 of barley.
4. Nothing is known of the acreage and land-use pattern of a typical homestead in the thirteenth century in North Wales, chiefly because of its indissoluble associations with the clanland as a whole, and it is therefore virtually impossible to arrive at any reliable figure for yields of respective crops. Proudfoot has estimated that medieval yields in Ireland were at a maximum about one-fourth of modern ones,² though this generalization would vary considerably between, for example, the Welsh *maerdref* demesne and the plots of a remote peasant community in the hills using the most primitive methods on much poorer soils. Further, when projecting our image of economic life based on Lleyllyn or Anglesey evidence on to areas like Merioneth, it is worth remembering that, even under present-day conditions of improved techniques, the yields per acre for Merioneth are by far the lowest for any county in Wales,³ and Stamp has focused attention on the marked falling-off of yields with only slight increases in altitude above a threshold value of a few hundred feet.⁴ Particularly would this apply in North Wales where extensive coastal lowlands are few and where maritime amelioration of climate does not penetrate far into the uplands.
5. Finally, although one can speak in broad terms of a settlement hierarchy from dispersed farmsteads, through nucleated hamlets (*maerdrefi*) to the

'mixed' inasmuch as they incorporate an element of crop and livestock husbandry, however small one may be in relation to the other. In Gafflogion at this time the balance between the two appears to have been fairly even, or at least it is extremely difficult to draw a distinction between them in the economy of any one homestead or township.

¹ Generally, those *prïodorian* who had no crop of oats owned few, if any, cattle.

² V. B. Proudfoot, 'Settlement and economy in County Down from the Late Bronze Age to the Anglo-Norman Invasion', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Queen's University, Belfast, 1957. See also the same author's 'The Economy of an Irish rath', *Medieval Archaeology*, v, 1961.

³ Ministry of Agriculture, *Annual Statistical Digest*.

⁴ L. D. Stamp, *The Land of Britain, its Use and Mis-use*, London, 1962.

boroughs, all forms were intimately linked with exploitation of the soil in all its aspects. Despite the intrusion of commercial and maritime activity into the structure of Pwllheli and Nefyn, as of all other boroughs in Gwynedd, small towns were still predominantly rural in character and it would be many generations before their inhabitants could even think in terms of localized pockets where urban demand played any significant part in a market economy.

Notes and Comments

THE 1968 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

It is hoped that the new dates of publication of the REVIEW (early February and August) will provide readers with more convenient advance information about the annual conferences. It will no longer be necessary to wait until March before receiving information and registration forms. Instead, a slip will be included in each February issue, which members should return to receive full conference details and registration forms. The 1968 conference and annual general meeting will be held at the University of East Anglia at Norwich from Monday, 8 April, to Thursday, 11 April, following the conference of the Economic History Society. The theme of the conference will be 'The Scientific Revolution in Agriculture', and papers will be read by Sir Joseph Hutchinson, F.R.S., G. E. Fussell, George Ordish, and E. J. T. Collins. On Tuesday afternoon there will be a tour of Holkham House and estate with Lord Leicester's estate agent. It is hoped that as many members as possible will be able to take advantage of this opportunity to visit a new university in an area of outstanding interest for agricultural history.

RURAL LIFE IN THE AGE OF ENCLOSURE

The Department of Adult Education, Nottingham University, is running a residential course on 'Rural Life in the Age of Enclosure' from 16 to 21 April 1968. The aim of the

course is to look at the effects of parliamentary enclosure on the landscape, rural economy and society, and agricultural practice during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The directors of studies will be Mr Rex C. Russell of the Department of Adult Education, Hull University, and Mr Brian Loughbrough, Curator of the Museum of Lincolnshire Life. The course will include practical work on documents in the Lincolnshire Archives Office. The charge, inclusive of accommodation, tuition, and all meals at the Lindsey College of Agriculture, three miles north of Lincoln, is 10 guineas. Applications to attend the course should be made not later than 1 March 1968.

ESSAYS IN AGRARIAN HISTORY

The printed slip inserted in the last issue of the REVIEW contained an error concerning the concessions allowed to members of the B.A.H.S. when purchasing the two volumes of *Essays in Agrarian History*. They may be bought for 45s. each volume, or £3 15s. for both volumes, if ordered before 1 July 1968, not 1 July 1967 as printed.

THE HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN CALIFORNIA

Interested scholars and libraries may obtain without charge from the Agricultural History Center, University of California at Davis

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