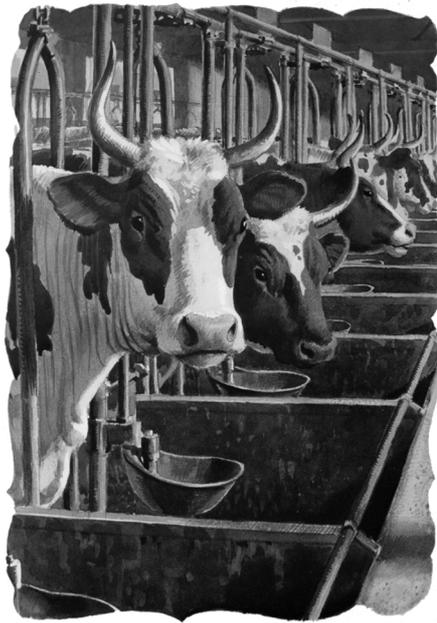


Rural History
2010

Brighton, 13-16 September

Conference Programme

Rural History 2010



Rural History 2010

Conference Programme
and
Abstracts

University of Sussex,
Falmer, Brighton

13–16 September 2010

Rural History 2010 has been sponsored by the British Agricultural History Society and organised for the Society by John Broad, Richard Hoyle and Nicola Verdon, with much of the administrative burden carried by Catherine Glover. The Society is grateful to its many friends and colleagues in the profession who have lent support and encouragement.

The Society is particularly grateful to the Royal Historical Society and the Economic History Society for making money available for student bursaries; to Brepols Publishers for sponsoring the reception on Monday evening, to the University of Sussex for handling our finances and to Heidi Swain of the University of Sussex Conference Office for her patience and calm.

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Conference Programme volume designed, compiled and edited by Catherine Glover

[catherine_e_m_glover@me.com].

The cover illustrations and the ones interspersed throughout this volume are by Charles Tunnicliffe (1901–1979) and first appeared as illustrations to Sidney Rogerson, *Both sides of the Road. A book about farming* (1949). Tunnicliffe was one of the finest landscape and wildlife watercolourists of his generation, much of whose best work was undertaken as commissioned book illustrations. He also worked in other media, including as an etcher and in oils. For further details of his life, see the website of the Charles Tunnicliffe Society [www.thecharlestunnicliffesociety.co.uk]

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A note of welcome

The British Agricultural History Society welcomes delegates to Rural History 2010. Many members of the Society have been participants in the European Rural History networks which have flourished over the past few years and which have been so important in encouraging a broader understanding of the rural histories of other European nations. As well as many personal contacts and friendships, the CORN and Progressor networks will leave permanent monuments in the voluminous collections of essays which they have produced, and the four-volume history of the North Sea area which we eagerly await. For many within the Society and in the European networks, the time seemed right to convene an international conference – the first – of rural historians.

Our decision to do so has been handsomely vindicated. We welcome to Rural History 2010 well over 200 delegates drawn from all parts of the world, including to our delight, rural historians from Argentina, China, India, Korea, Japan and New Zealand. And we have a good scatter of colleagues from eastern Europe as the political divisions of the later twentieth century are healed and long deferred conversations are commenced. In our next meeting we hope for many more. We have a feast of papers and the prospect of a genuinely enriching dialogue.

At this meeting we will also see the foundation of a new European Rural History Organisation. There is much to be decided about how this functions, but one of its chief tasks will be to act as a management committee to ensure that Rural History 2010 is not the only meeting of rural historians drawn from Europe and further afield, but the first. We welcome the establishment of EURHO as the next stage in the development of our profession, whose best days, we are confident, are still ahead of us. We hope it may prompt other regional networks to organise themselves and perhaps help to create a world-wide umbrella organization. The British Agricultural History Society will play its part as supporter of international initiatives, and as publisher of the leading international journal in the field. We invite you to join us in entering a new and exciting stage in our discipline.

Alun Howkins, President, BAHS

John Broad, Chairman, BAHS

Richard Hoyle, Chairman, Scientific Committee,
Rural History 2010

Scientific committee

The British Agricultural History Society sought nominations to the conference's Scientific Committee, which was responsible for the selection of papers and panels. From the nominations received, it appointed the following to the committee:

- Professor Richard Hoyle (University of Reading), chair, representing the British Agricultural History Society
- Professor Gérard Beaur (CRH, Paris, representing Progressor)
- Professor Christopher Dyer (University of Leicester)
- Dr Ernst Langthaler (Institute of Rural History, Austria)
- Professor Mats Morell (University of Uppsalla)
- Professor Masayuki Tanimoto (University of Tokyo)
- Professor Carmen Sarasúa (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
- Professor Anton Schuurman (Wageningen, representing the Rural History Network, ESSHC)
- Professor Erik Thoen, University of Ghent, representing CORN)
- Professor András Vári (University of Miskolc)
- Professor C. Fred Williams (University of Arkansas at Little Rock)



Cutting the wheat

The *Agricultural History Review* at Sixty

To celebrate the publication of the sixtieth volume of *Agricultural History Review* in 2012, the *Review* announces an prize essay competition open to rural historians in Britain, Europe and internationally. Three prizes will be offered, one of £500 and two of £250. One prize will be reserved for an essay in the rural history of the world outside Britain and Ireland. It is intended that if arrangements can be made, the prize-winning essays will be read at the Society's Spring Conference in 2013. The winning essays will be published in volume 60 of *Agricultural History Review*. It is a condition of entry that the essay has not been published elsewhere, is not under consideration by another journal, nor forms part of a forthcoming book.

There is no restriction on the subject matter of the essays except that they should fall within the remit of the *Review*. Discussions of contemporary issues in agriculture or rural economies are acceptable provided they are strongly rooted in an historical perspective. Essays employing new methodologies, or exploring new areas of interest, will be especially welcomed.

The competition is open to rural historians at the beginning of their careers, defined as those who on 30 September 2011 have had no more than five years post-doctoral academic employment in one or more posts in a university, research institute, museum or NGO. Submissions from rural historians who do not hold (and have not held) an academic or professional post as a rural historian are also welcome. Such people may or may not have a higher qualification, but no age or time limit applies in these cases

The essays will be judged by a panel appointed by the Executive Committee of the British Agricultural History Society and chaired by the editor of the *Review*, Professor Richard Hoyle, who will take specialist advice as appropriate. Queries about eligibility of applicants should be directed to him.

Essays should be no longer than 12,000 words including footnotes and any appendices. All submissions should be in English.

Three copies of each essay should be sent to the Editor of the *Review* at the Department of History, University of Reading, Reading, RG6 6AA, UK. Submissions by email attachment are also acceptable (to r.w.hoyle@reading.ac.uk) but the accompanying email should make it clear that the submission is intended for the essay competition.

The author's name should not be given on the essay but on a detachable cover sheet which should also include a short biographical paragraph (100 words)¹ and a statement confirming that the author meets the criteria laid down above. The latest date for the submission of essays is 30 September 2011. The winning candidates will be notified in January 2012.

¹ See the biographical details on participants in this conference programme for examples.

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW

Editors

Prof. R. W. Hoyle (University of Reading)

Prof. H. R. French (University of Exeter)

Agricultural History Review publishes new and innovative work on the history of all aspects of rural society and agricultural change. Whilst the focus of the *Review* has traditionally been on England, it increasingly offers a coverage of the British Isles and continental Europe and is willing to consider articles on the rural history of any part of the world. Recent and forthcoming articles include discussions of

The development of common rights over arable land in medieval England • A pan-European cattle pestilence in early fourteenth-century Europe • Private waste management and peri-urban agriculture in the early modern Scottish burgh • Agricultural change and the development of fox hunting • Farm rents and improvement in Scotland, 1670-1830 • *Gutsherrschaft* and *Koppelwirtschaft* in Schleswig-Holstein in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries • The Smithsonian bequest and early efforts to increase and diffuse agricultural knowledge in the United States • Higher agricultural education in Belgium and the development of a Catholic agricultural network, 1850-1914 • The dairy economy of a Swedish estate, 1874-1913 • Agricultural depression in England, 1873-96: Skills transfer and the “Redeeming Scots” • The evolution of the minimum wage in agriculture in England and Wales, 1909-24 • Agricultural experiences in First World War Devon • The White Paper *Agricultural Policy* of 1926

The *Review* not only carries the best new writing in the field, it is also committed to writing which is accessible as well as challenging. It aims to attract not merely academics but also all those interested in rural heritage or who make their living from the land-based industries. It also publishes the most comprehensive range of reviews and an Annual Bibliography of recent publications in British rural history. Two parts of the *Review* appear annually. The *Review's* archive is available through the Society's website: in 2010 *Agricultural History Review* will also become a JSTOR journal and in 2011 it will become available at moment of publication through Ingenta.

From time to time the *Review* also publishes supplements which, like the *Review*, are free to members of the British Agricultural History Society. *A common agricultural heritage* is the fifth of the supplement series.

The British Agricultural History Society, besides publishing the *Review* and a bi-annual newsletter, *Rural History Today*, holds an annual residential conference in the Spring (in 2011, this is to be held in Norwich) and a Winter Conference in London both of which offer opportunities to meet some of the leading practitioners of the discipline.

Agricultural History Review is supplied gratis to members of the Society. The annual subscription to the Society in 2010/11 is £20.00 for UK subscribers or for members outside the UK £25/ €35/ \$60 (US). Details of institutional subscription rates are available from the Society at www.bahs.org.uk.

Practicalities

On-site Conference Registration

On-site registration for the conference will be in Bramber House [13 on campus map] (second floor) at the following times:

Sunday 12 September:	16.00 to 18.00
Monday 13 September:	9.30 to 18.00
Tuesday 14 September:	8.30 to 18.00
Wednesday 15 September:	8.30 to 18.00
Thursday 16 September:	8.30 to 9.00

At other times, there will be contact details available at the conference reception desk in Bramber House (second floor). In an emergency, please call:

+44 (0) 7857 120514

Campus Accommodation

During your conference, if you have booked accommodation, it will be in Lewes Court, located at the northern end of campus [2 on campus map]. On reaching the access road to car park P9, go past the first block of residences (built of multi-coloured bricks), and look for the first of two further blocks built of plain bricks with grey window frames. There is a paved courtyard in front with a distinctive curved-roof cycle shed, and the entrance to Reception is in the left-hand corner of this courtyard. Keys may be collected here between 9.00 (14.00 on the Sunday) and 17.30 or, after this time, from 24-Hour Reception in York House [10 on campus map], located near Bramber House. Your conference package includes bed and full English breakfast. Details of where meals will be served will be in your bedroom when you arrive.

Please check out of your bedroom by 09:00 hours on your day of departure. Luggage storage will be provided at the conference reception in Bramber House [13 on campus map].

Mobile phone reception in the accommodation can be ‘patchy’, depending on your provider.

Every bedroom has a telephone which can be activated to make/receive external calls by registering your credit or debit card. Further details on how to use the phone are available from your accommodation reception. You must bring your own Ethernet cable for Internet access in the bedrooms. (There is wireless Internet access in Bramber House and the Fulton Building.)

Mobile phone reception can be patchy in the accommodation, depending on your service provider. There are payphones in most campus buildings.

Conference Sessions

Parallel sessions will take place each day in the Fulton Building [30 on campus map], rooms 103, 104, 107, 202 and 203.

Plenary sessions will take place in the Asa Briggs (A2) Lecture Theatre [21 on campus map] on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

Papers should normally be 20 minutes in length, but this depends on the number of papers in the session and the length of the session. As a rule of thumb, deduct 30 minutes (for questions) from the length of the session and divide the remainder by the number of papers. Ideally make contact with the session chair before the session.

Presentation Equipment

All the lecture rooms are equipped with modern computer projection facilities. Speakers and session chairs are kindly requested to load their presentations onto the PC in the assigned lecture room before the session begins. This can be done at any time on the day of the session. (PC drives are cleared at the end of each day.) We recommend bringing your presentation on a USB memory stick. If this is impossible, ask at the conference reception desk.

Two overhead projectors will also be available. Please ask at the conference reception desk if you want to use them for your presentation.

Exhibitors

There will be a number of publishers and other organisations attending the conference:

Ashgate Publishing

Brepols Publishers

British Agricultural History Society

Oxbow Books

Carnegie Publishing

Cambridge University Press

Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading

University of Hertfordshire Press

These organisations will have book stands in the Bramber House Conference Centre (second floor).

Refreshments and Meals

Coffee and tea breaks and lunch will be served in Bramber House, second floor. The conference day rate covers the cost of these and your badge shows your entitlement. If you have not paid the conference day rate, you can find refreshments and lunch at various places on campus (see the campus map).

Evening meals on Monday and Tuesday and the Conference Reception and Dinner on Wednesday will be served in the Downs Restaurant, Bramber House, first floor. If you have booked 'full conference with accommodation', you must wear your conference badge for these meals. If you have booked 'partial conference' or 'non-resident', your delegate pack will contain tickets for these meals.

The Reception on Monday evening in Bramber House, second floor, has been sponsored by Brepols Publishers and no tickets are required. Please wear your conference badge.

There are no restaurant facilities on campus on Sunday evening. We recommend travelling into Brighton to eat, and your delegate pack contains a map of Brighton with a list of restaurants. On Thursday evening there are some restaurant facilities open on campus.

Please ask at the reception desk for more information about dining, including takeaways that can be delivered to your room.

Getting to Brighton

There is a free bus through the campus to Falmer railway station, starting from Brighthelm (near Lewes Court) with a stop at Bramber House. (The bus stops are marked on the campus map.)

Brighton is 10 minutes away by train. Trains run from Falmer station approximately every 15 minutes. The station is located on the south side of the A27 dual carriageway, with the University campus to the north. A footpath leads from the University main entrance to an underpass that takes you to the station entrance.

Cash Dispensers and Foreign Exchange

There is a cash dispenser outside Bramber House. There are also branches of HSBC and Barclays banks on campus, both with cash dispensers. There are no foreign exchange facilities on campus.

Internet and Phone

If you have brought a laptop, ask at the conference registration desk about wireless access in Bramber House and the Fulton Building. Access in Lewes Court is by Ethernet cable, which you must supply yourself (we may have a few Ethernet cables that you can borrow).

If you don't have your own laptop, please ask at the conference desk about access to the Internet.

Post Office and Copying Facilities

There is a Post Office on campus. Please ask at the conference desk about photocopying.

Health Services

The Health Centre at the University of Sussex operates a standard GP practice and will see conference delegates as appropriate to their clinical needs; each case is dealt with on an individual basis. The Health Service also offers a minor injuries services. An NHS dentist and a pharmacy are also located in the Health Centre complex.

Souvenir Items

Souvenir mugs and t-shirts will be available for purchase at the conference. But to be sure of getting them, please pre-order. Details are available at <http://www.ruralhistory2010.org>. Additional copies of the Conference Programme will also be available for sale.

Conference Organisers and Helpers

If you need any help, the conference organisers and helpers will be wearing pale blue T-shirts with the Rural History 2010 'cows' emblem, when 'on duty'.



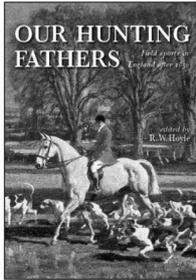


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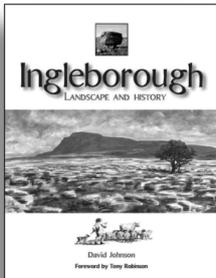
Surprisingly, perhaps, this book is the first major attempt to offer a proper historical perspective on the subject of field sports in England. Ranging widely through a variety of distinct sports dedicated to the pursuit of all sorts of wildlife – from foxes, deer, hares and otters to game birds, wildfowl and salmon – it discusses the involvement and participation of royalty, industrial plutocrats, the middle classes and even the working classes in field sports over 150 years.

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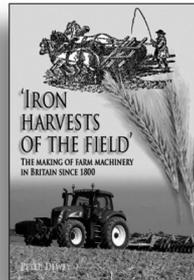
'Iron harvests of the field': the making of farm machinery in Britain since 1800

PETER DEWEY

ISBN 978-1-85936-180-1
hardback £30.00
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softback £18.99

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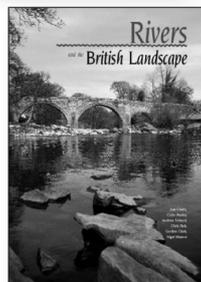


This beautiful book provides the first integrated analysis of British rivers, exploring the physical formation of rivers; the characteristics of fluvial environments; analysis of the social, economic and cultural uses of rivers; and an examination of the problems of river management. These themes are explored through historical and contemporary examples, with case studies drawn from all parts of Britain. The book is lavishly illustrated and includes an appendix of key facts about British rivers.

256 pages, 243 × 169 mm, 170 illustrations.

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Monday at a glance

9.30 – Registration and coffee in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor					
11.00 before parallel sessions in the Fulton Building:					
	Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
11.00 – 13.00	1.1 Approaches through landscapes	1.2 Uses of natural resources in the Kingdom of Valencia	1.3 The family farm	1.4 Anti-productivist agriculture: organicism and gardening	1.5 Improvement
13.00 – Lunch in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor					
14.00 – 15.30	2.1 CORN III/IV Round table: production, distribution and consumption: regional differences and comparisons in the North Sea Area I	2.2 Commons and faux-commons	2.3 Sources and experiences	2.4 Property rights, social inequality and agrarian change in southern Europe, I	2.5 New green spaces: landscapes of remembrance, recreation and reconstruction in twentieth-century England and Wales
15.30 – Tea in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor					
16.00 – 18.00	3.1 CORN III/IV Round table: production, distribution and consumption: regional differences and comparisons in the North Sea Area II	3.2 Oral history and the history of Forests	3.3 Dynamics in land use and animal husbandry in Sweden	3.4 Property rights, social inequality and agrarian change in southern Europe, II	3.5 Exploring farming styles
18.30 – Reception sponsored by Brepols, and launch of CORN Volume IV					
19.30 in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor					
19.30 – Dinner (cafeteria-style) in the Downs Restaurant, Bramber House, First Floor					
	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203	
20.30 – 21.30	4.1 Rural New Zealand	4.2 Agrarian change and crisis in Europe, 1200–1500	4.3 China’s agricultural history studies in historical perspective	4.4 Feeding the World: connecting Europe and Asia, 1930–1945	
19.30 – Marble Bar in the Downs Restaurant, Bramber House, First Floor					
24.00					

Monday 11.00–13.00

Session 1

Parallel sessions in the Fulton Building:

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>1.1 Approaches through landscapes</p> <p>Chair: Angus Winchester</p> <p>1.11 Tom Williamson:</p> <p>The origins of 'champion' landscapes in midland England: new evidence from Northamptonshire</p> <p>1.12 Brendan Chester-Kadwell:</p> <p>Farms and routeways in the High Weald</p> <p>1.13 Lies Vervae:</p> <p>The correlation between the organisation of rural society and the layout of its surrounding landscape. Some evidence from early modern Flanders</p>	<p>1.2 Uses of natural resources in the Kingdom of Valencia</p> <p>Conveners: Vicent Royo Pérez and Frederic Aparisi Romero</p> <p>Chair: Vicent Royo Pérez</p> <p>1.21 Frederic Aparisi Romero:</p> <p>The purpose of forest and marshy lands in the Valencian Country (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries)</p> <p>1.22 Vicent Baydal Sala and Ferran Esquilache Martí:</p> <p>Production, trade and use of salt in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries</p> <p>1.23 Vicent Royo Pérez:</p> <p>The incidence of livestock in the organisation of agrarian landscape in the village of Culla in the fifteenth century</p>	<p>1.3 The family farm</p> <p>Chair: Ernst Langthaler</p> <p>1.31 Richard Paping:</p> <p>The transfer of farms in a Dutch commercial rural society from the sixteenth to the twentieth century</p> <p>1.32 Ann Grubbström and Helen Sooväli-Sepping:</p> <p>Estonian family farms in transition: generational change and gender</p> <p>1.33 Ann Catrin Östman and Pirjo Markkola:</p> <p>Gendering land reforms – the early twentieth-century land question from the perspective of masculinity</p>	<p>1.4 Anti-productivist agriculture: organicism and gardening</p> <p>Chair: Dulce Freire</p> <p>1.41 Erin Gill:</p> <p>Anti-science bias and New Age religion in the early Soil Association: how the post-war British organic movement amplified its alienation from mainstream farmers and agricultural scientists</p> <p>1.42 Brunhilde Bross-Burkhardt:</p> <p>Development and practice of organic gardening in Germany since 1945</p> <p>1.43 Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen:</p> <p>Re-ruralisation: urban farming and the comeback of gardens in the urban and rural space</p> <p>1.44 Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz:</p> <p>Nature as resource: everyday life and socialisation during the twofold transition at the end of the twentieth century in eastern Germany: ethnological perspectives on the conflict around sustainable methods of production</p>	<p>1.5 Improvement</p> <p>Chair: Mats Morell</p> <p>1.51 Laura Sayre:</p> <p>Agromanie: crisis, improvement and agricultural enthusiasm in Western Europe from the eighteenth century to the present</p> <p>1.52 Daniel Reupke:</p> <p>Credit markets in the nineteenth-century countryside: a comparative study in a rural border region</p> <p>1.53 Heather Holmes:</p> <p>The agricultural correspondent and Scottish agricultural periodicals and newspapers 1800–1850</p>



Threshing

 Session 1.1: Approaches through landscapes

Room 103

Chair: Angus Winchester

1.11 Tom Williamson – The origins of ‘champion’ landscapes in midland England: new evidence from Northamptonshire.

Most archaeologists believe that the familiar Midland landscapes of nucleated villages and extensive, ‘regular’ open fields originated in the middle and later Saxon periods. A settlement pattern of scattered farms and small hamlets was replaced by one of nucleated villages, many of which were apparently laid out in carefully planned form: open fields originated at the same time, or soon after, the whole change representing a ‘communalisation’ of agriculture directed from above by major landowners. A recent AHRC-funded GIS mapping project, studying Northamptonshire, now suggests that this story is largely mythical. Few parishes in the county contain more than one or two early Saxon settlements – there never was a ‘scattered’ early Saxon settlement pattern; ‘village planning’ is an illusion; and regular open fields are largely, if not entirely, a post-Conquest development. The twelfth century may be the key period both for the development of ‘champion’ landscapes, and for the emergence of strong regional variations in the English rural landscape more generally.

Tom Williamson is Professor of Landscape History at the University of East Anglia. His recent publications include: *Shaping Medieval Landscapes* (2003); *Rabbits, Warrens and Archaeology* (2007); *Sutton Hoo and its Landscape: the context of monuments* (2008); and *The Countryside of East Anglia: changing landscapes, 1870–1950* (with Susanna Wade Martins).

1.12 Brendan Chester-Kadwell – Historic routeways in the High Weald

The High Weald, despite its proximity to London, the Cinque Ports and other coastal settlements, has often been portrayed as a remote area. However, local farmers and entrepreneurs have traditionally relied on distant markets for the disposal of much of their produce. Previous studies have explored the economic relationship of the High Weald to these markets, but perhaps less attention has been paid to local agrarian organisation.

The High Weald’s rural economy reflects a complex history of resource exploitation from prehistory to the nineteenth century. This included a wide range of agricultural, pastoral and early industrial activities, which frequently overlapped and supplemented each other. Wealden farms depended on long distant routeways to maintain this economic activity and these routeways are generally considered to relate strongly to early settlement patterns: however, little detail is known about how this is manifested in local networks.

The paper is based on research into a small group of parishes along the Kent/East Sussex border in the vicinity of the river Rother. It will consider the role of ‘transhumance’, the size and distribution of Wealden farms (as they appear in the tithe surveys), and how farms used local lanes and common spaces in the management of the agrarian economy.

This paper is offered by the University of East Anglia, with the High Weald AONB Unit, and is an aspect of long-term projects into High Weald farms/routeways.

Brendan Chester-Kadwell is a member of the Landscape Group in the School of History, University of East Anglia (UEA, Norwich), where he is completing a doctoral thesis on rural settlement morphology in the Huntingdonshire Ouse Valley and the High Weald. He is also working on the High Weald Historic Routeways Project, which is a joint project with The High Weald AONB Unit. Brendan has given papers on topics relating to his doctoral research, and his MA

dissertation (Land Tenure in the Wealden Parishes of Rolvenden and Benenden: c.1600–1840). He is also historic advisor to the Swiss Garden Restoration Project, Bedfordshire.

1.13 Lies Vervaeet – The estate management of the Bruges Saint John’s hospital before and after the Black Death: a geographical analysis

Many historians have focused on the estate management of large landowning institutions as an inroad to study structural changes in premodern rural society. Recent research has demonstrated that the so-called ‘late medieval crisis’ had a regionally divergent impact in the county of Flanders. In this context, much can be learned from the archives of the Saint John’s hospital of Bruges, one of the oldest and richest landowning institutions of Flanders. Those unusually rich archives, which have not yet been subject to thorough research, provide an excellent way to measure the impact of that crisis on the various rural estates of the hospital in different parts of Flanders. In my contribution, I will provide a geographical analysis of the hospital’s patrimony as described in two comprehensive land registers, dating respectively from 1337 and from 1420. This will allow for a diachronological analysis of the estates and their way of exploitation in the light of the impact of the Black Death, in the economically and demographically diverse region that was medieval Flanders.

Lies G. P. Vervaeet studied history at the Ghent University (Belgium) with specialisations in rural history and historical geography. Her Master’s thesis focused on the socio-economic organisation of a Flemish rural village. Central question was whether that specific organisation was reflected in the layout of the village’s cultivated area. On the first of July 2008 she was appointed as research assistant at the Department of Medieval History of the Ghent University. Lies is preparing a PhD on rural history, under the supervision of Prof. dr. Erik Thoen. Subject of her PhD is the administration of the rural estates of the Saint John’s hospital in Bruges during the late middle ages. She wants to investigate how an urban charitable institution managed its rural estates while the countryside underwent a transformation from a traditional peasant society to a more commercial society.

1.2 Uses of natural resources in the Kingdom of Valencia in the middle ages (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries) Room 104

Conveners: Vicent Royo Pérez and Frederic Aparisi Romero

Chair: Vicent Royo Pérez

Traditionally, the historiography has analysed the peasant economy from the perspective of subsistence and cereal agriculture. At the same time, it has insisted on the restriction of access to the forest imposed by lords in the Western Europe. All this has generated a monolithic vision of rural society focused on production and consumption of cereals without considering natural resources destined for alimentation and other daily and industrial uses. In spite of that, recently, this conception has been rectified. Studies in all Europe have demonstrated the diversification of the peasant diet and the existence of different uses of natural resources, even the appearance of rural industries.

Therefore, this session expects to analyse the uses of natural resources in the kingdom of Valencia during later middle ages. On the one hand, the exploitation of meadows, marsh lands and forests became an essential part of economic strategies of peasantry. On the other hand, the extraction of wood and salt generated industrial activities in different Valencian towns and an active market controlled by the king and lords. Finally, the importance of flocks produced a strong transformation of the agrarian landscape with the delimitation of grazing areas and the proliferation of routes for seasonal migration of livestock. Thus, the case of the kingdom of Valencia becomes a suitable scene in order to study the uses of natural resources in the Mediterranean area, to analyse the

consequences of these uses in medieval society and to make a start on elaborating this to establish a comparison with other European territories.

1.21 Frederic Aparisi Romero – The purpose of forest and marshy lands in the Valencian Country (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries)

Traditionally, forest has been considered by European historiography as a complement for the peasant economy, where families could obtain fuel, materials for building, forage, and wild products. The limited access that lords established shows the importance and the possibilities that the forest offered. Apart from forests, marsh lands and meadows must be considered as spaces of secondary resources for the peasantry in the Valencian country. Combining different types of sources allows us to study the regularisation of these spaces, what kind of activities and how they were practised (hunting, fishing, collection and so on) and who could gain access to these areas. Furthermore, we must consider whether the purpose of these activities was autoconsumption or for the local market. Of course, these strategies did not have the same requirements but both of them implied a complement to the peasant economy. As a consequence, not only poor but also middle and even rich peasant families were present in these areas collecting woods and stones, hunting, fishing or pasturing.

1.22 Vicent Baydal Sala and Ferran Esquilache Martí – Production, trade and use of salt in the kingdom of Valencia in the middle ages (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries)

Salt, as is well known, is an essential product for human nutrition. In the West has been traditionally used in preparing foods such as bread or cheese and for conservation in the long term, as in the case of salted meat or fish. In addition, it is also essential for cattle feeding and in certain industries like leather tanning. Therefore, salt has been one of the most basic products for societies and also one that has been controlled the most by political powers throughout history.

That is why we want to focus this paper on several aspects of production, trade and use of salt in the kingdom of Valencia during the middle ages, as at present it is an unknown matter with just a couple of particular studies. Thus, through research into legislative documents, medieval cookbooks, local archives and other kinds of archival sources concerning salt works management, we will try to make a detailed overview of the forms of monopoly, extraction, sale, transport and use of salt in the Valencian territory between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries

1.23 Vicent Royo Pérez – The incidence of livestock in the organisation of the agrarian landscape in the village of Culla (fifteenth to seventeenth centuries)

After the conquest of thirteenth century, an agrarian reorganisation transformed the kingdom of Valencia due to the introduction of feudal concepts by Christian troops. This is a process that the Valencian historiography has studied in the large *hortes* (irrigated areas) that surround the cities of the kingdom. As a result, we know well the criteria of organisation of the territory and its transformations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, the unirrigated landscape has not been studied yet, although the alterations were marked in the thirteenth and even striking in the fourteenth and fifteenth.

So, with this paper we attempt to make a first approximation to the criteria of organisation of a mountain landscape as Culla, in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Through the different types of sources, not only archaeological but also written we try the distribution of the different growing areas and use for grazing in order to articulate the territory and to define the characteristics of an agrarian landscape in the Valencian North.

Harca is a non-official research group focused on the medieval history of the Valencian country. We combine our personal research with this common project where we try to put together our experiences. **Frederic Aparisi Romero** (Universitat de Valencia) studies rural elites in the kingdom of Valencia during the fifteenth centuries. **Vicent Baydal Sala** (Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-IMF Barcelona) is focused on the royal tax system and the relations king-kingdom in the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth centuries. **Ferran Esquilache Martí** (Universitat de Valencia) works on the making of hydraulic systems and the Horta of Valencia between twelfth and fifteenth centuries. **Ivan Martínez Araque** (Universitat de Valencia) works on artisans in the small towns of the Valencian Country in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries. Finally, **Vicent Royo Pérez** (Universitat de Valencia) studies the kinds of litigation and judgement in the Valencian countryside in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. **Visit us at www.Harca.org.**

1.3 The family farm

Room 107

Chair: Ernst Langthaler

1.31 Richard Paping – The transfer of farms in a Dutch commercial rural society from the sixteenth till the twentieth century

In this paper I will try to explore how in a part of the coastal region of the Netherlands commercial farms were transferred to new users from the sixteenth until the end of the twentieth century. A database with the history of the inhabitants of 80 farms in four parishes in the eastern Marne in the province of Groningen covering the period 1591–1991 will be analysed. This region was characterised by large farms, an equal inheritance system, near indivisibility of farms and high proletarianisation (wage labour). Research for less market-oriented parts of Germany (Belm) suggests a considerable continuity of families over the generations (with a preference for sons) on at least the more substantial farms from the middle of seventeenth century onwards. The limited dependence on the market and the underdeveloped money economy possibly also limited competition between peasants and protected them from bankruptcies.

In an agricultural economy like the early-modern coastal Netherlands where selling the produce on the market and buying the inputs was the primary goal, commercial, agricultural and management skills of farmers perhaps played a far more decisive role. On the one hand the (use of the) farm was absolutely no certainty, on the other hand the farm, land, livestock and equipment embodied not only most of the capital of the farmer's family, but also constituted the inheritance for all the children of the next generation. Presumably these factors created a completely different system of transferring farms, with a much smaller role for family succession.

In this paper I want to answer the question whether commercial farmer families indeed were less attached to the 'family farm'? What priorities did they seem to have had through the centuries when transferring the farm? Did the position of sons and daughters in the chances to succeed on the family farm differ? What were the chances of the children of the farmers to obtain a farm themselves? Played high age at marriage and extended and multiple families a role in the transfer of farms to the next generation? Was there a relation between the age at marriage and the taking over of the farm? What was the effect on transfer practices of population growth and the rise in income per capita (increasing the possibility to retire) especially from the nineteenth century onwards? Was the transfer system of large (and wealthy) farms different from that of the smaller ones, and was this system in the twentieth century different from that in early-modern times?

Richard Paping (b.1962) is senior lecturer in Economic and Social History (University of Groningen). He is interested in both macro social-economic developments and micro aspects of the life of people. His research fields are rural history, agrarian history, demographic history, standard-of-living, social structure and social mobility in the sixteenth to twentieth century, mostly in (the north of) the Netherlands and in an international comparative perspective. He published for instance on family strategies and on the potato blight of 1845 (with Ó Gráda and Vanhaute). At the moment his research pivots on farm succession, household structure and the development of the Dutch population 1400–1850.

1.32 Ann Grubbström and Helen Sooväli-Sepping – Estonian family farms in transition: generational change and gender

This paper focuses on land transfer in Estonia in a long term and gender perspective. Earlier research on land succession has often focused on Western Europe and also often excluded the twentieth century. The results are based on interviews and make it possible to discuss underlying forces that determines decisions on land transfer.

During the inter-war period family farming was a norm and an ideal and there were many potential successors in a family. Most farms were transferred to a son, and daughters normally inherited only in the absence of male successors. One central argument of this paper is the significant role and persistence of family farm and land transfer as norms and ideals, despite the interruption of the Soviet period with a collective agricultural system. Immaterial resources like values and symbols were important in the transfer process. One example is the emotional value of the house as a symbol of family history. Today, family farming is gradually declining in importance but the active farmers still value traditions like deciding upon a successor at an early stage. This is also true for former farmers with an emotional attachment to land. Even though gender is less important in decisions about a successor parents value capabilities that they more often find among sons.

Helen Sooväli-Sepping is a senior researcher at the Centre of Excellence on Cultural Theory, the Centre for Landscape and Culture, the Estonian Institute of Humanities, and Tallinn University. She received her PhD from University of Tartu and was a Fulbright postdoctoral fellow at University of California, Los Angeles. Her research focuses on imaginative geographies, landscape and imagery, and cultural geography. She has co-edited two international books: *Seasonal Landscapes* with Hannes Palang, and Anu Printsman (2007); and *European Rural Landscapes: Permanence, Persistence and Change in the Globalising Environment* with Hannes Palang, Marc Antrop and Gunhild Setten (2004).

Ann Grubbström is a research fellow at the Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University, Sweden. Her PhD focused on ethnic minorities and landownership. Her postdoctoral research concerns strategies for generational change and transfer of resources in Estonian farming in a long-term perspective. Another project focuses on forest and land as resources in Estonia. She has just started a three-year project: Looking for farmers, young farmers' future strategies in a transforming sector.

1.33 Ann Catrin Östman and Pirjo Markkola – Gendering land reforms – the early twentieth-century land question from the perspective of masculinity

The paper studies the discussions about the land question from the perspective of gender. During a long period possession of land has been main object of state intervention in Finland. We analyse the discussions preceding the reform made in 1918. Our aim is to analyse how land legislation drew its meaning from gendered positions and gendered ideals. In this paper we will compare different land reforms and series of land regulations from a gender perspective by relating them to the ideal of the family farm and to understandings of masculinity.

In the presentation we will explore ways of making gender visible, i.e. how we will try to demonstrate that gendered ideals shaped the structure and implementation of land reforms. The study will 1) look at how questions of marital status and household positions were dealt with in different discussions; 2) analyse how the idea and the role of the family was touched upon; 3) analyse how ideals of manly independence and self-support were touched upon in the discussions about land reforms; 4) search for key points in the discussion of rights and duties relating to conceptions of manhood.

We will also comment on the different influence groups active in the preparation of land reforms. The research material on land reforms includes documents from the process of law-drafting and the law texts themselves; archival material from the Ministry of Agriculture and its commissions

preparing the land reforms; finally texts and pamphlets from different pressure groups (e.g. organisations for small holders and farmer's fractions within political parties).

Previous Finnish research on land reforms in the twentieth century has predominantly dealt with the acquisition of land in terms of social and economical structures within the agrarian population as well as agricultural production structures. Moreover, aspects of language, ethnicity and geographical position have been discussed.

Pirjo Markkola, professor in history at the University of Jyväskylä, has published vividly in the fields of gender history and social history. She has written about rural women's work, about social reform, and religion. Furthermore, she has edited the last volume of the series of Finnish Agricultural History.

Ann-Catrin Östman's doctoral thesis, published in 2001, discussed understandings of femininity and masculinity in a small Finnish community, 1879-1940. She has also written about the history of agricultural history, about farmer's co-operatives and about early Finnish studies of the agrarian population.

1.4 Anti-productivist agriculture: organicism and gardening Room 202

Chair: Dulce Freire

1.41 Erin Gill – Anti-science bias and New Age religion in the early Soil Association: how the post-war British organic movement amplified its alienation from mainstream farmers and agricultural scientists

The UK public's recent – and, perhaps, now stalled – love affair with organic food has been widely heralded and debated. What has attracted far less attention is the fact that increasing public consumption of organic food has not been matched by sharp increases in conversion to organic production by British farmers. While in 2008, 90 per cent of British households reported buying some organic food, less than 4 per cent of agricultural land (just over 675,000ha) is under organic production. The gulf between the public's and farmers' embrace of organic food contrasts with the experience of many other northern European nations, including Germany, Denmark and Sweden.

This paper will argue that *some* of the reasons why the UK organic movement has failed to transform agricultural production are related to the nature of the UK organic movement, as it emerged into public view after the Second World War. I will present evidence to support the contention that the movement's largest and most successful organisation, The Soil Association, neglected and alienated the UK farming community, agricultural scientists, policy makers and, eventually, many important figures within the nature conservation movement. The paper will raise questions about the likely negative impact of the early Soil Association's recurring anti-science bias and many of its members' acceptance of unconventional, 'New Age' religious beliefs.

Erin Gill is in the final stages of writing her doctoral thesis, which focuses on the career of Lady Eve Balfour (1898), the founder and first leader of the Soil Association. Following a period during which she pursued doctoral research on a full-time basis, thanks to a studentship awarded by Aberystwyth University, she has returned to work as an environmental journalist. Erin currently edits the journalistic output of *Environment Analyst* (www.environment-analyst.com). She has also taught history undergraduates on a part-time basis, devising two courses (*Using Letters and Diaries for Historical Research*, a seminar-based course focusing on developing students' basics skills in archival research, and a lecture course entitled *Environmental Protest in nineteenth and twentieth century Britain*). She has written book reviews for *Economic History Review*, *Agricultural History Review*, *Environment and History* and various magazines aimed at the wider public.

1.42 Brunhilde Bross-Burkhardt – Development and practice of organic gardening in Germany since 1945

Organic gardening is of increasing relevance in private gardens in Germany, especially in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. After the war there had not been a practicable conception for it. Personalities like Ewald Könemann, Gertrud Franck and Alwin Seifert were the first to develop methods of companion planting, composting, organic fertilisation and poison-free plant protectives. Important influences came from England by Sir Albert Howard and Maye E. Bruce. In Germany organic gardeners for many years from the beginning were being ridiculed and segregated. They even had to face hostility. Since the 1980s organic gardeners are supported by a new generation of ecologists who put the private garden in relation to nature in its entirety. Since then organic gardening has become a strong movement which acts upon the society in Germany and increases awareness for ecology. Private gardening and farming developed in common until organic farming guidelines were introduced in the 1980s which led to an emancipation of private organic gardening. There are no strict rules for gardening. Every private garden owner may cultivate the soil at his discretion as long as he does not violate environment protection laws.

Brunhilde Bross-Burkhardt, living in Langenburg, Germany, is a graduate engineer of agronomy and a member of the 'Arbeitskreis für Agrargeschichte'. She studied agriculture at the Universities of Hohenheim and Kiel. She was publisher and editor in chief of the magazine *Boden und Gesundheit (Soil and Health)*. Mrs Bross-Burkhardt is dedicated to documenting and supporting traditional rural life, farming and gardening, because of their beauty and efficiency. She is trying to help preserve and reestablish traditional methods as they are most likely to offer the best chance for sustainable food production in harmony with natural systems. Mrs Bross-Burkhardt works as a journalist and book author for publishing houses specialised in agricultural and gardening topics in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. In her books she concentrates on the development of organic cultivation and gardening, the history of garden culture in general and botany. She gives lectures and guides excursions to sites of traditional gardening and farming. Currently she is writing her doctoral thesis at the Humboldt-University in Berlin about the history of private organic gardening in South Germany since 1945 (conclusion in spring of 2010).

1.43 Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen – Re-ruralisation: urban farming and the comeback of gardens in the urban and rural space

Subsistence farming, which has been ignored in the past as a kind of informal women's economy, is coming back into public awareness. Rural smallholder farming, the so-called 'private home economy', was the guarantee of food security in Eastern Europe under Socialism. Socialistic policy allowed this small-scale farming in order to keep the peasants on the countryside. The countryside, however, makes a comeback in the city in the form of urban migration, as in Africa. Entire populations in African cities feed on wild vegetable gardening on vacant land, with municipal support in slums or model settlements. Intercultural gardens, community gardens or guerrilla gardening are, in North America and in Europe, awakening the interest of the media. The new movement for self-produced vegetables often accompanies common efforts to preserve vacant spaces within the cities. Especially in the US facing an enormous rate of hidden unemployment, city administrations discover the 'next big trend' as crucial for the 'food factor', as well for the fight against hunger and against obesity. Gardens help to improve our thinking about a healthy nutrition, about the 'ecological footprint' of food production in sustainable cities. Stopping global climate change is a task for cities as well as for the countryside. It may indeed turn out to be a fortunate accident of history, if the new awareness of the necessity of an overall 're-ruralisation' makes its comeback this time coming from the cities.

Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen (PhD) is 'Privatdozent' at the Free University of Berlin as well as a free-lance researcher, journalist and garden activist. She is the founding member of the working group, 'Small-Holder Agriculture' ('Arbeitsgruppe Kleinstlandwirtschaft'), founded in 1997 at the Department of Agriculture and Gardening of the Humboldt-University in Berlin where she was teaching. She has organised three international conferences on small-scale farming in the urban and rural space worldwide, in Freiburg 1998 and in Berlin during the summers of

2000 and 2001. She has been involved since in the areas of ‘food security’, urban agriculture and community gardening, and has carried out research in the USA and in Germany, in Poland and in Eastern Africa. She has published various books and articles about community gardening and food security.

1.44 Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz – Nature as resource: everyday life and socialisation during the twofold transition at the end of the twentieth century in eastern Germany: ethnological perspectives on the conflict around sustainable methods of production

This paper discusses the conflict between ecological and traditional farming methods in a variety of rural communities in the Uckermark, a region in Mark Brandenburg. The following two aspects of the problem will be investigated:

1. What forms of culture and lifestyle emerge within the framework of sustainable farming, and what are the effects of these patterns, which first develop within small communities, on the larger social context; what are the national and international networks that play a role in this respect ?
2. The rural regions of East Germany are affected by an above-average level of unemployment. Does ecological farming offer the opportunity to extend new and emerging employment opportunities in agriculture to these Eastern European regions? How are agrarian production, landscape management and environment protection developed in rural areas of East Germany which undergo an overall process of social transformation ?

This paper suggests new theoretical perspectives drawn from ethnology and cultural ecology in order to investigate the social conflicts arising from the interplay of history, culture, social organisation and natural environment. Furthermore, the heuristic relevance of the concept of modernity for the study of cultural, social and economical transition processes in Eastern Europe will be discussed.

Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz is head of the Regional Institute for Folklore Studies of Berlin-Brandenburg at the Department of European Ethnology at Humboldt-University Berlin. She has widely published in the areas of methodology and historiography in Folklore Studies and in Anthropology. Her particular interest is in the agency of individuals and social groups in transformation societies. She has undertaken long term anthropological research on the transition of rural areas in eastern Germany and near the Polish border. She is currently researching and teaching in the following areas: history of anthropology and Folklore Studies, historical anthropology, anthropology of rural societies, history of migration and forced labour in Berlin and Brandenburg, museums and the politics of exhibitions.

1.5 Improvement

Room 203

Chair: Mats Morell

1.51 Laura B. Sayre – Agromanie: crisis, improvement and agricultural enthusiasm in Western Europe from the eighteenth century to the present

‘He laughed heartily at his lordship’s saying he was an *enthusiastical* farmer; for (said he) what can he do in farming by his *enthusiasm*?’ Thus James Boswell described his friend Samuel Johnson’s response to visiting Lord Monboddo at his estate in Scotland in 1773. Like many scholarly, well-born men of his generation, Monboddo was a gentleman farmer, priding himself on his close attention to the management of his agricultural land. And yet it was an attitude controversial enough to separate the young rake from the celebrated critic: ‘Here, however, I think Dr. Johnson mistaken’, Boswell noted. Agricultural enthusiasm, or what the French called *agromanie*, was widespread in Europe in the eighteenth century; arguably, it has taken hold again today. The countryside is in desperate straits, and yet farming has rarely been so fashionable among urban

elites. ('I have a farm', a young man declared by way of self-introduction at a recent agronomy conference. 'It's about a tenth of an acre, in Brooklyn. I'm thinking about getting a few chickens.') What gives rise to agricultural enthusiasm, what does it achieve, and what does it conceal? What links can be drawn between its eighteenth-century version and its present form? This paper will consider the affective aspect of agricultural improvement, how it was theorised in the eighteenth century and how it is manifested today.

Laura B. Sayre is a researcher with the *Laboratoire de recherche sur les innovations socio-techniques et organisationnelles en agriculture de Dijon*, a division of France's National Institute for Agronomic Research (INRA), the largest agricultural research organisation in Europe. She holds a PhD in English from Princeton University, where her dissertation on the use of the georgic in eighteenth-century British agricultural writing won the (US) Agricultural History Society's Gilbert C. Fite Award in 2003. From 2003 to 2008 she was employed by the non-profit Rodale Institute, working as an agricultural journalist covering the organic and sustainable farming scene in the United States and overseas. In 2008–09 she was a fellow with Yale University's Program in Agrarian Studies. She also has extensive experience working on organic farms, primarily in organic vegetable production, and served for two seasons as an independent organic inspector. Among her current work is an edited volume on the student farm movement in North America.

1.52 Daniel Reupke – Credit markets in the nineteenth-century countryside: a comparative study in a rural border region

Getting credit to satisfy their financial needs was vital for the people at all times. Historiography has made some distinctive studies about bank loans in big cities. But how about rural credit markets? For a small town, David Warren Sabean (1990) detected social connexions, which made lending possible by improving the trust in each other, and Craig Muldrew (2001) showed the connexion between credit and social relations. For France, Gilles Postel-Vinay (1997) pointed out social networks in cities and villages, setting the limits within it gets possible for peasants and peons to obtain credit and capital from *Notabeln* of the region and from the local parish. However, the mechanics of lending within the networks never been explored systematically.

Social network analysis will be applied to examine the mechanics of lending in three rural towns located in the Saar-Lor-Lux (Saarland-Lorraine-Luxembourg) border region in a partly sociological manner (like Padgett/Howell (1993) for the Medici-bankers). Using notarised debt certificates to construct a database spanning the whole of the nineteenth century, the project seeks to reconstruct the networks within which all lending took place in an age before bank loans became available. Among other things, the preliminary findings suggest that participating in these networks was the *conditio sine qua non* to obtain credit; lending activities were locally centred, but regularly crossed the state boundaries between the Prussian *Saarregion*, France and Luxembourg. The quantitative based economic history might be supplemented by social and cultural history (by exploring the sociocultural aspects of the networks). Finally, this research will reveal, how credit markets in nineteenth century countryside had operated.

Daniel Reupke is PhD student at Saarland University in Saarbrücken (Germany). He studied Law and Economics at University of Bayreuth, later History abroad in France and at Saarland University, where he received his MA degree in 2008. Now he works as a research assistant at the Department of History and as a doctoral student in the project *Kreditvergabe im 19. Jahrhundert* (Lending in the nineteenth century) headed by Professor Gabriele B. Clemens and funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG – German Research Foundation). His research interests include Legal history in nineteenth century, economic, social and cultural history of border regions and rural towns as well as urban history.

1.53 Heather Holmes – The agricultural correspondent and Scottish agricultural periodicals and newspapers 1800–1850

An important function of Scottish agricultural newspapers and journals was to afford farmers and others a medium through which they could express their opinions on agricultural and kindred subjects. So important was the role of the agricultural correspondent that editors recognised their importance in determining the success of their publications and actively encouraged the supply of contributions.

This paper examines the role and character of the agricultural correspondent to Scottish agricultural journals and newspapers between 1800 and 1850, a period when these publications developed into distinct genres and became important methods to disseminate agricultural information. In particular, it focuses on the role and work of one of the most prolific and influential contributors, William Aiton of Strathaven, Lanarkshire, an established agricultural writer, and contributor to the Board of Agriculture's agricultural surveys and other publications before he became an agricultural correspondent. Between 1810 and his death in 1847 he contributed many communications to journals and newspapers such as *The Farmer's Magazine*, the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, *The Ayrshire Agriculturist* and *The Ayrshire and Renfrewshire Agriculturist*.

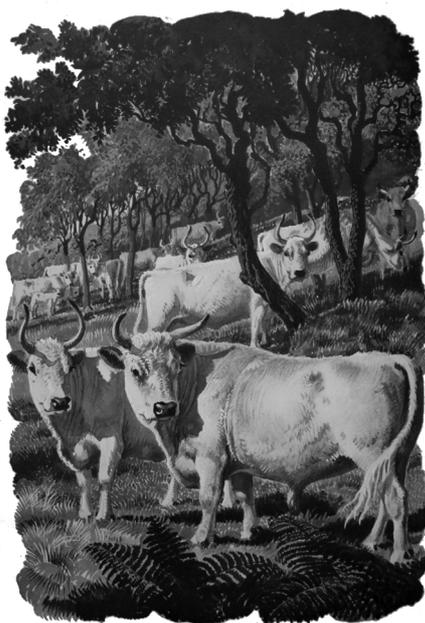
Dr Heather Holmes has published widely on a range of aspects of Scottish agricultural and rural history since the mid-1990s. Her doctoral thesis, 'Potato Harvesting in the Lothians 1870 to 1995' (University of Edinburgh, 1996) won the prestigious Michaelis Jena-Ratcliffe Prize in 1996. In recent years she has published on aspects of Scottish agricultural books and periodicals in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in journals such as the *Agricultural History Review*, *Review of Scottish Culture*, *Folklife: Journal of Ethnological Studies*, and the *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*. She has contributed articles on eighteenth-century agricultural books and periodicals to volume 2 of *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (forthcoming, 2010). She is currently writing a monograph on the creation, dissemination and reception of the Board of Agriculture's county surveys, 1793–1817. She is currently head of Community Assets Branch in the Rural Directorate of the Scottish Government in Edinburgh.

Monday 14.00 to 15.30

Session 2

Parallel sessions in the Fulton Building:

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>2.1 CORN III/IV Round table: Rural Economy and Society in Northwestern Europe 500-2000, I</p> <p>Conveners: Leen Van Molle and Erik Thoen</p> <p>Chair: John Chartres</p> <p>2.11 Erik Thoen:</p> <p>A new comparative rural history of the North Sea Area. Concept, goals and methodology of the four-volume project</p> <p>2.12 Bjørn Poulsen with Leen Van Molle, Yves Segers and the other members of the book editorial board:</p> <p>The agro-food market: production, distribution and consumption</p>	<p>2.2 Commons and faux-commons</p> <p>Chair: Henry French</p> <p>2.21 Angus Winchester and Ellie Straughton:</p> <p>Defining the Commons: shifting legal conceptions of common land in England and Wales since c.1600</p> <p>2.22 Bill Shannon:</p> <p>‘Sometymes on one mosse and sometimes on another’: true intercommoning in early modern Lancashire</p> <p>2.23 Richard Hoyle:</p> <p>Stinted pastures in Craven: neither common nor enclosed</p>	<p>2.3 Sources and experiences</p> <p>Chair: Nicola Verdon</p> <p>2.31 Natalie Joly:</p> <p>Shaping records on the farm? Farmers’ diaries from the nineteenth-century to the present</p> <p>2.32 Ildikó Asztalos Morell:</p> <p>Experiencing collectivisation and decollectivisation in rural women’s and men’s life histories</p> <p>2.33 Yukari Shimizu:</p> <p>‘Drawing archives’ as personal history describing early modern rural Japan</p>	<p>2.4 Property rights, social inequality, and agrarian change in southern Europe, I</p> <p>Convener and Chair: Julie Marfany</p> <p>2.41 Rosa Congost and Sebastià Villalon:</p> <p>Studying social groups and social inequality in a world of small and medium family farms. The example of eighteenth-century Catalonia</p> <p>2.42 Bélen Moreno:</p> <p>Measuring inequality: inventories post mortem as a source for studying inequality in pre-industrial societies</p> <p>2.43 Antonio López Estudillo:</p> <p>The evolution of inequality in the Campiña of Córdoba in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries</p>	<p>2.5 New green spaces: landscapes of remembrance, recreation and reconstruction in twentieth-century England and Wales</p> <p>Convener: Clare Griffiths</p> <p>Chair: Paul Brassley</p> <p>2.51 Keith Grieves:</p> <p>Commemorating the fallen in open spaces</p> <p>2.52 Clare Griffiths:</p> <p>Democratic parklands: writing golf courses into the English landscape</p> <p>2.53 Keith Halfacree:</p> <p>Getting it together in the countryside? Revisiting artistic back-to-the-land experiments of the 1970s</p>



Chillingham cattle

Session 2.1: CORN III/IV Round table: Rural Economy and Society in
Northwestern Europe 500-2000 II Room 103

Conveners: Leen Van Molle and Erik Thoen

Chair: John Chartres

This is the first of two linked sessions discussing the series entitled *Rural Economy and Society in Northwestern Europe 500–2000* (general editor, Erik Thoen). This is a collective project synthesizing important topics of Western European rural history in four volumes. Each volume discusses regional differences and comparisons in the North Sea area.

2.11 Erik Thoen – A new comparative rural history of the North Sea Area. Concept, goals and methodology of the four-volume project

2.12 Bjørn Poulsen with Michael Kopsidis, Leen Van Molle, Yves Segers and the other members of the book editorial board – The agro-food market: production, distribution and consumption.

2.2 Commons and faux-commons Room 104

Chair: Henry French

2.21 Eleanor A. Straughton and Angus J. L. Winchester – Defining the Commons: shifting legal conceptions of common land in England and Wales since c.1600

Common land in England and Wales – most of it marginal land beyond the limits of cultivation, whether mountain or moorland, wetland or heath – is privately owned land over which others possess use rights, giving them legal access to particular resources. The Commons Registration Act 1965 had the effect of fixing the definition of common land: only land registered under the provisions of the Act could thenceforth be considered true common. Yet the formal legal definition masks a more complex history of evolving conceptions of common land, with the result that some land which was identical to common land in agrarian and ecological terms was deemed not to be true common; while other land which did not have a legal history as common land was nevertheless registered. This paper seeks to explore the boundaries between true commons and quasi-commons in an historical context.

Property rights over commons and quasi-commons were not static but evolved over time, through custom and agrarian practice. The formal conception of common land envisaged a balance between the rights of the owner of the soil and those who exercised use rights: if the rights of either side dominated, the land might cease to be a true common. In practice, land tantamount to common exhibited a spectrum of property rights. At one end lay waste land that was deemed to be the lord of the manor's private freehold in the medieval period; at the other lay shared pastures where ownership was claimed by those exercising use rights. Some land at either end of the spectrum came to registered under the Commons Registration Act; other land with almost identical patterns of property rights did not. Using case studies from different environments, the paper will explore these divergent histories.

Dr Eleanor Straughton is an honorary research fellow in the History Department at Lancaster University. Her research interests include common resources and environmental governance in the modern historical period; in 2008 she published *Common grazing in the northern English uplands, 1800–1965: a history of national policy and local practice with special attention to the case of Cumbria* (2008). She was research associate on the project entitled ‘Contested Common Land: Environmental Governance, Law and Sustainable Land Management, c.1600–2006’, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council as part of its Landscape and Environment programme.

Dr Angus Winchester is senior lecturer in History at Lancaster University. His research focus lies in the agrarian and environmental history of upland regions of Britain; his publications include *The harvest of the hills: rural life in northern England and the Scottish Borders 1400–1700* (2000) and (with Alan Crosby) *England’s Landscape 8: the North West* (2006). He is currently co-investigator on a three-year project entitled ‘Contested Common Land: Environmental Governance, Law and Sustainable Land Management, c.1600–2006’, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council as part of its Landscape and Environment programme.

2.22 Bill Shannon – ‘*Sometymes on one mosse and sometimes on another*’ – True intercommoning in early-modern Lancashire

The existence of wastes which were not neatly divided between manors had been recognised by the second Statute of Westminster (1285), and was still an issue in early-modern Lancashire, where in places all neighbouring lords claimed full rights in the *whole of* a waste, and where all parts of that waste were equally open to all the freeholders of all the surrounding manors. This true intercommoning was not unlike the Scottish *commonty*, but contrasted with the system of *vicinage* or tolerated trespass, more normal elsewhere in England, whereby those parts of a waste adjoining a manor were regarded as belonging to that manor, even though the whole waste might be shared with others.

True intercommoning cannot have sat easily with developing early-modern ideas of private property, and cases before the Chancery Court of the Duchy of Lancaster will be used to show how these anomalous arrangements were seen as barriers to improvement. Partitioning into clear several manorial ownership was the logical response, and hence there arose in the region a different model of enclosure, based upon partitioning and approving the waste, a model possibly equally relevant to other districts in England where substantial wastes had survived into the early-modern period.

Dr Bill Shannon is an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Lancaster, having completed his PhD there in 2009, on the subject of early-modern wasteland enclosure in Lancashire. His MA, also at Lancaster, was in Local and Regional History, and involved a dissertation which introduced the subject subsequently further explored in his doctoral thesis. His first degree at Liverpool University, back in 1965, was in Geography, and his main research interests today, apart from agricultural history, include landscape history and the history of cartography, on aspects of which he has had articles published. He is currently studying large-scale manuscript maps of the sixteenth century, particularly the corpus of ‘dispute maps’ produced for the court of the Duchy of Lancaster.

2.23 Richard Hoyle – Stinted pastures in Craven: neither common nor enclosed

A recent paper by Angus Winchester and Eleanor Straughton has drawn attention to stinted pastures in the Lake District and offered some speculations about their origins.¹¹ Such pastures stand in contrast to those pastures governed by the rule of levancy and couchancy. In this paper we offer a discussion of the stinted pastures in the adjacent highland area of Craven. Here stinted pastures took the form of enclosed pastures in which the owners of the common rights had shares allocated to them in the form of stints – the right to graze so many animals of one sort or another. In some cases stints were interchangeable, so a single ox might equate to a number of cows or horses, or young beasts. In a few cases stinted pastures were dedicated to cattle, and others to sheep. The key feature of the stints is that they could be sold as a form of property. It was perfectly

¹¹ Angus J. L. Winchester and Eleanor A. Straughton, ‘Stints and sustainability: managing stiock levels on common land in England’, *AgHR* 58 (2010), pp. 30–48.

possible for a single proprietor to come to own all the stints in a pasture. The intention to enclose could also produce a concentration of ownership as smaller proprietors sold out.

The area of pasture held in this form can be determined from the awards made at enclosure in the later eighteenth century, many of which have maps attached. It will be shown that stinted pastures were one of the chief ways in which the lower hill sides of fells were held. Particular emphasis will be paid to their origins. Most were formed in a relatively short period at the end of the sixteenth century. It will be suggested that stinted pastures are usually – not invariably – a particularly peasant-driven phenomenon, connected to the peasant ownership of land and sometimes manorial rights, or were characteristic of low-pressure seigneurial regimes. They served a defensive purpose – against the cattle of neighbouring communities – but quite possibly also against the subtenants and poor of their communities. As such they mark an intermediate form of enclosure which lasted from the end of the sixteenth century to the classic period of parliamentary enclosure, in which closely defined rights within bounded areas are held in common. But, of course, they arguably were not commons.

Richard Hoyle is Professor of Rural History at the University of Reading, and editor of *Agricultural History Review*. His books include (with Henry French) *The Character of English Rural Society: Earls Colne, 1550-1750* (2007).

2.3 Sources and experiences

Room 107

Chair: Nicola Verdon

2.31 Natalie Joly – Shaping records on the farm? Farmers’ diaries from the nineteenth-century to the present

Farm work, like other forms of professional activity, has become increasingly mediated over the past few decades by various kinds of instruments for measuring parameters, taking notes or maintaining records. But how do these new record-keeping practices in agriculture compare to earlier forms? This communication will describe and contrast the uses of agricultural diaries across different social groups and different time periods: on the one hand, the agronomes’ ‘books of reason’ and landlords’ estate journals from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; on the other, peasant diaries and memorandum books from the early twentieth century to the present. The latter are more exclusively centred on work, and as such have typically held less attraction for researchers. While we are accustomed to thinking of peasant societies as steeped in oral tradition, this paper will examine the various ways in which educational institutions and professional unions through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tried to shape work-related writing in order to rationalise management. Various examples from an extensive ‘propagandist’ literature will be offered (extracts from almanacs and agricultural manuals) to illustrate the prescriptive nature of this documentary effort and its stability over time. In fact, ordinary farmers’ practices of writing borrow from institutional prescriptions while at the same time reformulating these narrative frameworks to fashion their own history of agrarian life.

Nathalie Joly is a senior lecturer in sociology at the French Institute for Advanced Studies in Agriculture at Dijon – ENESAD) and an associate researcher with the ‘Laboratoire de recherche sur les Innovations Socio-Techniques et Organisationnelles’, a division of France’s National Institute for Agronomic Research (INRA). She holds a PhD from the Université Paris X – Nanterre, for which she wrote a thesis on farmers’ diaries and knowledge formation in nineteenth and twentieth century France (‘Work writing and peasant knowledge: An historical perspective on the writing practices of farmers. The case of ‘agenda’’). Her research deals with change and evolution in farm work. She is currently coordinating an Anglo-French project titled ‘Farmers Facing Traceability’.

2.32 Ildikó Asztalos Morell – Experiencing collectivisation and decollectivisation in rural women's and men's life histories

The final vogue of collectivisation in 1961 interrupted the continuity of farming from one generation to the other in Hungary causing trauma for the generation that had just completed the take-over of the farm from their ancestors. While many left agriculture altogether as a result, others accepted the forced incorporation into state socialist collectives. Passing a hard period of adjustment, the expansion of the industrial work organisation polarised the membership into 'head versus hand' positions. Despite diverse life paths, life histories manifest ambiguity when telling the past. On the one hand life histories express the sorrow of losing the family farm. On the other hand, former farmers who experienced the destruction of collectives following the transition to capitalism suffered similar degrees of distress. Being part of the collectives created a sense of belonging in former farmers, who found that the dismantling of the assets of collectives deprived them of values that their work contributed to accumulate. This paper elucidates, through life-history analysis of former farmers (men and women) of diverse status, how these two historical traumas were experienced and understood.

Ildikó Asztalos Morell is currently associate professor in sociology at Mälardalen university as well as engaged with two research projects. One is in collaboration with scholars and Södertörn university on the 'Strong state and the Family' in the Baltic Sea region and Eastern Europe, where my part concerns the impact of the new family law of 1952 in Hungary. The other project is placed at the Department of Cultural Geography at Uppsala University on the organisation of care in rural Sweden. Her key publications focus on Hungarian agrarian transition during state socialism: 'Emancipation's Dead-End Roads: Studies in the formation and development of the Hungarian model for Gender and Agriculture 1956–1989' and during the post-socialist period containing a series of articles on the recruitment of the post-socialist agrarian entrepreneur strata in Hungary. Most of the articles apply a gender perspective. Ildikó has also been co-editor of a number of comparative volumes, such as: *Gender Regimes, Citizen Participation and Rural Restructuring* 2008, Elsevier. She has recently been engaged with life-history analyses covering recollections of rural transitions in Hungary.

2.33 Yukari Shimizu – 'Drawing archives' as personal history describing early modern rural Japan

Since the high economic growth of the 1960s, Japanese agriculture and rural life has modernised rapidly. In the context of such social change, some people from rural communities began to make 'drawing archives' as personal history based on their experiences in modern rural life.

This paper aims to examine the social significance of these drawing archives, clarifying how these drawings represent modern rural communities and what painters insist by making such records. First, drawing archives from all over Japan were collected, and organised from the point of view of when and where these archives were made and how it changed its contents, connecting with Japanese post-war rural history. Next, a series of drawings by a farmer from rural central Japan was selected as an example to clarify the feature of the drawings' depiction. The series has been published since 1990s when Japanese rural society seemed to move into post-productivist phase. After analysis of depiction, it was examined that how the drawing archives are playing their role within the present local community. In conclusion, the drawings are positive re-evaluation of modern rural life, and play a role as historical records close to local people.

Yukari Shimizu gained a PhD at the Graduate School of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Tsukuba, March 2010. Since then she has been a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Tsukuba.

2.4 Property rights, social inequality, and agrarian change in southern Europe, I

Room 202

Convener and Chair: Julie Marfany

2.41 Rosa Congost and Sebastià Villalon – Studying social groups and social inequality in a world of small and medium family farms. The example of eighteenth-century Catalonia

The importance of medium-sized family farms – referred to since the middle ages and still today as *masos* – in the agrarian structure of north-eastern Catalonia is beyond doubt. But this landscape began to change from the second half of the eighteenth century as large extensions of woodland were converted, by means of emphyteutic land transfers, into small units of cultivation. In this new landscape, medium-sized holdings, owned since the middle ages on emphyteutic terms but cultivated mainly by tenant sharecroppers, co-existed with small holdings, often also held on emphyteutic contracts, but this time often as recent land transfers by the holders of the *masos*. The question is how this complicated web of property rights was mirrored in, and contributed to changing, the social structure of, and social differentiation within, rural society? Who were the poorest, the tenants who owned no land, but rented medium holdings or the smallholders who owned at least the use rights to small plots? An exceptional source, drawn up in 1795 as a result of the war against France, allows us to investigate this complex issue for some areas. This paper will present preliminary findings for more than 3,000 Catalan parishes.

Rosa Congost is professor of economic history at the University of Girona and a researcher at the Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural. She is the author of numerous works on landed property and social relations in rural Catalonia. In recent years, she has promoted a focus on comparative history. She is currently principal researcher for the Grup d'Història de les Societats Rurals (at the University of Girona) and on the project HAR 2008-02960/HIST *Dinàmiques socials i canvi històric en societats rurals: l'anàlisi des grups i les desigualtats socials*.

Sebastià Villalon is a PhD student at the Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural of the University of Girona. His thesis investigates the evolution of forms of credit in Catalonia from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, using notarial records and registers of property.

2.42 Bélen Moreno – Measuring inequality: inventories post mortem as a source for studying inequality in pre-industrial societies

Inventories *post mortem*, despite their limitations, are an excellent source for the study of social groups and inequality in Ancien Régime societies. Analysing consumption patterns within a population gives a direct window on to social differentiation and how this evolved over time. Consumption and social differentiation are connected by a two-way relationship: on the one hand, differences in wealth determined diet, clothing and the possession of goods and access to services that improved the comfort of families. On the other hand, forms of display and appearances were in themselves a means of marking social differences, independently of the levels of wealth that sustained such display.

This paper describes the characteristics of Catalan inventories and goes on to analyse their possible uses for the study of social inequality. It will also present findings for social differentiation between different groups of households – measured in terms of ownership of certain goods – at the end of the seventeenth and end of the eighteenth century. The methodology used leads to the conclusion that social differentiation increased over the eighteenth century, at least in some areas of rural Catalonia.

Belén Moreno is lecturer in economic history at the Autonomous University of Madrid. Her work has focused on Catalan rural society during the eighteenth century, particularly sharecropping contracts and living standards and consumption patterns of different social groups in the wine region of the Penedès.

2.43 Antonio López Estudillo – The evolution of inequality in the Campiña of Córdoba in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

The crisis of the Ancien Regime and the transformations related to the liberal revolution permitted in the Campiña of Córdoba a massive transfer of property and a slow, yet irreversible trend towards the direct cultivation of large estates by their owners. In the Upper Campiña these processes allowed easier access to land for tenants and agricultural labourers, while intensifying specialisation in olive-growing and viticulture. By contrast, in the Lower Campiña *cortijos*, large estates dedicated to grain-growing and pastoral farming combined, continued to dominate, resulting in a greater polarisation of the agrarian social structure.

This paper presents a first attempt to assess the evolution of inequality in this lower region. The dissolution of ecclesiastical and common lands and the erosion of noble property did not appear to reduce the dominance of large estates and large-scale ownership, and changes in crops and forms of production occurred later and were more limited. On the one hand, the paper will examine changes in the structure of property ownership and land tax, an important but not entirely sufficient method of measuring income distribution. On the other hand, it will also present calculations for different time periods of the distribution of the net product of the *cortijos* across owners, substantial tenants and labourers, using rents and wages as basic indicators. An imperfect indicator of the income of tenants will be calculated from harvest prices and rent series, imperfect because crop yields and shares remained fixed by custom during this period. Unfortunately, more precise information is not available.

Antonio López Estudillo is lecturer in economic history at the University of Girona and a researcher at the Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural. He has worked on various aspects of the agrarian history of Andalusia, particularly the transformation and economic backwardness of the region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and more specifically, landscape and population in the Campiña of Córdoba.

2.5 New green spaces: landscapes of remembrance, recreation and reconstruction in twentieth-century England and Wales Room 203

Convener: Clare Griffiths

Chair: Paul Brassley

2.51 Keith Grieves – Commemorating the fallen in open spaces

In the Great War military encroachments on open spaces despoiled the countryside. Defence of the Realm legislation undercut the Open Spaces Act 1906 and ‘beauty spots’ were endangered by temporary hutments, telegraph poles, timber-felling and new wheat fields. These scenic settings, mobilised in 1914 as a ‘country worth fighting for’, sometimes became the subject of land purchase schemes in 1919 in memory of the fallen. In the war’s aftermath places of great natural beauty were rediscovered and rededicated as permanent useful memorials in local preservationist campaigns which were suggestive of a variegated Blighty. The richly-textured processes of reassessing the value of open spaces in the era of two world wars offer insights into the persistence of place-related identity, the democratisation of access to panoramic views as social gains, the rendering of rural landscapes historic and thoughts of home among soldiers. In relation to these themes of analysis selected debates which interwove beauty and utility to protect common land, construct recreation grounds, acquire hilltops and provide gardens as war memorials will be evaluated.

Keith Grieves is Professor in the School of Education at Kingston University. His many publications focus in particular on rural communities and landscapes in the early twentieth century and on the impact of war. He is the author of *The Politics of Manpower, 1914–1918* (1987), *Sir Eric Geddes: business and government in war and peace* (1989), and *Sussex in the First World War* (2004), and recent published essays include ‘The propinquity of place: home, landscape and soldier poets of the Great War’, in Jessica Meyer, ed., *British popular culture and the First World War* (2008) and ‘War comes to the fields: sacrifice, localism and ploughing up the English countryside in 1917’, in Ian F. W. Beckett, ed., *1917: beyond the Western Front* (2008). He is a member of the committee for the Inter-War Rural History Research Group.

2.52 Clare Griffiths – Democratic parklands: writing golf courses into the English landscape

In early twentieth-century England, golf courses were a new type of green space. The period from the 1890s onwards was marked by a dramatic expansion in the construction of golf courses in the English countryside. They presented a significant intervention in the landscape, creating quasi-rural environments defined by modern, urban and suburban cultures. Some saw their potential as a public amenity and a restraint on urban sprawl, but this positive verdict on the contribution of golf courses to national life was undermined by other concerns: issues of access, the artificiality of these new sporting parklands and the diversion of land from productive, agricultural use. This paper considers the golf course’s status in the landscape before the Second World War and discusses the social and aesthetic impact of this novel use of land.

Clare Griffiths is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Sheffield. She was the Sir John Higgs Fellow at the Museum of English Rural Life during 2008–09, working on a project on the images of British farmers during and after the Second World War, one of the outcomes of which will be an exhibition at the Museum in autumn 2010. Her publications include *Labour and the Countryside: the politics of rural Britain 1918–1939* (2007) and *Classes, Cultures and Politics. Essays for Ross McKibbin* (forthcoming 2010), co-edited with James Nott and William Whyte. She has published articles in *History Workshop Journal*, *Rural History* and *Politix* and a number of reviews for the arts pages of the *Times Literary Supplement*. Recent essays include ‘Socialism and the land question: public ownership and control in Labour Party policy, 1918–1950s’, in Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman, eds., *The land question in Britain 1750–1950* (2010). She is a member of the committee for the Inter-war Rural History Research Group and was on the steering group for the AHRC-funded network on ‘The Landscape and Environment of Inter-war England’ (2006–08).

2.53 Keith Halfacree – Getting it together in the countryside? Revisiting artistic back-to-the-land experiments of the 1970s

This paper stems from a broader body of work examining various manifestations of attempts to go ‘back-to-the-land’ and adopt a more rural and place-based everyday existence, both historical and contemporary. It will examine what we know about the (in)famous flowering of such experimentation in the late 1960s and early 1970s, paying particular attention to more artist-led initiatives, which will be shown to be both pioneering but also rooted in a longer tradition, and to explicit consideration of what exactly these initiatives gained from their new, albeit often very temporary, rural homes. Attention will be paid especially to the experiences of Vashti Bunyan and Robert Lewis via their horse-drawn migration from London to Scotland. The paper will also develop the idea that rather than providing an absolute material space to ‘drop out’ or ‘retreat’ into, the rural can act as an heterotopic counter-site for both rejuvenation and taking one’s dreams forwards.

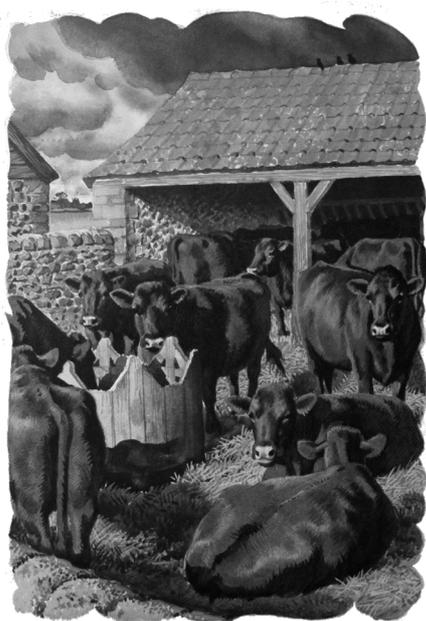
Keith Halfacree’s research interests are many and varied but focus on a number of overlapping areas: Discourses of rurality in the global North; rural futures and their contestation, including the legacies of the past; human migration; marginal geographies: countercultural spaces and practices. Keith has recently completed a two-year Leverhulme Trust funded project with Dr Lewis Holloway (University of Hull) and Dr Larch Maxey (Swansea University) entitled *Rooted in the earth? Going back-to-the-land in millennial Britain*. He is a member of the Inter-War Rural History Group.

Monday 16.00 to 18.00

Session 3

Parallel sessions in the Fulton Building:

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>3.1 CORN III/IV Round table: Rural Economy and Society in Northwestern Europe 500-2000 II</p> <p>Convener: Leen Van Molle and Erik Thoen</p> <p>Chair: TBA</p> <p>3.11 Thijs Lambrecht and Eric Vanhaute in collaboration with Isabelle Devos and the other members of the book editorial board:</p> <p>Making a living: family, income and labour</p> <p>3.12 Bas van Bavel, with Richard Hoyle in collaboration with the other members of the book editorial board:</p> <p>Social relations: property and power</p>	<p>3.2 Oral history and the history of forests</p> <p>Chair: Carin Martiin</p> <p>3.21 Rosemarie Fiebranz:</p> <p>‘I never liked doing housework’: a discussion on intersections of norms, made visible by a woman doing men’s work in forestry in mid-twentieth century Sweden</p> <p>3.22 Maria Vallström :</p> <p>Father’s little helper: the construction and contradiction of gender, place, and modernity in a Swedish lumberjack village, 1950–1975</p> <p>3.23 Ruth Tittensor:</p> <p>Using oral methods to understand rural change (Scottish afforestation)</p>	<p>3.3 Dynamics in land use and animal husbandry in Sweden</p> <p>Convener: Jesper Larsson</p> <p>Chair: Janken Myrdal</p> <p>3.31 Per Lagerås:</p> <p>Long-term changes in land-use according to pollen data</p> <p>3.32 Anna Dahlström:</p> <p>Short- and long-term changes in grazing intensity 1600–1850, applications for current biodiversity</p> <p>3.33 Jesper Larsson:</p> <p>The rise and expansion of transhumance in Sweden 1550–1850</p>	<p>3.4 Property rights, social inequality, and agrarian change in southern Europe, II</p> <p>Convener and Chair: Julie Marfany</p> <p>3.41 Gabriel Jover:</p> <p>Agricultural intensification and changes in the farm demand for daily-labourers in seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Son Costa farm, Majorca Island.</p> <p>3.42 Enric Tello and Marc Badia-Miró:</p> <p>Patterns in inequality of land ownership and changes in land use in the province of Barcelona in the mid-nineteenth century</p> <p>3.43 Rui Santos:</p> <p>Social stratification and the hierarchy of agrarian contracts in southern Portugal, from the early modern period to the mid-twentieth century</p>	<p>3.5 Exploring farming styles</p> <p>Convener: Dr Ernst Langthaler</p> <p>Chair: Peter Moser</p> <p>Discussant: Paul Brassley</p> <p>3.51 Dr Ernst Langthaler:</p> <p>Exploring farming styles: theory, methods, sources</p> <p>3.52 Ulrich Schwarz:</p> <p>Exploring farming styles: analysis of an Austrian farmer’s journal, 1940s to 1980s</p> <p>3.53 Rita Garstenaue and Sophie Kickingner</p> <p>Exploring farming styles: analysis of farm records in two Austrian regions, 1940s to 1980s</p>



Red-Poll cattle

3.1 CORN III/IV Round table: Rural Economy and Society in Northwestern Europe 500-2000 II

Room 103

Conveners: Leen Van Molle and Erik Thoen

Chair: TBA

This is the second of two linked sessions discussing the series entitled *Rural Economy and Society in Northwestern Europe 500–2000* (general editor, Erik Thoen). This is a collective project synthesizing important topics of Western European rural history in four volumes. Each volume discusses regional differences and comparisons in the North Sea area.

3.11 Thijs Lambrecht and Eric Vanhaute, in collaboration with Isabelle Devos and the other members of the book editorial board – Making a living: family, income and labour

3.12 Bas van Bavel, with Richard Hoyle, in collaboration with the other members of the book editorial board – Social relations: property and power.

Bas van Bavel: ‘Property and power in the North sea area over time and space’

Richard Hoyle: ‘But did tenure matter?’

Followed by discussion.

3.2 Oral history and the history of forests

Room 104

Chair: Carin Martiin

3.21 Rosemarie Fiebranz – ‘I never liked doing housework’: a discussion on intersections of norms, made visible by a woman doing men’s work in forestry in mid-twentieth-century Sweden

The 75-year old, retired woman lumberjack’s narratives are illuminating in many ways. She was often observing ‘from outside’, but as she had been brought up by her elderly grandparents, she was also familiar with the lumberjacks’ households’ traditional organisation of work. During her working life, starting *c.*1950, forestry changed a lot; the work was mechanised, and the male workforce gradually became employed all the year round. The older way of life, with small-scale farming for additional maintenance, faded away, and with it, for example, women’s customary work role in cattle-tending. In my paper, I will discuss the prospects to understand the construction and change of distinctions of work along the lines of gender, class, age and civil status, in times of sweeping social and economic transformation. With the help of the narratives of an individual who broke established norms in many respects, I hope to catch sight of possible hidden contents, gaps and contradictions in the representation of the working life in Swedish forestry around the middle of the twentieth century. Further interviews with lumberjacks’ (house-)wives are used for comparison.

Rosemarie Fiebranz has a PhD from Uppsala University (dissertation subject, ‘Land, Linen or Charcoal? Gender System and Household Strategies, Bjuråker 1750–1850’). She has been a Researcher in two projects in the Department of History, Uppsala University: ‘Woodland life – an intersectional perspective on processes of change in Northern

Sweden, c. 1930–1975 (2007–2010)’ and ‘Gender and Work, Sweden c. 1550–1800 (2008–2014)’, and has written a paper on ‘Marital conflict over the gender division of labour in agrarian households, Sweden 1750–1850’, in *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain, 1400–1900*, eds. Maria Ågren and Amy Louise Erickson (Ashgate 2005).

3.22 Maria Vallström – Father’s little helper: the construction and contradiction of gender, place, and modernity in a Swedish lumberjack village, 1950–1975

In the 1950s guest workers from Finland, working as foresters (timber workers) in a district in middle northern Sweden, were offered by the company SCA to buy houses in small residential areas called ‘forester villages’ (skogsarbetarbyar). These villages (of which I have investigated five, mostly working with interviews) were built in connection with already existing rural villages, but they must have appeared as conspicuously modern with facilities not yet available for earlier inhabitants in the area, such as bathroom with WC, laundry machine and central heating. Foresters born in Sweden were also invited to live in these villages, but since most of them had left the trade, working with the building of watermills instead, the modern forester in this area often came from Finland.

The whole idea of building modern residential areas near the forest, but also in contact with rural villages, was to make the lumberjack modern, bringing him – and her – home from the woods. Thus it is possible to see the villages as ‘instructional spaces’, a term used in research on urban housing, but in my case possible to use in a rural context. Ideas of professionalisation, specialisation and rationality were ‘built-in’, creating new conditions for living and working, both for men and women. These conditions gave rise to unintended consequences, due to previous experience and evolving aspirations.

Most of the women were defining themselves and other women in the same situation as ‘housewives’, following the ‘instruction’. Being a housewife was one way of getting modern in this context, it was the ‘new thing to be’. At a closer look, they also used the term ‘being at home’. These concepts were practised in a way that allowed quite a lot of work. Another modern option, of being a waged worker was, not surprisingly, difficult for women, except in the declining use of female cooks in more distant forest worker accommodations, but some of the women worked in the forest alongside their men. My interpretation is that forest work seemed natural, since the experience of hard work was common for these women, who had often formerly been small farmer’s wives. The culturally accepted explanation of this forest work was ‘helping’; she helped him doing *his* work. Their husbands attained a reputation as very powerful workers and good earners, but could also be described as weak, often suffering from war injuries and thus dependent.

The questions asked in this paper is: how was gender, place and modernity constructed and changed in this rural context? What processes could be traced in the experiences encountered by inhabitants in and near these modern lumberjack villages?

Maria Vallstrom (b. 1967), ethnologist is finishing a project called ‘Woodland life – an intersectional perspective on processes of change in middle northern Sweden, c.1950–1975’ (with Dr Rosemarie Fiebranz). Earlier she was employed at NIWL (National Institute of Working Life) and wrote her thesis on unemployment, finishing in 2003. Now she is working with a project (2010–13) on rural development with a bottom-up perspective, at SLU (Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences), Uppsala and FOU Söderhamn (Söderhamn Research and Development).

3.23 Ruth Tittensor – Using oral methods to understand rural change (Scottish afforestation)

This paper examines the use of oral history to analyse Afforestation – the Most Significant Change in the Scottish Landscape for Two Centuries. I will discuss my use of oral methods, the relevance of the results to modern land management and the significance of people’s knowledge of their local environment. By 1900, woodland covered only 5 per cent of Scotland’s landscape. In 1919 the

British government gave its new forestry agency a remit to buy and ‘afforest’ large areas of poor agricultural land, because of the pressing need to produce home-grown timber. Despite this, tree-cover had increased to only 6 per cent by 1960. But between 1960 and 2000 a phenomenal increase in tree-cover in Scotland was achieved, the resulting total of 17 per cent by area consisting of mainly non-native conifers. Although there had been academic accounts of the political background to this period of rural history, no-one had ever asked the people who actually afforested 11 per cent Scotland in 40 years: how and why they did it, how it affected their lives, what nearby communities felt about it or how landscapes and ecology changed.

The 5-year Whitelee Forest Oral History Project sought to answer these questions while the people involved are still alive. The remote Whitelee Plateau in southern Scotland was chosen for analysis. Participants from many backgrounds contributed their recorded knowledge, giving a full and verifiable picture. They described a farm landscape rich in natural resources, of great ecological interest, landscape value, benefit to nearby communities and owned by many farm families. But when, after 1960, over twenty farmers sold land to the state forest agency, huge changes were initiated when farm stock were withdrawn, their pasture deep-ploughed and converted into 6000 hectares of thick forest. Whitelee residents experienced five changes in technology and three phases of ecological change during the last century!

The project was overseen by Professor T. C. Smout, Historiographer Royal in Scotland, and sponsored by the British Forestry Commission.

Ruth Tittensor is an independent researcher in ecology and environmental history, an adviser in rural affairs and a prolific, versatile author. Her work links biology with social and landscape history. She graduated in Biology from Oxford University then took a research degree at Edinburgh University in the ecology and history of the Loch Lomond Oakwoods. Ruth worked as a freelance lecturer and researcher specialising in the ecology and history of woodland, farmland and coast. Projects included a survey of the ancient woodland The Mens and the unusual Yew (*Taxus baccata*) woodlands in southern England. The long-term Chilgrove Valley Landscape Project on the West Dean Estate continued the theme of environmental history, with participation by ecologists, archivists, archaeologists and lay people. The results were used as the basis of management plans for the Estate’s farms.

The Weald and Downland Open-Air Museum provided another focus for her work on cultural landscapes. She also carried out research for community and educational groups and statutory agencies. Ruth has produced many booklets on woodland history, farm conservation, honeybee forage and rabbit warrens. Her book resulting from the Whitelee Forest Oral History Project was short-listed for the Saltire Society ‘Scottish History Book of the Year Award’ in 2009.

3.3 Dynamics in land use and animal husbandry in Sweden Room 107

Convener: Jesper Larsson

Chair: Janken Myrdal

Janken Myrdal is professor of agricultural and rural history at the University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden. He has built up a group of agrarian historians in the ‘Section of Agrarian History’ at the university. The Section started 16 years ago, and since then has produced 11 PhDs and a number of other books and articles. For many years the research group worked with the history of animal husbandry (leaf cutting for fodder, fencing, animal care, etc). Janken Myrdal started as a medievalist, and wrote his dissertation (1986) on agriculture and technology change in Sweden 1000–1520. He also has published on later periods, for instance about peasant diaries from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lately he has been studying global agricultural systems in a long term perspective. He was the editor of the five volume ‘Svenska jordbrukets historia’ 1999–2003, which is going to be published in the one-volume: ‘The Agrarian history of Sweden’.

3.31 Per Lagerås – Long-term changes in land-use according to pollen data

Animal husbandry has always been important in upland regions with poor natural conditions for agriculture. A new series of well-dated pollen diagrams from the South Swedish Uplands reveals an

interesting picture of grazing dynamics in a long-term perspective. The pollen data reflect the temporal and spatial extension of grasslands and may be used for tentative interpretations of grazing regimes and pasture management. Thanks to good chronologies, the pollen data may also be compared with the archaeological and historical record. During the Neolithic and Bronze Age much of the uplands were used for extensive grazing, possibly in a system of long-distance herding. During the Iron Age a more intense but still mobile grazing system was introduced in some areas, possibly in combination with shifting cultivation. A widespread introduction of permanent pastures started in the middle ages, in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. After a short period of abandonment and re-growth of woodland, agricultural expansion once again resulted in increased grazing from the sixteenth century onwards, which subsequently resulted in the establishment of heathland. Why heathland expanded during this phase and not earlier may be due to a combination of increased grazing pressure, management by fire and climate deterioration.

Per Lagerås is palaeoecologist at the Swedish National Heritage Board, Archaeological Excavations Dept. in Lund. He has a PhD in Quaternary geology from Lund University and he is Associate Professor at the Department of Agricultural History, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, in Uppsala. His research focuses on long-term agricultural history and cultural landscape development.

3.32 Anna Dahlström – Short- and long-term changes in grazing intensity 1600–1850, applications for current biodiversity

Throughout the agricultural history, gradually intensified land use has been interrupted by longer periods (centuries) of stagnation or crises. In addition, there have been land use shifts on the scale of decades. Variations in the scales of centuries and decades were primarily determined by events outside the control of farmers. There were also variations (in time and space) on even smaller scales. Small-scale dynamics are an essential part of understanding pre-industrial agricultural systems and were largely determined by the way the farmers were running the farm. Here I will explore possible causes behind, and the functionality and ecological effects of, such small-scale variations, by using cadastral maps, livestock tax registers, probate inventories and peasant diaries. The focus lies on animal husbandry and the use of hay meadows and pastures in south-central Sweden 1620–1850, e.g. variations in livestock number, individual strategies in the organisation of grazing and mowing within a hamlet and changes between years.

Anna Dahlström has a PhD in Agrarian History from the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. She is currently at the Swedish Biodiversity Centre. She has taught field courses about pre-industrial land use and biodiversity in Romania and courses in agrarian history and conservation biology at universities. She is participating in the Erasmus IP program, 2010–12 with Germany and Romania. She has recently published a number of papers, including (with L. Lennartsson, J. Wissman, and I. Frycklund), ‘Biodiversity and traditional land use in south-central Sweden – the significance of timing of management’, *Environment and History* 14 (2008) and ‘Historical grazing pressure in south-central Sweden, 1620–1850’, *Grassland Science in Europe* 13 (2008).

3.33 Jesper Larsson – The rise and expansion of transhumance in Sweden 1550–1850

The summer farms (fäbodrar) in Sweden were part of an agricultural system from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Based on the investigation of court records, a chronology for the summer farms has been developed. Estimates demonstrate that livestock underwent considerable changes from the second half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. There was a huge increase of sheep and goats concluded to result from the enlarged market integration. The establishment of summer farms enabled the expansion of stockbreeding and was connected to secondary occupations, and thereby a prerequisite for the division of homesteads.

The summer farms and the agricultural development in Northern Sweden were part of a general European trend in the early modern period. People started to work harder with more division of labour. The increase of work was connected to an increase in trade. The leap in agricultural

development in Northern Sweden would not have been possible without the female workforce on the summer farms. The advantage of the agricultural system in the north of Sweden was lost when livestock grazing and fodder collection moved to the fields during the second half of the twentieth century.

Jesper Larsson has a PhD in agrarian history from the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala. He works with culture heritage for the county administration in the region Jämtland. His research interest is upland agricultural systems.

3.4 Property rights, social inequality, and agrarian change in southern Europe, II

Room 202

Convener and Chair: Julie Marfany

3.41 Gabriel Jover – Agricultural intensification and changes in the farm demand for daily-labourers in seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Son Costa farm, Majorca Island.

The relationships between the process of agricultural intensification and the changes in the labour markets in Majorca Island from seventeenth century to eighteenth century have received little attention. In this period the large farms dominated the agrarian structure of the Island. Landlords and tenants hired a huge amount of wage-workers: confident male labourers and both female and male daily labourers. Throughout the seventeenth century agricultural changes occurred: the vineyards, almond trees and legumes spread, and olive oil became the most important commodity exported to North Atlantic markets. In the Mediterranean agro-systems the increase agricultural output had several constraints related to the soil's aridity and the scarcity of manure. To overcome these bottlenecks it was necessary to improve land capital (hydraulic infrastructures, terracing, etc.) and to intensify labour to maintain soils fertility and to face new tasks demanded by the new crops. The present work explores the changes in farm employment patterns, drawing on accounting books from one farm belonging to a monastic estate. The sources from this farm suggest an intensification of work and shifts in labour demand. I find a fall in male employment and an important increase in female employment. These shifts in female-male demand patterns were probably related to the increase in labour costs due to the more intensive farming.

Gabriel Jover Avellà is a doctor in early modern history and professor of economic history at the University of Girona. He teaches courses on economic and environmental history. His research is centred on agrarian and environmental history on between sixteenth and nineteenth century. He is studying the farms accounts of Majorca, to analyse the changing relationship between supply and labour demand, connecting to productive and technical changes in Mediterranean organic agro-systems.

3.42 Enric Tello and Marc Badia-Miró – Patterns in inequality of land ownership and changes in land use in the province of Barcelona in the mid-nineteenth century

The use of two very exceptional historical sources has allowed us to gather a big dataset on the cadastral valuation of real estate ownership for every taxpayer in nearly all the three hundred municipalities in the province of Barcelona, together with the main land-uses, population data from the 1857 census, their main geographical features (altitude, rainfall, time distances to the Barcelona seaport) or agrolological conditions (mean slope and agricultural suitability of lands), and also the type of jurisdictional regime that existed up to 1836 (manorial, ecclesiastical, royal or shared). These two sources are the *Distribution of Personal Wealth in Real Estate Ownership* published in 1852 by the Official Gazette of the province of Barcelona, and *Land Use Statistics of the Province*

of *Barcelona* calculated by a Spanish topographer in 1858. Although the unique nature of these sources prevents a diachronic use, they allow a cross-sectional analysis.

This has allowed us for the first time to answer in a quantitative way a set of questions addressed for a long time by Catalan agricultural historians: was the number of landowners greater among the residents in winegrowing municipalities, rather than in cereal-oriented ones, or in forestry localities? Was the value of their respective real estates very different? Was the personal wealth in lands, houses and livestock more or less evenly distributed in municipalities specialising in viticulture, in those specialised in cereal production or in woodland and pastureland? Were there large differences in these aspects between small rural villages and bigger cities and towns? We aim to answer these questions by applying to the abovementioned dataset the inequality possibility frontier and the inequality extraction ratio put forward by Branko Milanovic, Peter Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson, in order to establish the main patterns of land ownership inequality in the province of Barcelona in the mid-nineteenth century.

Enric Tello has a PhD in contemporary history and is Head of the Economic History Department at the University of Barcelona. He teaches in the areas of economic history, sustainable development and land use changes, and methodological issues of economic or environmental history. He directs a research team of agrarian and environmental historians, ecological economists and agrarian engineers that studies the long-term historical relationship between the energy or material efficiency in the biophysical flows moved by human societies, and their land use management, considering this connection as a main driving force for the landscape ecology changes experienced by the territory.

Marc Badia-Miró has a PhD in economic history, and teaches statistics and quantitative methods in the Department of Economics and Business Studies at the Barcelona Open University. His research is focused on the economic geography of location and long run economic growth in Latin America and Mediterranean Europe during the first wave of globalisation. He also studies viticultural specialisation and social networks in Catalonia from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Together with Enric Tello and other historians he has presented a paper on *The Grape Phylloxera plague as a natural experiment: explaining the development and upkeep of vineyard specialization in Catalonia (Spain, 1860–1935)* at the 25th World Economic History Congress that is forthcoming in the *Australian Economic History Review*.

3.43 Rui Santos – Social stratification and the hierarchy of agrarian contracts in southern Portugal, from the early modern period to the mid-twentieth century

I propose to draw on property rights theory to define the hierarchy of agrarian contracts according to the property rights in land that they transferred, in the southern Portuguese province of Alentejo from the early modern period until the mid-twentieth century. I will then relate the types of contracts with the categories in rural stratification, in a highly stratified rural society. The aim is to highlight the homology between the access to property rights, the objective stratification and the cultural categories that designated social strata.

Rui Santos is lecturer in the department of Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Universidade Nova of Lisbon. His PhD investigated the origins of large estates in the Alentejo region. Since then, his research has focused more widely on property rights, types of agrarian contract and how these have affected the organisation of rural space.

3.5 Exploring farming styles

Room 203

Convener: Dr Ernst Langthaler

Chair: Peter Moser

Discussant: Paul Brassley

The proposed session aims at exploring a new approach to the ‘great transformation’ of agriculture in twentieth century Europe as exemplified by Austria from the 1940s to the 1980s. By adopting the holistic concept of *farming styles*, an actor-centred approach to agricultural development at

multiple levels has been chosen. The contributors outline the potential of the concept as well as its limits; furthermore, they present the design and mid-term results of a current three-years research project at the Institute of Rural History in St Pölten.

3.51 Dr Ernst Langthaler – Exploring farming styles: theory, methods, sources

The concept of *farming styles* as outlined by the Dutch rural sociologist Jan Douwe van der Ploeg offers an actor-centred approach to agricultural development. As opposed to conventional agronomic models, farmers do not move their farms along given production functions; in contrast, they create new ‘functions’ through their everyday work. A farming style refers to a socio-technical network linking elements of the natural and social world: first, the way farming is individually and collectively conceived (symbolic level); second, the way farming is negotiated between actors at household, local, regional and supra-regional levels (social level); third, the way farming is carried out as an everyday practice (material level). The exploration of farming styles in the transition to the ‘productivist’ food regime from the 1940s onwards encompasses three project modules: Module I has already investigated media discourses on farming as represented by farmers’ journals (see the paper by Ulrich Schwarz); module II has already classified farming systems by multivariate analysis of farm data (see the paper by Rita Garstenauer and Sophie Kickinger); module III will reconstruct life stories of farming families as expressed by oral narratives.

Ernst Langthaler studied history at the University of Vienna (master 1995, PhD 2000, habilitation 2010), currently senior researcher at the Institute of Rural History in St Pölten, lecturer at the University of Vienna and the University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences Vienna and guest professor at the University of Innsbruck, fields of research: farming styles, agrosystems and food regimes in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe.

For his publications, see <http://www.univie.ac.at/ruralhistory/langthaler.htm>.

3.52 Ulrich Schwarz – Exploring farming styles: analysis of an Austrian farmer’s journal, 1940s to 1980s

Exploring the question ‘how farming should be done’ as represented by the farmers’ journal *Bauernbündler*, images about what is considered to be the ideal ‘peasant’ or ‘peasant woman’ emerge. These images are linked with sets of general strategies (e.g. how to run a farm ‘properly’) as well as guidelines to deal with particular situations (e.g. how to cope with animal diseases). By analysing these representations, the order of the press discourse can be reconstructed. This discursive order regulates a symbolic space: a web of various subject-positions (the ‘progressive entrepreneur’, the ‘good mother’, the ‘omniscient expert’ etc.). Within this discursive realm the readers position themselves as subjects, i.e. they identify with some positions or differentiate from others according to their socio-economic positions. The paper outlines how this discursive space is reproduced and transformed in relation with the political-economic framework of agricultural ‘productivism’.

Ulrich Schwarz studied history at the University of Graz and the University of Vienna (master 2008), currently researcher at the Institute of Rural History in St Pölten and PhD student at the University of Vienna, fields of research: farming styles, discourse analysis and writing as a practice in twentieth-century rural Austria.

For his publications: see <http://www.univie.ac.at/ruralhistory/schwarz.htm>.

3.53 Rita Garstenauer and Sophie Kickinger – Exploring farming styles: analysis of farm records in two Austrian regions, 1940s to 1980s

The paper discusses the usefulness of the farming style concept for a micro-level assessment of agricultural development under the ‘productivist’ food regime in a rural and a sub-urban region. Serial records of about 1000 farms provide data on various aspects (family and farm members, land

use, livestock, machinery, yields etc.) that allow us to reconstruct farming systems as socio-technical networks. With aid of multivariate statistics (e.g. correspondence analysis), each farm unit can be located within a multi-dimensional socio-economic space for the respective year. By linking these spatial positions year by year, a multitude of farm developments paths become apparent. Our focus on agricultural development at the farm level highlights different directions and speeds of change. Within this framework of slowed or, at times, accelerated change, farming styles may provide relative continuity. They usually follow a practical logic (*calculus*) linking past experiences (investments, specialisations, knowledge transfers and so on) with future expectations.

Rita Garstenauer studied history at the University of Vienna (master 2002) and at the European University Institute at Fiesole (PhD 2008), currently researcher at the Institute of Rural History in St Pölten and lecturer at the University of Vienna, fields of research: social and economic history of twentieth century rural Austria and popular autobiography.

For her publications, see <http://www.univie.ac.at/ruralhistory/garstenauer.htm>.

Sophie Kicking studied landscape planning at the University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences Vienna (master 2008), currently researcher at the Institute of Rural History in St Pölten and PhD student and lecturer at the University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences Vienna, fields of research: rural and spatial change in Austria and subsistence economy.

For her publications, see <http://www.univie.ac.at/ruralhistory/kicking.htm>.

Monday 18.30 to 19.30

Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor

Reception sponsored by **Brepols Publishers** and launch of the first volume in the series, *Rural Economy and Society in NorthWestern Europe, 500–2000: Social Relations, Property and Power* – **Bas van Bavel** and **Richard Hoyle** (eds), in collaboration with Stefan Brakensiek, Piet van Cruyningen, Christopher Dyer, Mats Morell and Nadine Vivier.

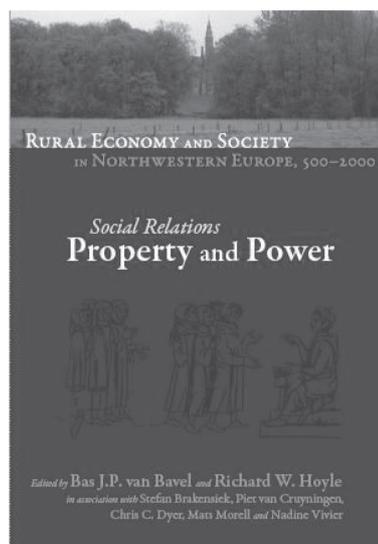
RURAL ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN NORTH WESTERN EUROPE, 500-2000

Social Relations Property and Power

Edited by **Bas J. P. VAN BAVEL** and **Richard W. HOYLE**
in association with Stefan BRAKENSIEK, Piet VAN CRUYNINGEN,
Chris C. DYER, Mats MORELL and Nadine VIVIER

395 p., 8 b/w ills., 178 x 254 mm, 2010, HB,
ISBN 978-2-503-53050-5, € 75

The organization of society formed a crucial element in the remarkable development of the countryside in the North Sea area in the last 1500 years. Vital questions are: Who owned the land? Who gained the profits from its exploitation? How was the use of rural resources controlled and changed? These questions have no simple answers, because the land has been subjected to competing claims, varying from region to region. In early times peasants mostly possessed and worked their holdings, but lords took much of the produce, and had the ultimate control over the land. In more recent times the occupiers and cultivators gained stronger rights over their farms. Neither lords nor peasants were free agents because communities governed the use of common lands. In the highly urbanized North Sea region towns and townspeople had much and increasing influence over the countryside. Change came from within society, for example from the tension and negotiation between lords and peasants, and the growing importance of the state and its policies. The volume also looks at the interaction between society and external changes, such as the rise and fall of the market, trends in population, and European integration.



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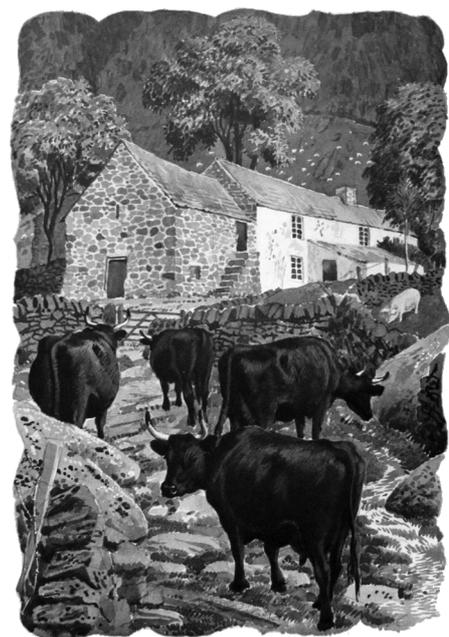
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Monday 20.30 to 21.30

Session 4

Parallel sessions in the Fulton Building:

Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	ROOM 107
<p>4.1 Rural New Zealand</p> <p><i>Chair: Liz Griffiths</i></p> <p><i>4.11 Tom Isern and Tom Brooking:</i></p> <p>Learning from the Lindis: toward a new regional history in the New Zealand High Country</p> <p><i>4.12 Tom Brooking and Eric Pawson:</i></p> <p>Empires of grass: how a reconsideration of the transformation of New Zealand's grasslands aids our understanding of rural history in Britain's farthest flung colony</p>	<p>4.2 Harilaos Kitsikopoulos:</p> <p>Agrarian change and crisis in Europe, 1200–1500</p> <p><i>Chair: Bas van Bavel</i></p>	<p>4.3 Siming Wang:</p> <p>China's agricultural history studies in historical perspective</p> <p><i>Chair: Ted Collins</i></p>	<p>4.4 Patricia Clavin and Sunil Amrith:</p> <p>Feeding the World: connecting Europe and Asia, 1930–1945</p> <p><i>Chair: Margreet van der Burg</i></p>



Welsh hill farm

4.1 Rural New Zealand

Room 104

Chair: Elizabeth Griffiths

4.1 Tom Brooking and Tom Isern – Learning from the Lindis: toward a new regional history in the New Zealand High Country

The Lindis, a region in Central Otago, is defined by a moment in pastoral history – when the ambitious Scot, Jock McLean, in 1857, stood on the heights surveyed the year previous by John Turnbull Thomson and bounded with his eye the country that would become the great sheep station of Morven Hills. The integrity of this unit defined by a savvy pastoralist poses a perfect opportunity for a regional historian concerned with the interaction of agricultural enterprise and the grassland environment. ‘Learning from the Lindis’ is a long-term exploration of regional history; more than that, it is an attempt to fashion a new sort of regional history that begins with bioregional premises such as those characterizing the best regional history in North America; recognises the venerable tradition of district histories common to the South Island; incorporates the insights of J. William Gardner, New Zealand’s foremost historian of region; and grafts onto these two additional predilections that enrich the study. The first of these is a concern with material culture, informed by experiential knowledge, that makes every structure in the landscape a potential source. The second is a preoccupation with memory and especially collective memory as attached to the structures and landscapes. The result is a place-specific treatment of the interaction of humankind with nature with broad implications for agricultural and environmental history. From the Lindis we learn to eschew both the dialectic of ecology and the ideal of wilderness, to embrace both chaos and complexity, and to enter into the ecology of narrative.

Tom Isern’s academic specialties are the history of the Great Plains of North America, his research and teaching comprising both the American plains and the Canadian prairies, and the history of agriculture and rural life. He is the author or co-author of six books, including, most recently, *Dakota Circle: Excursions on the True Plains*, published by the Institute for Regional Studies. In 1991 Isern, as a Fulbright Scholar, investigated the agricultural history of New Zealand’s tussock grasslands; in 1996 he returned for further work in New Zealand under a grant from the NZ-US Educational Foundation; and he maintains an ongoing program of research in New Zealand grassland studies, traveling yearly to Otago for archival and field research. He is the founder of the New Zealand & Australian Studies Section of the Western Social Science Association, is former coordinator of the WSSA Rural Studies Section, and has just been elected vice president of the WSSA. In 2000 Isern was named NDSU’s Fargo Chamber of Commerce Distinguished Professor. In 2007 he was named both Dale Hogoboom Presidential Professor and University Distinguished Professor, the highest academic distinction conferred by the university.

Tom Brooking MA (Massey) PhD (Otago) is Professor of History at the University of Otago. He trained as a political and agricultural historian at the Universities of Otago and Kent, England. He has published in a wide range of journals on environmental and agricultural history and produced eight books including *Environmental Histories of New Zealand* published by Oxford University press in 2002 co-edited with Eric Pawson. Another, again co-authored with Eric Pawson and entitled *Seeds of Empire: Transforming the New Zealand Environment* will be published by I. B.Tauris of London in September this year. Between 2005 and 2007 Brooking served on a Cabinet advisory panel on walking access in New Zealand and is a member of the Council of the Agricultural History Society based in the USA. Currently he is writing a biography of New Zealand’s longest serving Prime Minister Richard John Seddon and is working in a collaborative project on Scottish migration to New Zealand.

4.12 Tom Brooking and Eric Pawson – Empires of grass: how a reconsideration of the transformation of New Zealand’s grasslands aids our understanding of rural history in Britain’s farthest flung colony

Our book *Seeds of Empire* on the reconstruction of the NZ grasslands, soon to be published by I. B.Tauris in their environmental history series, has much to say about how the rural history of a far

flung colony of the British Empire might be reconsidered as well as illuminating both the agricultural and environmental history of New Zealand. It does this in three main ways:

- First, by helping to explain how, where and why New Zealanders transformed the environment and landscape they found upon arrival more rapidly and to a greater extent than in most other settler colonies. In the process this investigation has also revealed who played the leading role in bringing about that transformation.
- Second, by relating environmental and landscape change to wider global as well as imperial contexts.
- Third, by drawing attention to the significance of grass in bringing about landscape and environmental change in New Zealand and in shaping the development of world trade.

This paper will show how each of these findings has powerful implications for the social and economic history of rural New Zealand as well as for its environmental history. Converting over 20 million acres of rain forest, tussocks and swamps into English style pastures (more than in England itself) brought about significant social as well as environmental and landscape change in terms of class, gender and race relations as well ensuring the survival of an ownership pattern for three generations based around the family farm. The paper will, therefore, try to explain why this regime lasted longer in New Zealand than in most places before eroding since the dairy boom of the 1990s.

Eric Pawson, MA DPhil (Oxford) is Professor of Geography, University of Canterbury. He trained as an historical geographer in Britain and has lived in the South Island of New Zealand since 1976. He chaired the Advisory Committee of the *New Zealand Historical Atlas* from 1990 to 1997, and has been a member of the Advisory Committee for *Te Ara*, the New Zealand on-line encyclopedia, since its inception. He co-edited *Environmental Histories of New Zealand* (2002) with Tom Brooking, and has published in a wide range of journals in geography and environmental history. He received the Distinguished New Zealand Geographer Medal in 2007 and a national tertiary teaching excellence award in 2009.

4.2 Harilaos Kitsikopoulos – Agrarian change and crisis in Europe, 1200–1500

Room 107

Chair: Bas van Bavel

This paper draws material from the introductory and concluding essays of a volume, currently under review by a publisher, which examines economic growth and the question of the feudal crisis during the period 1200–1500. The eight chapters on which these two essays are based review the empirical evidence and debates on a number of countries or regions covering most of Europe.

There is no doubt that there was a veritable population growth during the thirteenth century. The controversy begins with the question as to whether the regions which reached the highest plateau of the demographic curve were able to raise their food supplies to a proportional degree. If not, then one is justified to talk about a structural crisis and debate its causes. But one may also adopt an optimistic viewpoint in this regard and thus relegate the causes of the crisis on exogenous factors, that is, the gradual decline of temperatures and the plague epidemics which culminated during the fourteenth century.

The paper will outline the debates that took place in the countries reviewed by the volume, synthesise the existing evidence and, in the end, come down on which theoretical model offers the best interpretation.

Harry Kitsikopoulos is a Clinical Professor in the Department of Economics, New York University. He is the author of about a dozen articles on the economy of late feudal England published, among others, in the *Journal of Economic History*, *Economic History Review*, and *Agricultural History Review*. He has recently completed the editing of a collection of essays which examines the controversy on the feudal crisis in a pan-European context.

4.3 Siming Wang – China’s agricultural history studies in historical perspective Room 202

Chair: Ted Collins

It is generally held that Chinese agriculture tended to decline or stagnate after the Song dynasty. The argument is that there has been no change of the agricultural implements since then. However, facts deny such simple conclusion. According to recent scholarship, as late as in 1820, China was still the biggest economy in the world, China’s GDP was nearly one third of the world total (32.4 per cent), and actually grew faster than Europe in the eighteenth century.

Such a rapid growth was brought mainly by the following reasons:

1) The rapid development of multiple cropping; 2) The fast expansion of high-yielding and cold resistant crops introduced from Americas; 3) The wide and heavy use of irrigation; 4) The further development of intensive farming

If, from the fifteenth century, China lagged behind the western world in modern science and industry, its relative advantage in agriculture was well maintained into the nineteenth century. Numerous facts reveal that Chinese farmers were sensitive enough to new and appropriate technology and they always made wise decisions according to the natural and economic environment in constant change.

It was a pity, however, that we ignored the historical experience we had after the establishment of the Peoples’ Republic of China and blindly imitated the former Soviet Union in agricultural modernisation, which actually delayed the process for decades. Communisation severely deflated farmers’ enthusiasm and resulted in a deep agricultural crisis, with millions of people dying of starvation. The practice of communisation over 20 years proved the failure of this system. If one takes grain productivity of 1952 as an index, no year exceeded that during the 26 years from 1952 to 1978. For the same reason, many technological inventions found it hard to prove their efficiency.

China finally realised the necessity to readjust its strategy and began its reform of agriculture in 1978. Though the restoration of family farms made mechanisation decline, agricultural production grew dramatically. From 1978 to 1984 the agricultural output kept up an annual growth of 11.85 per cent and grain yields of 4.1 per cent. Data prove that the family farm is not a barrier to agricultural growth. On the contrary it is well suited to the present economic conditions and has great vitality.

To conclude, the agricultural development of China since the sixteenth century shows that the key to agricultural growth is how to make good use of the comparative advantage by using the abundant resources to substitute for the scarce. The reason why China could have taken a lead in traditional agriculture is that Chinese farmers were capable of adjusting to the constant change of economic conditions. The failure of the communisation and mechanisation movement was simply due to the idealist political push regardless of reality.

Siming Wang was born in the city of Zhuzhou, Hunan Province, China on 18 November 1961. He got his PhD degree in agricultural history from Nanjing Agricultural University in 1995. In 1994, he obtained a grant from Smithsonian Institution to make a visiting research in the National Museum of American History. During the time of 1999 to 2000, he was supported by Ministry of Agriculture of P. R. China and Smithsonian Institution to conduct a visiting research at Stanford University and University of California at Davis.

His main research concentrates on Chinese agricultural history and the comparative studies of agricultural development. Until now he has published six books and dozens of research papers in the field of agricultural history. Right now, he works as professor and dean of College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanjing Agricultural University. He is also vice-chairman of China’s Association of Agricultural History Societies and President of the Museum of Chinese Agricultural Civilization.

4.4 Patricia Clavin and Sunil Amrith – Feeding the World: connecting Europe and Asia, 1930–1945 Room 203

Chair: Margreet van der Burg

In the first half of the twentieth century, economic and social theory was critical to the development of international and trans-national relations. But this economic and social focus was subsequently lost in the search for the origins of world wars and the cold war. The paper seeks to recover these lost connections between the ideas and practice of economic and social development, and the actors who sought to enshrine their ideas into a new architecture of international relations in 1945. Through the biography of a pioneering League of Nations agency in the history of international nutrition, health and economic development, *The Mixed Committee on the Problem of Nutrition* appointed in 1935 and the subsequent 1937 conference on Rural Hygiene Southeast Asia and the 1939 conference on European Rural Life, the paper will explore the personalities and networks which were, in many respects, institutionalised in the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, the World Health Organisation and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development during and after the Second World War. It will demonstrate the imbricated history of economic, health and environmental history in Europe and Asia. Commodity biographies will also feature as these trans-national networks, and the international institutions of which they formed at least a part, codified and promoted the production of particular varieties of rice and dairy production for the good of local economy, health and the environment. The paper will explore the origins and implications of this global vision for these regions, for the connections between them, and for the meanings attached to a ‘healthy environment’ in the twentieth century.

The paper is motivated by two broader considerations. First, to restore ‘rural life’ to our discussions of trans-national history, which have hitherto focused on cosmopolitan cities and urban elites. Secondly, we hope to suggest ways of building out, from a microscopic study of particular connections and encounters in the 1930s, towards new ways of thinking about global environmental history in the ‘long’ twentieth century, linking European and Asian experiences.

Patricia Clavin is a Fellow and Tutor in Modern History at Jesus College Oxford and a member of the History Faculty of Oxford University. She is also Research Director of the Modern European History Research Centre (MEHRC) in the History Faculty. She was educated at Kings College, the University of London and has been a visiting scholar at the Universities of Sydney, Oslo and most recently the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton. She has published on modern European history, the Great Depression and the global history of the inter-war period. From 2000–2006, she served as an editor of the journal *Contemporary European History* published by Cambridge University Press and in 2005 she produced a special issue on the theme of ‘Transnational Communities in European History, 1920–1970’. Her current book project is *Bread and Butter Internationalism: The World Economy and the League of Nations, 1919–1946* to be published by Oxford University Press.

Sunil Amrith took his PhD in Cambridge and teaches in the Department of History, Classics and Archaeology, Birkbeck University of London. He is also an Associate Research Fellow of the Centre for History and Economics (King’s College, Cambridge), and serves as one of the editors of *History Workshop Journal*. He is currently on leave and a visiting scholar at Harvard University. His publications include ‘Indians Overseas? Governing Tamil Migration to Malaya, 1870–1941’, *Past & Present* (forthcoming); ‘Tamil Diasporas across the Bay of Bengal’, *American Historical Review*, 114 (2009); ‘Food and Welfare in India, c.1900–1950’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50 (2008); with Glenda Sluga, ‘New Histories of the UN’, *J. World History*, 19 (2008); *Decolonizing International Health: India and Southeast Asia, 1930–65* (2006).

Tuesday at a glance

	Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
9.00 – 11.00	5.1 Animals	5.2 Food shortages in pre-industrial Europe	5.3 Co-operation and rural society, I. The economic functioning of rural co-operatives: bridges over social fissures or new cleavages?	5.4 The balance between city and countryside, the Netherlands, 1700–1860	5.5 Agricultural export trade, land tenure and town-country relations: south-east Europe, the Black Sea and the Aegean (1840s–1930s)
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor				
11.30 – 13.00	6.1 Anglo-Saxon rural landscapes	6.2 Can we talk about an 'industrious revolution' in southern Europe?	6.3 Co-operation and rural society, II. Catalysts of rural mobilisation: co-operative movements with national or religious backgrounds	6.4 Transnational networks of learning: new ways of knowledge production by farmers and agronomists in the 19/twentieth century	6.5 Perspectives on technical change in agriculture
13.00 – 14.00	Lunch in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor				
14.00 – 15.30	7.1 Poverty in rural societies in southern Europe	7.2 British landowners in the eighteenth century	7.3 Co-operation and rural society, III. Unequal partners: national elites and localised peasantries in the co-operative movement	7.4 Communal properties and agrarian collectivism in the north-west of Spain (eighteenth to twentieth centuries). Communal tradition, development and alternatives for the future	7.5 Aspects of agricultural productivity in western Europe, 1800–2006
15.30 – 16.00	Tea in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor				
16.00 – 17.00	8.1 The tragedy of the forests	8.2 Innovation and productivity in Italian agriculture	8.3 Meeting of the Inter-War Group	8.4 Fictional representations	8.5 Egyptian rural history
17.45 – 19.00	9. Bruce Campbell, Agriculture and national incomes in Europe, c.1300–1850 in the Asa Briggs (A2) Lecture Theatre				
19.30 – 20.30	Dinner (cafeteria-style) in the Downs Restaurant, Bramber House, First Floor				
	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203	
20.30 – 21.30	10.1 A new social order: changing US agricultural practices in the Lower Mississippi River Valley, 1945–2000	10.2 Biological innovation the new explanation of agricultural growth: a <i>longue-durée</i> perspective of European agriculture from Roman times to the Agricultural Revolution	10.3 Rural elites, local power and rural capitalism: state of the art and perspectives for comparative research	10.4 Rural movements and the transition to democracy in Spain	
19.00 – 24.00	Marble Bar in the Downs Restaurant, Bramber House, First Floor				

Tuesday 9.00 to 11.00

Session 5

Parallel sessions in the Fulton Building:

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>5.1 Animals Chair: Janken Myrdal</p> <p>5.51 Inja Smerdel: What images of oxen can tell us: metaphorical meanings and everyday working processes</p> <p>5.52 Carl Griffin: Agrarian capitalism, animal maiming, and human desire</p> <p>5.53 Laura Hollsten: Domestic animals on early modern Caribbean sugar plantations</p> <p>5.54 Ted Collins: Animal power in European agriculture in the twentieth century</p>	<p>5.2 Food shortages in pre-industrial Europe Conveners: Tim Newfield and Philip Slavin Chair: Phillipp Schofield</p> <p>5.21 Tim Newfield: Subsistence crises in Carolingian Europe (c.750–c.950): frequency, causes, and effects</p> <p>5.22 Nils Hybel: Food supplies, long-distance trade, climate and population 1000–1350</p> <p>5.23 Philip Slavin: The Great European Famine between ecology and institutions: reflections from England, c.1314–1330</p> <p>5.24 Bruce Campbell and Cormac Ó Gráda: Harvest shortfalls, grain prices and famines in pre-industrial England</p>	<p>5.3 Co-operation and rural society, I. The economic functioning of rural co-ops: bridges over social fissures or new cleavages? Convener: András Vári Chair: Catherine Albrecht</p> <p>5.31 Christopher Colvin: God and risk: the role of religion in rural co-operative banking in the early twentieth-century Netherlands</p> <p>5.32 Hans Jörgensen: The growth of the Estonian Agricultural Co-op Movement in a North European context: 1860s to the inter-war years</p> <p>5.33 András Vári: Co-ops, peasants, and networks in segmented rural societies of Austria, Hungary, and Transylvania from the 1880s to 1918</p>	<p>5.4 The balance between city and countryside: the Netherlands 1700–1860 Convener: Paul Brusse Chair: Wijnand Mijnhardt</p> <p>5.41 Paul Brusse: The changing economic relation between city and countryside in the Netherlands, 1750–1850</p> <p>5.42 Jeanine Dekker: Political forces in the changing relations between town and countryside in the Netherlands, 1750–1850</p> <p>5.43 Arno Neele: De-urbanisation, ruralisation and the cultural balance between city and countryside in the Dutch province of Zeeland 1750–1850</p> <p>5.44 Wijnand Mijnhardt: From urban republic to rural monarchy 1700–1860</p>	<p>5.5 Agricultural export trade, land tenure and town-country relations: south-east Europe, the Black Sea and the Aegean (1840s–1930s) Convener and chair: Socrates Petmezas</p> <p>5.51 Alp Yücel Kaya: Export-oriented agriculture and labour organisation in Çiftlik in the hinterland of Izmir and Salonica (1840–1912)</p> <p>5.52 Andreas Lyberatos: Grain production in north-eastern Bulgaria and the grain market of Varna (late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries)</p> <p>5.53 Yücel Terzibasoglu: Olive oil production and networks of trade, finance, and ownership in western Anatolia in the nineteenth century</p>



Shire stallion

5.1 Animals

Chair: Janken Myrdal

5.51 Inja Smerdel – What images of oxen can tell us: metaphorical meanings and everyday working processes

The author first briefly presents some relevant historical, geographical, social and cultural data relating to the draught ox in Slovenia. The findings are based on her ongoing research into the cultural aspects of working oxen in pre-industrial farming, during which some thematic issues have been already addressed (e.g. working with oxen in the Pivka region; ox diseases and treatments; communicating with working oxen; possible parallels between training oxen and children). She then focuses on reflections of the material world in the spiritual domain – in art – discussing the eloquence of some relevant Slovene pictorial sources (mainly from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries): either relatively realistic genre scenes depicting oxen at pasture and at work, or those revealing their metaphorical, symbolic meanings. The author analyses the reasons for the appearance of oxen in such works of art and folk art, also attempting to explain different attitudes on the part of painters or sculptors towards oxen. In her further analysis of the selected works of art she then focuses on the ‘everyday reality’ of the depicted agricultural processes in which oxen were involved, on their social and material cultural aspects – such as people working with oxen, various types of harness and tools of communication. Her findings are comparatively substantiated by analogous documentary photographs, related foreign pictorial sources, oral testimonies from her field research, and by other relevant sources and literature.

Inja Smerdel, MA, is a museum consultant with the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana. She was curator of rural economic activities at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum from 1980 to 1995, editor-in-chief of the scientific periodical *Etnolog* from 1991 to 1995, and director of the museum from 1995 to 2005, since when she has once more been curator of subsistence and agriculture. After returning to research she contributed to the EARTH programme of the European Science Foundation from 2006 to 2009. The theme that has animated her most throughout her research activities are the relations between man and animal. Her current research work focuses on working oxen.

5.52 Carl Griffin – Agrarian capitalism, animal maiming, and human desire

The everyday lives of many farm workers in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England were intricately and often intimately bound with the lives of animals. Even in market towns and cities the ebb and flow of human life was inseparable from that of animal life. Market places, streets, fields and barns were all spaces where animals transcended being the mere applicators of capital to instead being obvious co-constituents of the rhythms of existence. Not too surprisingly, as Keith Thomas has suggested, living and working in such close proximity meant that animals were often thought of as individuals. Whilst the psychological and physiological boundaries between humans and animals very rarely ever meaningfully broke down, the relationship, the engagement, was often expressed in complex psycho-sexual ways. Utilizing the archive of malicious attacks on animals, this paper explores the ways in which fondness, attraction, sexual desire and antipathy between humans and animals played out. Not only will it be shown that many cases of animal maiming invoked both tenderness and brutality but also that some cases involving attacks on the sexual organs of animals represented complex statements about the ways in which agrarian capitalism regulated labourers’ bodies as (after Foucault) ‘bare life’.

Carl Griffin is a Lecturer in Human Geography at Queen’s University, Belfast. He trained as a historical geographer at the University of Bristol, and held post-doctoral positions at the universities of Bristol, Southampton and Oxford. His research embraces studies of popular protest, as well as cultures of unemployment, human-environment interactions, and the history of political economy. He has published papers in, amongst other places, *Rural History*, *Journal of Historical Geography*, *International Review of Social History*, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, and *Past and Present*. As well as finishing writing a book on the Swing quasi-insurrection of the early 1830s, he is starting a research project on labour regulation and proto trade unionism in the early nineteenth century English west.

5.53 Laura Hollsten – Domestic animals on early modern Caribbean sugar plantations

European animals brought into the Caribbean islands played an important part on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sugar plantations. They were used in the production of food, as draught animals, and as producers of manure. According to contemporary observers, the successful running of a sugar plantation required cattle, donkeys, horses, sheep and goats. All these mammals, together with others, were initially brought to the islands from Europe. Although some failed to thrive, most species of domestic animals adapted themselves well to their new surroundings and became important ‘cogs in the of the protoindustrial machinery’ of the sugar plantation. Like imported humans (European contract workers and African slaves), imported animals were cruelly exploited. The straining labour of turning the rollers of the sugar mill killed many horses and oxen. In consequence, it was necessary to keep as large a number of mill animals as possible. At the same time, animals were highly valued, not least as producers of valuable manure.

The proposed paper looks at how European animals contributed to the rise of the wealth creating sugar plantation complex and how their contribution was viewed by contemporary observers. The paper takes its departure from discussions of co-operation between humans and animals in the fields of environmental history and animal studies. The study draws from travel accounts, sugar planting manuals natural histories of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Caribbean islands.

Laura Hollsten is an amanuensis and postdoctoral researcher at the Department of History at Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Finland. Her research interests include Environmental History, Atlantic History, Caribbean and Latin American History, History of Science, and, lately, the relationship between humans and domestic animals.

5.54 Ted Collins – Animal power in European agriculture in the twentieth century

Until very recently animals – and not tractors – were the chief source of traction power in European agriculture, supplying in 1939 over 90 per cent and in 1970 still about one-half of the continent’s needs. The persistence of animals at so late a stage of industrialisation is puzzling, given the much earlier and rapid uptake of motor vehicles in towns and cities. This paper tries first to explain the limited use of steam and electricity for farm traction, and the delay in the start of the tractor revolution until 1950 or later. The primary concern is animal power. The size and composition of the draught herd in the inter-war and post-Second World War periods in the various zones and selected countries will be mapped and quantified. Also examined is the relationship between power availability and utilisation, and the work output and efficiency of the different types of animals, to conclude that the European farm power economy was energetically very inefficient and power usage highly wasteful.

E. J. T. (Ted) Collins was Professor of Rural History, and from 1979–2000, Director of the Rural History Centre at the University of Reading. He was editor of and principal contributor to volume VII of the *Agrarian History of England and Wales* (2000), and of an acclaimed report on traditional rural industries in England and Wales published by the Countryside Agency in 2004. His published works extend over many aspects of nineteenth and twentieth century agricultural and food history, with notable contributions on practical farming, farm labour, tools and machinery, energy use, cereal foods, and rural crafts.

5.2 Food shortages in pre-industrial Europe

Conveners: Tim Newfield and Philip Slavin

Chair: Phillipp Schofield

5.21 Tim Newfield – Subsistence crises in Carolingian Europe (c.750–c.950): frequency, causes, and effects

The subsistence crises of early medieval Europe (500–1000 CE) have been widely overlooked. Not only have the causes and effects of the food shortages of this period yet to receive detailed attention but many shortages remain to be identified in time and space. This paper surveys the annals, capitularies, correspondence, histories, *gestae* and *vitae* of Carolingian Europe (c.750–c.950 CE) and the palaeoclimatic evidence (derived from ice cores, glacier moraines, speleothem, tree rings and varves) relevant to the period in order to identify and comment on the frequency, causes and effects of subsistence crises in the Carolingian period. Written evidence from Ireland, England, Italy and Greece is drawn upon to illuminate possible pan-European events.

These two centuries were marked by at least four major crises. The demographic and economic effects of these major food shortages are inferred from the extant written evidence, established trends in Carolingian urbanisation and trade, and the ramifications of later pre-industrial European food shortages. Major Carolingian subsistence crises lasting multiple years are argued to have been primarily the product of exceptionally poor weather, not Malthusian pressure or entitlement decline.

Timothy P. Newfield is a PhD Candidate in the Department of History at McGill University (Montreal, Canada). His PhD dissertation draws on textual and material evidence to examine the disease, hunger and weather of Carolingian Europe (c.750–c.950 CE). In January 2011, he will commence a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Michigan. There he will examine the impact of, and relationship between, disease and short-term climatic events in sixth- and seventh-century continental Europe.

5.22 Nils Hybel – Food supplies, long-distance trade, climate and population 1000–1350

A study of medieval grain yields compared to the development of prices reveals that the margin between a normal harvest and scarcity was very narrow because of the small grain yields involved. Bad harvests were caused by too much rain, drought, or a long, hard winter. These climatic circumstances did not always give rise to famine, of course, which could be caused by circumstances other than bad weather. Famine was a recurring phenomenon in the middle ages and could be triggered by floods, wars, and commercial sanctions, such as blockades etc., although it is true that most food shortages were caused by unfavourable weather. The gravest situations arose, of course, when the climate was unfavourable in successive years, in most cases two or three years running. To generate serious human and demographic consequences a famine had not only to continue for two or three years in succession but it also had to cover a large geographical area. The extent of the medieval trade in victuals should not be overestimated, but trade in grain and other foodstuffs was quite developed and in a critical situation relief could be found in imports from places not affected by unfavourable weather. From 1000 to 1350 nine periods of bad weather lasting two or more successive years blighted northern Europe. These episodes caused great human misery and retarded the general trend of population growth throughout the high middle ages.

Nils Hybel is Associate Professor, Saxo-Institute for Humanities, University of Copenhagen. His recent publications include 'Early Commercial Contacts between England, Prussia and Poland' in Richard Unger with the assistance of Jakub Basista (eds), *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (2008) and (with Bjørn Poulsen), *The Danish Resources c.1000–1550: Growth and Recession* (2007).

5.23 Philip Slavin –The Great European Famine between ecology and institutions: reflections from England, c.1314–1330

Whether subsistence crises in pre-industrial societies were created by environmental or institutional factors has long been a matter of scholarly debate. Beginning with Amartya Sen's influential monograph on the Bengalese famine of 1942–3 and what he coined as 'food entitlement crisis' (1981), some social historians have attributed much importance to institutions as the single most important factor in constructing famines. More recently, however, an increasing number of scholars have advocated environmental aspects as the first and foremost bringer of pre-industrial subsistence crises (most recently, Campbell and Hoyle).

My paper tests these two different, although not necessarily contradicting views, by using the Great European Famine of c.1314–22 (which, in reality, continued at least into the early 1330s) as a test-study. Using an abundant corpus of primary sources from England, which includes manorial accounts, food accounts and purveyance accounts, my paper will examine what factors are to be blamed for *bringing about* the crisis and which ones accounted for *intensifying* it. It will also be argue that in order to get a fuller appreciation of a subsistence crisis within pre-industrial societies, it is essential to consider not only the *causes*, but also the *victims*.

Dr Philip Slavin is a Mellon fellow at the Economics Department at McGill University, Montreal. He received his PhD – which examined the process of food production and consumption in late-medieval Norfolk – from the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto in 2008, after which he was a post-doctoral associate at the Economic Growth Center, Yale University. Philip is the author of a number of articles on economic and environmental history of late medieval England. He is currently working on a book on food production and consumption in late medieval Norwich Cathedral Priory, tentatively entitled *Bread and ale for brethren: Norwich Cathedral Priory and its grain supply, c.1250–1420*.

5.24 Bruce Campbell and Cormac Ó Gráda – Harvest shortfalls, grain prices and famines in pre-industrial England

Fresh data on English grain yields 1268–1480 are combined with revised price series to measure the frequency and scale of serious harvest shortfalls and estimate the elasticity of demand for cereals. Major food availability declines are shown to have been a significant component of most historical subsistence crises, as back-to-back shortfalls were of the worst famines. Although farmers did achieve some reduction in yield variance c.1400 to c.1800, serious harvest shortfalls long remained an unavoidable fact of economic life. England's progressive escape from famine therefore arose primarily from improved market integration coupled with more effective protection of the entitlements of the poor.

Bruce M. S. Campbell is a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, an Academician of Social Sciences, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He is Professor of Medieval Economic History in the School of Geography, Archaeology and Palaeoecology at the Queen's University of Belfast. Bruce's field of scholarship is the economic history of late-medieval Britain and Ireland, with particular reference to human–environment interactions during the fourteenth century, and trends in agricultural output and productivity from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries.

Cormac Ó Gráda is an Irish economist, a professor of economics at University College Dublin, and a prolific author of books and academic papers. As a historian of economics his most quoted works are on the Irish famine of the late 1840s, and studies of fluctuations in the Irish population. Over 100 of his academic papers are available online. He is a member of the Cliometric Society, the Economic History Society, the European Historical Economics Society, the Irish Economic and Social History Society and the Royal Irish Academy. He is also a co-editor for the *European Review of Economic History*, a learned journal.

5.3 Co-operation and rural society, I. The economic functioning of rural co-ops: bridges over social fissures or new cleavages? Room 107

Convener: András Vári

Chair: Catherine Albrecht

Co-operatives are by definition *tools for building institutional networks* and ways and forms of *joining larger integrations*. But building a network may at the same time be a decision against participating in larger economic integration, therefore it may be a step towards rejecting the political side of this larger integration, the state which is behind it. Usually, this has been a multiethnic empire, those opting out of its economic matrix have been seen as participants in a modern nation-building project. This has usually been studied, if at all, at the level of the ideologues of the co-operative movements, or, even worse, by taking the views of the different *political* ideologies as a starting point. Yet the question: ‘Who do I trust, who do I work with?’ – was of obvious relevance and it was a question that had to be answered daily. It was also a question where cultural preferences were inextricably linked with economics and farming practices – trust and co-operation meant a very different thing in a consumer co-operative than in a dairy co-op.

There is evident need here for a more complex view of co-operatives, which would combine the contemporary technical and economical determinants of co-ops with consideration of differing cultural and political contexts in which they operated. Only in such a complex field of determinants would it be adequate and worthwhile to look at different, rival mobilisation efforts of rural elites and mobilisation paths of rural people.

Though this is a very complex issue, which has not really been looked at, the papers will try to not focus just on one particular setting, but to develop comparisons and explore the dynamics of integration and disintegration, with special regard to the interplay of rural economy and ethnic or cultural preference.

5.31 Christopher L. Colvin – God and risk: the role of religion in rural co-operative banking in the early twentieth-century Netherlands

What is the relationship between religion and risk-taking in banking? At the turn of the twentieth century, the Netherlands’ new co-operative movement was instigated by religious groups – Roman Catholics, orthodox Calvinists and liberal Protestants. Using quantitative analysis combined with archival business history evidence, this paper investigates how religion mattered for the banks’ credit, liquidity, interest rate, and market risks in the build-up to, during, and immediately following, the price deflation of the 1920s. It describes how the level of risk chosen by bankers was not determined by their denomination, but rather by banks’ religious minority position in their local market. Analysis of financial accounting data concerning all network-affiliated co-operatives suggest that the bigger an area’s religious minority, the more willing and able were banks associated with that minority to take on more risks. Case-study evidence points to a club good theory explanation for this finding, with strict membership criteria and use of personal guarantors in loan agreements acting as strong screening and monitoring devices.

Christopher L. Colvin is a final-year ESRC-funded PhD student at the Department of Economic History of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His research interests lie in the fields of financial history, money and banking, applied industrial organisation, and historical geographic information systems. His thesis looks at the performance of early microfinance institutions operating in the Netherlands during the financial crisis of the early 1920s. He holds a BSc Economics from the University of Bristol and an MSc Economic History from the LSE, which he received in 2006 with distinction and a dissertation prize. He has worked as an economist at the Office of Fair Trading, and has been an academic visitor at Universitat Pompeu Fabra and Universiteit Utrecht.

5.32 Hans Jörgensen – The growth of the Estonian Agricultural Co-op Movement in a North European context: 1860s to the inter-war years

The aim of this paper is to sketch a long-term, comparative overview of the growth of the agricultural co-operative movement in Estonia in the light of contemporary development in Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania and Bulgaria from the 1860s up to the inter-war years. The build-up and growth of producer's co-operative associations were of significance for inter-war Estonia's economic performance, not least because of its link to the radical land reform. So was also the case in many other parts of Europe up to the 1930s. This enhanced the small-scale agricultural producer's possibilities to compete on the world market. In this regard the comparative overview can elucidate both unique, country specific, and similar, institutional features of the growth and development of these movements. The paper will be structured by a number of comparative tables and matrixes in order to shed light on the significance of these changes. While parts of the comparisons concerned here were published in Swedish in 2004, this paper aims—partly by expanding the comparison with new sources – at providing a more thorough investigation of the development up to 1930. The paper is based on scientific journals, co-operative publications and scholarly literature.

Hans Jörgensen has been Senior Lecturer and Study Councillor in the Department of Economic History at Umeå University since 2006. He has a PhD in Economic History from Umeå University, 2004. Recent publications include (with Stjernström Olof), 'Emotional links to Forest ownership. Restitution of land and use of a productive resource in Põlva County, Estonia', *Fennia* 186 (2008) and 'The Inter-War Land reforms in Estonia, Finland and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 54 (2006).

5.33 András Vári – Co-ops, peasants, and networks in segmented rural societies of Austria, Hungary, and Transylvania from the 1880s to 1918

Founding and running rural co-ops was one of the major means of both integrating and segregating segments of multi-national, multi-confessional rural society of the Habsburg Empire. This paper looks first at the economic logic behind the two main types of co-ops (consumer and credit) operating in different economic settings. The economic constraints and the economic logic of the situation patterned the processes whereby rural communities were split, or united, by the forces of economic co-operation.

Next, the paper proceeds to compare rural Austrian German, Hungarian and Transylvanian Saxon credit co-operatives with regard to their respective effects on rural societies. These effects will be evaluated with reference to the economic context of the co-ops in which they operated.

The upshot is that the role given to economic nationalism when explaining the blossoming of rural co-operative institutions of the period needs to be cut down to size. Too often the claims of contemporary nationalist ideologues with regard to the role of co-ops as tools of nation-building have been taken at face value by historians. In some documented cases, economic logic did override nationalist endeavours, co-ops actually favoured integration of rural regions with several religious and ethnic communities. In yet others, the success of separatist organisations can be given an exclusively economic explanation.

Yet the running of co-operative networks required the services of local and regional elites. Identities and strivings of these elites were to some extent determined by their positions vis-à-vis the state. Therefore, they reflect the differences between the political structures of individual Austrian provinces, of Hungary, of Transylvania. This also means a number of different projects of nation building in the individual provinces. The aspirations and interests of local elites should not, however, be seen as identical with those of the peasants. But while it is advisable not to accept the claims of the contemporary nationalist movements without further scrutiny, there is no direct,

authentic source on the thinking of contemporary peasants and their motivation in joining or abstaining from co-operative institutions. Therefore, it is impossible to settle the question with final certainty.

András Vári is Senior lecturer at the Department of History, University of Miskolc. Since 2003 he has been a member of the board of editors, *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* and, since 2006, member of the board of the directors, István Hajnal Social History Association, Budapest.

5.4 The balance between city and countryside: the Netherlands, 1700–1860

Room 202

Convener: Paul Brusse

Chair: TBA

A few years ago a Utrecht research program was launched, proposing a systematic study of the process of de-urbanisation in the period 1700–1860. It aimed at the testing of existing theoretical models of urban history, furnishing them with additional elements relating to culture, mentality and politics, thus trying to bring about an effective synthesis of political, economic and cultural history. Just as importantly it wanted to explore the ways in which the processes of urban decline and agricultural growth influenced each other. The papers in this session reflect the results of the program.

5.41 Paul Brusse – The changing economic relation between city and countryside in the Netherlands, 1750–1850

Between 1750 and 1850 the economic developments were among others determined by a serious urban decline. At the same time the surrounding countryside, especially agriculture, experienced an upswing. A case in point is the numbers of inhabitants in city and countryside in the maritime province of Zeeland: around 1750 almost 50 per cent of the population of the Zeeland isles lived in the city, around 1850 this percentage was 33. Considering the open economy in Zeeland, the orientation of trade, industry and agriculture on the market and the international conflicts in which the province ended up, the cause of the opposite economic developments in city and countryside is complicated, whereby local and international, economic and non-economic factors played a role. The aim of my paper is to unravel all of these factors, but I will focus on the countryside. What were the consequences of these opposite developments for the relations between city and countryside? My paper will contribute to theories about this relationship.

Dr. Paul Brusse is an historian at the Research Institute for History and Culture of the Utrecht University in the Netherlands. He wrote several books about regional economic developments between the seventeenth and the twenty-first centuries in this country. Now he is working on a research project called *The balance between city and countryside*, a project about disurbanisation in the Netherlands and the rise of an agrarian society, 1700–1860. He is also involved in the research project *Democratisation and modernisation in the Dutch Countryside 1850–1920* (Wageningen University). He is associated with the international CORN group, which is preparing a new Agrarian History of Western Europe. Furthermore he is Editor in Chief of a new four-volume work about the history of the Dutch province of Zeeland.

5.42 Jeanine Dekker – Political forces in the changing relations between town and countryside in the Netherlands, 1750–1850

In the years 1750–1850 parts of Dutch society enjoyed the coexistence of urban decline and rural prosperity. My aim is to determine how political factors played a role here. Political power in the countryside was especially at stake. In my paper I will focus on the case of the Dutch province Zeeland, where the urban elite owed high interests in the local government in the countryside. I will examine whether there was a connection between changes in the local rural government and changing relations between town and countryside in general. To explain this I will focus on three topics: the intentions of the urban elite, the power of the local executives and the political conscience of the rural population. This paper will challenge fundamental assumptions on the relationship between town and country, especially on the leading role of cities in processes of (political) modernisation.

Dr. Jeanine Dekker carries out a research project on the political relations between town and country in the Dutch province Zeeland between 1750 and 1850. This project is part of the research project ‘The balance between city and countryside, de-urbanisation and the rise of an agrarian society, Zeeland, 1700–1860’ at the Research Institute for History and Culture of the Utrecht University (Netherlands). She also participates as an editor and author in a project to establish a large work on the history of Zeeland.

5.43 Arno Neele – De-urbanisation, ruralisation and the cultural balance between city and countryside in the Dutch province of Zeeland 1750–1850

This paper investigates the cultural implications of the processes of de-urbanisation and ruralisation for the province of Zeeland by looking at the public sphere, the material culture, the economic debate and the construction of a provincial identity. It argues that the growing prosperity on the countryside in Zeeland resulted in a rise of social and cultural capital among country dwellers. This capital could take various forms in which rural people tried to seek alliance with an urban cultural elite or tried to break away from this dominant elite. Furthermore, the urban perception on the countryside altered in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe. Agriculture and rural culture came to the fore of the public debate and rurality was of growing importance in the construction of provincial and national identities in the nineteenth century. However, well into the nineteenth century public debate in Zeeland had been dominated by the search for methods of re-urbanisation. It seems that the strong urban inheritance of the seventeenth century, followed by extreme urban decline in the eighteenth century, had delayed the integration of agriculture in the economic debate and the integration of rural culture in the provincial identity.

Arno Neele is a PhD student at the Research Institute for History and Culture of the University of Utrecht and is working on a thesis on the cultural implications of de-urbanisation in the Dutch province of Zeeland in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. His main interests are the cultural relations between centre and periphery and more specifically the interactions between city and countryside and between region and nation.

5.44 Wijnand Mijnhardt – From urban republic to rural monarchy 1700–1860

The results of the project on the emergence of a new symbiosis between city and countryside may help us to explain the peculiar transformation of the Dutch Republic into a monarchy in 1806. Very often this revolution has been presented as a mere contingency, only precipitated by Napoleonic dependency in the post-revolutionary period. It turns out that if we take the serious eighteenth century decline of the seaboard cities and the rural expansion all over the Netherlands seriously, the transformation from an urban Republic to an aristocratic Monarchy would seem only natural and the creation of a hereditary stadholderate in 1747 and the foundation of an enlightened monarchy in 1806 logical steps in the process. In my paper I will discuss the cultural, political, and economic factors contributing to that dramatic shift and its consequences.

Wijnand W. Mijnhardt has been full Professor of Cultural History at Utrecht University (1991–2007) and visiting Professor of Dutch History at the University of California in Los Angeles (2001–2005). Presently he is Chair of Comparative History of the Sciences and the Humanities, and Director of the Descartes Centre for the History and Philosophy of the Sciences at Utrecht University. Mijnhardt has held fellowships from the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles and from the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies in Wassenaar. In 2005 he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton and in 2006/07 he was a Senior Research Fellow at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles. In 2004 he was elected as a member of the Royal Dutch Academy of the Sciences. He published widely on Dutch intellectual history, on the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century and on the Enlightenment. With Joost Kloek, he authored *1800, Blueprints for a National Community*, Vol. 2 in the series ‘Dutch Culture in a European Perspective’ (2005). In preparation is: *The Book that Enlightened Europe: Picart and Bernard’s Religious Ceremonies of the World* (2010) (together with Lynn Hunt and Margaret Jacob).

5.5 Agricultural export trade, land tenure and town-country relations: south-east Europe, the Black Sea and the Aegean (1840s–1930s)

Room 203

Convener and chair: Socrates Petmezas

The expansion of urban and/or ‘foreign (extra-regional/international)’ demand for agricultural and non-agricultural goods produced in the countryside is pivotal in understanding how monetisation and specialisation penetrates the countryside and leads to output and labour productivity growth. This usually happens during periods of demographic expansion, both in the cities and the countryside. Of course *in relative terms*, the population of the countryside is diminishing; otherwise latent underemployment increases and/or labour productivity stagnates (or even regresses). If the urban (and/or rural non-agricultural sector) can absorb the superfluous rural labour (and generated income to be invested) in the secondary and tertiary sectors, then there are usually positive economic effects (income and output growth).

Of course, this positive process is by no way automatic. Urban or ‘foreign’ demand may simply lead to higher prices not higher output, while fluctuations of this demand may affect negatively capital reinvestment in the rural sector and the concomitant rise of land and labour productivity. On the other hand, the released (unemployed) rural population may be locked in the countryside, or migrate to distant areas, without affecting the regional urban economy. Income generated in the booming agricultural export sector may not be reinvested locally or in the neighbouring urban economy, and thus the expected multiplying phenomena (leading to higher output, labour productivity and expanding urban employment) may be aborted.

In South-Eastern Europe the so-called first globalisation (from 1850 to 1912-29) generated increasing demand for certain agricultural products (cereals, silk, olive oil, wine, currants, etc.) and had positive effects for the modernised commercial economy of the cities, predominantly the ports, but also of mainland cities with a rich rural hinterland. Population and income growth is observed in these thriving urban centres. And yet the final outcome of the period of export boom is debatable. Overseas emigration and agricultural involution is observed at least in Greece. But commercialisation has made its presence felt. In this session we may discuss the details of the Greek, Ottoman and Bulgarian experience and even attempt a global evaluation for the whole area concerned. More detailed questions may also be discussed in this session, such as: how has this expanding international demand influenced the local rural economy and how have the relations between countryside and the ports cities been transformed? Did we observe positive effects on the rural (and general) labour productivity or not?

Socrates D. Petmezas is associate professor, Dept. of History and Archaeology, University of Crete. He received his PhD (‘Recherches sur l’Economie et les Finances des villages du Pélion, région d’industries rurales, c.1750–1850’) in History from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. He has taught at the University of Crete since 1990 and he is also a researcher in the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FoRTh. He was a visiting Professor at the

EHESS and a member of the management comity of the international research network ‘Programme de Recherches sur les Sociétés Rurales Européennes’ (2005–09).

5.51 Alp Yücel Kaya – Export-oriented agriculture and labour organisation in Çiftliks in the hinterland of Izmir and Salonica (1840–1912)

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Izmir had emerged as the most important port in the Ottoman Empire’s trade with the West and retained this position throughout the nineteenth century by carrying more than 50 per cent of the Empire’s exports. The volume of trade increased four-fold, exports three-fold and imports six-fold between 1840s and 1870s. Even more spectacular results apply to Salonica. Within the same time span, Salonica’s export experienced a tenfold increase in the volume of trade, exports and imports. In this context of trade expansion, these two important port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean were mostly supplied by their rich hinterland where big farms, *çiftliks*, dominated rural economy. This paper will discuss in a comparative framework how labour is organised in the hinterland of each of two expanding port cities, with a focus on the *çiftliks*. If sharecropping is the most common form of labour organisation, what are the dynamics of sharecropping systems practised in each of these two hinterlands? Are there any changes during the nineteenth century in the form of labour organisation, from sharecropping to wage-labour or to rent system, vice versa, etc? Does any relationship between labour organisation and productivity growth exist? What are the determinants of production growth in terms of labour organisation? The paper will discuss these questions on the basis of the quantitative and qualitative data on the labour organisation existing in the income registers (*temettuat defterleri*) of 1845 and other archival materials for the second half of the nineteenth century about the *çiftliks* existing in the hinterland of Izmir and Salonica.

Alp Yücel Kaya studied from 1998 to 2005 at EHESS, Paris and gained a PhD with ‘Politique de l’enregistrement de la richesse économique: les enquêtes fiscales et agricoles de l’Empire ottoman et de la France au milieu du XIXe siècle,’ in 2005. Since 2006, Alp has been Assistant Professor at Istanbul Technical University, Humanities and Social Sciences Department. Publications include ‘Les commissions cantonales de statistique sous le Second Empire’, *Le Canton – Un territoire du quotidien dans la France contemporaine (1790–2006)*, (éd. Y. Lagadec, J. Lebihan and J.-F. Tanguy), 2009 and ‘In the Hinterland of Izmir: Mid-nineteenth century traders facing a new type of fiscal practice’ in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (ed. by S. Faroqhi and G. Veinstein) 2008.

5.52 Andreas Lyberatos – Grain production in north-eastern Bulgaria and the grain market of Varna (late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries)

The opening of the Ottoman market to the world economy and the increase of international demand in cereals, led from the 1840s onwards to a boom of cereal cultivation in the territories now belonging to Bulgaria (then part of the Ottoman Empire). Nevertheless, the expansion of export-oriented cultivation, a determining feature of the country’s agriculture, both before and after its autonomy (1878), was not accompanied by agricultural modernisation. By the end of the nineteenth century, Bulgaria’s agriculture was characterised by technical backwardness and low levels of land and labour productivity, phenomena accompanied at the social and political level by rural destitution and unrest. Political autonomy and the concomitant changes in land tenure and the fluctuation of international demand and prices have been put forward as factors generally explaining this ‘modernisation failure’. The proposed paper will shift attention to the local level and focus on the relationship between the city-port of Varna, one of the most important hubs and export outlets of Bulgarian grain, and its fertile grain producing hinterland (southern Dobrudzha). Based on local sources, the paper will try to explore the regulation and functioning of the local grain market and inquire into the ways the urban-organised processes and networks of financing, extraction and realisation of the rural produce affected economic and social conditions and developments in the countryside.

Andreas K. Lyberatos is Associate Researcher, Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH. He received his B.A. in Philosophy from the University of Athens and his M.A. in Modern European History from the Victoria University of Manchester (1995). He specialised in Modern Balkan History at the University of London (School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 1996–7) and at the Institute for Balkan Studies – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (1997–8). He received his Ph.D. from the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Crete (2005), topic: ‘Economy, Politics and National Ideology. The Formation of National Parties in nineteenth c. Plovdiv’, a revised form of which was published in 2009 in Greek (Crete U.P.). During the academic year 2006–7 he held a post-doctoral research fellowship in the Program in Hellenic Studies at Princeton University (U.S.A.). His publications and research interests focus on the social and economic history of the Balkans (nineteenth–twentieth centuries), the emergence of Balkan nationalism, the socioeconomic transformation of the countryside in nineteenth c. Balkans and the social history of the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean cities during the transition to the modern era. From September 2007 he works at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/F.O.R.T.H. (Rethymno, Greece) as a member of the ‘History of the Eastern Mediterranean and Balkan Cities, eighteenth–twentieth centuries’ research group.

5.53 Yücel Terzibasoglu – Olive oil production and networks of trade, finance, and ownership in western Anatolia in the nineteenth century

This paper will explore the context and consequences of the expanding olive cultivation and related industrial production (olive oil and soap) and exports in western Anatolia in the second half of the nineteenth century. The historical context of the olive economy in the region involves the rise in the production of olives and olive oil especially in the coastal regions, accompanied by a changing legal framework governing landed property, facilitating the establishment of a land market, and the establishment of a number of overlapping networks in land ownership, and in circuits of merchant and financial capital in the eastern Mediterranean area and beyond. This involves a web of relationships extending from the eastern Mediterranean to the Black Sea and to western Europe that linked the producing regions to Istanbul’s bureaucrats and financiers, the region’s producers to merchants and landlords in a multiplicity of ways. The paper will investigate first, how the rising export trade in olives and olive oil helped in the construction of these networks or changed them, and second, how the political economy of olive transformed production processes (the land tenure system, land ownership patterns, as well as the organisation of production and labour relations) in the olive producing areas of western Anatolia in the course of the nineteenth century.

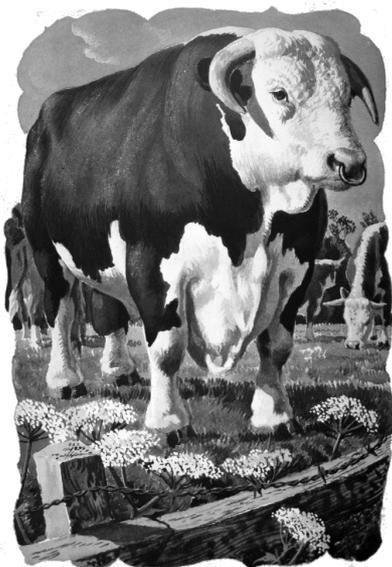
Yücel Terzibasoglu studied economics and economic history at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara and at Birkbeck College, University of London, and received his PhD in 2003 from Birkbeck College with a thesis titled ‘Landlords, Nomads and Refugees: Struggles over Land and Population Movements in North-Western Anatolia, 1877–1914’. Since 2003 he has been teaching at the Department of History in Bogazici University, Istanbul. He teaches courses on the economic history of the Ottoman Empire (Anatolia, Middle East and the Balkans) and Europe. His research covers landed and urban property, law and legal institutions in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

Tuesday 11.30 to 13.00

Session 6

Parallel sessions in the Fulton Building:

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>6.1 Anglo-Saxon rural landscapes</p> <p>Convener: Dr Susan Oostuizen</p> <p>Chair: Dr Chris Lewis</p> <p>6.11 Rosamond Faith:</p> <p>Livestock in landscapes: pre-Conquest England and modern conservation practice</p> <p>6.12 Debby Banham:</p> <p>Anglo-Saxon farmers and the supernatural</p> <p>6.13 Susan Oostuizen:</p> <p>Agricultural tradition and innovation, and the origins of Anglo-Saxon identity</p>	<p>6.2 Can we talk about an ‘industrious revolution’ in southern Europe?</p> <p>Convener and Chair: Julie Marfany</p> <p>6.21 Rosa Congost and Eulàlia Esteve:</p> <p>Little land but many forks? Analysing consumption patterns among Catalan smallholders over the second half of the eighteenth century</p> <p>6.22 Gérard Béaur:</p> <p>An industrious revolution in the Parisian countryside? The case of Brie in the eighteenth century</p> <p>6.23 Julie Marfany:</p> <p>Was there an industrious revolution in Catalonia?</p>	<p>6.3 Co-operation and rural society, II. Catalysts of rural mobilisation: co-operative movements with national or religious backgrounds</p> <p>Convener and chair: András Vári</p> <p>6.31 Torsten Lorenz:</p> <p>Nationalism as a factor of integration and disintegration in the co-operative movement of East Central Europe, 1850–1940</p> <p>6.32 Catherine Albrecht:</p> <p>Rural banks and credit co-operatives in Bohemia, 1860–1914</p> <p>6.33 Eóin McLaughlin:</p> <p>Competing forms of co-operation: land league, land war and co-operation in Ireland, 1879–1921</p>	<p>6.4 Transnational networks of learning: new ways of knowledge production by farmers and agronomists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries</p> <p>Convener: Peter Moser</p> <p>Chair: Michael Kopsidis</p> <p>6.41 Peter Moser:</p> <p>Learning by travelling? Farmers and agronomists from Switzerland visiting Great Britain in the twentieth century</p> <p>6.42 Juan Pan-Montojo:</p> <p>Spanish agricultural engineers and the international agronomy: reading and travelling before the Great War</p> <p>6.43 Zsuzsanna Varga:</p> <p>Formal and informal networks of learning between East and West: the modernisation of the Hungarian agriculture in the 1960s and 1970s</p>	<p>6.5 Perspectives on technical change in agriculture</p> <p>Convener: Paul Brassley</p> <p>Chair: Michael Winter</p> <p>6.51 Andrew Godley:</p> <p>Intensive rearing technologies and industrial organisation in the UK poultry industry, 1950–1970</p> <p>6.52 Karen Sayer:</p> <p>‘Animal machines’: the public response to intensive poultry production</p> <p>6.53 Hilary Crowe:</p> <p>The role of direct subsidy on production and profitability of upland agriculture 1947–1973</p> <p>6.54 Paul Brassley, Michael Winter, David Harvey and Matt Lobley:</p> <p>Perspectives on technical change in agriculture</p>



A Hereford bull

6.1 Anglo-Saxon rural landscapes

Room 103

Convener: Dr Susan Oostuizen

Chair: Dr Chris Lewis

Chris Lewis worked for the Victoria County History from 1982 to 2009, initially on Cambridgeshire, later on Cheshire, and finally on Sussex. He has been interested in how rural places and landscapes in different parts of England have differed from or resembled one other over the long run from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day.

6.11 Rosamond Faith – Livestock in landscapes: pre-Conquest England and modern conservation practice

My paper challenges the idea of ‘The Tragedy of the Commons’ from the point of view of the medieval history of rural Europe. Examples are given from Provence and Devon of how commons were regulated during the middle ages and how they were undermined by endogenous developments in the medieval economy. The experience of the Grazing Animals Projects run by English Nature provide invaluable evidence of how animal behaviour itself regulates the exploitation of common resources.

Rosamond Faith has a BA in Modern History, University of Oxford 1956 and took a PhD in the Department of English Local History, University of Leicester 1962. She is a FSA. Her publications include *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (1997) and many articles on the English peasantry. Forthcoming: with Debby Banham, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*. Rosamond is currently a part-time tutor, Department of Continuing Education, University of Oxford and Visiting Fellow, Kellogg College, Oxford.

6.12 Debby Banham – Anglo-Saxon farmers and the supernatural

A number of charms, recipes and prayers survive from before the Norman Conquest which are concerned with farming. The best known is the ‘field remedy’, designed to protect growing crops from sorcery, but others deal with veterinary matters, cattle rustling and crops in store. Together they provide an insight into a world-view in which various supernatural entities or forces play a large part in ensuring the success of agrarian undertakings. To date, most scholarship on these ‘minor’ texts has been concerned with their relationship to orthodox Christianity, or analysis of their language. This paper will examine them rather in the context of Anglo-Saxon farming. It will show how they relate to what we know of the way crops and livestock were raised, the technology in use, and the annual cycle of farming work, as well as the thinking of the people who worked on the land in Anglo-Saxon England, and explore how the texts can help us understand these matters better.

Debby Banham is a medieval historian based at Cambridge, where she is jointly attached to the Departments of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic and History and Philosophy of Science. She wrote her PhD thesis on Anglo-Saxon diet, since when her research interests have expanded to encompass both medicine and farming in the same period. Recent publications include *Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon England* (2004), ‘A millennium in medicine? New medical texts and ideas in England in the eleventh century’, in Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (eds), *Anglo-Saxons: Studies presented to Cyril Roy Hart* (2006), and ‘The Old English Nine Herbs Charm’, in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice* (2009). She is currently working on a book with Dr Rosamond Faith, to be entitled *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (forthcoming).

6.13 Susan Oostuizen – Agricultural tradition and innovation, and the origins of Anglo-Saxon identity

It is generally agreed that the origins of Anglo-Saxon identity lie in the folk groups of the fifth and sixth centuries AD which preceded the emergence of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the seventh and eighth centuries. The defining characteristic of these folk groups is believed to have been the rights

of their members to the economic exploitation of a specific territory, and especially of pasture. Although there is uncertainty about whether such traditions originated in the post-Roman period, there is some evidence for the persistence of prehistoric forms in the layout and utilisation of both fields and pastures throughout the Roman and Anglo-Saxon centuries: from field systems with rectilinear and curvilinear plans, strips, and some degree of openness, to large commons whose identifying features are indistinguishable from those of the middle ages. At the same time, recent research has identified the substantial degree of agricultural innovation in the period of the ‘long’ eighth century, between about 670 and 830 AD, in the introduction of new crops and technologies, approaches to fertility and, perhaps, new field layouts. This paper attempts a synthetic view of innovation and tradition in the emergence of an ‘Anglo-Saxon’ identity through the case study of the agricultural landscape.

Susan Oostuizen has been University Senior Lecturer with responsibility for Landscape and Field Archaeology at the University of Cambridge Institute of Continuing Education since 2006 (appointed Staff Tutor in 1997), and a Fellow of Wolfson College, Cambridge, since 2003. She is a graduate in Archaeology and History (Combined Honours) of the University of Southampton, took her MA in Area Studies (Africa) at SOAS in the University of London, and her PhD in Cambridge (Trinity Hall and the Department of Geography). She is an Affiliated Scholar of the Department of Archaeology and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, as well as Vice-Chair of the Universities Association for Lifelong Learning. She is Vice-President of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (President 2006-2008).

Her forthcoming publications include ‘Anglo-Saxon field systems’, in D. Hinton and H. Hamerow, (eds.), *OUP Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*; ‘Medieval rural settlement and commerce in the medieval peat fen, c.900–1300’, in P. Stamper and N. Christie (eds.) *Rural Medieval Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600: Settlements, Landscapes and Regions*; and ‘Medieval settlement nucleation and common fields: a reconsideration of common origins’, in N. Higham, (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes*. Past papers have appeared in (among others) *Agricultural History Review*, *Medieval Archaeology*, *Antiquaries Journal* and *Landscape History*.

6.2 Can we talk about an ‘industrious revolution’ in southern Europe?

Room 104

Convener and Chair: Julie Marfany

Some time ago now, Jan de Vries proposed the concept of an ‘industrious revolution’ as a means of describing and defining some aspects of the origins of the industrial revolution. A key characteristic of this ‘revolution’ was the dynamic role played by the household economy, both in terms of production and consumption. The focus on the importance of the household economy in the early modern period represents an important shift away from the focus of much work in agrarian history, which has focused more on large estates, often because these have left more detailed sources.

De Vries’s concept, however, is explicitly limited to north-west Europe, where he sees the predominance of the nuclear family as providing greater flexibility and autonomy. By definition, therefore, southern Europe remains excluded from such a process. In this session, the aim is to debate the usefulness of the concept of the ‘industrious revolution’ but particularly in the context of rural southern Europe. Indeed, some recent studies of consumption patterns for this area suggest extending the debate would be worthwhile. It would be a shame if, as has happened on other occasions, for example, with the very concept of an industrial revolution, a too-restrictive formulation of the concepts used to define complex processes of economic and social change were allowed to limit the potential for comparing change in different historical contexts.

6.21 Rosa Congost and Eulàlia Esteve – Little land but many forks? Analysing consumption patterns among Catalan smallholders over the second half of the eighteenth century

Population growth in eighteenth-century Catalonia resulted in a rise in the number of smallholders, known in the north-east of the region as *treballadors*. What is less clear is whether the rise of this group should be seen as a sign of growing poverty in this region. *A priori*, we might assume that wage labourers and smallholders, in an area traditionally dominated by self-sufficient family farms, would be more vulnerable to poverty. However, the study of land markets, including in this instance emphyteutic transfers, the credit market, inventories *post mortem* and marriage contracts from the second half of the eighteenth century, reveals not only striking changes in the social structure, but also, in some areas, a more favourable situation for these smallholders, revealed by changing consumption patterns, forcing us to revise the hypothesis above in favour of a more dynamic role for these supposedly more humble groups.

Rosa Congost is professor of economic history at the University of Girona and a researcher at the Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural. She is the author of numerous works on landed property and social relations in rural Catalonia. In recent years, she has promoted a focus on comparative history. She is currently principal researcher for the Grup d'Història de les Societats Rurals (at the University of Girona) and on the project HAR 2008-02960/HIST 'Dinàmiques socials i canvi històric en societats rurals: l'anàlisi des grups i les desigualtats socials'.

Eulàlia Esteve is a PhD student at the Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural at the University of Girona. Her thesis investigates the evolution of social inequality and different groups in the Girona region for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, using inventories post mortem and marriage contracts.

6.22 Gérard Béaur – An industrious revolution in the Parisian countryside? The case of Brie in the eighteenth century

It has been argued that an industrious revolution happened in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and was a prelude to the Industrial Revolution. This industrious revolution was characterised by a rise in demand for market-supplied goods even though real wages were decreasing. Was this really the case? Our proposal includes some thoughts about such changes which occurred in an agricultural region: the Brie, near Meaux, some 50km from Paris. We have little evidence about wages in Brie but some solid assumptions about their evolution and many indicators for the standard of living. The paper will use these data to assess whether there really was an industrious revolution in this area.

Gerard Béaur is a researcher at the CNRS and director of studies at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. His research has centred on rural social history from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. His publications include *Histoire Agraire de la France au 18e siècle* (Paris, 2000). He is the principal researcher on the project GDR 2912 of the CNRS Histoire des Campagnes Européennes (HCE) and 2005–09 Chair of the COST action A35 Program for Study of European Rural Societies, financed by the EU with the participation of twenty EU countries.

6.23 Julie Marfany – Was there an industrious revolution in Catalonia?

This paper suggests a somewhat different picture for central, proto-industrial Catalonia than that described above by Congost and Esteve. It explores the decision-making processes of households in a proto-industrial community, Igualada, and the constraints to which these households were subject. It investigates which activities households were engaged in, particularly new activities such as commercial viticulture and proto-industry, and how the opportunities provided by the growth of these new sectors influenced the demographic behaviour of households, especially the question of when and whom to marry. The argument engages critically with Jan de Vries' concept of an industrious revolution. Catalan households showed similar propensities to households elsewhere in the intensification of labour inputs over the eighteenth century. However, Catalonia

was more like east Asia than north-west Europe in that such industrious behaviour was not accompanied by changes in consumer behaviour and improvements in welfare to the same extent as in the latter region. While some changes can be discerned, this paper argues for other motivating factors behind the industrious revolution, such as forced commercialisation and poverty. Where the argument really takes issue with de Vries, though, is with his claims for the superiority of the nuclear family of north-western Europe over the more extended family structures prevalent in southern Europe. This study argues that the picture was far more complex than de Vries suggests. Not only could the extended family be as dynamic as the nuclear family when required but, more importantly, the distinction between the two types is overdrawn.

Julie Marfany is currently a university lecturer in economic and social history at the University of Cambridge. Her PhD investigated the relationship between demographic change and proto-industrialisation in Catalonia over the long eighteenth century. Since then, her research has broadened to include patterns of land use, production and consumption in the household economy and poverty. She has just completed a monograph on the transition to capitalism in Catalonia. Her publications include ‘Is it still helpful to talk about proto-industrialisation? Some suggestions from a Catalan case study’, *Econ. Hist. Rev.* (forthcoming) and ‘Proto-industrialisation, property rights and the land market in Catalonia, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries’, in Phillip Schofield and Gérard Béaur (eds.), *Property rights, the land market and economic change* (forthcoming).

6.3 Co-operation and rural society, II. Catalysts of rural mobilisation: co-operative movements with national or religious backgrounds Room 107

Convener and chair: András Vári

6.31 Torsten Lorenz – Nationalism as a factor of integration and disintegration in the co-operative movement of East Central Europe, 1850–1940

The history of East Central Europe in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century has been largely influenced by ethnic diversity and economic underdevelopment. In this specific setting of divided and predominantly agrarian societies, co-operatives played a twofold role: On the one hand, by providing credit, basic commodities and practical advice they helped small agricultural producers solve everyday problems of agricultural production and played an important role in accustoming them to the market and thus to the transformation of agriculture. On the other hand, setting up co-operatives meant institution building along the ethno-cultural dividing lines. When co-operatives became a social movement in the eastern central European countryside, there was an increasing pressure on individual co-operatives to make a declaration about their ethno-cultural belonging. This in turn meant the disintegration of rural society as a whole, but at the same time social integration along the ethno-cultural dividing lines.

The paper will analyse nationalism as a key factor for the integration and disintegration of the rural co-operative movement in East Central Europe. It will compare the different experiences of the Polish, the German and the Ukrainian co-operatives. For this aim it will take a look at the specific development of each of the individual movements, the specific economic role co-operatives fulfilled in each of the economic and cultural settings and the role of the state, which set up the legal framework, in which co-ops operated. Above that, examples of co-operation and non-cooperation between different ethno-cultural branches of the movement will be analysed.

Dr. Torsten Lorenz gained his PhD in Economic and Social history at the European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder (1999–2006) He is now lecturer in European history at Humboldt University, Berlin. Until this year he was researcher in economic education at the University of Oldenburg (2009), researcher in European history at the Technical University of Dresden (2008–09) and researcher in East Central European history at the University of Vienna (2007–08). His main areas of research are economic and social history of East Central Europe in the nineteenth

and twentieth century; nationalism and ethnic relations in East Central Europe; and the history of the co-operative movement in East Central Europe.

6.32 Catherine Albrecht – Rural banks and credit co-operatives in Bohemia, 1860–1914

Rural co-operatives of all sorts were founded in the second half of the nineteenth century in the Bohemian crownlands of the Habsburg monarchy. Co-operatives and agricultural associations were founded to help peasants respond to the challenges – both positive and negative – of a market economy. They helped peasants manage their debt by providing long-term mortgage loans on favourable terms. They enabled farmers to modernise production by providing credit for investment and access to agricultural machinery. Thus, they were intended to provide the support farmers needed both to withstand agricultural crises and to take advantage of economic opportunity. The co-operative movement grew most markedly during periods of economic expansion (during the 1860s and the 1890s).

Co-operatives were part of a growing network of rural associations that contributed significantly to mobilizing local populations. Voluntary associations integrated peasants into political parties, beginning with traditional liberal and national unity parties in the 1860s and leading to specialised agrarian parties in the early twentieth century. As national affiliation became more important in defining political and economic relationships in Bohemia, rural co-operatives played a significant role in creating parallel Czech and German social environments. In addition to language use, other markers of national affiliation included co-operatives' membership in central associations, their participation in nationally oriented agrarian banks, and their affiliation with political parties that embraced national goals.

Even so, rural co-operatives remained committed to the special interests of rural producers. Social and economic interests, religious affiliations, and political affiliations were more important in the nineteenth century than ill-defined notions of national identity. Even as national identity became more salient in the twentieth century, particularly after 1918, rural co-operatives remained committed primarily to the social and economic needs of local farmers, regardless of their language of daily use or national affiliation.

Catherine Albrecht has a PhD in History from Indiana University, Bloomington, 1986. She was Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, and Professor at the University of Baltimore until 2009 and, since then, has been Dean at the Getty College of Arts and Sciences at Ohio Northern University. She has written a book on *Economic Nationalism in the Bohemian Crownlands, 1848–1938* and has published a number of articles on the topic.

6.33 Eóin McLaughlin – Competing forms of co-operation: land league, land war and co-operation in Ireland, 1879–1921

Two distinct forms of co-operation emerged in response to adverse economic conditions in late nineteenth-century Ireland: the land league and co-operatives associated with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS). Both were top-down economic and social movements; both differed in their *modus operandi* and *raison d'être*, and their elites represented opposing views of constitutional politics. The land league used co-operation amongst tenants and combined agitation to reduce rents and transfer land ownership from landlords to tenants; whereas the IAOS encouraged imitation of Continental forms of agricultural co-operation, the co-operation of individual producers to reduce costs of production and realise economies of scale.

Potentially there was a capacity for the mutual complementarity of both forms of co-operation; but existing political, cultural and social factors militated against this. The paper explores the relationship between the land war and the development of co-operation in Ireland and argues that

the competing forms of co-operation undermined the development of agricultural co-operatives along Continental lines in Ireland. The paper will specifically focus on attempts to imitate German Raiffeisen co-operative societies and argue that the *ad hoc* policies taken by the paternal propagating agency, the IAOS, were aimed at placating the existing socio-economic interest groups in Ireland.

6.4 Transnational networks of learning: new ways of knowledge production by farmers and agronomists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Room 202

Convener: Peter Moser

Chair: Michael Kopsidis

The rapid change and development in agriculture since the eighteenth century is often perceived as the result of a top-down process of knowledge diffusion within nation states ('from the laboratory to the field'). But newly catalogued sources and currently ongoing research strongly suggest that the creation of knowledge in agriculture is a much more complex phenomenon. Transnational networks of socially relatively coherent groups, for example, played a crucial role in the process of learning by different groups within the agricultural sector.

In the eighteenth century, the growing exchange of knowledge among agronomists and other experts on a European level was augmented by many farmers visiting farmers and agricultural institutions in other countries in the nineteenth century. And, in the twentieth century, we can observe, in spite of two world wars and the cold war, an ever-increasing number of direct contacts among the farming population (farmers, farmers' wives, young farmers groups, farm labourers, agricultural politicians, agronomists, etc.) of different societies – almost irrespective of their geographical location or political orientation.

These interactions often lead to the more or less simultaneous appearances of new methods in different surroundings and the takeover, adaption and improvement of new views, techniques and perceptions by practitioners. On the other hand, national or regional idiosyncrasies seldom remained intact, in spite of their growing reputation as being old-fashioned and out-dated in other regions or nations.

The purpose of this session is to discuss the practice of *learning by travelling*: to identify *transnational networks* of learning and to find out more about the modes of knowledge which were spread by this practice – and those which were marginalised.

6.41 Peter Moser – Learning by travelling? Farmers and agronomists from Switzerland visiting Great Britain in the twentieth century

This paper focuses on the many farmers, young farmers and agronomists from Switzerland who, mainly in groups, visited farms and agricultural institutions in Great Britain in the twentieth century with the purpose of *learning* from other ways of farming. It first gives an overview of the travelling practice: who went to Great Britain, when and where? It then concentrates on the conclusions which the visitors drew from their experience. How was British agriculture perceived by the participants of the travelling groups? Was Great Britain regarded as a model for the further development of agriculture at home? Which measures, techniques and perceptions in Great Britain were identified as useful, which ones were refused – and why? The paper also deals with the

question of whether ‘the British way of farming’ came into conflict with the cultural and natural surroundings at home and the way(s) of farming the Swiss authorities propagated.

Peter Moser (b. 1954) studied (as a mature student) modern history and economy in Bern and Galway. He is a graduate from the University of Bern, where he received a PhD in modern history in 1995. He is the author of 11 books, numerous articles in scientific journals and anthologies as well as the co-author of a documentary film on farmers in Switzerland in the twentieth century. He lectures at different Universities.

In 2002 Peter Moser was founder and since then has been director of the *Archives of Rural History* (ARH) in Bern. The ARH have recovered and catalogued the archival material of more than 150 agricultural and rural organisations and institutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All the catalogues can be consulted online (www.agrararchiv.ch). Currently Peter is chairman of the *Swiss Rural History Society* (www.ruralhistory.ch), scientific collaborator of the *Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse* and the *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raums* in St Pölten.

6.42 Juan Pan-Montojo – Spanish agricultural engineers and the international agronomy: reading and travelling before the Great War

The Spanish agricultural engineers, a new career established in 1855, were designed as both a liberal profession and a group of experts that could help the public institutions, with the specific aim of contributing to bridging the technological gap between the Spanish agriculture and European agricultures. From their earliest times onwards, agricultural engineers tried to fulfil this function, which they saw as the clue to legitimizing their existence and gaining access to a higher professional status and to the setting up of a public corps. Reading and translating foreign books, attending the international exhibitions (London, Paris, Vienna, Chicago...), visiting experimental and model farms in France, Belgium or Germany, were some of the activities undertaken by many agricultural engineers. However until the Great War these international contacts remained unsystematic, normally dependent on private initiatives – even though they sometimes received the financial support of the state – and oriented either to the study of labour-saving machinery or to the explanation of foreign institutional models. In the first decade of the twentieth century, coinciding with the creation of the International Institute of Agriculture, new ways of adopting technology and interrelating with experts from other countries were thought of and displayed, a set of changes that would bring about relevant innovations in the 1920s.

Juan Pan-Montojo (b.1962) is a graduate in Philosophy and Letters (Modern History), 1986, and Economic Sciences (Economic Sociology), 1987, and doctor in Modern History, 1992, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. He has worked as a visiting researcher in the London School of Economics and Political Sciences, London, in the New School for Social Research, New York, and in the Friedrich-Alexander Universität of Erlangen-Nürnberg. Juan was (1990–7) Lecturer in, and is now Associate Professor of, Modern History at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. He has done most of his research in agrarian and rural history (wine sector, agrarian policies, agricultural engineering, agrarian associations) and history of the public economy (state building, tax reforms, government expenditure). He has published more than 60 articles in specialised journals and is currently co-editor of the journal *Historia Agraria* and member of the scientific committee of *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrasozologie*.

6.43 Zsuzsanna Varga – Formal and informal networks of learning between East and West: the modernisation of the Hungarian agriculture in the 1960s and 1970s

In my previous work I have explored the process during which Hungarian agricultural co-operatives had gradually departed from the original Soviet *kolkhoz* model. As a result of this process, agriculture became a special domain of Hungarian economy where the market-type and incentive-oriented reforms could come across early and on a wide range. From the late 1960s on, it has been agriculture that has broken new ground in opening towards Western Europe, having imported new and useful technology from that region. In my paper I would like to explore the formal and informal channels through which this new technology from Western Europe, and later from the USA, found its way into Hungarian agriculture. This topic had been largely ignored for

political and ideological reasons. Now the opportunity is there; the archives have been opened to research.

In my paper I would like to explore the processes of circulation and appropriation of agricultural technologies between Hungary and Western Europe. What kind of political and professional discussions and debates preceded these transfers? Which were the capitalist countries that became Hungary's major partners? Through which channels did modern Western technology find its way to Hungarian agriculture and food industry? What was the role the state, the agrarian lobby and the specialists of co-operatives and state farms played in the takeover, the dissemination and the improvement of Western technology?

Finally, the most important question is how importing new technology from the 'capitalist West' had changed the character of agricultural labour and the efficiency of the socialist agriculture in Hungary.

Zsuzsanna Varga studied History and Russian at the Kossuth Lajos University in Debrecen (Hungary). After finishing university studies she obtained a 3-year PhD-scholarship and started research at the Department of Economic History at the University of Economics in Budapest. She received her PhD in Economic History (Agrarian History) in 1998. Varga held seminar groups on various topics of Hungarian economic and social history of twentieth century at the University of Economics in Budapest and later at the University of Debrecen as well. Since September 2000 she has been teaching at the Department of Modern Hungarian History of the Eötvös Lóránd University in Budapest as an Assistant Professor. Now she is an Associate professor. Varga's first monograph with the title *Politika, paraszti érdekérvényesítés és szövetkezetek Magyarországon, 1956–1967* (Politics, the Assertion of Agrarian Interests and Co-operatives in Hungary Between 1956 and 1967) was published in 2001. Her research interests and publications are focused on the history of agriculture in socialist Hungary. Parallel to this work, Varga subsumes her research to Central-Eastern European comparative analyses. She reads literature in English, German and Russian. She has spent sixteen months abroad through various scholarships in Russia, Germany and Great Britain. In 2000 the Committee of Agrarian History and Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected Varga as a member.

6.5 Perspectives on technical change in agriculture

Room 203

Convener: Paul Brassley

Chair: Michael Winter

6.51 Andrew Godley – Intensive rearing technologies and industrial organisation in the UK poultry industry, 1950–1970

Only one million chickens were consumed for meat in the UK in 1953, but over 250 million by 1965. This remarkable rate of growth in production was predicated on a range of frequently novel technologies. These ranged from those with high-science content, such as genetics, pharmaceuticals and feedstuffs, to the relatively mundane animal management techniques such as methods of housing and feeding ever larger flocks of chickens. The efficient adoption and diffusion of these novel technologies in the UK depended on an industry structure that minimised wasteful investment. This paper contrasts the organisation of the poultry industry in Britain with that of the United States, showing how the emerging agribusiness in the UK, while starting from a much lower base, was nevertheless more efficient in its allocation of capital, allowing UK agribusiness to catch up to US levels of productivity relatively quickly.

Andrew Godley is a Professor in Business History at the Henley Business School, University of Reading. His research focuses on entrepreneurship and the evolution of market structures in the twentieth century. Recent projects include the development of the veterinary medicines industry in the UK since 1900 and the increasing roles played by the big supermarkets in organising their supply chains in the British primary foods sector since the 1950s, notably in the case study of the modern poultry industry.

6.52 Karen Sayer – ‘Animal machines’: the public response to intensive poultry production

2008 saw some high-profile challenges to intensive poultry farming. Initiated by Channel 4’s ‘Big Food Fight’, TV chefs like Jamie Oliver widely publicised the ways in which most poultry is farmed today. The free range and organic end of the sector meanwhile has been growing steadily, accounting for over 30 per cent of the eggs put through the packing stations – 35 per cent of the retail sector. The fact that consumers buy eggs produced under these systems though they cost more is interpreted by DEFRA as being indicative of the value that consumers place on animal welfare.² The challenge to intensification however is not new. In 1964, Ruth Harrison observed in *Animal Machines*, that ‘[c]hickens, like other animals, are fast disappearing from the farm scenery. Only 20 per cent are now on range, whilst 80 per cent have gone indoors.’ While the chicken gradually became a ‘machine’, the consumer was simultaneously fed images of birds roaming freely.

Drawing on documents from the international congresses on poultry, specialist journals and farming advice books, the imagery surrounding the commodification of the products arising from poultry-rearing, especially eggs, and critiques of intensification, this paper will explore the public response to the transformation of poultry production during the twentieth century.

Karen Sayer is Senior Lecturer in History at Leeds Trinity University College, Leeds. She has published widely in rural history, her first monograph being *Women of the Fields: Representations of Femininity in Nineteenth-Century Rural Society* (1995), and her second *Country Cottages: A Cultural History* (2000). Most recently she has published on animal technologies with a focus on poultry in “‘Let Nature be your Teacher’: W. B. Tegetmeier’s Distinctive Ornithological Studies”, *Victorian Literature & Culture* 35 (2007), and “‘Battery birds”, “stimulighting” and “twilighting”: the ecology of standardized poultry technology’ in *History of Technology* 28 *Special Issue: By whose standards? Standardization, stability and uniformity in the history of information and electrical technologies* (2009).

6.53 Hilary Crowe – Dealing with symptoms not causes? The 1947 Agriculture Act and upland farming

‘A herd of ten to twenty cows, a flock of poultry and perhaps a few pigs ... with 40 acres or so of irregular fields ... and a standard of living that ranged from comfortable to bare subsistence.’ That was the problem farm of popular imagination post-war. The 1947 Agriculture Act was a charter for change. Through a complex mix of price support and direct subsidy, government sought to raise output and productivity but also to provide financial support to the poorest in the industry. This paper uses data from the Farm Management Survey to analyse the financial impact of direct subsidy on upland holdings. It highlights the conflicting aims of various policy measures and shows that although direct subsidy linked to livestock numbers encouraged increased output, it also reduced profit margins and inhibited rationalisation of holdings.

Hilary Crowe is a Chartered Accountant and Research Fellow at the Museum of English Rural Life, Reading. Her D.Phil work covered upland agriculture between 1910 and 1947 and her current project uses Farm Management Survey material and returns to examine the financial position of upland farming in the period prior to accession to the EEC.

6.54 Paul Brassley, Michael Winter, David Harvey and Matt Lobley – Perspectives on technical change in agriculture

On a world scale, the increase in agricultural production over the last half century has been sufficient to cope with a population that has more than doubled. Similarly, although the UK

² ‘Animal Health and Welfare Indicators: Core Indicator 5.1’ Available online <http://www.defra.gov.uk/animalh/ahws/eig/indicators/5-1.htm> [03.09.08]

population has not increased to the same extent, import substitution has meant that the volume of domestic agricultural production nearly trebled in the same period. What is still controversial is the source of these increases. Are they the result of increased inputs of fixed and working capital (as in buildings, machinery, feedstuffs and fertilisers), or of technical change (as in new crop varieties, genetic improvement in livestock, pesticides, and new kinds of machinery)? This paper reports on progress in the analysis of a survey of farms in south-west England over the period 1935–85 which permits an examination of the relative significance of these two possibilities. It also explores the processes and decisions involved, from the perspective of both farmers and those involved in transforming policy decisions and laboratory science into farmyard practice.

Paul Brassley is a research fellow in the department of Politics at the University of Exeter, where he is engaged in a three-year ESRC-funded research project (with Professor Michael Winter and Drs Matt Lobley and David Harvey) analysing the Farm Management Survey archive for the south-west of England. He was previously Lecturer in Rural History and Policy at the University of Plymouth, and has been chair of the BAHS and treasurer of the Inter-war Rural History Research Group. He was a contributor to two volumes of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* and edited (with Jeremy Burchardt and Lynne Thompson) *The English Countryside Between the Wars* (2006). More recently, he has contributed to several volumes in the COST A35 Action on Rural History in Europe.

Professor Michael Winter OBE is Professor of Rural Policy in the Department of Politics, and Director of the Centre for Rural Policy Research, at the University of Exeter, where he is engaged in a 3 year ESRC-funded research project (with Drs Paul Brassley, Matt Lobley and David Harvey) analysing the Farm Management Survey archive for the south-west of England. The main focus of his research is on agricultural and environmental management issues, with particular reference to changes in agriculture, and it has frequently had an historical as well as a contemporary focus. His publications include *Rural Politics* (Routledge, 1996) and *What is Land For?* (with M.Lobley, Earthscan, 2009)

Dr Matt Lobley is a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Politics, and Deputy-Director of the Centre for Rural Policy Research, at the University of Exeter, where he is engaged in a 3 year ESRC-funded research project (with Professor Michael Winter and Drs Paul Brassley, and David Harvey) analysing the Farm Management Survey archive for the south-west of England. Much of his research has focused on understanding influences on, and impacts of, farm household behaviour, and on the role of farm households in the management of the countryside. His publications include *What is Land For?* (with M.Winter, Earthscan, 2009)

Dr David Harvey is Senior Lecturer in Historical Cultural Geography in the University of Exeter, where he is engaged in a 3 year ESRC-funded research project (with Professor Michael Winter and Drs Paul Brassley and Matt Lobley) analysing the Farm Management Survey archive for the south-west of England. His current research seeks to investigate the geographies of power and authority, knowledge and identity, mostly within a historical context, and is strongly interdisciplinary, working between geography and archaeology, history and heritage studies. His publications include *Celtic Geographies* (ed), (Routledge, 2002)

Parallel sessions in the Fulton Building:

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>7.1 Poverty in rural societies in southern Europe</p> <p>Convener and Chair: Julie Marfany</p> <p>7.11 Rosa Lluch:</p> <p>Peasants feeding the poor in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries</p> <p>7.12 Gilles Postel-Vinay:</p> <p>Family support and local welfare: how to mitigate the effects of phylloxera</p> <p>7.13 Enric Saguer:</p> <p>Poverty and assistance on Catalan family farms: the role of the masos in providing shelter for children and the elderly in the first half of the twentieth century</p>	<p>7.2 British landowners in the eighteenth century</p> <p>Chair: John Broad</p> <p>7.21 Henry French:</p> <p>Landlords, tenants and paupers? Rural society and the ‘tripartite model’ in eighteenth-century England: a case study</p> <p>7.22 Briony McDonagh:</p> <p>Elite women and the agricultural landscape, 1700-1830</p> <p>7.23 John Broad and Richard Hoyle:</p> <p>Who owned England at the end of the eighteenth century? The possibilities of the land tax</p>	<p>7.3 Co-operation and rural society, III. Unequal partners: national elites and localised peasantries in the co-operative movement</p> <p>Convener and chair: András Vári</p> <p>7.31 Jordi Planas:</p> <p>Rural co-operatives and empowerment of peasantry in agrarian collective action at the beginning of the twentieth century</p> <p>7.32 Gloria Sanz Lafuente:</p> <p>Peasants and co-operatives in Spain, 1880–1930</p> <p>7.33 Nancy Berlage:</p> <p>The Farm Bureau Co-operatives: social and cultural formation at the local level</p>	<p>7.4 Communal properties and agrarian collectivism in the north-west of Spain (eighteenth to twentieth centuries). Communal tradition, development and alternatives for the future</p> <p>Convener: Laureano Rubio Pérez</p> <p>Chair: James Simpson</p> <p>7.41 Maria-José Pérez and Alfredo Martín García:</p> <p>Communal properties and resources: size, type and development, eighteenth to twentieth centuries. The keys to their preservation</p> <p>7.42 Laureano Rubio Pérez and Oscar Fernández:</p> <p>Agrarian collectivism and communal management. Types of action, uses, and the economic and social aspects of communal properties, eighteenth to twentieth centuries</p> <p>7.43 Francisco Beltrán Tapia:</p> <p>Social and environmental filters to market incentives: Common land persistence in nineteenth century Spain</p> <p>7.44 José Miguel Lana Berasain:</p> <p>Forgotten commons. Rhetoric, memory and property rights in an action arena. (A case study: Sansomain, Spain, sixteenth to twenty-first centuries)</p>	<p>7.5 Aspects of agricultural productivity in western Europe, 1800-2006</p> <p>Chair: Paul Brassley</p> <p>7.51 Jean-Michel Chevet:</p> <p>Which specialisation in France in the nineteenth century?</p> <p>7.52 Michael Kopsidis and Nikolaus Wolf:</p> <p>The ‘little divergence’ in Central Europe: explaining agricultural productivity across Prussia around 1865</p> <p>7.53 Vicente Pinilla and Miguel Martín-Retortillo:</p> <p>International differences in agricultural productivity in Europe, 1950–2006</p>



Blackface ram and ewes

7.1 Poverty in rural societies in southern Europe

Room 103

Convener and Chair: Julie Marfany

7.11 Rosa Lluch – Peasants feeding the poor in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

The Almoína of the cathedral of Girona, founded in the thirteenth century, in the context of greater recognition of poverty, distributed bread to the poor throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This distribution was paid for by the rents collected from a large number of rural estates and those who lived and worked on them, the majority of whom were of servile status and paid dues on the basis of this status. Some of them, however, also made voluntary donations to the Almoína. The question for this paper is how peasants were affected by this role as providers for the poor? They were well aware of their status but we do not know, for example, whether they too could benefit from the Almoína, nor what happened when their land produced less than expected (a frequent occurrence in the fourteenth century). Nor do we know if, in moments of crisis, they opted for mutual aid amongst themselves, or sought aid elsewhere. Some did abandon their lands, which were taken over by kin or neighbours. All of this has to be situated in the context of the ‘Hundred Years War’ of the Catalan countryside (as Pierre Vilar termed it), a war led by peasants of unfree status.

Rosa Lluch is lecturer in medieval history at the University of Barcelona. Since her PhD, her work has focused on peasant wars (the *remences*) of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with reference to the broader context of feudalism and agrarian society as a whole.

7.12 Gilles Postel-Vinay – Family support and local welfare: how to mitigate the effects of phylloxera

In European rural societies in the past, the (limited) support the impoverished or ill could receive came from different institutions. Among those, the (self-sufficient?) family and the networks linking households certainly played an important role and, as a result, this situation may have implied significant differences between northern and southern regions. Yet it seems that other institutions mattered too so that, in northern as in southern Europe, welfare provision was more generally a mixed – mostly local – economy.

One way to test this hypothesis could be to contrast welfare provision in different rural areas – some in northern, some in southern Europe. Rather, this paper will consider one region and therefore one type of family, in the face of a particularly dramatic income shock: the phylloxera crisis. If the impoverished, in this case, the victims of this income shock received very different support depending on the local welfare policies, then the regional effect (family structure) may have been overestimated.

A forthcoming paper provides estimates of the long-term effects on height and health of the phylloxera crisis. The paper examines the effects on the adult height, health, and life expectancy of children born in the years and regions affected by phylloxera. The shock did decrease height in the long-run. We find that, at age 20, those born in affected regions were about 1.8 millimetres shorter than others. This estimate implies that children of wine-growing families born when the vines were affected in their regions were 0.6 to 0.9 centimetres shorter than others by age 20. This is a significant effect since average heights grew by only 2 centimetres in the entire nineteenth century. However, we find no other effect on health, including infant mortality, life expectancy, and morbidity by age 20. This paper intends to go one step further by investigating whether or not the impact of the shock varied according to the support provided by the municipal charity offices (*bureaux de bienfaisance*).

Gilles Postel-Vinay is head of research at the Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique and director of studies at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. His major publications include *La terre et l'argent: l'agriculture et le crédit en France du XVIIIe au début du XXe siècle* (1998) and, with P. T. Hoffmann and J. L. Rosenthal, *Priceless markets: the political economy of credit in Paris, 1660-1870* (2000).

7.13 Enric Sagner – Welfare practices in the Catalan rural world. An exploration of children and old people sheltering on the masos during the first half of the twentieth century

In Catalonia, historically, charity institutions basically have had an urban character, not only because of their geographic location but also for the segment of population who benefited from their services. The rural world could seem an institutional desert regarding the assistance provided for the poor and perhaps so it was if we only refer to the main public or religious institutions. However, many oral and written testimonies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also indicate the existence of sheltering practices on the *masos*, the type of family-run farm that predominated in north-eastern Catalonia. The beneficiaries of these practices were usually children and old people, which indicates that poverty situations were related not only to the social distribution of resources, but also to the vital cycle of individuals and family units. Also, it seems that, with certain frequency, there was some kinship relation between the sheltered and the housing family, a fact that reinforces the ideas about the role of intra-familial solidarities and the model of the extended family in the structure of the Catalan rural society.

The goal of the present paper is to reconstruct these rules from a double perspective. On the one hand, reviewing oral and written biographies that describe the presence of this practice on the *masos*; and, on the other hand, analysing a single census from 1946 with the aim of tracking the presence of this practice during the first half of the twentieth century (considering that the individuals given shelter often carried out work tasks in the family unit and can be confused with regular workers).

Enric Sagner Hom (b. Girona, 1964) is a Doctor in History and Lecturer in Economic History at the University of Girona. He has published several studies on the transformations of the contemporary Catalan rural world. They focus in particular on the evolution of the structure of property, the management of large property, transformations in the process of agricultural work, the tenant farming system, etc. He has also worked on environmental history themes, particularly those concerning the material fluxes of farming systems (nutrients, water resources...) and the historical evolution of the rural landscape. Currently is also president of the Associació d'Història Rural de les Comarques Gironines.

7.2 British landowners in the eighteenth century

Room 104

Chair: John Broad

7.21 Henry French:

Landlords, tenants and paupers? Rural society and the 'tripartite model' in eighteenth-century England: a case study

Keith Wrightson and David Levine's study of the Essex village of Terling ended, chronologically, in the late seventeenth century. At this point, they argued, the community of Terling had crossed a threshold of development, in social, economic and cultural terms. Population growth and capitalist agricultural consolidation had divided the village permanently between the ruling elite of prosperous farmers, a collection of less successful husbandmen and craftsmen, and a third group of permanently impoverished wage labourers. The latter were increasingly dependent on the

Elizabethan Poor Law, but in consequence also subject to unflinching scrutiny by the ratepayers. Wrightson and Levine argued that this economic and social change produced a deep cultural fissure, which was further deepened by the advent of ‘Puritan’ religious ideals in the 1620s.

However, this was not the end of the story for the village of Terling. Although it had now entered the era of agrarian capitalism and social alienation, it was subject to further, and perhaps even more dramatic, developments during the eighteenth century. By 1800, Terling had become an ‘estate village’, dominated by the Strutts of Terling Place, and their tenant-farmers. By the same date, it had also become a very tightly administered parish, with voluminous Poor Law records, a parish workhouse, and a closely observed, and permanent, group of ‘paupers’. These patterns were mirrored across the country in the eighteenth century, as the independent ‘yeomen’ farmers who had benefited from the long Elizabethan and Jacobean price inflation were bought out by large landowners, and as the institutions of the Poor Law became ever more intrusive and elaborate. However, although these trends have featured, in passing, in a number of local studies, there are few sustained analyses of their effects in a particular location, of the kind that Wrightson and Levine applied to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This paper attempts such an analysis by examining the effects of two important strands in the village’s eighteenth-century history, using estate and parish records for the period 1740 to 1801. The first of these is the settlement’s transition to an estate village, cemented finally by the Strutt family’s purchases in 1760. In particular, the paper will focus the effects on the village elite of becoming tenant-farmers subject to a resident landlord, *both* as these were expressed through their tenurial relations and in their continuing administration of the village. Secondly, the paper will focus on this detailed poor law administration and regulation, which culminated in a detailed census of pauper households in 1801, itemizing household structure, age, and health. It will trace the expansion in provision, the increase in costs and the rise in complaints about the need to control the ‘idle and profligate poor’. This analysis will assess the significance of these developments in the light of the interpretation provided in *Poverty and Piety in an English Village*. It will investigate how far they merely reflect the culmination of existing trends towards capitalist development, economic differentiation and social alienation, and how far these trends should still be viewed in the context of a small-scale, face-to-face society in which personal connections ran alongside profound social differences and distances. Consideration of these issues will also enable the economic and social experiences of Terling to be set in the context of lowland England more generally in the eighteenth century.

Henry French is Professor of Social History at University of Exeter. His research has focused on the definition and social identity of the ‘middle sort’ within rural society in the seventeenth century. He has published articles on this subject in a number of journals, and completed a monograph published by Oxford University Press in July 2007. Having worked on two research projects with Prof. Richard Hoyle at the University of Central Lancashire between 1994 and 1999, he is also co-author of two articles on land ownership and the decline of the small farmer in early modern England. He and Prof. Hoyle published a monograph study with Manchester University Press of land ownership in the Essex village of Earls Colne in March 2007, entitled *The Character of English Rural Society: Earls Colne, 1550-1750*. He has also researched the fate of the urban common lands in England, in two articles published in the *Agricultural History Review*.

7.22 Briony McDonagh – Elite women and the agricultural landscape, 1700-1830

The paper investigates the role played by elite women in managing large agricultural estates in the long eighteenth century. Female landowners controlled significant amounts of property in early modern England, yet their contribution to the agricultural changes which transformed the landscape between 1700 and 1830 has been almost entirely overlooked. Drawing on detailed archival research in the Midlands, the paper investigates female landowners’ role in managing and improving their estates. Despite the difficulties in accessing women’s ‘hidden histories’, the evidence presented

here demonstrates that propertied women – particularly widows – were actively involved in estate management, enclosure, landscaping and agricultural improvement.

The paper also discusses comparative material from other English regions where contrasting soils and land use histories produced distinct landscapes and economies in which female landowners potentially played very different roles. In doing so, the paper explores important questions about propertied women's position in Georgian society, as well as contributing to wider cultural debates about women's place in the environmental, social and economic history of Britain.

Briony McDonagh is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the University of Nottingham where she is currently working on a project entitled 'Elite women and the agricultural landscape, 1700–1830'. She was previously a Research Fellow on the AHRC-sponsored 'Landscape and Enclosure' project at the Universities of Sussex and Hertfordshire, where she also lectured in landscape and early modern history. She has recently published papers in *Rural History* and the *Agricultural History Review*, as well as in M. Gardiner and S. Rippon (eds), *Medieval landscapes in Britain: landscape history after Hoskins* (Windgather Press, 2007).

7.23 John Broad and Richard Hoyle – Who owned England at the end of the eighteenth century? The possibilities of the land tax

The Land Tax was collected in England between 1692 and the 1950s, and so one might expect it to offer the historian many possibilities for tracing the ownership of land. But because it was a quota tax where each administrative unit owed a set sum year on year, central government paid little attention to it, and such records as once existed were mostly made – and held – locally and are substantially lost. Where they do survive from the eighteenth century, they are frequently difficult to analyse in any meaningful sense. The exception is that between 1780 and 1832, there was a requirement to deposit annual returns with the county authorities as a check on the entitlement to exercise the franchise. A great deal of work has been based on these records in attempts to see changes in landholding in a dynamic fashion. Little of the results have been deemed to be entirely satisfactory. One problem is that the Land Tax was a tax on property and not simply land. The surviving returns give the name of the owner, the occupier and the sum taxed: it is therefore hard to move from this single figure to an acreage.

This paper offers a new approach to the Land Tax, utilising papers in the National Archives which have not been drawn on to any great extent. In 1798 the government decided to offer tax payers the opportunity to 'redeem' the Land Tax, that is, to pay a capital sum to be free of the tax in the future. Large numbers did so, and this created the redemption archive that we utilise. This consists of three series in the National Archives, chiefly the master set of the land tax returns for 1798 (IR 23), which is keyed to the redemption certificates (IR 24). The latter often offer a description of the land whose tax was being redeemed, and often an acreage.

The disadvantage with this method is that landowners were not compelled to redeem their tax. The advantage is that because landowners tended to redeem all their landholdings in a single tax district on a single certificate, it is possible to see the extent of their landholding over a wide area and draw horizontal connections.

On this occasion the possibilities that this record linkage offers will be demonstrated using the examples of Earls Colne in north Essex, and Oakley and other parishes in north Buckinghamshire. We will show that data from 1798 does allow us the possibility of seeing landholding at the end of the eighteenth century in a new light and ultimately of making large calculations about the composition of the landowning class.

John Broad retired last year from London Metropolitan University, and is now Visiting Academic at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, and Chair of the Executive Committee of the British Agricultural History Society. His publications include *Transforming English rural society. The Verneys and the Claydons, 1600-1820* (2004) and he is the editor of *A Common Agricultural Heritage: Revising French and British*

Rural Divergence (AgHR Supplement Series 5, 2009). His current research interests are in rural housing, social structure, and landholding.

Richard Hoyle is Professor of Rural History at the University of Reading, and editor of *Agricultural History Review*. His books include (with Henry French) *The Character of English Rural Society: Earls Colne, 1550-1750* (2007).

7.3 Co-operation and rural society, III. Unequal partners: national elites and localised peasantries in the co-operative movement Room 107

Convener and chair: András Vári

7.31 Jordi Planas – Rural co-operatives and empowerment of peasantry in agrarian collective action at the beginning of the twentieth century

At the beginning of the twentieth century landowners promoted some agrarian associations that tried to integrate peasants by offering co-operative services, as acquisition of agricultural inputs. Such associations were different from those that were set up by landlords before the agrarian depression in the late nineteenth century. Focusing the analysis on rural co-operatives that were created at the beginning of the twentieth century in the district of Igualada, a vine-growing region near Barcelona (Catalonia), this paper tries to explain the participation of landowners and peasantry in these associations, considering that the aims of both social groups taking part in the co-operatives were different. Besides, it tries to analyse the social implications of this participation in the rural co-operatives, such as the contribution of this new agricultural associationism to the integration of peasantry in the new market conditions and to the prevention of social conflicts in the rural society.

Jordi Planas is lecturer at the University of Barcelona (Department of Economic History and Institutions). His main research interests have been institutions and agricultural organisations in Catalonia and Spain, with special attention to co-operativism and associationism, and the evolution of large rural estates (nineteenth and twentieth centuries). His publications include: ‘Os proprietários e o associativismo agrário na Catalunha’, *Análise Social*, XLIV-3, 192 (2009), pp. 511-531; ‘El Instituto Agrícola Catalán de San Isidro y la organización de los intereses agrarios (1880-1936)’, *Revista Española de Estudios Agrosociales y Pesqueros*, 217 (2008), pp. 13-47; *Els propietaris i l’associacionisme agrari a Catalunya (1890-1936)*, Girona: Universitat de Girona – Documenta Universitaria (2006), 322 pp.; ‘Accounting Records of Large Rural Estates and the Dynamics of Agriculture in Catalonia (Spain), 1850-1950’, *Accounting Business & Financial History*, 15-2 (2005), pp. 171-185 (with Enric Saguer); ‘Co-operativismo y difusión del cambio técnico en la agricultura. La contribución de las cámaras agrícolas (Cataluña, 1890-1930)’, *Historia Agraria*, 30 (2003), pp. 87-117; ‘Sharecropping and the Management of Large Rural Estates in Catalonia, 1850-1950’, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, XXVIII-3 (2001), pp. 89-108 (with Ramon Garrabou and Enric Saguer).

7.32 Gloria Sanz Lafuente – Peasants and co-operatives in Spain 1880–1930

The aim of the paper is to analyse the development of co-operatives in Spain from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s as a political and economical force. Agricultural co-operatives settled throughout Europe from about 1870. In Spain co-operatives developed varied according to regions, land tenure systems, the size of a farmer’s property and crops. Especially after the provisions of the 1906 Agrarian Syndicates Act (*Ley de Sindicatos Agrícolas*), agrarian co-operatives were set up in Spain. First, co-operatives were studied as a force for agrarian modernisation, especially for technical change of the family farm. Second, co-operatives were analysed as a force of different trends of political conservatism in the Spanish rural society. The development of co-operatives acted in two different areas: the local rural area and in urban regional area where the federation of co-operatives were located. Both acted not only with an economical activity – credit, saving, co-operative purchase of fertilisers and inputs – but as a lobby in favour of agricultural interest. Fertiliser and credit were the most important activities of the Spanish co-

operatives but commercialisation of crops were not successful on a supralocal level. On the one hand, both spaces – local and regional – were related; on the other hand, both acted as autonomous economical structures if there were necessary.

Gloria Sanz Lafuente is Assistant professor of economic history in the Departamento de Economía. Area de Historia económica at the Universidad Pública de Navarra.

7.33 Nancy Berlage – The Farm Bureau Co-operatives: social and cultural formation at the local level

This paper examines how during the 1910s through 1920s, rural Americans organised a new farm organisation, the Farm Bureau, and formed co-operatives, in response to large-scale societal change. To accommodate rapid change, Bureau members sought to ‘modernise’ while preserving what they called a traditional rural ‘way of life.’ As one farmer stated, co-operatives offered a modern method of ‘counterorganisation’ against threats to farm family life. The Farm Bureau, while federated at the state and national levels, was most vital at the county level. Sophisticated recruiting methods drew the entire farm family to the county Farm Bureaus, which offered a variety of social, political, economic, and cultural activities. An unusually devoted membership supported county co-operatives – such as hog cholera serum and pure seed associations. Farm Bureau members teamed up with university professionals and drew on technical and social scientific theories to rationalise their activities. Women, as an important part of the Farm Bureau, participated in co-operative organisation in a uniquely gendered way; at times they drew on the trope of separate spheres to define their roles as homemakers, at other times, they rejected domesticity, and, defining themselves as producers, formed egg marketing co-operatives. This paper is based on previously unused sources, located at agricultural colleges and Farm Bureau organisations.

Nancy K. Berlage received her PhD and MA in history from the Johns Hopkins University, and her BA from the University of Chicago. Her published work in rural history includes ‘Organizing the Farm Bureau: Family, Community, and Professionals, 1914-1928’, which received the Agricultural History Society’s Vernon Carstenson Award for the best article published in *Agricultural History* in 2001; ‘The Establishment of an Applied Social Science: Home Economists, Science and Reform at Cornell University,’ published in the book *Gender and American Social Science*; and several book reviews and encyclopedia articles. Her thesis on the Farm and Home Bureau was nominated for the Agricultural History Society’s best dissertation prize. She is the recipient of Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Archives Center, and Cornell University grants and fellowships, among others, for her work in rural history. She is also co-author of *History of the National Eye Institute* and *Pentagon 9-11*. Dr. Berlage has taught at Johns Hopkins and Towson Universities and previously was assistant editor for the Papers of President Eisenhower. She currently is Chief Editor and Senior Historian for the Historical Office of the Secretary of Defense. Dr. Berlage’s passion for rural history stems from growing up on a farm in northwestern Illinois.

7.4 Communal properties and agrarian collectivism in the north-west of Spain (eighteenth to twentieth centuries). Communal tradition, development and alternatives for the future

Room 202

Convener: Laureano Rubio Pérez

Chair: James Simpson

The session proposed has as its principal objective the analysis, quantification and evaluation of the communal properties that served as a basis for the development of the farming communities of the north-west of Spain. It will in addition address the process of preservation and management carried out by communities run by councils in periods during which sale and privatisation, whether by the communities themselves, or by the State, were general. Unlike those of the rest of Spain, farming communities in the Province of Leon, led by their council organisations, retained total management

of communal lands and resources. This meant that they were able not just to keep or even expand them, but also to use them as a base for agrarian expansion and a future agricultural revolution.

For this purpose, they devised a whole framework of collective and community actions and strategies which not only encouraged agrarian collectivism but in addition maintained a sustained balance of natural resources, even against a background of population growth. Both the collective management of councils and the preservation of these communal properties explain to some degree their major presence to this day, as in some areas they amount to as much as 40 per cent of all productive lands.

7.41 Maria-José Pérez and Alfredo Martín García – Communal properties and resources: size, type and development, eighteenth to twentieth centuries. The keys to their preservation

A quantitative approach will be used to evaluate the extent of communal properties over a wide area of north-western Spain within the boundaries of the present-day Province of Leon. Taking as a starting point the varying agricultural and economic models found in mountainous and lowland areas, an analysis will be made of the different types and uses made of communal properties. In addition, their development will be traced, noting in particular how common and council lands were retained and utilised, despite the major processes of removal of lands from mortmain through sale to private individuals in the nineteenth century and the inroads made by the progressive imposition of private ownership and by self-centred peasant farmers.

On these same lines an attempt will be made to assess the impact of communal property both on the farming economy and on the economic development of these zones, overwhelmingly dominated by pastoral and arable farming. In them, the need for a balance between resources and population demanded the preservation of considerable natural resources upon which fell the burden both of crop-growing and of intensive and extensive livestock rearing. Similarly, an investigation will be undertaken of the contribution that these common lands, with their varying forms of use and exploitation, whether joint or individual, made to agricultural development and the major changes experienced during the nineteenth century. These led to the establishment of intensive agriculture using irrigation and the conservation of wooded areas and grasslands, upon which new kinds of arable and pastoral farming would develop, permitting demographic growth.

Dr María José Pérez Álvarez is a Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Leon. Both her Doctoral Thesis and a considerable proportion of her later pieces of work have concentrated on the rural world, with particular reference to the economies of mountain areas in the North-West of Spain. Among her publications linked to this theme are: 'Propiedad y uso colectivo de la tierra en la Montaña de León', *Tierras de León* 101 (1997); 'Economías y haciendas concejiles en la montaña de León: el modelo de los concejos mayores y menores y las mancomunidades en el siglo XVIII', in Bernardo Ares, J. M. and González Beltrán, J. M. (eds), *La Administración Municipal en la España Moderna*, Cadiz, (1999); 'Société et structures sociales des communautés d'élevage de la montagne de Léon à la fin du XVIe siècle : Babia'. *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de L'Ouest*, 18 (2001); 'Modelos Socioeconómicos en la provincia de León: La Montaña y Tierra de Campos en el siglo XVIII'. *Studia Historica*, 241 (2005), pp. 27-41.

Dr Alfredo Martín García is a Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Leon. One of his lines of research centres on the rural world. He has studied the mechanisms of solidarity and mentalities in village communities in the Province of Leon. Among other publications of his related to the topic are: 'Religiosidad y actitudes ante la muerte en la Montaña Noroccidental leonesa: el concejo de Lacia en el siglo XVIII', *Estudios Humanísticos. Historia*, 4 (2005); 'Ilustración y religiosidad popular: el Expediente de Cofradías en la provincia de León (1770-1772)', *Estudios Humanísticos. Historia*, 5 (2006), pp. 137-158.

7.42 Laureano Rubio Pérez and Oscar Fernandez – Agrarian collectivism and communal management. Types of action, uses, and the economic and social aspects of communal properties, eighteenth to twentieth centuries

In the light of the observation of the extensive presence and the preservation of communal property and resources in these territories in mainland Spain, the intention of this paper is to analyse the keys to the use, distribution and retention of such properties and resources, particularly those still in existence, with regard to common pasture lands and woodlands. A compilation of council bye-laws from past periods, combined with the establishment of a catalogue of agricultural patterns, will allow an in-depth study of certain fundamental points relating to social and economic development. This tended to maintain the balance between resources and population and to conserve resources through sustained and sustainable development that in some wise guaranteed the occupation of lands, the preservation of rural communities and the perpetuation of traditional systems in the context of new challenges and contemporary needs.

A combination of documentary sources of both qualitative and quantitative types will permit elucidation of the role and the full dimensions of communal properties. In particular, the causes and consequences, whether of their sale or privatisation, or of their preservation and exploitation, will be outlined in the context of changes and new contemporary needs.

Dr Laureano M. Rubio Pérez is Professor of Modern History at the University of Leon, Spain. Awarded a Doctorate in Modern History by the University of Oviedo in 1986, from his very first pieces of research he concentrated on the problems of Rural History in all its aspects and dimensions, paying special attention to Economic History and to the question of communal and council properties. More recently, his research has focussed on matters of power and power relationships in the rural world. This is seen from two angles: the power or ability of councils to manage properties, and communal resources as a support for farming communities. The outcome of these lines of research has been a number of books, articles and papers read at specialist congresses, together with the award of four bonuses for long-term research. Among other books, the following are of note: *La Bañeza y su Tierra, 1750-1580*; *La burguesía maragata: dimensión social, comercio y capital en la Corona de Castilla*; *El sistema político concejil en la provincia de León*. He is currently running several research projects, in particular a research and development project conceded by the relevant Spanish Ministry under the: ‘Bienes concejiles, régimen comunal y colectivismo agrario en el noroeste español, siglos XV-XX’. He is the Chair of the research group ‘Concejo’, which is a leading player in investigating the area of the communal movement and popular tradition, in which all the participants in this session are involved, as also in the project.

Dr Óscar Fernández Álvarez is a Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Leon. Apart from other lines of research, he has studied the communal movement. His results have been published in various books and Spanish and international journals. He has participated in a large number of research projects, both Spanish and international, either as Chief Researcher or as a team member. Of special note among these are: ‘Pobreza y Asistencia en la Península Ibérica’, Spanish Ministry of Education, Reference: HP-2007-0020, Chief Researcher: Dr. María José Pérez Álvarez; ‘Análisis Antropológico de la cultura en acción de los nuevos movimientos sociales’, Regional Government of Galicia and the University of Corunna, Principal Researcher: Dr. José Antonio Fernández de Rota y Monter. Among his publications of recent years are: ‘Educating for Difference in a Gypsy Community in Spain: An Exercise in Integration’, *European J. Intercultural Education* 17 (2006); ‘Asistencia social en León. Los Establecimientos de beneficencia en León en el inicio de la época actual’, in Rubio Pérez, L. (Editor) *Pobreza, marginación y asistencia en la Península Ibérica*. University of Leon. 2009, pp. 29-64.

7.43 Francisco Beltrán Tapia – Social and environmental filters to market incentives: Common land persistence in nineteenth century Spain

The regional diversity of communal persistence in nineteenth century Spain has been well documented by the historiography. Although the explanation of this divergence has been attributed to the social and environmental context, together with the market incentives, that characterised the different rural societies of this period, there has not been a clear assessment of the role played by each. Through a comparative study of the historical data at the provincial level, this paper analyses the relative contribution of these elements to that divergence. The results diminish the significance

of the market signals and show how the social and environmental conditions of these communities interacted to limit or promote the dismantling of the common lands.

Francisco Beltrán Tapia teaches Economics in Secondary education and Economic History, as a part-time Teaching Assistant, at the University of Zaragoza. He is engaged in doctoral studies dealing with the evolution of the management of collective-owned resources in pre-industrial societies and their transition to capitalism, as well as their influence in economic development in rural areas. He develops his work under two research projects devoted to the history of the commons and the agrifood economy respectively.

7.44 José Miguel Lana Berasain – Forgotten commons. Rhetoric, memory and property rights in an action arena (a case study: Sansomáin, Spain, sixteenth to twenty-first centuries)

This paper examines some universal problems through the example of a little village in Spain. The main objective is to contribute to understanding the historical evolution of property rights. For a long time, we have assumed a top-down, linear and teleological approach that illuminated some aspects of the historical process, but also kept out of sight important facets of this process (R. Congost, *Tierra, leyes, historia*, Barcelona, 2006). In this sense, how could we explain that the same legislation applied to similar towns or countries produced different results? The answer to this question emphasises the significance of the actors and their interactions into fixed contexts. The understanding of this historical process (as a bottom-up and non-linear approach) could benefit from the Ostrom's notion of an Action Arena (E. Ostrom, *Understanding institutional diversity*, Princeton, 2005). If we agree that specific actors and fixed contexts matter, then a case study could be a good way to interrogate and explain the history.

In our explanation, we should take into account the material conditions of the action situation (population, arable, productivity, markets, prices), but also we need to examine the intangible interactions between the actors. Definitively, property rights are mainly a rhetorical question. Words matter: it could be stored up and transferred in order to dominate. By this way we need to take into account the written texts (rules, laws, sentences,...) but also memory (or confronted memories).

The case study tries to answer the mystery of the disappearance of the common lands of Sansomáin, a little hamlet with 53 inhabitants in 1797. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were six families of owner peasants and the common meadows, common pastures and common wastes were perfectly identified. In the twentieth century some tenants lived there and all the land belonged to a foreign landowner. Nowadays there is an attempt to recover the common lands. The key of the mystery lies in the memory of the community.

Josemiguel Lana-Berasain is teacher of Economic History in the Public University of Navarra. He was member of the council of the Spanish Society of Agrarian History (SEHA) between 2002 and 2009, and president of the 'Geronimo de Uztariz' Social and Economic History Institute between 2000 and 2005. He is the main researcher of the research projects HUM2006-01277/HIST and HAR2009-09700/HIST, financed by the Spanish Government. He has published several articles in: *Historia Agraria* (2000 and 1995), *International Journal of the Commons* (2008), *Revista de Historia Económica* (2003), *Investigaciones de Historia Económica* (2007) and *Historia Social* (2000). He has participated in several workshops of the project COST A-35 *Progressore. Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies*.

7.5 Aspects of agricultural productivity in western Europe, 1800-2006

Room 203

Chair: Paul Brassley

7.51 Jean-Michel Chevet – Which specialisation in France in the nineteenth century?

If we have to believe historiography, the French agriculture would have known very early a specialisation, even for the two main productions necessary for human consumption, namely cereals and products coming from the livestock. Admittedly, it is not our intention to deny what the flows of exchanges show and, in particular, the flows supplying the capital. However, some uncertainties remain as for the origin of this specialisation. Does it result, indeed, from a deliberated socio-economic choice? Or, on the contrary, are these flows only effects of nature, specialisation being in this case due to natural environment constraints? Was the total production taken into account to determine what was specialisation? Were any changes noted, in time, showing the formation of these specialisations? Working from departmental examples, selected from Brittany, Normandy and the cereal areas, and using new indices, I intend to demonstrate that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, areas known as stock-breeding areas, such as Finistere for example, did not turn to stock-breeding any more than areas with a cereal vocation. One will also see that, inside zones said to be stock-breeding zones, the nature of the ground leads to think that there is specialisation only because, in this respect, Brittany is far from the performances of Normandy. Using new indices will give another vision of specialisation. As far as possible, I will try to include, for the middle of the XIXth century, a comparison with Norfolk, if the necessary data are available. In addition, it will be shown, that specialisation begins only in the middle of XIXth [century] since it is at that time that in western areas stock-breeding grew more quickly than cereal production while it was the reverse in the Paris basin area.

Jean-Michel Chevet is a researcher at INRA (Institut national de la recherche agronomique) in Bordeaux. He works on economic and rural history from the late eighteenth century to the First World War. He is particularly interested in the comparative history of agricultural growth and labour productivity in Great Britain and France. His publications include 'The effects of the customs duty sliding scale on the wheat prices in England, 1828–1850', in G. Federico et al. (eds), *The integration of commodity markets in history* (1998). Some years ago, he began to work on quality improvements in wine, and this has led him to develop an interest in the history of climate.

7.52 Michael Kopsidis and Nikolaus Wolf – The 'little divergence' in Central Europe: explaining agricultural productivity across Prussia around 1865

The literature on the historical origins of differential economic development, especially the debate on the 'Great Divergence' between Europe and Asia (Pomeranz 2000) has recently sparked new interest in the roots of a 'Little Divergence' across Europe (Allen 2001). Already by the end of the eighteenth century, real wages and living standards were significantly higher in north-western Europe than in the rest of Europe. As demonstrated in Allen (2001) and stressed in numerous other studies on the economic history of Europe (Gerschenkron 1962, Pollard 1981), there was a steep west–east gradient of development visible at least from the early modern period onwards. Differences in agricultural productivity feature prominently in this debate; also because it has been argued that high labour productivity in agriculture was crucial for England's early industrialisation. In an age when countries had to be more or less self-sufficient in food production largely due to prohibitive transport costs for mass commodities, only a high agricultural productivity would allow to keep food prices relatively low whilst freeing labour to the industrial sector. According to Crafts (1985), this transfer of labour resources was a characteristic feature of early industrial development.

In this paper we focus on differences in agricultural productivity in one very large and detailed cross section of one single state, spanning over 1000km from the Rhine in the west to Königsberg (Kaliningrad) in the east. We use a unique dataset compiled by the Prussian statistician and scholar August Meitzen on behalf of the Prussian government which contains very detailed agricultural statistics for more than 330 Prussian counties for around 1865. Based on this source we first document that within Prussia, the differences in agricultural productivity were huge, both in terms of output per labour and in terms of output per land. Next, we investigate several ways to explain those large differences across Prussian counties.

Michael Kopsidis is Senior Researcher at the Leibniz-Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe (IAMO), Halle (Saale), Germany. In his last book he compared the agricultural development of England 1400-1800 and Northwest Germany 1700-1880 in the light of modern development economics. Currently he is working on two chapters about farming and food chains in Northwest Germany 1750-2000 for the CORN-Rural History of the North Sea Area.

Nikolaus Wolf is Senior Research Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Department of Economics, Warwick University, UK. He worked on market integration and economic development in twentieth century Poland, grain market integration in the late nineteenth century Habsburg Empire and German economic integration 1880-1939.

7.53 Miguel Martín-Retortillo and Vicente Pinilla – International differences in agricultural productivity in Europe, 1950-2006

Differences in agricultural productivity in European countries have tended to grow wider since the beginning of the nineteenth century up to today. These differences are due to various factors which, in turn, explain differences in income per inhabitant between countries. These factors go from those related to the technology and the production function to the fundamental causes of income differences, such as a country's institutions or geography. The aim of this work is to analyse the relative importance of these factors when it comes to explaining productivity differences in the agricultural sector in Europe.

To this end, we first examine from a theoretical standpoint the factors that explain differences in agricultural productivity. Next, we shall analyse the evolution of European countries' agricultural productivity during the second half of the twentieth century, and the existence or otherwise of convergence processes. The work will conclude with a proposal for an econometric model which will attempt to explain the influence of technological, institutional and geographical variables.

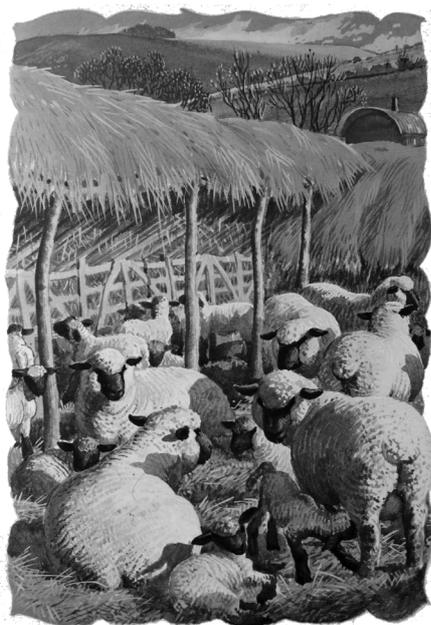
Miguel Martín-Retortillo (M.Sc. in Economics, University of Zaragoza, 2009) is doctoral student in Economics at the University of Zaragoza. His research interests lie in the historical evolution of the agricultural production in Europe.

Vicente Pinilla (Ph.D. in Economics, University of Zaragoza 1990) is Professor in Economic History at the University of Zaragoza, Spain. His research interests lie in international trade in agricultural products, Spanish agricultural production and mountain economies, depopulation and migration. He is author of several books and numerous papers in academic journals on these issues. He is co-editor of the book *Agriculture and Economic Development in Europe since 1870* (Routledge, 2009) and editor of the book *Markets and Agricultural Change in Europe from the thirteenth to the twentieth century* (Brepols, 2009). Recent publications include papers in the *European Review of Economic History*, *Agricultural History Review*, *Journal of Geographical Systems*, *the Annals of Regional Science*, *Applied Economics*, *Rural History* and *Journal of Rural and Community Development*. He was Vice-Rector of Budget and Economic Management of the University of Zaragoza (2000-2004). He held appointments at the University of Bristol, London School of Economics, University of California at Davis, University of Maastricht and Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

Tuesday 16.00 to 17.00

Session 8

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>8.1 The tragedy of the forests</p> <p>Chair: Carl Griffin</p> <p>8.11 Takashi Iida:</p> <p>‘Timber beneficences’ from the lords’ forests: new light on demesne lordship (<i>Gutsherrschaft</i>) in Brandenburg-Prussia, 1700–1850</p> <p>8.12 Adrián Zarrilli:</p> <p>Forest versus agriculture. The historical limits of Argentine forest sustainability in a context of capitalist exploitation, 1880–1950</p>	<p>8.2 Innovation and productivity in Italian agriculture</p> <p>Chair: TBA</p> <p>8.21 Paolo Tedeschi:</p> <p>New agrarian productive systems for a modern agriculture: notes on Lombard agriculture from the Napoleonic period to the Fascist regime</p> <p>8.22 Marie-Lucie Rossi:</p> <p>Performances of agriculture in Reggio Emilia in the nineteenth century: an economic and social construction</p>	<p>8.3 Meeting of the Inter-War Group</p> <p>Chair: Jeremy Burchardt</p>	<p>8.4 Fictional representations</p> <p>Chair: Claire Strom</p> <p>8.41 Fermin Allende Portillo:</p> <p>Literary fertiliser for rural history: the representation of the farming sector in Western literature</p> <p>8.42 Brian Q. Cannon:</p> <p>‘You can’t take the country out of the boy’: rural-urban migration in fiction</p>	<p>8.5 Egyptian rural history</p> <p>Chair: TBA</p> <p>8.51 Yossef Rapoport:</p> <p>Peasants and landlords in thirteenth-century Egypt: a comparative perspective based on ‘the History of the Fayyum’</p>



Hampshire Down ewes in a lambing fold

8.1 The tragedy of the forests

Room 103

Chair: Carl Griffin

8.11 Takashi Iida – ‘Timber beneficences’ from the lords’ forests: new light on demesne lordship (*Gutsherrschaft*) in Brandenburg-Prussia, 1700–1850

This study examines the development of *Gutsherrschaft* in the royal demesnes of Brandenburg-Prussia, leading up to its dissolution. It focuses on the lords’ obligations, which have been investigated only slightly in contrast to the peasants’ obligations, which above all included their labour services on the lords’ estates. Besides estates, the lords owned large forests, from which they were generally obliged to assist their peasants, who mostly did not have any of their own.

During the long period of desolation after the Thirty Years War, the royal lords engaged in reconstructing peasants’ farms. In 1729, Friedrich Wilhelm I declared that in the future, he would give all the necessary building timber to his usufructuary peasants free of charge and to his landowning peasants for only one-third of the cost. Once the desolation had been overcome, it was realised that this generous practice would cause a waste of wood.

Under the agrarian reforms during the first half of the nineteenth century, the royal authorities proposed stopping the timber supply upon dissolution of a lordship. But this met with tenacious protests from the peasants. The usufructuaries who were still obliged to labour finally gave up their entitlement to timber without any compensation, as a condition for becoming free from their labour obligations. The landowners already free from their labour obligations often succeeded in keeping their entitlement to the timber after all the other entitlements from and obligations to the authorities had been settled.

Takashi Iida was born in 1967 and studied European Economic History at the University of Tokyo and Prussian History at Humboldt University, Berlin. Since 2001 he has been teaching at Keio University, Tokyo, where he is currently the Professor of European Economic History. He is the author of *Ruppiner Bauernleben 1648-1806: Sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen einer ländlichen Gegend Ostelbiens* (2010) and ‘Bäuerliches Beharren auf der ‘Holzberechtigung’: Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Gutsherrn und Bauern im brandenburgischen Amt Alt-Ruppin während der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts’ in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 55 (2009).

8.12 Adrián Zarrilli – Forest versus agriculture. The historical limits of Argentine forest sustainability in a context of capitalist exploitation (1880-1950)

At the end of the XIX century, there were in Argentina 160 million hectares of natural forests surfaces, for ends of the decade of 1930 that surface had decreased to 37 million hectares. The exploitation of the extraordinary forest wealth of Argentina is the starting point of this historical analysis that intends to study from an environmental history perspective, the evolution of the forest exploitation among 1880 to 1950 and its relation to the expansion of capitalist agriculture model.

The principal purpose is to analyse from an environmental history perspective the process of exploitation of the argentinean forest resources (specifically in the ‘Gran Chaco’ region) in the context of its incorporation to the capitalist market.

The loss of native forest resources of Argentina is directly related to the agricultural frontier expansion, a process that went beyond the limits of forest sustainability and that meant a growing demand imposed an extraction rate and a form of exploitation.

The problem statement then be structured on three main areas: 1) The explanation of the process deforestation and agricultural frontier expansion in Argentina; 2) the ecological changes linked and

interlinked with the same; 3) the actions of social actors committed in the historical process referred to the State, production companies and labour.

Adrián Zarrilli has a PhD in History. He was a Researcher at the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research of Argentina and is now Professor at the National University of Quime and a specialist in Environmental History and Rural History.

8.2 Innovation and productivity in Italian agriculture

Room 104

Chair: TBA

8.21 Paolo Tedeschi – New agrarian productive systems for a modern agriculture: notes on Lombard agriculture from the Napoleonic period to the Fascist regime

The aim of this paper is to show some aspects of the main changes concerning the Lombard agrarian sector from the Napoleonic period to the fascist regime: this analysis allows us to see how landlords' choices about the exploitation of their lands changed the agrarian productive systems following the example of the best European country areas. This paper shows how the transformation of the Lombard agrarian sector and the related modernisation of productive systems were the result of more variables which were sometimes endogenous (that is they were strictly linked to 'free' decisions of landlords, peasants and public authorities organizing the agrarian sector) and in other cases exogenous (that is, they depended on diseases or technological innovations which 'forced' decisions of landlords, peasants and public authorities). This paper particularly shows the main effects on Lombard agriculture of the following events:

- 1) The changes in land-ownership, that is, the progressive diminution of the aristocratic landlords (who preferred secure incomes and invested little to improve the productivity of their land) and the increasing of the bourgeois landlords (who were disposed to invest a lot of money to renew farms, to use new productive processes and to purchase some modern machinery).
- 2) The diseases of vines such as powdery mildew, peronospora and phylloxera, which rationalised the distribution of vineyards in the hills (vines remained only in the best land) and forced them out of the plain (they were substituted by mulberries and corn).
- 3) The diseases of silkworm such as pebrine and diaspis pentagona, which reduced gains from silkworm breeding and forced farmers to give more attention to cereals: this increased the production of wheat and maize and, at the same time, the number of landlords who leased out their lands by a fixed-rent tenancy (cash paid).
- 4) The great crisis of the agrarian market (in the 1880s when cheap cereals arrived from America), which forced farmers to change rotation systems and increase the planting of forage crops for cattle, and consequently favoured investment in livestock buildings (that is the creation in the plain of new, modern stalls dedicated to dairy cows): this favoured the reduction in the number of people rearing cattle in the Alpine valleys and the increase in the plain of the number of farms with a great cowshed. This increased the production of milk and cheese and enlarged the dairy market.
- 5) The evolution of the technology which gave farmers some more efficient agrarian machines and moreover chemical fertilisers and hybrid seeds: so they could increase their yields and crops but at the same time they needed more money for these new technologies;
- 6) The creation at the end of the nineteenth century of institutions such as rural co-operatives and friendly societies, the *Latterie sociali* (that is, the co-operatives which processed milk to produce pasteurised milk and some cheese and other dairy produce), the *Casse rurali* (that is the co-operative rural banks) and some other bigger banks which were particularly dedicated to the

agrarian credit market: these institutions gave farmers and cattle-breeders the opportunity to distribute their products easily to the market (and so prices decreased without reducing the mark-up) and to receive particular benefits (such as the insurance for hail or epizootic apthya, or the sickness and disablement subsidy) and to borrow money paying a low interest rate (and so to make more investment in their farms).

7) The improvement of know-how in agronomics and zootechny which arrived from the best European rural areas: this was linked to the creation and development of new agronomic schools and agrarian and zootechnic institutions (such as the *Cattedre ambulanti di agricoltura* and the *Istituto Zooprofilattico*) which encouraged farmers to give more space to clover and leguminous plants in rotation of crops and to increase their live-stock.

8) The evolution of the fiscal laws concerning the land, that is the increasing in taxation during the nineteenth century, and at the same time the reduction of the social power of landlords in a society where factories increased their number and dimension (during the last decennia of the nineteenth century Lombardy became the most important industrialised region in Italy).

9) The birth of agrarian trade unions and landlords' associations and the consequent changes in agrarian contracts of peasants, sharecroppers and tenants: the labour cost increased and obliged landlords to renew the productive systems and at the same time forced the last *rentiers* to sell their lands.

10) The fascist laws concerning the main cereals (the *Battaglia del grano*) and milk and dairy products (the *Carta del latte*): the *Battaglia del grano* oriented investment in favour of increasing the cultivation of cereals and at the same time reduced investment in the quality of the more profitable products (as olive oil and wine); the *Carta del latte* changed the methods used for cattle breeding and also modified the procedures for milking and the distribution and preservation of the milk and finally obliged dairy farmers to renew their productive systems.

The paper particularly illustrates the positive aspects of the modernisation process and also the limits, that is, when was it possible to improve production quality and when bad decisions prevented it (as in the case of wine, whose quality generally remained low). Furthermore this paper allows us to verify the changes and explain their effects on different cultivations and productive systems: in fact Lombardy is a region where there exists a great variety of pedologic areas and agricultural environments such as Alpine valleys, morainic hills, the plain (dry and irrigated) and the Riviera of the lakes (which have specific microclimates). This also means that this paper can have a paradigmatic value for many other agricultural areas.

Paolo Tedeschi is *Ricercatore* (Lecturer) in the Economic History at the Department of Economics of the University of Milan-Bicocca and *Chargé de cours visiteur* in the Economic History at the Department of History of the University of Leuven UCL. He has a PhD in Economic and Social History from the University 'Bocconi' of Milan (Thesis on Agrarian History). Recent publications include: 'Sale or Gratuitous Transfer? Conveyance of Family Estates in a Manufacturing Village: Lumezzane in the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries', in *Continuity and Change* 3 (2008); 'Marché foncier et systèmes de production agricoles dans l'Italie du nord au XIXe siècle: le cas de la Lombardie orientale', in *European Review of History*, 5 (2008).

8.22 Marie-Lucie Rossi – Performances of agriculture in Reggio Emilia in the nineteenth century: an economic and social construction

Reggio Emilia between Milan and Bologna in Italy even today is famous for four products (PDO): the Red cow (*vacca rossa*), the White pork (*Yorkshire Reggiano*), the Yellow cheese (*Parmigiano Reggiano*) and the Sparkling 'black' wine (*Lambrusco*). The analysis of accounts books from farms justifies these associations. Until 1859 integration with markets in Austrian empire predominated, raising cattle for meat (*bovi* and *giovenco*). With the closure of borders after 1876 and the creation of the new Italian domestic market, we developed the cheese industry (*casello*). While the wheat

crisis and the phyllosera crisis were raging in Europe after 1885, Reggio Emilia, easily transformed the meat-cattle industry into a dairy cattle industry and built new vineyards with the money from the sale of fat pigs. Indeed, between 1854 and 1873, the import of English pig breeds improved the local breed, resulting in a new breed of swine from Reggio Emilia, which invaded European markets. These non-stop changes are explained by the system of sharecropping qualified in Reggio Emilia as ‘perfect sharecropping’ (*perfetta mezzadria*), because, together, farmers and capitalists were business associates (*soci*). It was an operating system which required collaboration between landlords and peasants for mutual benefit: every participant provided (gradually if necessary) half the capital and immediately in exchange received half the revenues. This flexible and integrated system is responsible for the agricultural performances in Reggio Emilia throughout the nineteenth century.

Marie-Lucie Rossi is working on the unpublished archives of the great families of the Italian aristocracy. The practice of the agricultural accounting books leads her to follow the passage of heritage conservation with rents in search of a business income. However, this profit wants an optimum collaboration between land, capital and labour with the development of flexible contracts based on inputs of capital by all the members. Reading theoretical books of accounting also allows her to understand that this passage is the result of a tax policy that encourages entrepreneurial agriculture. After a PhD at the EHESS, she is preparing a HDR (Habilitation à diriger des recherches) at Paris1Sorbonne.

8.3 Meeting of the Inter-War Group

Room 107

Chair: Jeremy Burchardt

This meeting will discuss future activities of the Inter-War Rural History Research Group (IRHRG), including research priorities, the 2011 conference, seminars, publications, the website and the mailing list. All are welcome.

8.4 Fictional representations

Room 202

Chair: Claire Strom

8.41 Fermin Allende Portillo – Literary fertiliser for rural history: the representation of the farming sector in Western literature

Fictional literature may provide a twofold contribution to our knowledge on rural history. On the one hand, literature allows us a virtually approach to daily life, to everyday job of persons devoted to farming activity in the past. On the other hand, it provides a series of texts and narrations which are susceptible of being used as teaching and didactic materials in our classes about the farming sector.

Literature related to the farming sector permits us, for instance, to know what British contemporary people’s opinion was regarding the modernisation of the sector which took place in Great Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Alexander Pope, Oliver Goldsmith, Jonathan Swift and George Eliot tell us about this). Literature also refers the way in which the writers – in their role as representatives of public opinion to some extent – noticed the notorious differences between a traditional rural world which was about to disappear, and an industrial world which was coming into being (about these matters we are reminded by Elizabeth Gaskell, Benjamin Disraeli, Thomas Hardy or Spanish Armando Palacio Valdés). Literature likewise explains the way in which the European farming sector attempted to defend itself from the massive arrival of cereals coming from other continents (French writer Émile Zola widely refers to this matter); or – analysing the opposite side – the way in which highly efficient American agriculture produced and distributed its grain on a world-wide level (we are broadly informed about this by American novelist Frank Norris); or,

besides, the circumstances by which the American farming sector was to be crashed by the crisis (in the way that John Steinbeck exposes it).

Fermin Allende Portillo is a Doctor of History. He is currently Professor of Economic History at the University School of Business Studies of Bilbao (University of the Basque Country). His recent works are linked to research into Economic history by using fictional literature. Papers recently presented in several congresses include: ‘Poor Thomas Buddenbrook! Family Business and Literature’ at a Meeting of the Business History Conference and of the European Business Association; Milan, Italy, June, 2009; ‘Women’s role in family firms as reflected in fictional literature’ at the XVth World Economic History Congress; Utrecht, The Netherlands, August, 2009 and ‘Travelling by railway: from fictional literature to economic history’ at the 7th Conference on the History of Transport, Traffic & Mobility; Lucerne, Switzerland, November, 2009. He is coordinator of an innovative educational project entitled *Literature, Films and Music as teaching tools for economic history* (University of the Basque Country).

8.42 Brian Q. Cannon – ‘You can’t take the country out of the boy’: rural-urban migration in fiction

Over the course of the twentieth century millions of Americans left farms for life in the cities and suburbs. Between 1939 and 1970 alone, nearly 30 million Americans left the farm. This massive migration was unprecedented, and its impact upon rural regions and upon the lives of the migrants was immense. Rural identity and lifeways followed many of these migrants, shaping their experiences.

Novels and short stories explore many dimensions of the migrants’ experiences and can serve as a springboard for hypotheses and empirical investigation. In my paper I will identify and examine insights and themes in key works of fiction that trace rural to urban migration. Authors who explore these themes include Theodore Dreiser, Thomas Wolfe, Sherwood Anderson, Ellen Glasgow, William Faulkner, Eudora Welty, Flannery O’Connor and Robert Penn Warren. Harriette Arnow’s 1954 novel *The Dollmaker* traces the experiences of a white farm family in moving from rural Kentucky to Detroit during World War II. N. Scott Momaday explores the experiences of American Indians in the 1950s who participated in the government’s relocation program, migrating from reservations to major cities like Los Angeles. A rich array of novels explores the experiences of African American migrants from rural areas, including George Washington Lee’s *River George*, Waters Turpin’s *O Canaan*, and James Baldwin’s *Go Tell It on the Mountain*.

Novels by international authors explore the experiences of rural migrants across the globe in the twentieth century. I will draw upon these novels as a means of identifying universals and geographical particulars in the experiences of migrants. These novels include South African author Modikwe Dikobe’s *The Marabi Dance*, set in a Johannesburg township in the 1930s and 1940s and Ibrahim Aslan’s *The Heron*, which chronicles the daily life of a family of rural migrants in Cairo.

Brian Q. Cannon is Associate Professor of History at Brigham Young University and since 2003 he has been Director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies. Selected publications include *Reopening the Frontier: Homesteading in the Modern West* (2009); *Utah in the Twentieth Century* (co-edited with Jessie L. Embry) (2009); *Remaking the Agrarian Dream: New Deal Rural Resettlement in the Mountain West* (1996); “‘Experimenting with the Human and Economic Phases of Agriculture’: Casa Grande Valley Farms’, *Picturing Arizona: The Photographic Record of the 1930s*, ed. Katherine Morrissey (2005); and ‘Water and Economic Opportunity: Homesteaders, Speculators, and the US Reclamation Service, 1904–1924’, *Agricultural History* 76 (2002).

8.5 Egyptian rural history

Room 203

Chair: TBA

8.51 Yossef Rapoport – Peasants and landlords in thirteenth-century Egypt: a comparative perspective based on ‘the History of the Fayyum’

The ‘History of the Fayyum’, written in Egypt in 1243 AD, is the most detailed cadastral survey to have survived for any region of the medieval Islamic world. It is a first-hand account of the agricultural conditions in the province of the Fayyum in Middle Egypt, providing wealth of detail for over 100 villages. It is currently the focus of an AHRC-funded project, aimed at a translation and quantitative analysis of the Arabic text.

The proposed paper will present some of the fruits of this research. Specifically, it will address the rights and duties of the village communities under the system of *iqta* – the Middle Eastern counterpart to European Feudalism. Unlike European Feudalism, the military officer holding an *iqta* had only fiscal and temporary rights over the village assigned to him. The ‘History of the Fayyum’, however, demonstrates that the *iqta* ‘holders contributed to the local economy through irrigation works, seeds and other forms of investment, and were not merely urban *rentiers* uninterested in local production. Due to the nature of the text, the value of the investments in seeds and repair works can be measured and mapped, showing that the level of investment depended on local variables.

Yossef Rapoport has a BA from Tel Aviv University (1995) and a PhD from Princeton University (2002). His current position is Lecturer, History Department, Queen Mary University of London. He is principal investigator on a project with an AHRC early career research grant: ‘Rural society in medieval Islam: Translation and study of “The History of the Fayyum”’ (April 2009–March 2011). His publications include *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (2005); (with Emilie Savage-Smith), *The Book of Curiosities: A critical edition* (www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/bookofcuriosities, 2007); (with Shahab Ahmad), *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times, Proceedings of a conference held at Princeton University, 8-10 April 2005* (2010); and ‘The View from the South: The Maps of the Book of Curiosities and the Commercial Revolution of the Eleventh Century’, in R. Margariti, A. Sabra and P. Sijpesteijn (eds.), *Histories of the Middle East: Studies in Middle Eastern Society, Economy, and Law in Honor of A.L. Udovitch* (forthcoming).

Tuesday 17.45 to 19.00

Session 9

Asa Briggs (A2) Lecture Theatre

Plenary Lecture – **Professor Bruce M. S. Campbell** – Agriculture and national incomes in Europe, c.1300–1850

Chair: Professor John Chartres (past President, British Agricultural History Society)

Are rural societies and agriculturally based economies intrinsically poor? Has agricultural development typically had to await the advent of urbanisation and, in particular, the rise of the commercial metropolis? Is this why, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the agrarian economies of the North Sea Region begin to display greater dynamism than those of southern and eastern Europe? And if, for most of the last millennium, European economies have enjoyed higher levels of per capita GDP than those of Asia and Africa, is this primarily due to the forms of agriculture long practised in Europe? This lecture will consider these and other related questions within the framework provided by Historical National Income Analysis.

Professor Bruce M. S. Campbell is a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, an Academician of Social Sciences, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He is Professor of Medieval Economic History in the School of Geography, Archaeology and Palaeoecology at the Queen's University of Belfast.

Bruce's field of scholarship is the economic history of late-medieval Britain and Ireland, with particular reference to human–environment interactions during the fourteenth century, and trends in agricultural output and productivity from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries.

Principal publications:

- 2010 'Nature as historical protagonist: environment and society in pre-industrial England', *Economic History Review* 63, no. 2: 281-314.
- 2009 *Land and people in late medieval England*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- 2008 B. M. S. Campbell, *Field systems and farming systems in late medieval England*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- 2007 *The medieval antecedents of English agricultural progress*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- 2007 *Three centuries of English crop yields, 1211-1491* [WWW document at <http://www.cropyields.ac.uk>]
- 2006 (with K. Bartley), *England on the eve of the Black Death: an atlas of lay lordship, land, and wealth, 1300-49*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- 2000 *English seigniorial agriculture 1250-1450*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.



Tuesday 20.30 to 21.30

Session 10

Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	ROOM 107
<p>10.1 C. Fred Williams: A new social order: changing US agricultural practices in the Lower Mississippi River Valley, 1945-2000 Chair: TBA</p>	<p>10.2 Jan-Åke Staffansson Biological innovation as the new explanation of agricultural growth: a <i>longue-durée</i> perspective of European agriculture from Roman times to the Agricultural Revolution Chair: TBA</p>	<p>10.3 Tim Soens, Erik Thoen, Eline Van Onacker and Kristof Dombrecht Rural elites, local power and rural capitalism: state of the art and perspectives for comparative research Chair: Richard Hoyle</p>	<p>10.4 Antonio Herrera and John Markoff Rural movements and the transition to democracy in Spain Chair: Vicente Pinilla</p>



Shearing, east Cheshire

10.1 C. Fred Williams – A new social order: changing US agricultural practices in the Lower Mississippi River Valley, 1945-2000 Room 104

Chair: TBA

Technological innovations, new discoveries in chemistry and biology, and changing world needs in food and fibre consumption combined to revolutionise American agriculture in the half-century following World War II. These changes were well illustrated in the alluvial plain of the lower Mississippi River valley of the United States. Centuries-old practices of man-land interaction using animal power and limited soil or plant additives were transformed in a generation. The results may justifiably be characterised as a revolution.

While individual studies have focused on the use of technology, chemicals, and changing public policy in this region, much less attention has been given to the social impact the ‘new agriculture’ had on the lives of citizens in the area known locally as ‘the delta.’ Thousands of tenant farmers and sharecroppers along with the horses and mules they rented, sometimes owned, were displaced in a matter of decades. Thrown off the land, they, their parents, and grandparents had farmed since the nineteenth century; these rural people exchanged a patriarchal, plantation benevolence for a new system of public welfare.

This new social order forced rural decision makers to shift public policy in new directions. Beyond acreage controls, crop subsidies, and land use practices, community leaders now had to consider access to food supplies, housing, and new employment opportunities. These factors contributed to a new rural society that little resembled the pre-World War II model. Isolation and limited social mobility were replaced by crime, unemployment, and a drug culture that socially transformed the lower Mississippi River region. This paper will analyse the new order, the factors that created it, and the consequences associated with the new environment.

Dr. C. Fred Williams joined the faculty of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock in 1969 and holds a PhD from the University of Oklahoma. He served as Department Head (1973-1974), Department Chairperson (1974-1980), Associate Dean of Liberal Arts (1980-1983), and Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs (1983-1988). He is the director of the Center for Arkansas Studies and serves as editor of the Ledbetter Monograph Series on Arkansas Culture. Since 2000 he has served as Executive Secretary/Treasurer of the Agricultural History Society.

Dr. Williams has served as president of the Arkansas Association of College History Teachers, the Little Rock Volunteers in Public Schools, the West Little Rock Rotary Club, and the UALR Assembly and Faculty Senate. He has received the College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Faculty Excellence Award for Service and a Life-Time Achievement Award from the Arkansas Historical Association, and has been designated as Humanist of the Year by the Arkansas Humanities Council and the Malone Fellow for Study in Arabic Countries (Tunisia).

10.2 Jan-Åke Staffansson – Biological innovation as the new explanation of agricultural growth³: a *longue-durée* perspective of European agriculture from Roman times to the Agricultural Revolution Room 107

Chair: TBA

Theoretical attempts to analyse economic changes are derived from the experiences of the agrarian and industrial revolutions, but they are also used retrospectively to explain the economic development of the earlier period. The basic explanations commonly used for economic growth are changes in technology and capital growth.

Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode have researched the growth in productivity of the main agricultural products in the United States. Their conclusion regarding the cultivation of wheat was that ‘there was a relentless campaign to discover and develop new wheat varieties and cultural methods that would allow the wheat frontier to expand into the northern prairies, the Great Plains, and the Pacific Coast states. Without these technologies, western yields would have been significantly lower and vast areas of the United States and Canada would have been unsuitable for commercial wheat production.’⁴

During Roman times the preconditions for agriculture in Europe were good. What was lacking were new edible plants and improvements which would enable them to adapt to the special soil and climate conditions in Europe. Research shows that over the millennia plants gradually found their way to the continent. Simple plant improvements enabled food to be produced economically. Because the only possible improvements were natural mutations, the transition took hundreds of years. The importing of the various edible plants produced two main results. Firstly, larger areas and more marginal soils could be cultivated. The adaptation of plant varieties to the local conditions led to the second main result: the development of various crop rotation systems which served as the foundation of the agrarian revolution.

Jan-Åke Staffansson is an independent scholar who began his studies in Economic History at Lund University in 1969. From the very beginning agriculture has been the principal focus of almost all his publications. Later he went on to study Economic History at Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, where he commenced his doctoral studies under Professor Knut Borchardt. He completed his doctoral thesis in Lund under the supervision of Professor Lennart Jörberg and Professor Gunnar Fridlitzius. His chosen subject was ‘Svenskt smör’ (Swedish Butter. Production, consumption and foreign trade 1861-1913/ Lund Studies in Economic History 3). This study is often cited in scientific agricultural works in Sweden, as well as in articles such as ‘Is it simply getting worse? Agriculture and Swedish greenhouse gas emissions over 200 years’ (Kander, Astrid: *Economic History Review*, 61, 4 (2008) pp. 773-797).

Jan-Åke’s most recent agricultural history research project has been in progress for more than a decade now, but the results have not yet been published. Some sections have been presented in seminars, including the seminar for professors and assistant professors at the Ludwig Maximilian University (Prof. John Komlos), as well as in seminars at the University of Stuttgart Hohenheim, Istituto Svedese di Studi Classici a Roma, the University of Lund and University of Göteborg. At the Social Science History Association conference in 2008 in Miami Jan-Åke presented a model of economic growth in the paper ‘New Crops, the Knowledge of Plant Improvements, Population and Economic Growth.’

³ The term ‘biological innovation’ refers to non-mechanical innovations such as new plant varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation and drainage system, improved cultural practices, and the like.

⁴ Olmstead, Alan L. and Rhode, Paul W. *Creating Abundance. Biological Innovation and American Agricultural Development* (2008) p. 17f.

10.3 Tim Soens, Erik Thoen, Eline Van Onacker and Kristof Dombrecht – Rural elites, local power and rural capitalism: state of the art and perspectives for comparative research Room 202

Chair: Richard Hoyle

Since the classic middle ages, village elites were profoundly rooted in the rural community through the exploitation of large farms and the accumulation of local offices. Since the 1970s debates have risen on the economic foundations of their power in the wake of the crisis of feudalism, on their networks of interdependency between each other and with smaller peasants, on the gradual formation of a proper political ideology and on their commercial attitude. With some notable exceptions like the studies of Moriceau and Postel-Vinay on the Paris region, they received considerably less attention than other elite groups (e.g. urban or clerical) in pre-modern Europe. This was due to the fact that they were often only superficially studied in ‘classic’ regional rural history monographs, and because new questions raised in disciplines like archaeology, social sciences or landscape history, were not yet fully integrated. As this paper argues, a less ‘monolithic’ view on *the* village elite, can be obtained from a regional and chronological detailed and almost prosopographical comparison of regions with different environmental, economic and social settings. This will be illustrated through a new comparative research project on village elites in the pre-modern southern Low Countries, comparing a region witnessing an early transition to capitalism – coastal Flanders – with the rather ‘less mobile’ peasant society of the Campine area.

Erik Thoen (b.1953) is professor of rural and environmental history and historical geography at Ghent University since 1989. He is co-ordinator of the international CORN-network (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area), editor-in-chief of the CORN Publication series and the Belgian-Dutch *Jaarboek voor Ecologische Geschiedenis*, and board member of different European research networks in rural and environmental history. His main publications include: *Landbouweconomie en bevolking in Vlaanderen gedurende de late Middeleeuwen en het begin van de Moderne Tijden, Testregio: de kasselrijen van Oudenaarde en Aalst* (1988); ‘The birth of the ‘Flemish Husbandry’: agricultural technology in medieval Flanders’, in: G. Astill and J. Langdon (eds.), *Medieval Farming and Technology: the impact of agricultural change in Northwest Europe* (1997); ‘A medieval ‘commercial survival economy’ in evolution. The Flemish countryside and the transition debate’, in: P. Hoppenbrouwers and J. L. Van Zanden (eds.), *Peasants into farmers? The Netherlands and the Brenner debate* (CORN Publication Series 4, 2001); ‘“Social Agrosystems” as an economic concept to explain regional differences. An essay taking the former county of Flanders as an example (Middle Ages-Nineteenth Century)’, in: B. J. P. van Bavel and P. Hoppenbrouwers (eds.), *Landholding and land transfer in the North Sea area (late middle ages-nineteenth century)* (CORN Publication Series 5, 2004); (with Leen Van Molle) (eds), *Rural history in the North Sea Area. An overview of recent research (middle ages-twentieth century)* (CORN Publication Series 1, 2006).

Tim Soens (b.1977) is assistant professor (docent) in medieval and environmental history at the University of Antwerp (Belgium) since 2007. He obtained his PhD in 2006 on the medieval and early modern water management in the Flemish coastal plain. He also published on the commercialisation of rural society; local village administrations and the demesne management of the count of Flanders. His current research interests also include the historical geography of the Flemish coastal plain and the sandy Campine Area; the exercise of political power on the countryside; and the economic and political interaction of town and countryside in late medieval Flanders and Brabant. His main publications include: ‘Evolution et gestion du domaine comtal en Flandre sous Louis de Male et Philippe le Hardi (1346-1404)’, *Revue-du Nord-Histoire*, 83 (2001); ‘Explaining Deficiencies of Water Management in the Late Medieval Flemish Coastal Plain (thirteenth-sixteenth centuries)’, *Jaarboek voor Ecologische Geschiedenis* (2006); (with Erik Thoen), ‘The origins of leasehold in the former county of Flanders’, in : B. Van Bavel and Ph. Schofield (eds.), *The development of leasehold in Northwestern Europe, c.1200-1600* (CORN Publication Series 10, 2008); *De spade in de dijk? Waterbeheer en rurale samenleving in de Vlaamse kustvlakte (1280-158)* (Historische Economie en Ecologie, 2009).

Eline Van Onacker (b.1986) obtained her Master’s Degree in Early Modern History at Ghent University (2008) with a master thesis on noble attendance of universities in the Low Countries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She is currently working on a research project funded by the Flemish Science Foundation (FWO) on the interaction of political and economic power in late medieval village communities. In this project she is preparing a PhD at the University of Antwerp on village elites in peasant communities in the Campine area (thirteenth-sixteenth centuries)

Kristof Dombrecht (b.1987) obtained his Master's Degree in Early Modern History at Ghent University (2009) with a master thesis on leisure preference by rural labourers in the Flemish countryside during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He is currently working on a research project funded by the Flemish Science Foundation (FWO) on the interaction of political and economic power in late medieval village communities. In this project, he is preparing a PhD at Ghent University on village elites in the commercializing economy of the Flemish coastal plain (thirteenth-sixteenth century).

10.4 Antonio Herrera and John Markoff – Rural movements and the transition to democracy in Spain

Room 203

Chair: Vicente Pinilla

The multiple connections of social movements and the history of democracy are emerging as a lively area for research and theory. Recently, scholars have taken a very long-term look at the way the development of social movements as a form of conflict has been profoundly intertwined with the history of democratisation, at movements as a constituent element of democracy, and at movements as sites of democratic practice and discourse.

The Spanish democratic transition of the 1970s and 1980s is an important and instructive case in point. A very strong consensus emerged that a central feature of the Spanish process was the role played by shrewdly negotiated compromises between reformers inside the late Franco regime and leaders of opposition forces, particularly the Socialist and Communist parties.

We will argue here that the significance of social movements for Spain's democratisation goes well beyond this standard story. We will argue that rural movements did a great deal more than just create a set of destabilizing problems that wise elites successfully managed by devising a democratic national framework.

First we analyse the structures of domination in the Spanish countryside bequeathed by the Franco regime and largely left in place by the negotiations of post-Franco national elites. Second, we focus our attention in four social movement campaigns in the late 1970s and early 1980s that undid rural Francoism, thereby profoundly altering the shape of the democracy negotiated by the national elites.

Antonio Herrera has a PhD from the Universidad de Jaen (Spain), Department of History, 2003. He is currently Associate Professor (Contemporary History) at the University of Pablo de Olavide (Seville, Spain). His research fields are Spanish Contemporary History, Democracy and Social Movements, Rural History, and Environmental History. In 2009 he was Visiting Scholar in the Department of Sociology at Pittsburgh University and in 2004, Visiting Scholar at Canada Blanch Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science. His publications include *La construcción de la democracia en el campo (1975-1988)* (Editorial M.A.P.A. Madrid, 2007); 'Otra lectura de la transición española es posible. La democratización del mundo rural (1975-1982)', *Ayer* 74 (2009); and (with Soto, D. and González de Molina, M.) 'Peasant protests as environmental protests (eighteenth-twentieth)', in *Global Environment* (in press) and 'El Pacto Andaluz por la Naturaleza: la confluencia del movimiento campesino y el movimiento ecologista', in *Historia Agraria* (in press). Current projects are Democracy and Citizenship in the Rural World and the History of Environmental Movement in Spain.

John Markoff has a PhD from Johns Hopkins, 1972. He is currently Professor of Sociology, History and Political Science and UCIS Research Professor. His research fields are Social movements, comparative revolutions, democratisation. His publications include *Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change* (Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press, 1996); *The Abolition of Feudalism: Peasants, Lords and Legislators in the French Revolution* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); (with Gilbert Shapiro) *Revolutionary Demands: A Content Analysis of the Cahiers de Doléances of 1789* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); 'Revolutions, Sociology of' and 'Archival Methods', in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*; and 'Margins, Centers and Democracy: The Paradigmatic History of Women's Suffrage', *SIGNS: J. Women in Culture and Society* 29 (2003). His current project is the History of Democracy.

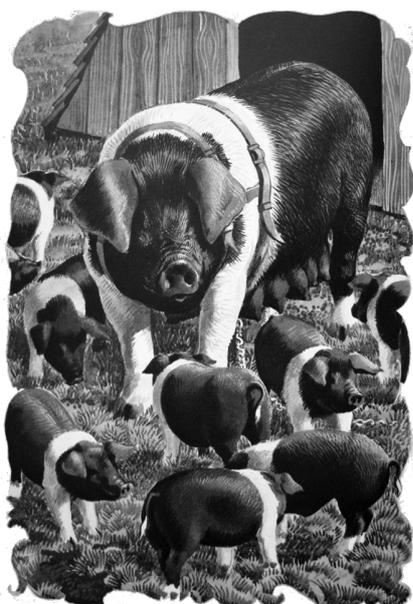
Wednesday at a glance

	Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
9.00 – 11.00	11.1 The active peasant: changing the rural world, 1250-1350	11.2 Captain Swing's other spaces	11.3 Co-operation and rural society, IV	11.4 Images of the peasant in Germany, the United States and Austria	11.5 Famine and village society: the response of Kami-shiojiri, Japan to the Great Famine in the Tenpo period
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor				
11.30 – 13.00	12.1 The active peasant: changing the rural world, 1350-1550	12.2 New institutions in southern Europe	12.3 State assistance and self-help in the English village	12.4 Agricultural research, peasant farming and the Green Revolution	12.5 Migration and occupational structure in modern Japan: rural society and the industrialising economy in the pre-war period
13.00 – 14.00	Lunch in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor				
14.00 – 17.00	13.1 Round table: conceptualising 'class' in the English countryside	13.2 Choices and changes: sharefarming in a global context	13.3 Enquiries, agrarian interests and response to economic change in the Atlantic world, c.1860-1900	13.4 Fascism and rural modernisation revisited	13.5 Expert knowledge in twentieth-century agriculture
Sessions break for tea when appropriate. Tea in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor					
17.15 – 18.00	14. Launch of a European Rural History Organisation in the Asa Briggs (A2) Lecture Theatre				
18.00 – 19.15	15. Jules Pretty – Sustainability in agricultural and rural systems: recent history and future challenges in the Asa Briggs (A2) Lecture Theatre				
19.45	Reception and Conference Dinner (20.15) in the Downs Restaurant, Bramber House, First Floor				
20.15 – 01.00	Marble Bar in the Downs Restaurant, Bramber House, First Floor				

Wednesday 9.00 to 11.00

Session 11

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>11.1 The active peasant: changing the rural world, 1250-1350</p> <p>Convener: Christopher Dyer</p> <p>Chair: TBA</p> <p>11.11 Christopher Dyer:</p> <p>English peasant agriculture in an age of crisis</p> <p>11.12 Miriam Muller:</p> <p>Communal identity, peasant agency and lordship</p> <p>11.13 Phillip Schofield:</p> <p>Peasants and litigation in the manor court</p>	<p>11.2 Captain Swing's other spaces</p> <p>Convener: Carl Griffin</p> <p>Chair: Peter Jones</p> <p>11.21 Carl Griffin:</p> <p>Swing in the 'city': alien presences and phantasmagoria</p> <p>11.22 Rose Wallis:</p> <p>'What a phantom they contrived to conjure': the spectre of Swing and the Somerset magistracy</p> <p>11.23 Iain J. M. Robertson:</p> <p>Putting Swing in its space: beyond orthodoxy in rural Gloucestershire</p> <p>11.24 Katrina Navickas:</p> <p>Swing in the North: incendiarism and agricultural machine-breaking in northern England, 1812-34</p>	<p>11.3 Co-operation in rural society, IV</p> <p>Convener and chair: András Vári</p> <p>11.31 Debra Reid:</p> <p>The National Federation of Colored Farmers: constructing self-segregated networks during the 1930s</p> <p>11.32 Frederik Eriksson:</p> <p>Co-operatives, corporatism and politics: agrarian organisations and the Swedish Right during the 1940s</p> <p>11.33 Johan Eelland:</p> <p>The seeds of the nation: rural co-operatives and the formation of an agrarian ideology in Estonia at the turn of the twentieth century</p>	<p>11.4 Images of the peasant in Germany, the United States, and Austria</p> <p>Convener: Gesine Gerhard</p> <p>Chair: Jonathan Harwood</p> <p>11.41 Gesine Gerhard:</p> <p>The image of the peasant in West Germany: 'spongers off the state' or 'threatened species'?</p> <p>11.42 Frank Uekötter:</p> <p>The American Way: US Farming as a transatlantic myth</p> <p>11.43 Ulrich Schwarz:</p> <p>The image of the peasant in Austria: guidance in times of change or repository of antiquated moral virtues?</p>	<p>11.5 Famine and village society: the response of Kami-shiojiri, Japan to the Great Famine in the Tenpo period</p> <p>Conveners: Moto Takahashi and Hiroshi Hasebe</p> <p>Chair: Peter Spufford</p> <p>11.51 Moto Takahashi:</p> <p>Kin relationships and families in Kami-shiojiri: with a contrasting parallel study of Willingham, Cambs., UK</p> <p>11.52 Hiroshi Hasebe:</p> <p>Famine, crises and mutual aid in Kami-shiojiri</p> <p>11.53 Futoshi Yamauchi:</p> <p>The effect of bad harvests in Kami-shiojiri on landholding and land use</p> <p>11.54 Kouki Iwama:</p> <p>The provisions against bad harvests in Kami-shiojiri: a case study of the Eizoku-ko after the bad harvests of the 1830s</p>



Essex Saddleback sow and litter

11.1 The active peasant: changing the rural world, 1250-1350 Room 103

Convener: Christopher Dyer

Chair: TBA

Medieval peasants have been reassessed in recent historical writing. We no longer think of them just as victims of an oppressive social structure, or as an inert mass, but as people who constructed their own identities, responded to stimuli around them, took initiatives, and made decisions. They played a part in moulding the rural world and promoting change. This is the first of two linked sessions.

11.11 Christopher Dyer – English peasant agriculture in an age of crisis

This paper will use a variety of sources, including archaeology and landscape, to investigate peasant responses to the changes and problems of the period 1250-1350. This will include examination of their acquisition of land and its management, and a consideration of the techniques employed for cultivation and animal husbandry. Manipulations of land use and rotations, choice of crops and livestock, the application of labour and market contacts will be considered. This will be a contribution to the debate between those who emphasise the immiseration of the peasantry, and those who see peasants as more adaptable than the lords in coping with the crises of the period.

Christopher Dyer has a BA and a PhD from the University of Birmingham. He was Assistant Lecturer, University of Edinburgh (1967-70); Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, and Reader, University of Birmingham (1970-90); Professor of Medieval Social History, University of Birmingham (1990-2001). He is currently Professor of Regional and Local History in the Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester. He has held many offices and was elected FBA in 1994. He is the author of many publications including *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: the Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540* (1980); *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (1989; revised edn. 1998) [translated into Spanish as *Niveles de Vida en la baja edad media* (Barcelona, 1991); *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (1994; new edn. 2000); (with C. Lewis and P. Mitchell-Fox), *Village, Hamlet and Field: Changing Medieval Settlements in Central England* (1997; rev. edn., 2001); *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: the People of Britain, 850-1520* (2002; pbk., 2003); *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in Late Medieval England* (2005). He is also the editor of: (with T. Aston, P. Coss and J. Thirsk), *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton* (Cambridge, 1983); (with Kate Giles), *Town and Country in the Middle Ages. Contrasts, Contacts and Communications* (2005); *The Self-Contained Village? The Social History of Rural Communities 1250-1900* (2007); (with P. Coss and C. Wickham), *Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages* (2007); (with C. Richardson), *William Dugdale, Historian, 1605-1686* (2009).

11.12 Miriam Muller – Communal identity, peasant agency and lordship

This paper will be a comparative exploration of communal structures and identities in three fourteenth century villages, two of them in Wiltshire and one in Norfolk. The paper will consider settlement structures, landscape features, local economies and infrastructure, and examine how these might have impacted on peasant mentalities and community dynamics. Another important aspect will be to consider the role of lordship both in constructing communal identities and creating the image of the outsider. It will be argued that the construction of communal dynamics and identities is of a dialectical nature, fundamentally encompassing the ever changing and locally dominant lord-peasant relationship. The approach will be interdisciplinary, straddling such disciplines as economic history, sociology and landscape history.

Miriam Muller has a BA in History from the School of Cultural and Community Studies, University of Sussex, 1996; an M.Phil from the University of Cambridge, 1997 (thesis on 'Rural politics and peasant ideology in the fourteenth century: the St Alban's manor of Winslow'); and a PhD from the University of Birmingham 2001 (thesis on 'Peasant mentalities and cultures in two contrasting communities in the fourteenth century: Brandon in Suffolk and Badbury in Wiltshire'). She is now Lecturer in Medieval History, University of Birmingham. Recent publications include: 'Social control and the hue and cry in two fourteenth century villages', *J. Medieval History*, 31(2005); 'A divided class? Peasants and peasant communities in later medieval England', in *Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages*, ed, C. Dyer, P. Coss

and C. Wickham (Past & Present Supplement, 2, Oxford, 2007); and ‘Peasants, lords and developments in leasing in later medieval England’, in *Emergence and early development of leasehold in the European countryside during the middle ages* (CORN series, vol. 10, 2009). Her field of interest and research is the comparative social and economic history of later medieval England, especially peasant communities and lord peasant relationships. Within this broad field: gender, conflict, conflict resolution and co-operation between peasants, and between lords and peasants, ca 1250-1500.

11.13 Phillip Schofield – Peasants and litigation in the manor court

In this paper an attempt will be made to consider the ways in which peasants operated within a world of law. Focussing especially upon a wide body of manorial court litigation from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the paper will build upon earlier work on manor court litigation and the peasant’s place within law and legal mechanisms; it will also add, through a close consideration of material emerging from an AHRC project on manor court litigation, to the evidential base for both a peasant use of law as well as the context in which law was employed. In this last respect, careful consideration will be given to the development of the manor court, especially in the decades either side of 1300, and the extent to which the peasantry was itself capable of stimulating any such change.

Phillip Richard Schofield, BA (Lond.); D.Phil. (Oxon.) is Professor of Medieval History and Head of Department at Aberystwyth University. Recent publications of relevance to the proposed paper include: (with Thijs Lambrecht), *Credit and the rural economy in North-western Europe, c. 1200-c.1800* (forthcoming 2009); ‘Die Kreditvergabe im englischen manor court 1250-1350. Formen und Funktionen’ in G. Clemens, ed., *Kreditbeziehungen und Netzerkbildungen. Die soziale Praxis des Kredits* (2009); ‘The social economy of the medieval village’, *Economic History Review*, 61 S1; ‘Peasant debt in English manorial courts: form and nature’, in Julie-Mayade Claustre (ed.), *Endettement privé et justice au Moyen Age* (2007); ‘Intestat et testaments paysans en Angleterre et Pays de Galles au XIIIe siècle et au début du XIVe siècle’, in N. Vivier, ed., *Ruralité française et britannique, xiii-xxe siècles. Approches comparées* (2005). Phillip is currently preparing a Selden Society volume on inter-personal pleas in manorial courts with Dr C. D. Briggs, University of Southampton (to be completed in 2010).

11.2 Captain Swing’s other spaces

Room 104

Convener: Carl Griffin

Chair: Peter Jones

Peter Jones is currently a Lecturer in History and the History of Medicine at Oxford Brookes University. Before taking up this post, he was a Research Fellow for three years on the Westminster Pauper Lives Project (<http://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>). His research interests lie in two distinct but related areas of demotic history: popular protest and popular consciousness in the early-nineteenth century (and in particular, the Swing risings in the south of England), and the experience of the old poor laws in Hanoverian England. His most recent publications are ‘Finding Captain Swing: protest, parish relations and the state of the public mind in 1830’, *International Rev. Social Hist.* (2009), and ‘“I Cannot Keep My Place Without Being Deacent”: pauper letters, parish clothing and pragmatism in the South of England, 1750-1830’, *Rural History* (2009).

11.21 Carl Griffin – Swing in the ‘city’: alien presences and phantasmagoria

Swing’s various historians have claimed that the protests of 1830 represented a rural ‘movement’, a response to the social failings of agrarian capitalism in the English countryside. And yet Swing assumed its potency by virtue of the fear that rural lawlessness would spill over into urban society. These fears were grounded in observed and phantasmagorical ‘presences’. Reports that groups of mobile Swing activists were to ‘invade’ market towns, combined with the sight of nearby fires, helped to generate something close to hysteria. But Swing was not just a spectral presence, it also had physical, if alien, urban presence. The seemingly constant conveying of prisoners to gaols and Houses of Correction and the attendant cavalcades of soldiers and constables made for dramatic

spectacles, materially bringing Swing into the town. Sometimes protests also targeted urban dwelling tithe holders, machinery makers or even semi-urban farms, whilst ‘invasions’ to attend magistrates’ benches or to free incarcerated comrades rendered the rural-urban distinction opaque. Through these dynamics, the notion that Swing was confined to the countryside can be discarded. Instead, Swing not only served to highlight the hybridity of rural-urban space in agricultural districts but also weaved, albeit temporarily, rural and urban life together.

Carl Griffin is a Lecturer in Human Geography at Queen’s University, Belfast. He trained as a historical geographer at the University of Bristol, and held post-doctoral positions at the universities of Bristol, Southampton and Oxford. His research embraces studies of popular protest, as well as cultures of unemployment, human-environment interactions, and the history of political economy. He has published papers in, amongst other places, *Rural History*, *Journal of Historical Geography*, *International Review of Social History*, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, and *Past and Present*.

11.22 Rose Wallis – ‘What a phantom they contrived to conjure’: the spectre of Swing and the Somerset magistracy

Somerset was described as one of the ‘marginal’ Swing counties by Hobsbawm and Rudé, distinguished only by the fact that its disturbances had a ‘physical connection’ to those spreading from Wiltshire and Dorset. Despite remaining relatively peaceful throughout the winter of 1830, the Somerset magistracy were active, indeed at times panicked by, the spectre of Swing. Rather than focus on an enumeration of the attacks on threshing machines, the incidence of riot and incendiary fires, an analysis of the actions of the local justices can reveal an alternative manifestation of Swing as *context*: what impact the threat of popular tumult had on the administration of the law and the interactions of authority with their communities. This paper will consider how the Somerset justices sought to prevent rebellion, and on a few occasions suppressed it; their communications with central government; and revealingly, their discussions amongst themselves. It also explores their framing of prosecutions during the disturbances. By focusing on the actions of the county magistracy, this approach reveals alternative perspectives and, possibly more significantly, the perceptions of authority of Swing as a *movement*: its causes, the scale and scope of protest, and debates regarding the most effective solutions for its suppression.

Rose Wallis is a doctoral student at the University of the West of England. Her research seeks to explore the relationship between English rural magistrates and their communities, and, connectedly, the decline of paternalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She is the author of a forthcoming paper in *Southern History* which examines attempts to prosecute Swing in the English west.

11.23 Iain J. M. Robertson – Putting Swing in its space: beyond orthodoxy in rural Gloucestershire

Space is much more than passive setting. It is both shaped by and shapes social and cultural processes and is, therefore, both cause and effect of social life. Historians of Swing have, to date, failed to significantly engage with the constitutive role of space in their engagement with these significant events. This paper is a tentative attempt to address this spatial lacuna. The focus is the north-west of Gloucestershire, an area seen as peripheral to Swing. This paper asserts, however, that considering space as an active agent in rural protest helps to challenge notions of peripherality.

Conventionally, a rick fire at Pardon Hill near Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, in December 1830 was the only ‘Swing’ activity that took place in the area. Yet this is a narrow perspective. Rick burning was a frequent activity in the locale, Sunday riots were a regular feature in the town, turnpike gates were attacked, and organised poaching a serious problem. To view Winchcombe as peripheral and quiescent is therefore wrong. Swing was not a unique, closed entity, nor an

exceptional ‘explosion’ of protest, but was instead a particularly intense point on a spectrum of conflictual expressions. The notion of peripherality is, consequently, rendered redundant.

Iain Robertson is a Senior Lecturer in History and Historical Geography at the University of Gloucestershire. His early research focused on the historical and cultural processes shaping the landscape of nineteenth and early twentieth century Highland Scotland, not least through the lens of popular protest. He is also interested in how we can understand landscape as a cultural ‘product,’ particularly from the perspective of heritage. He is author of numerous articles and chapters on these interrelated fields of enquiry in such journals as *Rural History* and the *Journal of Historical Geography*. He is editor of (with Penny Richards) *Studying Cultural Landscapes* (Arnold, 2003) and *Heritage from Below* (Ashgate, 2010, forthcoming).

11.24 Katrina Navickas – Swing in the North: incendiarism and agricultural machine-breaking in northern England, 1812-34

The ‘Captain Swing’ disturbances were not, as many historians have assumed, confined to southern England. Incendiarism, the sending of ‘Swing’ letters, and threats to threshing machines were all present in Yorkshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire and Cumberland. Yet there is more to this paper than simply an argument that Swing was not exclusively southern. Beginning with a study of Swing in Carlisle, before examining agricultural disturbances elsewhere in the North, this paper argues that we should rethink the causes and meaning of Swing within a wider framework and timescale. The paper therefore embraces understandings of socio-economic change in the agricultural north, the permeable boundary between countryside and town, changing modes of social control, and threats to agricultural machinery during the 1812 Luddite disturbances. By looking at this longer chronology, Swing can be placed within the context of a community defence of custom and a challenge to changing definitions of popular rights. Utilising hitherto under-used sources, the paper argues that the myth of ‘Captain Swing’ was more a product of the authorities’ reliance on rumour and panic, than an imaginary creation by the activists themselves. Arson and machine-breaking in the North were Swing-like, but not Swing as we currently conceive it.

Katrina Navickas is Lecturer in History at the University of Hertfordshire, and previously taught at the universities of Edinburgh and Oxford. She is author of *Loyalism and Radicalism in Lancashire, 1798-1815* (2009), and several articles on Luddites and on popular politics in such journals as *Social History* and *Northern History*. She is currently working on a cultural geography of popular protest in northern England, 1780-1848.

11.3 Co-operation in rural society, IV

Room 107

Convener and chair: András Vári

11.31 Debra Reid – The National Federation of Colored Farmers: constructing self-segregated networks during the 1930s

Seventy years ago John Hope II began his article, ‘Rochdale Co-operation Among Negroes’⁵ with the claim that the co-operative movement was ‘beginning to take root in the thinking Negroes ... both rural and urban’.⁶ He included the National Federation of Colored Farmers, Inc. (NFCF) as a model because its ‘co-operative philosophy and technique among Negro farmers and particularly sharecroppers’⁷ made it distinctive from other rural co-operatives. Administrators included several Tuskegee-educated wholesale grocers, lawyers, and engineers who saw the potential to link black farmers with urban markets directly. The NFCF established local branches in areas with the highest

⁵ *Phylon* 1, no. 1 (1940)

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

population densities of black farmers in the United States, specifically in counties bordering the Mississippi River in Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee and Mississippi. Through such grassroots organizing, annual conventions, and its regular newspaper, *The Modern Farmer*, the NFCF spread its purpose of economic reform based in direct marketing to urban buyers.

The organisation grew during the Great Depression and peaked during the mid-1930s. The NFCF allied mostly with black landowners and cash renters, not sharecroppers. These families had operated outside the domination of white landlords since they had acquired land as early as 1865. Even small patches made it possible for black farmers to grow watermelons or sweet corn or other commodities and explore marketing options with the local NFCF branch. The NFCF built its reputation on the separatist foundation that defined black farm community development. It de-emphasised governmental aid, particularly intervention in the form of rights protection. Segregationist whites could generally live with economic self-improvement. Such engagement in larger economic networks benefitted local farming communities without threatening the racialised status quo.

Debra A. Reid is professor of history at Eastern Illinois University and adjunct professor in the College of Agricultural, Consumer and Environmental Sciences at the University of Illinois – Champaign-Urbana. Publications include *Reaping a Greater Harvest: African Americans, the Extension Service and Rural Reform in Jim Crow Texas* (2007) which received the T. R. Fehrenbach Award from the Texas Historical Commission and *Seeking Inalienable Rights: Texans and Their Quests for Justice* (2009). She co-edited a collection of essays with Evan P. Bennett, entitled 'Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Farmers Since Reconstruction,' under review at University Press of Florida.

11.32 Frederik Eriksson – Co-operatives, corporatism and politics: agrarian organisations and the Swedish Right during the 1940s

In 1942, during World War II, the most comprehensive agricultural commission was appointed. The purpose was to investigate the pricing of agricultural products during the war, and also to investigate how to organise agriculture after the war. It has been called the Magna Charta of Swedish agricultural policy. The commission consisted of 27 members and all belonged to different organisations (agrarian co-operatives, other agrarian organisations, consumer co-operation, trade unions, industry etc). This paper focuses on the workings of organisations within agricultural commission and to what extent one can talk about organisational networks within the political sphere. Previous research has shown strong links between the trade unions and the Social Democracy, and also between business and the right-wing parties. But we know less about how agrarian co-operatives and organisations functioned within the political sphere. The purpose of the presentation is to investigate the roots of organisational influence in agricultural politics through tracing the ideology of the Swedish co-operative movement in the late nineteenth century. An equally important part of the presentation is to define the relations between the co-operative movement and the political parties in Sweden.

Fredrik Eriksson (b.1971) has an MA in History and Political Science from Södertörn University, 1998 and a PhD in History from Stockholm University, 2004. He is Lecturer at the Institute of Contemporary History, Södertörn University. His publications include 'Modernity, Rationality and Citizenship: Swedish Agrarian Organizations as Seen Through the Lens of the Agrarian Press, circa 1880–1917', in Wawrzeniuk, Piotr (ed.), *Societal Change and Ideological Formation Among the Rural Population of the Baltic Area 1880–1939* (2008); 'The Problematic Freedom of Information Principle – the Swedish Experience' with Kjell Östberg, in Flinn, Andrew & Jones, Harriet (eds.), *Freedom of Information. Open Access, Empty Archives?* (2009) and 'The Mirror of Agrarian Modernity. Agrarian Press in Estonia, Galicia and Sweden 1890–1917' with Johan Eellend and Piotr Wawrzeniuk in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes* (forthcoming).

11.33 Johan Eelland – The seeds of the nation: rural co-operatives and the formation of an agrarian ideology in Estonia at the turn of the twentieth century

The presentation will examine the ideas and political practices produced in the emerging rural public sphere in Estonia during late Tsarist times. The time period is characterised by the emergence of a class of independent farmers on the Estonian countryside and growing national and political self-consciousness. An underlying aim is to study the emergence and character of an agrarian ideology in Estonia, with a special concern paid for ideas on an alternative agrarian path to modernity and the organisation of society.

Through studying the content and the advice on modernisation and organisation of farm work, in Estonian language agricultural instructions, the underlying ideas on the organisation of the rural society become uncovered. These ideas are then studied in practice through the emerging network of work of local agricultural associations, on the local level, and the Agricultural Congresses 1899 and 1905 and the All-Estonian Congress 1905 on a national level. A special attention is paid to the work practices of the agrarian co-operative movement, which grew strong in Estonia after 1905.

The study emphasises the importance of the rural sphere in creating the foundation for the inter-war Estonian society and shows significant ideological and organisational similarities between the Estonian agrarian movement and contemporary agrarian movements in Europe.

Johan Eelland (b.1971) has an MA in Peace and Conflict Studies and East European Studies from Uppsala University 2000, and an MA in History and Political Science, 2001, and a PhD in History, 2007, both from Stockholm University. He is Lecturer at the Institute of Contemporary History, Södertörn University College. His doctoral dissertation was on *Cultivating the Rural Citizen: Modernity, Agrarianism and Citizenship in Late Tsarist Estonia* (2007) and his publications include 'Agrarianism – a third way to modernity in inter war East Europe' in Piotr Wawrzyniuk (ed) *Societal Change and Ideological Formation Among Rural Population of the Baltic Area 1880-1939* (2008); 'Estonian Latvian relations' and 'Finnish Estonian relations', in *Cross-border Co-operation in the Baltic Sea area: an Analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats* (Council of Europe: Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia, 2009); to be published in 2010 are 'Agrarianism and Corporativism in the Baltic Sea Area 1900–1940' *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes*; 'The Mirror of Agrarian Modernity' with Fredrik L. Eriksson in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes: From Peasants to Citizens Agrarian Citizenship, Modernity and Co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region 1890 – 1939* with Fredrik L Eriksson, Anu-Mai Kõll, Piotr Wawrzyniuk and Ann-Catrine Östman.

11.4 Images of the peasant in Germany, the United States, and Austria

Room 202

Convener: Gesine Gerhard

Chair: Jonathan Harwood

11.41 Gesine Gerhard:

The image of the peasant in West Germany: 'spongers off the state' or 'threatened species'?

In the 1950s, structural change dramatically transformed the livelihoods of West German peasants. During the Nazi era, peasants had found a reprieve from the economic and social transformation that had begun with industrialisation at the end of the nineteenth century. After the war, however, the 'farewell' from the countryside could no longer be prevented. This time, the changes occurred at an accelerated pace. Large numbers of peasant left farming. To minimise the hardships for peasants who had to give up their way of live, the German Peasant League (Deutscher

Bauernverband, DBV) used old images of the peasantry reminiscent of nineteenth century agrarian romanticism. The DBV painted a picture of a special group that needed to be protected from industrialisation and urbanisation. The rhetoric employed was used strategically to unify peasants, to justify their far-reaching demands for special protection and to increase their political power. The self-image of the peasants, however, stood in stark contrast with social and economic realities. This paper will examine the image employed by peasants and their interest group, its contradictions as well as its effectiveness in the political discourse of West Germany in the 1950s and 1960s.

Gesine Gerhard is an associate professor of history at the University of the Pacific in California. She completed her dissertation ‘Peasants into Farmers. Agriculture and Democracy in Modern Germany’ at the University of Iowa in 2000. She earned a M.A. degree from Technical University Berlin, Germany. Her research focuses on German agrarian history. She is currently working on a political biography of Nazi Minister of Food and Agriculture Herbert Backe. Her most recent article ‘Food and Genocide. Nazi Agrarian Food Policy in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union’ was published in *Contemporary European History* (2009).

11.42 Frank Uekötter –The American Way: US Farming as a transatlantic myth

When German agriculture was changing after World War Two, American agriculture created excitement like no other farming system in the world. For some, it was the future of agriculture: highly mechanised, with huge fields and large barns, making for the ‘economies of scale’ that would allow farmers to survive the cost-prize squeeze. For others, the American farmer was the end of peasantry, a heartless agrarian entrepreneur that Germans could only copy at the expense of their soul. The paper will discuss these divergent views and then complement the findings with a discussion of the image of farming in America itself, arguing that the German view was only one of several images that coexisted in US society. With that, the paper shall also demonstrate the merits of a broad perspective on farming images that became a mainstay of societal discourses over decades, in line with the general idea of this panel to look at images that remain a fixture over long periods of time. As this paper shows, images of agriculture are significant nationally as well as transnationally: without the US farmer, German agriculture would look different nowadays.

Frank Uekoetter is a Dilthey fellow with the research institute of the Deutsches Museum and Deputy Director of the Rachel Carson Center in Munich, Germany. His research interests include agricultural history, history of science and technology and environmental history. His most recent book, ‘Die Wahrheit ist auf dem Feld. Eine Wissensgeschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft’, was published in 2010. He is currently organizing a conference on the environmental history of the plantation.

11.43 Ulrich Schwarz – The image of the peasant in Austria: guidance in times of change or repository of antiquated moral virtues?

On the basis of Austrian farmers’ journals and farmers’ almanacs of the 1950s to the 1970s, a fundamental transformation and reinterpretation of the image of the peasant can be reconstructed. These periodicals, published by the Austrian Peasant League (Österreichischer Bauernbund), contain stories and reports that construct representations of peasant’s position within Austrian society during the economic transformation of agriculture in that period. Especially advertisements in these journals illustrate changes within the images surrounding the farmer. This paper will focus on questions of production and effects of these representations as well as the political-economic interests, ideas and ideals that have been woven into them. How does the production of images change in the context of the transition from the aim of national food security after the war into the dilemma of overproduction? How is the discursive formation of the ‘Austrian peasant’ linked to the construction of Austrian identity? The paper discusses relations between these propagated pictures and concepts, which addressed farmers directly, and their social and economic situation and tries to explore how they might have influenced the concepts farmers had about themselves and their way.

Ulrich Schwarz studied history at the University of Graz and the University of Vienna (master 2008), currently researcher at the Institute of Rural History in St Pölten and PhD student at the University of Vienna, fields of research: farming styles, discourse analysis and writing as a practice in twentieth-century rural Austria.

For his publications: see <http://www.univie.ac.at/ruralhistory/schwarz.htm>.

11.5 Famine and village society: the response of Kami-shiojiri, Japan to the Great Famine in the Tenpo period Room 203

Conveners: Moto Takahashi and Hiroshi Hasebe

Chair: Peter Spufford

Peter Spufford is Emeritus Professor of European History, University of Cambridge, Life Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge and Fellow of the British Academy. He is an economic Historian working primarily on late medieval Europe, with a special interest in the history of trade and financial institutions. His most important book is 'Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe', his most recent large book is 'Power and Profit. The Merchant in Medieval Europe'. He is currently writing on the rise and decline of financial centres in from the thirteenth century to the present day. He will contribute a chapter on the use of money to the series of volumes on Kami Shiojiri.

This session investigates the responses of the Han domain governor and village community to the 'Great Famine' in the Tenpo period (the 1830s), from various view points, and by comparing what happened in Japan with similar events elsewhere. We will examine the village administration, the characteristics of the famine as a natural disaster, demographic patterns, social and economic polarisation and the policy of saving corn stocks which was introduced by the Han domain.

This research group has been engaged in the 'parallel and contrast' study of two rural societies, one in England and the other in Japan during the period in which the market economy was established, in other words the 'early modern' period. This study has chosen two village societies namely Willingham, Cambs., UK and Kami-shiojiri, Ueda, Nagano, Japan. It comprehensively analyses as well as contrasts and parallels the changes in the ordinary daily productive activities in these two villages and the development of the responses to extraordinary natural disasters such as famines and bad harvests.

This session focuses on Kami-shiojiri village which at the time was under the governance of the Ueda Han domain, in Nagano prefecture (old name is Shinano). Like other parts of Eastern Japan, Ueda Han domain experienced quite serious bad harvests in 1833 and 1836. In particular the bad harvest in 1836 caused significant damage to the village, and suffered deaths as a consequence of epidemics. Kami-shiojiri village, however, managed to recover from the two bad harvests and the famine through taking effective measures based on their experience of famines in the past to help them deal with any future harvest failures.

Kami-shiojiri had a population of around 800 at this time and there were about 150 houses, making it an average-sized Ueda Han domain village. As our research has clarified, this village showed a level of economic development corresponding to the market opportunities one would expect it to have as the main village of the silkworm egg industry in Nagano from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. It is not surprising that, the village society had a social and economic structure characterised by a huge gap between different individuals within the upper echelons of society as well as considerable differences between those in the middle and lower social strata. Those at the top of the social pyramid had generally acquired certain family businesses, family property and a family name as silkworm egg traders. Those lower down the social scale had not been so fortunate. Nevertheless, the village families and households all had social links between them. These links had a general tendency to be ie (family of household)-unions based on *dohzoku* (kin groups), which is usually said to be one of the original Japanese social characteristics. Simultaneously the families or households were organised into gonin-gumi (the equivalent of the English frank pledge) and into

villages which were all distinct administrative units. As Kami-shiojiri had a social and economic structure of this type, the Tenpo bad harvests affected the villagers very differently according to where someone was in the social and economic hierarchy. By following a series of policies from the Han government which were designed to deal with the bad harvest, the village as an administrative organisation got through the famine by coordinating the families whose responses to the crisis inevitably differed considerably.

As far as famines in early modern Japan are concerned, there are a considerable number of studies ranging from the source books of an earlier period to the recent demographic research. However, most of them focus on the famine as a social crisis, which caused great damage as seen by the numerous victims who starved to death. Research has also focused on the Tohoku (north-eastern) area of Japan which is recognised as the area most likely to suffer bad harvests. Even if a particular area had no direct past experience of famine to rely on, there were many examples of areas surviving famines through the experience and knowledge gained by others of the disastrous harvests and famines elsewhere such as the Tenmei Famine and the Tenpo Famine. Current research is investigating these very examples. This session aims to clarify the process at each stage using a body of evidence including each individual family's exact circumstances and responses. It would be possible to apply what we have learnt from these cases to European early modern rural societies including England.

11.51 Moto Takahashi – Kin relationships and families in Kami-shiojiri: with a contrasting parallel study of Willingham, Cambs., UK

As with the English cases, the functions of kin groups should have been exposed when the group members were at risk and this should be particularly true when it comes to customs relating to inheritance in Kami-shiojiri, a Japanese village. However, it is not so often that such information appears in the records. To be specific, if there were public social welfare records like the English Poor Law documents, there is some possibility that they might have survived as historical documents. However, even English documents would not necessarily show the reality of a famine directly and precisely.

First of all, in England after the seventeenth century, there are few records of famines producing deaths from starvation. At least Willingham, Cambs. does not seem to have experience of such a famine. In this respect, Kami-shiojiri has something in common with Willingham, as it did not record the death from starvation itself in the records even in the period of the great Tenpo nationwide famine.

Nevertheless, it is still possible to find cases of people starving to death but this was generally recorded as 'falling dead on the roadside (*yukidaore*)' and such a record was usually treated as an event, concerning outsiders and not as something that had happened inside the village.

Moreover, it is also likely that one can find some outsiders living from hand to mouth who came to this village by way of Kami-shiojiri 'relatives' to settle down. Yet I have not come across any records for the bad harvest period to describe such immigration. Paradoxically, during a lean harvest, if not famine, it becomes much less affordable for people to keep records. On the one hand, the relatively prosperous families with holdings and sufficient status to pass all this on by inheritance were not likely to be among those who died of starvation. On the other hand, some '*honke* (main branch family)' distributed or divided the property among the '*bunkes* (stemmed branch family)' as a means of support, and accordingly losing their vigor and influence. The trigger of such a decline was often a famine or bad harvest such as the one under consideration here. We can find an appropriate example in Kami-shiojiri during the Tenpo famine period.

11.52 Hiroshi Hasebe – Famine, crises and mutual aid in Kami-shiojiri

This paper aims to analyse how the village of Kami-Shiojiri overcame the Tenpo Famine. Bad harvests afflicted the Eastern part of Japan in both 1833 and 1836. Many people suffered from a serious shortage of food as a result and some starved to death. In the rural areas, peasants remembered past experiences of Great Famines and they were able to deal with the terrible situation by using their local knowledge. It has been often been said that the Ueda area, which was the focus of our research, was not affected so badly.

In Kami-Shiojiri Village, the effects were not so serious in one respect but the process of overcoming and recovering from the disaster was not so easy when considered from another angle. The reason for this was as follows: firstly, the preparation for the famine derived from the food culture, secondly the quick political response by the Han government to the food shortage based on the memory of great famines of the past and lastly the advantage (profit, market channels, information) from the trading of silkworm eggs. It could be said that the main reason for the difficult circumstances endured by the less prosperous peasants was that they enjoyed none of the advantages one would get from trading or running businesses.

11.53 Futoshi Yamauchi – The effect of bad harvests in Kami-shiojiri on landholding and land use

The subject of this paper is a consideration about the consequences for land ownership structure and land use structure in Kami-shiojiri village resulting from bad harvests in the Tenpo period (1833-1844). Also, we can say that the bad harvest had little effect on the land ownership structure. There was already a tendency for middle class land holders to grow in their numbers in this village from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The bad harvest could not hold back this tendency.

The influence of bad harvest had little impact on land use. The percentage of tenanted rice paddies on all rice fields has remained the same. We cannot find a great change in the extent of the land under cultivation because the number of middle-level- cultivators has steadily increased during this period.

In conclusion we can underestimate the effect of the bad harvest as a whole. It was slight, temporary and limited. It did not damage the middle class which comprised the heart of rural society. The middle class could cope with and fence off the effect of the bad harvest. We can say that kami-shiojiri village was equipped with a social structure which reduced the impact of bad harvests.

11.54 Kouki Iwama – The provisions against bad harvests in Kami-shiojiri: a case study of the Eizoku-ko after the bad harvests of the 1830s

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the provisions against bad harvest in Kami-shiojiri village. After the 1830s, the 'Eizoku-ko' (the lasting mutual financing association) was established on the instructions of the Ueda Han domain as a precaution against bad harvest. The Ueda Han domain approved the Eizoku-ko, and part of the money was paid to it by associations. Eizoku-ko consisted of about 30 associations in Kami-shiojiri village. Each association's membership numbered about 20. All members who attend the meeting had saved money to avoid dying out as a household unit. And all members shared in the profits once a year. The transfer of the rights of the shareholder was prohibited, and the member could not withdraw any of the saved money. Each

association lent money with the land used as security. When a member inherited, he signed and stamped the ledger. Every member of the association had to submit a copy of his will. In the will, every member swore that if his descendant committed a crime or did something wrong, he would be expelled from the association. The provision against bad harvest in Kami-shiojiri village played the role in the foundation of the regional financing association.

Wednesday 11.30 to 13.00

Session 12

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>12.1 The active peasant: changing the rural world, 1350-1550</p> <p>Convener: Christopher Dyer</p> <p>Chair: TBA</p> <p>12.11 Frederic Aparisi Romero:</p> <p>Peasants in action. Political leadership and economic dynamism in the rural communities of the Valencian country during the fifteenth century</p> <p>12.12 Hipolito Rafel Oliva Herrero:</p> <p>Peasant agency, politics and the boundaries of the political community in late medieval Castile</p> <p>12.13 Ben Dodds:</p> <p>Tithe, subsistence and commercialisation</p>	<p>12.2 New institutions in southern Europe</p> <p>Chair: Socrates Petmezas</p> <p>12.21 Raluca Musat:</p> <p>The 'model village' of Diosti: sociologists and the future of the Romanian countryside</p> <p>12.22 Paolo Tedeschi:</p> <p>New institutions for agrarian development: the Cattedre Ambulanti di Agricoltura in Lombardy during the early decennia of the twentieth century</p> <p>12.23 Elisabeth Kontogiorgi and Dimitris Panagiotopoulos:</p> <p>Land reform and the rural settlement of refugees in Greece during the inter-war period: the role of the agriculturalists</p>	<p>12.3 State assistance and self-help in the English village</p> <p>Chair: Jeremy Burchardt</p> <p>12.31 Samantha Shave:</p> <p>The impact of Sturges Bourne's Acts (1818 and 1819) in rural southern England</p> <p>12.32 Shaun Morley:</p> <p>Social provision in a rural community: the network of voluntarism in Whitchurch, Oxfordshire, 1834-1900</p> <p>12.33 Nicholas Mansfield:</p> <p>Paternalistic consumer co-operatives in rural England, 1870-1930</p>	<p>12.4 Agricultural research, peasant farming and the Green Revolution</p> <p>Convener: Joseph Morgan Hodge</p> <p>Chair: TBA</p> <p>12.41 Jonathan Harwood:</p> <p>Do development programmes learn from experience? Experts reflect upon the weaknesses of the first generation of Green Revolution programmes</p> <p>12.42 Joseph Morgan Hodge:</p> <p>The British 'School' of Tropical Agriculture: approaches, debates and legacies</p> <p>12.43 Mark Tauger:</p> <p>Soviet famines, agricultural research, and the Green Revolution</p>	<p>12.5 Migration and occupational structure in modern Japan: rural society and the industrialising economy in the pre-war period</p> <p>Convener: Masayuki Tanimoto</p> <p>Chair: Chiaki Yamamoto</p> <p>12.51 Penelope Francks:</p> <p>Understanding Japanese rural history in a comparative context: from surplus labour to the labour-intensive path of development</p> <p>12.52 Masayuki Tanimoto:</p> <p>Trends and patterns of migration in rural Japan: an analysis of movement notifications from an agrarian village</p> <p>12.53 Shinji Sugayama:</p> <p>Migration and career formation among young male workers from rural areas: evidence from physical examinations for conscription</p>



Turning the hay, old style

12.1 The active peasant: changing the rural world, 1350-1550 Room 103

Convener: Christopher Dyer

Chair: TBA

Medieval peasants have been reassessed in recent historical writing. We no longer think of them just as victims of an oppressive social structure, or as an inert mass, but as people who constructed their own identities, responded to stimuli around them, took initiatives, and made decisions. They played a part in moulding the rural world and promoting change. This is the second of two linked sessions.

12.11 Frederic Aparisi Romero – Peasants in action. Political leadership and economic dynamism in the rural communities of the Valencian country during the fifteenth century

Traditionally the medieval peasantry has been seen as a homogeneous body without initiative and self confidence. However, historical perceptions of the rural community have changed in recent years thanks to a more complete and precise analysis of the inequalities among the peasantry. We now appreciate that a group of well-to-do peasants emerged in different regions of Europe. Although their presence can be detected as early as 1000AD, it is after 1350 that they become more prominent. These active peasants stood out not only by their abilities for economic management but also by their political control of the community. Furthermore, they acted as intermediaries between the community and the outside world, this is, the lord or lords, the urban merchants and the towns.

This paper aims to explore the specific characteristics of this group of the peasantry in the Valencian Country, paying attention to such different aspects as their ability to take initiatives, their economic activities or their relation with the rest of the community. This work is focused on the fifteenth century, when the kingdom of Valencia lived through a period of development and it was integrated into systems of international trade. This context of growth offered to the active peasant new ways of achieving social promotion, which we will seek to analyse and explain.

Frederic Aparisi Romero is PhD student at the University of Valencia. He is interested in medieval rural society. In fact, his thesis is focused in rural elites of the kingdom of Valencia in the 15th century. Furthermore, he is also interested in medieval fishing and in the Valencian lesser nobility. Apart from individual research, he belongs to Harca, a research group formed by young medievalists, which has taken part in organising sessions in different international conferences such as 12th Mediterranean Studies Association Conference (Cagliari, 2010), the XVth World Economic History Congress (Utrecht, 2010) and a session in this conference.

12.12 Hipolito Rafel Oliva Herrer – Peasant agency, politics and the boundaries of the political community in late medieval Castile

Eric Hobsbawm's pioneering research provides this definition for politics in a peasant's context: according to him, politics can be defined as 'the relation of peasants with other social groups ... and with more comprehensive institutions or special units – the government, the national state.

Work done on rural politics, more recently, has substantially modified the quite pessimistic view offered in those days, emphasizing the autonomy of peasant political agency. However some of the questions raised by Hobsbawm remain significant, at least if we consider them in cultural terms.

This paper tries to go further on these aspects taking as a reference the Castilian countryside in the late fifteenth century. In general terms, the political activity of peasant elite will be discussed. In particular, the channels which make possible the crystallisation and expression of a peasant

political discourse will be considered as well as the fundamental concepts that this discourse articulates.

Finally, questions such as the autonomy of peasant political discourse and the end products of peasant demands will be discussed.

Hipólito Rafel Oliva Herrero is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Seville (Spain). His main research interest is rural Castile in the late middle ages. He is working both on social and economic conditions, and on political culture in the countryside during the XVth century. This last topic involves the circulation of information in the rural world, the making of political identities in the countryside, and peasant politics in a more general sense. Now he is working on an English translation of his book *Justicia contra señores: el mundo rural y la política en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos* and preparing a book on peasant agency and economic development in late medieval Spain. For a detailed list of publications see: http://investigacion.us.es/sisius/sis_showpub.php?idpers=10579

12.13 Ben Dodds – Tithe, subsistence and commercialisation

This paper will examine English peasant agriculture during the decades immediately following the Black Death using receipts from tithes in a number of parishes in southern England. The data will be used to measure aggregate output during the 1350s and 1360s and to demonstrate the increase in grain production per head of population. The composition of peasant harvests will also be examined and the extent to which peasants adjusted their production strategies in response to the changing economic circumstances will be assessed. Comment will be made on the impact of subsistence needs and commercial production in peasant agriculture in the years after the Black Death and our wider understanding of the nature of peasant agriculture will be reexamined in the light of the evidence from this unusual period.

Ben Dodds works in the Department of History at the University of Durham. His specialism is in late-medieval economic and social history. Following a project on north-east England, he has been working on tithes from southern England as evidence for the study of peasant agriculture.

12.2 New institutions in southern Europe

Room 104

Chair: Socrates Petmezas

12.21 Raluca Musat – The ‘model village’ of Diosti: sociologists and the future of the Romanian countryside

This paper is a case study of the ‘model village’ Diosti, planned and built in Southern Romania between 1938 and 1939. Through this, I will examine the role of sociology in modernising the Romanian countryside through housing and rural planning. Founded in 1925 by Dimitrie Gusti, the Bucharest School of Sociology engaged in field-based research of rural life and other cultural activities aimed at reforming the countryside. In charge of Romania’s participation at the 1937 Paris World Fair, Gusti and his team exhibited a *maquette* of a model village, made up of planned purpose-built rural housing. This ‘village of the future’, combining traditional architectural features with the comfort of modern living, was partly realised in the reconstruction of Diosti. During the royal dictatorship (1938-40), King Carol II embarked on a mission to reform the countryside by reconstructing entire villages affected by natural disasters, especially fires. Almost entirely burnt down, Diosti became the pilot for a future large-scale project of rural modernisation. Part of the village was rebuilt according to a rational plan, including new ‘model’ houses and a village centre. This paper will examine the sociological vision behind the reconstruction of Diosti. Firstly, I argue that the planning of the village reflected the ideas of the Bucharest School of Sociology, who sought to re-centre the rural community around culture. Secondly, I hold that the new model housing was an attempt to rationalise the peasant body. Planning the indoors and outdoors spaces

reflected ideas about how people ought to live and behave in the countryside, at the same time showing the limits of comfort the urban scholars thought necessary for village life.

Raluca Musat is currently completing a PhD in History at School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies, UCL, entitled *Sociologists and the Transformation of the Peasantry in Inter-war Romania*, working under the supervision of Professor Dennis Deletant and Dr Wendy Bracewell. My research interests include the history of the social sciences, the history of the European peasantry, and ideas about modernisation in twentieth-century Europe. I have been living in the UK since 2003 when I came to study for an MA in Contemporary European Studies at the University of Sussex (2004). Before beginning my doctoral studies, I worked for 3 years in multinational companies. Previously I lived in Bucharest, Romania. There I completed a BA in European Cultural Studies at the University of Bucharest (2003).

12.22 Paolo Tedeschi – New institutions for agrarian development: the *Cattedre Ambulanti di Agricoltura* in Lombardy during the early decennia of the twentieth century

The aim of this paper is to show how the *Cattedre Ambulanti di Agricoltura* helped the growth of the Lombard agriculture from the last years of the nineteenth century (when they were progressively created in all Lombard provinces, the first in 1895, the last in 1904) to 1935 (when Mussolini decided to replace them with the *Ispettorati Provinciali di Agricoltura*, new institutions more strictly linked to the fascist regime).

The *Cattedre* were public institutions financed by the provinces and some agrarian institutions and country banks: their aims were to coordinate the activity of farmers and breeders and to promote the diffusion of new more productive cultivations and new more efficient productive systems. They had to help Lombard farmers and peasants to know the new agronomical techniques and so to improve the crops and the agrarian yields. Using the example of the *Cattedre* is so possible to analyse advantages and limits of the public intervention for the development of the agrarian sector.

The agronomists working in the *Cattedre* had a very good knowledge of agronomics and veterinary sciences: they organised lectures, courses, evening classes, trainings and also some special itinerant offices where they gave advice to farmers and breeders. In fact all agronomists were itinerant, that is they visited all farms and cattle-breeding of the province and informed the owners about all innovations in agronomics and zootechny. They particularly gave suggestions concerning:

- a) the best rotation of the crops, the best way to sow and, for every different type of land, the hybrid seeds and chemical fertilisers having the best yields;
- b) the best cures for vine disease (particularly phylloxera) and silkworm disease (particularly *diaspis pentagona*), and the least expensive and most efficient methods of replacing the incurable ones.
- c) the best breed of cattle and the best fodder crops, to improve the production and the quality of the milk.
- d) the best modern equipment to buy and the best agrarian machines to rent.
- e) the best methods to cultivate vines and olive trees and produce better-quality wine and olive oil.
- f) the best methods to cultivate the most important fruits for the market such as apples, pears, cherries, peaches and lemons.
- g) the *Alpicoltura* – studies and innovations in the Alpine pastures – and the best techniques for obtaining the highest yields and improving cattle-breeding in the Lombard valleys without overgrazing and exhausting soil fertility.
- h) the best ways to defend crops from damage by bad weather (particularly hail).

So the *Cattedre* gave to the Lombard rural people up-to-date know-how to improve agrarian production. The *Cattedre* were obviously more important in the backward areas: they reduced the existing gap with the more advanced agricultural ones. On this subject it is important to note that the positive effects of the *Cattedre* also depended on their links to other institutions supporting the agrarian sector: together to the other agrarian institutions (such as the rural co-operatives and friendly societies and the *casse rurali* that is the co-operative country banks) and the veterinary and agronomical schools which were born in the last decennia of the nineteenth century, the *Cattedre* helped the development of the Lombard agriculture. If the *Cattedre* had represented the only institution charged with the improvement of production and the productivity of farms and cattle-breeding the results could not have been so positive.

At the same time the *Cattedre* also allowed their young agronomists to perform important experiments and undergo training in a region where there existed a great variety of pedologic areas and agricultural environments, such as Alpine valleys, morainic hills, the plain (dry and irrigated) and the Riviera of the lakes (which have specific microclimates). This obviously improved the quality of agronomical studies in Lombardy and consequently the level of know-how available to Lombard farmers in the early decennia of the twentieth century. Please note that this target was not foreseen by the people who suggested the creation of the *Cattedre*.

Paolo Tedeschi is ‘Ricercatore’ (Lecturer) in Economic History at the Department of Economics, Faculty of Economics, University of Milan-Bicocca; ‘Chargé de cours visiteur’ in Economic History at the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy and Literature, Catholic University of Leuven UCL; and ‘Professeur vacataire’ in History of the European Integration, Faculty of Literature, Human Sciences, Arts and Sciences of Education, University of Luxembourg. He has a PhD in Economic and Social History at the University ‘Bocconi’ of Milan (Thesis on Agrarian History). Recent publications include: ‘Sale or Gratuitous Transfer? Conveyance of Family Estates in a Manufacturing Village: Lumezzane in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’, in *Continuity and Change* 3 (2008); ‘Marché foncier et systèmes de production agricoles dans l’Italie du nord au XIXe siècle: le cas de la Lombardie orientale’, in *European Review of History / Revue Européenne d’Histoire* 5 (2008).

12.23 Elisabeth Kontogiorgi and Dimitris Panagiotopoulos – Land reform and the rural settlement of refugees in Greece during the inter-war period: the role of the agriculturalists

Greek society and economy underwent fundamental changes during the inter-war period. The débâcle of the Greek Army in Asia Minor (1922) and the subsequent massive influx of hundreds of thousands refugees was a crucial event that triggered important developments. The compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey had momentous consequences for Greek society. The establishment of over a million of refugees in the country, seven hundred thousands of whom were resettled in rural areas, land reform and redistribution of resources (loans, land, human capital), the quest for modernisation and increased agricultural production, urbanisation and the acceleration of growth transformed Modern Greek society and economy.

This paper seeks to highlight the various aspects, social, economic and demographic, of the establishment of refugee settlements in rural areas. It will focus on the contribution of the agriculturalists (agronomists, engineers, cadastral surveyors, agricultural economists) in the complex project of refugee resettlement. These specialists on the field of agriculture, who had been emerged in the second decade of the twentieth century, were employed by the Refugee Settlement Commission, an international organisation supervised by the League of Nations who carried out the refugee resettlement project in Greece. This work suggests that the involvement of agriculturalists both in the land reform and refugee resettlement was pioneering. In addition, it also examines the impact the project for the resettlement of refugees had on the model for the development of the agrarian sector which was followed by the Liberal party in the context of its modernisation programme. The paper’s final portion attempts a comparative discussion and tries to seek parallels

and differences between the agrarian problems and the way they were tackled in Greece and the countries of southeastern Europe.

Elisabeth Kontogiorgi is Senior Research Fellow at the Research Centre for the Study of Modern Greek History, Academy of Athens. Degrees in Philosophy and History from the Universities of Thessaloniki and Glasgow (M.Phil); D.Phil. in Modern History from St. Antony's College, Oxford University. She is the author of *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia: The Rural Settlement of Refugees*, *Oxford Historical Monographs* (2006). Other [relevant] publications: 'Konstantinos Amantos's Views on the Importance of Rural Areas and their Modernization', *Bull. Research Centre of Modern Greek History, Academy of Athens* 1 (1998) (in Greek); 'Economic Consequences following Refugee Settlement in Greek Macedonia, 1923-1932' in Renée Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean. An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey* (2003); 'Aspects of viticulture and wine production in the places of origin of the refugees settled in the regions of Megalo Karabournou and Kalamaria' in G.A.Pikoulas (ed.), *Oionon Historo*, 3 (2004), (in Greek); 'Location Patterns of Agro-food Industry in Inter-War Greece' (with Sophia Skordili) in *Proc. Conference: Greek Agricultural Society and Economy during the Venizelos' era, Athens* (2007) (in Greek).

Dimitris Panagiotopoulos is Director of the Documentation Centre of the History of Greek Agriculture, Agricultural University of Athens. Currently Associate Lecturer of Modern Greek History at the Ionian University, Corfu. B.A. in Modern History, University of Athens. Ph.D. in Modern History, Ionian University. He is the author of *Agricultural Education and Development. The Agricultural School of Athens and Greek Society: 1920-1960*, (Athens 2004) (in Greek); co-editor of the recently published *Proceedings of the Conference: Greek Agricultural Society and Economy during the Venizelos' era*, (Athens 2007), (in Greek).

12.3 State assistance and self-help in the English village

Room 107

Chair: *Jeremy Burchardt*

12.31 Samantha Shave – The impact of Sturges Bourne's Acts (1818 and 1819) in rural southern England

England was blighted with frequent agricultural depressions in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries. Agricultural labourers were hit particularly hard, suffering a deterioration of both their standard of living and quality of life. The crisis brought poor law reform to the parliamentary agenda and led to the passage of two non-compulsory pieces of legislation, Sturges Bourne's Acts of 1818 and 1819. These permitted parishes to 'tighten up' the distribution of poor relief through the formation of Select Vestries and the appointment of Assistant Overseers. While previous studies have tended to represent the legislation as a failing reform in the shadow of the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), little research has exposed the relief policies developed under their auspices. This paper examines the impact of the adoption of Sturges Bourne's Acts on poor relief provision in rural communities of the south of England using parish administrative documents. Firstly, it examines the general policies released by Select Vestries and orders sent to Assistant Overseers with the aim of reducing poor relief. Secondly, the paper examines the treatment of individual relief claimants. The Acts resulted in greater surveillance of the everyday lives of the poor, which re-drew the distinction between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor and ultimately changed individuals' entitlement to relief under the old poor law.

After studying geography as an undergraduate at the University of Southampton, **Samantha Shave** moved to the School of Social Sciences to further her research interests in the history of welfare provision. Samantha was awarded a 1+3 Competition Award in 2005 and has since completed an MSc in Social Policy. Samantha is currently writing a thesis entitled 'Social Policy Reform and Innovation under the Poor Laws in the Rural South of England, c.1780-1850'. She is interested in the social science concept of the 'policy process' and the adoption, implementation and development of social policies under the Poor Laws during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More specifically, Samantha is interested in the impact of scandals on the development of social policies. During the spring of 2009 Samantha undertook an ESRC internship at The National Archives to examine cases of neglect and abuse in the Victorian workhouse system. A paper examining the relief provided to individuals in the early nineteenth century was

recently published in *Rural History*: S.A. Shave, 'The Dependent Poor? (Re)constructing Individuals' Lives 'On the Parish' in Rural Dorset, 1800-1832', *Rural History* 20 (2009).

12.32 Shaun Morley – Social provision in a rural community: the network of voluntarism in Whitchurch, Oxfordshire, 1834–1900

This paper will survey the complex network of voluntary social provision in a rural community by utilising a case study of the parish of Whitchurch-on-Thames, Oxfordshire. Charity, subscriber institutions and mutual aid will be investigated, examining their nature and function. Utilising primary source material of local endowed charities, friendly societies and various clubs, a micro-history approach to understanding the toolbox of options available at township level will be revealed.

The research demonstrates how one community responded to the three elements of need – food, heating and clothing, and in preparation for times of crisis – sickness, maternity and burial. Membership records, accounts, rules and other contemporary sources will help understand how families both prepared for and responded to basic need. The strong element of self-help, supported by philanthropic associations reveal a reward based system.

This investigation will further examine location, complexity, typology, interdependence and multi-membership of the wide array of available options outside poor law provision. The social and economic aspects of a community response will demonstrate the success or otherwise of such initiatives.

The paper will complement the conference objectives by demonstrating methods from history of how the poor and village elite defrayed the expenses of poor law rates and personal stigma through collaborative responses.

Shaun Morley is an MSc graduate at the University of Oxford in English Local History gaining a distinction in 2007. He is currently studying for his D.Phil. at Oxford, supervised by Dr Kate Tiller. His thesis concerns rural friendly societies in Oxfordshire and their position in the wider context of social welfare provision during the nineteenth century. Shaun is a part-time tutor at the Oxford University Department for Continuing Education and has tutored on the on-line Advanced Diploma in English Local History, runs a weekly class on nineteenth century English village, a summer school course and made occasional presentations on international programmes. He has contributed towards an historical atlas of Oxfordshire to be published in 2010. Having completed thirty years as a Police Officer, finishing his service as Police Commander for Oxfordshire and one year as a director at SMART!, a charitable business that delivers interventions for drug and alcohol abusers, Shaun now devotes all his time to local history.

12.33 Nicholas Mansfield – Paternalistic consumer co-operatives in rural England, 1870–1930

The British Co-operative movement is associated mainly with industrial areas. Where consumer co-ops existed in the countryside they were located in market towns and formed by rural trade unions, especially railwaymen, occasionally quarrymen or farmworkers. Yet the Co-operative Union membership encompassed a significant number of small single village societies founded by paternalistic gentry.

This paper draws on examples in Shropshire, East Yorkshire, Berkshire and Oxfordshire, to offer an account and explanation of the never before studied, paternalistic co-ops. Recruiting estate workers and farm labourers, individual country squires showed themselves capable of using a co-operative ideology and framework, usually associated with the labour movement, to achieve very different and paternalistic goals. The relationship between these paternalistic village societies and the wider co-operative movement both locally and nationally, will be discussed, including the company paternalism of the CWS's own farming operations. A comparison with the 'Blue co-ops' of the Lancashire Conservative dominated cotton spinners' union, will also be made.

Drawing on the author's previous work on the post Great War revival of rural cultural conservatism, the paper concludes that the failure of paternalistic co-ops to be part of this movement, was linked to agricultural depression.

Dr Nicholas Mansfield has been Director of the People's History Museum in Manchester since 1989. He is an honorary member of staff at five Northern universities, and has published widely on rural and other subjects, including the monograph, *English Farmworkers and Local Patriotism, 1900-1930* (2001).

12.4 Agricultural research, peasant farming and the Green Revolution

Room 202

Convener: Joseph Morgan Hodge

Chair: TBA

This session seeks to better understand the nexus between peasant farming, agricultural research and the history of the Green Revolution in the twentieth century through an international, comparative approach. Each paper offers a different case study. Paper 12.41 examines the first generation of Green Revolution scientists and planners to see if they learned from past development efforts designed to improve peasant farming. Paper 12.42 looks at the case of British tropical agriculture from the late colonial period and asks what legacy and impact it may have had on post-colonial, international agricultural research and development. Paper 12.43 focuses on the Russian/Soviet case, examining how agricultural scientists there dealt with the problem of agricultural modernisation and famines, and looking at the influence they may have had on the Green Revolution and vice versa.

12.41 Jonathan Harwood – Do development programmes learn from experience? Experts reflect upon the weaknesses of the first generation of Green Revolution programmes

As is well-known, the first generation of Green Revolution programmes came under criticism from the late 1960s for failing to serve smallholders. The response during the 1970s and '80s was partly to devise a number of new approaches to development which were designed to remedy this deficiency (eg, participatory plant-breeding, farming systems research). But the criticism also generated a large body of writing in which green revolutionaries reflected upon what had gone wrong and what would be necessary to fix future programmes. Three fundamental issues were repeatedly raised:

- More effort needed to be directed toward decentralising programmes and organising the peasant-farmers whom one wanted to reach.
- Field staff needed to be informed about the problems of peasant agriculture, willing to learn from farmers as well as local experts, and at the most basic level sympathetic to the plight of their resource-poor clients.
- More thought needed to be devoted to which measures would be politically feasible under the circumstances.

The odd thing about these recommendations is that all three of them characterised a number of successful development programmes already before World War Two: in some European colonies from the 1930s, in Japan from 1880 to 1930, and in various peasant-oriented plant-breeding stations in Central Europe from c.1900. The question thus arises whether development practitioners pay much attention to the successes and failures of previous programmes.

I will suggest that the answer depends on which level of a development organisation one examines. At least some of the (natural and social) scientists in the field do seem to be aware of past programmes. Planners/administrators in Washington or London, however, have neither the time nor the inclination to do so. And top-level officials who authorise such programmes are generally indifferent to the issue since development projects are often politically useful – in both donor and recipient countries – whether or not they make any impact upon poverty.

Jonathan Harwood is Professor of History of Science and Technology at the Centre for the History of Science, Technology & Medicine University of Manchester. He was an Invited Fellow, Institute for Advanced Study, Berlin, 1987-88 and Fellow, Dibner Inst. for History of Science & Technology, MIT, 1994-95. His publications include *Styles of Scientific Thought: the German Genetics Community, 1900-1933* (1993); *Technology's Dilemma: Agricultural Colleges between Science and Practice in Germany, 1860-1934* (2005); (with Michael Banton) *The Race Concept* (1975); (as editor) 'Genetics, Eugenics and Evolution' (special issue of the *British Journal for the History of Science* 22, 1989); (as editor), 'Biology and Agriculture', special issue of the *J. History of Biology* 39 (2006).

12.42 Joseph Morgan Hodge – The British 'School' of Tropical Agriculture: approaches, debates and legacies

From 1925 until 1960, the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, was responsible for training a steady stream of colonial agricultural administrators and specialists who went to work in various British colonial territories, mostly in Africa, but also in the Caribbean and Asia. They created a network of scientific researchers, ideas, practices and techniques that might be termed the British 'school' or 'tradition' of tropical agricultural research. This paper examines the different approaches, debates and legacies of this colonial science, focusing on a particular cohort of agricultural officers and specialists from the British colonies who went on to work after independence for various international organisations such as the World Bank, the FAO, and the CGIAR system.

This paper shows that British colonial agricultural science was far from monolithic. There was considerable diversity of opinion and debate among agricultural scientists even at the height of the late colonial interventions, which led not only to significant shifts in colonial discourse, mostly profoundly the recasting of tropical nature as fragile and complex rather than axiomatically abundant and fertile, but also to a remaking of tropical agricultural research and practice itself. This was perhaps most evident at the level of practice where development planning was marked by two competing approaches; one more 'peasant friendly' which sought to combine and hybridise expert knowledge with local farmers' practices; and another more taken by technological solutions and mechanisation. Even on the plane of broad theoretical pronouncements and models, a degree of cross-fertilisation began to take place as can be seen in the reappraisal of shifting cultivation among some colonial researchers, although this was by no means universal.

The main question this paper seeks to answer is whether or not the past experiences of these former colonial agricultural experts were processed by the post-colonial, international development industry? As this paper will demonstrate, a significant number of these experts went on to become prominent scientists and specialists, working for such international agricultural research centres as the International Crop Research Institute for Semi-Arid Tropics in Hyderabad, India, the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center in Mexico, the International Center for Agro-Forestry in Nairobi, and the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture in Ibadan, Nigeria among many others. Yet, the earlier peasant approach to tropical agriculture does not seem to have carried over with them. This paper argues that in the context of the post-Second World War moment of the Cold War and decolonisation, the debate over agricultural modernisation shifted decisively. Proponents of the 'modern package', involving extensive technological inputs of high-yielding seed varieties, chemical fertilisers, mechanisation and large-scale production regimes gained favour, eclipsing the peasant-focused, organic approaches to tropical agriculture that had

characterised the mid-century generation of colonial agronomists and field practitioners. Nevertheless, I argue that post-colonial, international agricultural research and development was also not monolithic and that the earlier approaches survived in some circles and networks, only to be resurrected in the wake of disappointment with the early Green Revolution programs. The Farming Systems Research approach in particular, bears close resemblance to earlier efforts, due in part to the contributions of former colonial specialists examined in this study.

Joseph Morgan Hodge is Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies, Department of History, West Virginia University. His publications include: *Triumph of the Expert: Agrarian Doctrines of Development and the Legacies of British Colonialism*, Series in Ecology and History, Series Editor: James L.A. Webb Jr, (2007); ‘British Colonial Expertise, Post-Colonial Careerism and the Early History of International Development,’ to appear in a special issue on Approaches to ‘Developing’ the Non-Western World after 1945, Corinna Unger and Stephan Malinowski (eds.), *J. Modern European History*, forthcoming 2010; ‘Colonial Foresters Versus Agriculturalists: The Debate over Climate Change and Cocoa Production in the Gold Coast,’ *Agricultural History* 83 (2009); ‘Colonial Experts, Developmental and Environmental Doctrines and the Legacies of British Colonialism’ in: Karen Oslund, Niels Brimnes, Niklas Thode Jensen and Christina Folke Ax (eds.), *Cultivating the Colony: Colonial States and their Environmental Legacies*, Research in International Studies Series (forthcoming); ‘Science, Development and Empire: The Colonial Advisory Council on Agriculture and Animal Health, 1925-1943’, *J. Imperial and Commonwealth History* 30 (2002).

12.43 Mark Tauger – Soviet famines, agricultural research, and the Green Revolution

This paper derives from a book I am writing on the history of famines in Russia and the USSR. An important part of that history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the efforts by Russian and Soviet agricultural scientists and other agricultural technical personnel to improve production methods and inputs, including seed. The Russian / Soviet geneticist Nikolai Vavilov contributed to the Green Revolution in his work identifying the geographical origins of important crops, but many other Soviet specialists contributed to this work in other ways. The rise of Trofim Lysenko in the late 1930s held Soviet agricultural sciences back into the 1950s, but his power steadily waned because of the protests of scientists and politicians. Yet even in those difficult years, some Soviet agricultural specialists continued to do legitimate work.

The USSR continued the Russian pattern of chronic crop failures and famines, and in the 1920s continued earlier patterns of famine relief, including food imports. By the late 1920s, however, the Stalin leadership decided that an industrializing country could no longer depend on unreliable peasant farming and undertook collectivisation to modernise agricultural production methods, modeled on the US. For several reasons, when faced with a series of crop failures, the Stalin government in the 1930s and 1940s chose not to import food but rather to try to increase production in the new collective and state farm system. Their efforts were generally successful, but in 1931-1933 and 1946-1947 their efforts were insufficient. The memory of those famines motivated Stalin’s successors to change their policies toward crop failures from total self-sufficiency to significant reliance on imports. Yet specialists and political leaders also knew that Russia in the nineteenth century had been a major grain exporter, and they saw the country’s increasing dependence on imports as a sign of weakness, of a failure of Soviet agriculture, and made efforts to improve production.

These efforts to reform and improve farm production included not only measures to improve organisation and introduce more equipment, but also to introduce high-yielding semi-dwarf varieties, first from the west and then breeding similar varieties suited to Soviet conditions, from the 1970s. Such varieties began to be widely used in the 1980s, and supported significant increases in Soviet grain production, making post-Soviet Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan into major grain exporters again.

Mark Tauger has a PhD in History from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), June, 1991, dissertation: ‘Commune to Kolkhoz: Soviet Collectivization and the Transformation of Communal Peasant Farming, 1930-1941’. He is interested in the following fields: Russian/Soviet, Modern European, United States Diplomatic, Eastern Europe

(Political Science). He is Associate Professor in the History Department, West Virginia University. His publications include *Golod, Golodomor, Genotsid?* (consisting of seven previously published articles plus two new ones on the 1933 famine in Ukraine and the current political dispute over this, in Russian translation, 2008), 'Modernization in Soviet Agriculture,' in *Modernisation and Russian Society since 1900*, ed. Markku Kangaspuro and Jeremy Smith, Helsinki: SKS (2006), and *Agriculture in World History* (forthcoming, 2011).

12.5 Migration and occupational structure in modern Japan: rural society and the industrialising economy in the pre-war period Room 203

Convener: Masayuki Tanimoto

Chair: Chiaki Yamamoto

12.51 Penelope Francks – Understanding Japanese rural history in a comparative context: from surplus labour to the labour-intensive path of development

Previous work – in Japanese and English – has looked at the role of the rural sector in Japan's development, and inter-sectoral labour transfer in particular, from a largely macro perspective. Japan was a key example for early two-sector models and the assumption that the straightforward transfer of workers from agriculture to industry was central to Japanese development is still to be found underlying quantitative research. However, few studies have ever looked at how the process actually worked at the level of villages and households.

This matters especially now that, in both development studies and economic history, the rural sector is no longer regarded as simply a passive reservoir of agricultural labour available for transfer to a specialised industrial sector. In fact, current work on Japanese rural history is demonstrating how farm household strategies involving income diversification and pluriactivity operated in ways that proved not incompatible with modern economic growth. Research is revealing how demographic patterns and institutional structures were inter-related with the economic and technological changes that enabled rural households to utilise their available labour more fully, to the extent that non-agricultural producers had no choice but to adapt their organisation and production methods to the requirements of workers still based in agricultural households. The implications of this for the pattern of long-term development are considerable and the paper will suggest that they provide the rural basis for the so-called 'labour-intensive path of development' of which Japan is now seen as a pioneer in Asia.

Penelope Francks is an Honorary Lecturer at Leeds and Research Associate, Japan Research Centre, SOAS. She has a BA in Economics, Cambridge (1971); MSc, PhD in Japanese Economic History, SOAS, London (1978). She holds visiting positions in Japan at Hitotsubashi University, Kyushu University, Tokyo University and others, is a member of the Asian Studies Panel, RAE 2001 and 2008, and is currently Chair, Japan Foundation Endowment Fund. Main publications include *Technology and Agricultural Development in Pre-War Japan* (Yale U.P., 1983); *Japanese Economic Development* (Routledge 1992, sec. ed. 1999); *Rural Economic Development in Japan* (Routledge, 2006); *The Japanese Consumer: an Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan* (Cambridge U.P., 2009), and papers in *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Japan Forum*, *World Development*, etc. Dr Francks is currently working on a project on Japanese consumption history with Prof. Janet Hunter at the LSE.

12.52 Masayuki Tanimoto – Trends and patterns of migration in rural Japan: an analysis of movement notifications from an agrarian village

This paper explores the trends and patterns of population movement in an agrarian village – Keitoku village located in Fukushima prefecture in north-eastern Japan – through analysis of the information given in notification forms filled in by those moving away from the village in the period between the 1890s and the 1930s.

On the basis of macro statistics, the literature on Japan's modern industrialisation has tended to point out the swift movement of labour from agriculture to industry, assuming the existence of surplus labour within agrarian society. However, it is now becoming clear that the agrarian household did not simply react passively to the impact of industrialisation, but strategically allocated its family labour to industrial as well as agricultural work. Leaving the village could thus be seen as one of the alternatives available to members of rural households strategically involved in the industrialising economy.

By matching the attributes of emigrants – such as age, sex, sibling-order and income-level – to their geographical and occupational destinations, the paper shows that those leaving the village followed different migration patterns according to their positions in rural society. This finding allows us to assume that migration was not a simple reaction to existing surplus labour, but was strongly influenced by the situation and intentions of each agrarian household. Bearing this in mind, the paper discusses the factors that determined the pattern and volume of labour mobility, in the light of the household economy and the nature of industrial occupations.

Masayuki Tanimoto is Professor of Economic History at the Graduate School of Economics, University of Tokyo and a Doctor of Economics (University of Tokyo, 1999). From 2005 to 2006 he was Academic Visitor, Department of Economic History, LSE. His publications include *The Weaving Industry in the Japanese Indigenous Economic Development* (in Japanese) (1998); as editor, *The Role of Tradition in Japan's Industrialization: Another Path to Industrialization* (2006); 'Cotton and the Peasant Economy: Foreign Fibre in Early Modern Japan' in Riello, Giorgio and Prasanna Parthasarathi, eds, *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textile, 1200-1850* (2009); 'The Development of Dispersed Production Organization in the Inter-war Period: The Case of the Japanese Toy Industry' in Okazaki, Tetsuji, ed., *Production Organization in Japanese Economic Development* (2007); and 'Agricultural Labourers in the "Peasant Society": Case Studies of Farming Villages in Early Modern Kinai' (in Japanese) *Housei University Kesizai-Shirin (Housei University Economic Review)* 73 (2006).

12.53 Shinji Sugayama – Migration and career formation among young male workers from rural areas: evidence from physical examinations for conscription

How did migration from rural areas lead to the development of occupational careers among individual workers in pre-war Japan? What kinds of jobs were available to young male workers fresh from agricultural villages, and how did they form the initial stages of their occupational careers? How did this change over the course of Japanese industrialisation? This paper addresses these issues, by looking into data from the physical examinations of potential conscripts, with special reference to the case of Sekishiba-village in Yama county, Fukushima prefecture.

Under the conscription system in the prewar period, all men were in principle required to undergo a physical examination at their *honseki-chi* (place of registration), which was identical with their birthplace in most instances, when reaching adulthood. In the case of Sekishiba village, examination data include records of the examinee's present address, present occupation and the year when employed, together with his former occupation and the year when employed. They can be therefore regarded as high-quality 100 per cent surveys of the migration and occupational careers of 20-year-old males who were born in Sekishiba village.

Data cover the late 1930s and the early 1940s, when the Japanese economy was experiencing a rapid expansion of the heavy and chemical industries. At that time, a majority of the examinees were those who had left Sekishiba village and were engaged in occupations in the modern sector, such as factory worker and white-collar employee. The paper clarifies that there was a significant difference between those engaged in occupations in the modern sector and those engaged in ones in the traditional sector (such as artisan or shop-boy) with respect to age when first employed, academic achievements, and social backgrounds.

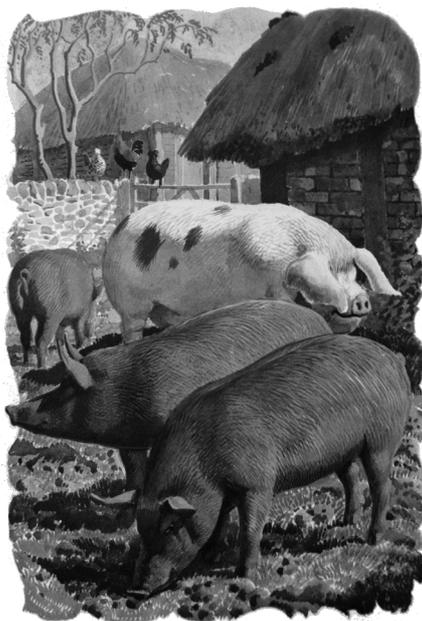
Shinji Sugayama is Professor of Business History, at the Department of Business Administration, Tohoku Gakuin University, and Master of Economics (Rikkyo University, 1984). His publications include (with Takehiko Kariya and

Hiroshi Ishida) *Schools, Public Employment Offices, and the Labour Market in Postwar Japan* (in Japanese) (2000); 'The Careers and the Labour Market of Japanese Factory Workers on the Eve of Rapid Economic Growth' (in Japanese) SSJA Data Archive Research Paper Series 43, Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo (2009); 'Work Rules, Wages and Single Status: The Shaping of the "Japanese Employment System"' *Business Hist.* 37 (1995); 'Business Education, Training, and the Emergence of the "Japanese Employment System"' in Nobuo Kawabe and Eisuke Daito eds., *Education and Training in the Development of Modern Corporations* (1993); 'The Bureaucratization of Japanese Firms and Academic Credentialism: A Case Study of Hitachi Ltd', *Japanese Yearbook on Business History* (1991).

Wednesday 14.00 to 17.00

Session 13

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Tamworth Gilts and Gloucester Old Spots sow

13.1 Round table: conceptualising ‘class’ in the English countryside

Room 103

*Convener and chair: Carl Griffin**Participants: Alun Howkins, Steve Hindle, Peter Jones and Andy Wood*

Arguably the most influential publication of the past half-century in English rural social history was a book that contained only one chapter explicitly devoted to the study of rural life, E. P. Thompson’s seminal *Making of the English Working Class*. Rooted in what emerged as a distinctly Thompsonian take on (cultural) Marxism, *MEWC* by virtue of its sheer exuberance and force of historical argument forced subsequent scholars to think about both the processes of class formation and rural class consciousness. Without *MEWC* there is no *Captain Swing*, Hobsbawm and Rudé’s classic study of the rural revolt of 1830, nor any of the subsequent generation of rural historians whose call to the archive came on reading Thompson’s first classic. In the late 1980s and into the 1990s, though, studies emerged that sought to problematise class as a ‘metanarrative’ and question the applicability of this structural concept (or conceit as some saw it) to communities and community relations always in a state of flux, studies that followed on from the work of historians such as Underdown, Calhoun, and Stedman Jones. Consequently, much rural history, if not all, has tended to either use diffuse terms in conceptualising social relations and self-identification, or has altogether avoided such issues, as the work of Howkins and Wells attests. And yet there are flickers of change. In the past decade, historians, working in many different time periods and intellectual idioms have attempted to reformulate understandings of class: from Wood’s studies of conflict in the early modern Peak District to Rogaly and Taylor’s studies of the politics of belonging in twentieth century Britain. What then is the place – both literally and intellectually – of class in rural historical analysis? Should we be afraid of using potentially totalising concepts? Should we mobilise the language(s) of the archive in determining our own socio-conceptual dictionaries? This session does not necessarily seek answers, or even accord. Instead, it attempts to provide an opportunity for the open discussion of a subject which has too often been avoided as we have choreographed our ever more complex rural historical jigs.

Alun Howkins is Professor Emeritus of Social History at the University of Sussex. He has published several books including: *Poor Labouring Men; Rural Radicalism in Norfolk 1872-1925*, (Routledge, 1985); *Reshaping Rural England 1850-1925*, (Collins Harvill 1991/Routledge, 1992) and most recently *The Death of Rural England: a Social History of the Countryside Since 1900* (Routledge, 2003). He was a section editor and author of the social history section of *Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol. VII* (CUP, 2000). He is currently working on two projects: one on the enclosure of villages to the East of Oxford in the period 1850-1900, the other on the survival of farm service in England and Wales. In addition to numerous radio and television appearances on such programmes ‘Nightwaves’, ‘Today’, ‘World Tonight’, and ‘Newsnight’, he was the writer and presenter of ‘Fruitful Earth’, a series of four programs on the history of British agriculture broadcast on BBC2 in August 1999, and recently contributed to ‘Mud, Sweat and Tractors – The Story of Agriculture’.

Steve Hindle is Professor of Social and Economic History in the Department of History at the University of Warwick, where he has taught early modern history and historiography since 1995. He is the author of *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England* (2000); *On the Parish?* (2004); and several articles on rural social relations, including most recently ‘Imagining Insurrection in Seventeenth-Century England (*Hist. Workshop J.* 2008). He is the co-editor of *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996) and of *The Layston Parish Memorandum Book* (2004). Since 2007 he has been editor of the *Economic History Review*. He is currently working on the social and spatial distribution of wealth and authority in the parish of Chilvers Coton, Warwickshire in the period c.1670-1710.

Peter Jones is currently a Lecturer in History and the History of Medicine at Oxford Brookes University. Before taking up this post, he was a Research Fellow for three years on the Westminster Pauper Lives Project (<http://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>). His research interests lie in two distinct but related areas of demotic history: popular protest and popular consciousness in the early-nineteenth century (and in particular, the Swing risings in the south of England), and the experience of the old poor laws in Hanoverian England. His most recent publications are ‘Finding Captain Swing: protest, parish relations and the state of the public mind in 1830’, in the *International Review*

of *Social History* (2009), and “‘I Cannot Keep My Place Without Being Deacent’”: pauper letters, parish clothing and pragmatism in the South of England, 1750-1830’ in *Rural History* (2009).

Andy Wood is Professor of Social History at the University of East Anglia. After completing his PhD at Jesus College, Cambridge, he held a Scouloudi Research Fellowship at the Institute of Historical Research and a British Academy Research Fellowship at University College London. He has also taught at the Universities of East London and Liverpool before moving to UEA in 1996. As well as writing numerous book chapters and papers – in such journals as *Past and Present*, *International Review of Social History*, *Historical Journal*, and *Social History* – he is the author of *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Palgrave, 2002), and *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520-1770* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). He is currently working on a Leverhulme Trust-funded project exploring ‘social memory’ and uses of the past.

Carl Griffin is a Lecturer in Human Geography at Queen’s University, Belfast. He trained as a historical geographer at the University of Bristol, and held post-doctoral positions at the universities of Bristol, Southampton and Oxford. His research embraces studies of popular protest, as well as cultures of unemployment, human-environment interactions, and the history of political economy. He has published papers in, amongst other places, *Rural History*, *Journal of Historical Geography*, *International Review of Social History*, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, and *Past and Present*. As well as finishing writing a book on the Swing quasi-insurrection of the early 1830s, he is starting a research project on labour regulation and proto trade unionism in the early nineteenth century English west.

13.2 Choices and changes: sharefarming in a global context Room 104

Convener: Elizabeth Griffiths

Chair: Mark Overton

Professor Mark Overton has been Deputy Vice-Chancellor (External Affairs) at the University of Exeter since 2006. Previously he was Dean of Postgraduate Studies and Professor of Economic and Social History. His research interests include the agrarian history of England from the middle ages onwards, and much of this research is incorporated in his book, *Agricultural revolution in England 1500-1850* (1996). His most recent book on agrarian history, *Farming to halves: the hidden history of sharefarming in England from medieval to modern times*, was published in 2009. Another major research interest is in early modern English households, published in his *Production and consumption in English households, 1600-1750* (2004). He was elected an Academician of the Academy of the Social Sciences in 2004.

13.21 Elizabeth Griffiths – Sharefarming in England and New Zealand: a twenty-first century perspective

By identifying the existence of sharefarming in England, Griffiths and Overton overturned a central premise of economic history that the distinguishing feature of English agriculture was its avoidance of such a system. In part this can be explained by the apparent absence of *metayage* in England in the eighteenth century, when Arthur Young claimed it was the point of difference between French and English agriculture. From a twenty-first century perspective we can now see that the English landlord tenant system flourished for a relatively short period when the landed elite controlled the levers of political and economic power. As that power faded and conditions deteriorated, English farmers and landowners in the twentieth century once again resorted to sharefarming.

English landowners were also influenced by the successful example of share farming in New Zealand in the 1980s as it offered a way of avoiding the creation of a tenancy and tax on unearned income. However, since then New Zealand farmers have consolidated their holdings, increased herd sizes and intensified production, making it more difficult for sharemilkers to raise the capital to buy a herd or a farm. Increasingly, they resort to contract labour and a range of relationships more akin to the English experience. So what is going on?

With the other speakers in this session, this paper will reassess the role of share farming in the rural economy and its value to rural society. Is it a force for the good as the revisionists maintain, or a

menace to the environment as some argue in New Zealand? Did Arthur Young have a point after all?

Elizabeth Griffiths spent four years sharefarming in New Zealand, before completing a PhD on estate management in seventeenth century Norfolk in 1987. From 2003 to 2005 she worked with Dr. Jane Whittle at Exeter on the household accounts of Lady Alice Le Strange, and then persuaded Prof. Mark Overton of the need for a research project on sharefarming in England. The result was *Farming to Halves: the Hidden History of Sharefarming in England from medieval to modern times* (2009). She is now editing a volume for the Norfolk Record Society on the farming records of Lady Alice Le Strange and is an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Exeter.

13.22 Rui Santos – For a diversified approach to sharecropping: a comparative framework

Rural history and rural economics are rife with generalisations about sharecropping, its rationality or lack thereof, its role as a deterrent or a facilitator for agricultural progress and productivity, its social results, etc. The recent publication by Overton and Griffiths about share-farming in England has raised yet other issues while discussing the common understanding that such practices did not exist there, as opposed to Continental Europe. In this paper, I will argue that the notion of sharecropping conceals too wide a variety of contractual situations and social configurations of agricultural organisation to allow for generalisation. I will combine the insights of contract choice and property rights theory with historical literature to attempt to disaggregate the notion of sharecropping into a meaningful framework for comparative analysis.

Rui Santos is lecturer in the department of Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Universidade Nova of Lisbon. His PhD thesis investigated the origins of large estates in the Alentejo region. Since then, his research has focused more widely on property rights, types of agrarian contract and how these have affected the organisation of rural space.

13.23 Annie Antoine – Revisiting French sharecropping from the medieval period to the mid-twentieth century

Among French historians, there are two conflicting interpretations about sharecropping: from the nineteenth century a very critical historiography developed about sharecropping, while more recent works have focused on the economic performance of this type of labour contract in different areas. I will try to do a synthesis of the topic based on the interaction of different subjects (such as the history of law about contracts) and from studying other systems of sharecropping in European countries. The conference which took place in Rennes in 2007 (sharecropping in Europe) is an important base for this paper.

I will discuss sharecropping linking it with labour relations in rural society and with property rights. My paper will deal with the following three points:

1. Where and when in France was sharefarming a way of enhancing the performance of husbandry?
2. What kinds of labour relations existed within this type of contract in modern France? Sharecropping was neither self-employment nor wage labour, but a kind of relationship between those who had land and money and those who worked it. This explains the bad reputation of this system in France from the nineteenth and also in the twentieth century, when professional organisations have upheld the social status of farmers and self-employment in agriculture as a better way of organizing labour relations
3. I will explain in what social and economic contexts sharecropping occurred. Sharecropping was closely linked with the growing of large ‘métairies’ on the demesnes of the lords, in a feudal context, during medieval and early modern periods. This fact has had a loud and long-lived influence on this kind of tenancy in France.

Annie Antoine is Professor of Modern History at the University of Rennes 2, and Director of the Centre de Recherches Historiques de l'Ouest. Her research interests lie in the social history of rural social world, the history of *seigneurie*, and of the countryside. Her publications include *Le paysage de l'historien. Archéologie des espaces bocagers de la France de l'Ouest à la fin de l'ancien régime* (2002) and (with Dominique Marguerie) *Bocages et sociétés* (2007). Her current research is on the farm accounts in the modern era, and on *métayage* and farm specialisation.

13.24 Jennifer Holt – Farming to halves in the north-west of England

Griffiths and Overton have revealed the existence in England of farming to halves; constructed categories and discussed the experiences of those involved across a number of farming regions. However, the varied experience of farming to halves in the early-modern period in the north west of England has not previously been discussed.

The writer's attention was first drawn to farming to halves by the common practice, throughout the Lune Valley in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of leaving a gimmer (female) lamb to grandchildren, godchildren and others with the clear intention that the legacy would provide a small income for those (probably landless) beneficiaries. Further investigation showed a widespread ownership of livestock by those without land or grazing rights of their own. From this, it was a short step to considering the range of strategies available to those who needed land – whether for arable or pastoral farming – as revealed by wills and inventories and complemented by manorial and private records.

This paper will examine the evidence from an area of mixed farming in the Lune valley, demonstrate the range of share-farming options found there in the early-modern period and show how one important strand continues to the present day, albeit in a much altered form. It will be suggested that this is by no means a unique experience and we may anticipate similar situations throughout those areas where heafed sheep (i.e. sheep bred to their native fell) are still to be found.

Jennifer S. Holt has recently retired from a career in accountancy and (latterly) teaching. Her interests lie in the economy, society and landscape of north Lancashire about which she has published a number of articles and is the editor of a forthcoming volume for the Chetham Society. Amongst other projects, she is developing a database of probate inventories for this area to use in a large-scale study of credit and trade.

13.25 Benedita Câmara – Landlord's choice between agricultural contracts in an entail of Madeira in the nineteenth century

The evolution of the incidence of sharecropping contracts in certain places is much debated. Our analysis focuses on a landlord's choice between sharecropping and fixed rent contracts. The study is based on primary sources: accounts of administration of lands belonging to an entail located in Madeira where, between the first and second half of the nineteenth century, there were both changes in crops and increased irrigation. Our analysis focuses on transaction costs in the sense of the costs of enforcing the sharecropping contracts compared with fixed rent contracts. Sharecropping contracts is associated with high costs in measuring and dividing the harvest. We intend to analyse the factors that explain the choice between the two contracts namely focusing on the cost implications associated with the measurement and the division of the harvest in an agricultural environment where multi-cropping was common

Benedita Câmara is in the Department of Management and Economy at the University of Madeira. Her recent publications include *Economia da Madeira, 1850-1914* (2002); 'The Tourism Industry in Madeira (1850-1914)', in Laurent Tissot (ed.), *Development of Tourist Industry in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. International Perspectives* (2003); 'The Portuguese Civil Code and the *colônia* tenancy contract in Madeira (1867–1967)', *Continuity and Change* 21 (2006); 'The evolution of the Portuguese Hotel Sector (1950-1995)', in *Europe at the seaside. The Economic History of Mass Tourism in the Mediterranean Sea*, Luciano Segreto and Carles Manera (eds) (2009).

13.3 Enquiries, agrarian interests and response to economic change in the Atlantic world, c.1860-1900 Room 107

Convener: Nadine Vivier

Chair: Anton Schuurman

The proposed session is part of a research project included in a GDR (Groupe de Recherche CNRS, France, 2009–12) that focuses on the major enquiries about rural societies in an international comparative perspective. Those major enquiries to be considered in this research project can be defined as followed: enquiries concerning rural society that offered a systematic collection of data regarding a large number of questions about the rural population (peasants, craftsmen) and economic infrastructures. Their answers were given either by experts knowing precise local conditions, or by farmers themselves. These enquiries could have been national in scope, or within part of a federative state. The initiative came from the government, the parliament or from agricultural associations.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of major enquiries throughout Europe and North America (1866 in France, 1877–85 in Italy, 1886 in Spain and in the Netherlands, 1879 in Hungary, 1880 in Ontario, etc.) All through Europe and North America, new technologies began to influence farm production and agricultural organisation; urban development changed the demand for food; the railways integrated national markets and the sharp decline in shipping costs contributed to the first globalisation; while farm labour became increasingly scarce in some economies. Finally changes in political institutions (universal men suffrage or widening) and the distribution of political influence had a profound influence in some societies. This new context prompted states to launch large enquiries.

We aim at understanding the purposes of those enquiries (economical and political purposes). Were they means of knowledge or means of influence on rural populations? To what extent does their management reveal the relations between State, notables and peasants? Who responded to the enquiry, and to what extent were they able to influence the results. How does it reveal the nature of agrarian interests? What were the large landowners' attitudes, and their impact on the conclusions, and the consequences if any? How did rural societies respond to economic change?

The international comparative perspective is a key element of our project: it includes whole Europe and North America, countries that experienced similar conditions in the second half of the nineteenth century. A first session of our project presented in ESSHC Ghent 2010 gathered studies about Canada, Hungary, Italy and the Netherlands. The present session in the Rural History conference presents cases studies about Denmark, England, Ireland and Ottoman Empire.

Nadine Vivier is Professor of Social and Economic history at the University of Maine. She has worked extensively on rural societies from 1750 to 2000 in France and in Europe. She has recently edited a volume of essays on landowners and agrarian change, *Élites et progrès agricole, XV^e–XX^e siècle* (2009).

Anton Schuurman is Associate Professor at Wageningen Agricultural University. His research interests include rural modernisation; space and history; cultural heritage; consumer history/material culture; and, more general, processes of social change. Anton Schuurman is research co-director at the N.W. Posthumus Institute for the program *People, Space and Places in History*. He is co-chair of the *Rural History Network of the European Social History Conference*. He is director of the NWO-program *Democratisation and modernisation in the Dutch countryside, 1840-1920*.

13.31 Peter Gray – The development of official knowledge about Irish rural society in the nineteenth century

Official inquiries into the state of rural society began early in the case of Ireland, reflecting both the growing centralisation and interventionism of the colonial state in the nineteenth century, and the

widespread perception (at least after 1829) that the problem of underdeveloped agriculture was the root cause of the agrarian, political and religious agitations that preoccupied British government in Ireland for much of the century. With the exception of the north-east corner of the island, Ireland remained a predominantly rural society throughout the century, with high dependency on agricultural production for both subsistence and export. The risks of overdependence on a single subsistence crop, the potato, were cruelly exposed during the Great Famine of 1845-51, and although a social catastrophe on this scale was rarely envisaged before 1845, strong connections between endemic poverty and Irish agricultural structures and practices had been posited in the previous decades and motivated the commissioning of two major social inquiries in the 1830s and 1840s. The related politicisation of the ‘land question’ in Ireland, which took shape amidst the O’Connellite agitations of those decades, intensified in the post-Famine decades of the 1860-80s, giving rise to further major inquiries on the eve and in the early years of the Irish ‘Land War’ of 1879-82. This paper investigates the motivations, methodologies and outcomes of the four principal Irish social inquiries of this era, the Poor Inquiry Commission (1833-6), the Devon Commission (1843-5), the Richmond Commission (1879-81) and the Bessborough Commission (1880-1). Although ostensibly established to investigate the desirability of a poor law for Ireland, the Poor Inquiry Commission was given an extremely wide remit to uncover the causes of Irish poverty, and significant attention was given to landlord-tenant relations, agricultural practices and wages and related matters, much of it collected through viva voce meetings with cross-class samples of the rural population. The Devon Commission, into the ‘law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland’, was more focused on the ‘land question’, but took large amounts of evidence on the relationship between landholding and farming practice. The Richmond and Bessborough commissions were in effect rival inquiries, the first initiated by an outgoing Conservative, the second by an incoming Liberal government, into the crisis of the late 1870s, and although Richmond’s inquiry reviewed Great Britain as well as Ireland, both were essentially focused on the legitimacy or otherwise of the popular campaign for land reform in Ireland. The paper will argue that each of these enquiries embodied a series of tensions – between political expediency and social-scientific objectivity; between pre-determined and often ideologically-moulded conclusions and social revelation; between the interests of a state that was both liberal and colonial, and the conflicting interests of the colonial landed elite, and an increasingly homogenous (if never uniform) rural population.

Peter Gray is professor of modern Irish history and head of the School of History and Anthropology at Queen’s University Belfast. He has previously taught at the Universities of Southampton, Cambridge and Boston College. He has published widely on nineteenth-century Irish history, especially on the history of the Great Irish Famine, on poverty and poor relief, and on British governance in Ireland. His most recent book was *The Making of the Irish Poor Law, 1815-43* (2009).

13.32 Ingrid Henriksen – The parliamentary enquiry report in Denmark 1896

The two major parliamentary enquiries in the late nineteenth century, initiated in 1872 and 1894, marked a striking change of focus in the way Danish politicians and the general public thought about land and labour. The main source of information in both cases was the local councils. The Introduction to the 1872 enquiry report explicitly stated as the main problem the:

Concern about the labour question that has arisen both nationally and internationally, a concern that has been kept alive by the recurrent strikes (urban labourers were included in a separate part). Thus the Ministry of the Interior has found it useful to provide information on the living conditions of Danish labourers in order for this to serve as the foundation of measures to remedy the possible deficiencies.

The second enquiry of 1894, though it officially also dealt with rural poverty, was to display the last attempt of the old rural elite, the large landowners, to turn legislation in their favour. Less than ten years after, the political picture had changed completely.

The background for the second enquiry was economic change in the Atlantic World that had massive influence on the Danish countryside in more than one way. The “grain invasion” from the 1870s reinforced the process of transforming Danish agriculture from being a net exporter of grain to an exporter of animal products. This made way for two developments. On the one hand the workload in Danish agriculture was growing in tasks that were labour-intensive and could not be mechanised until decades late, for example, the cultivation of root crops. On the other hand it was seen as a problem from the point of view of the employers that cultivators of small holdings to an increasing degree seemed to be self-supporting. The report suggests that the margin between independence and part-time work for other farmers went somewhere between the possession of two or three cows. Migration out of agriculture that had started in the 1870s surged in the 1880s including overseas emigration lured by higher real wages.

As something radically new the report recommended state loans for the acquisition of small holdings, with an ill concealed agenda, in order to give:

Labourers of limited mean – farm hands and day labourers – a prospect of by thrift and diligence in a suitable age to acquire better living conditions with the greater independence that follows from ownership of a plot of land. At the same time the manpower they have left from tilling their own soil can benefit other holdings at the times of the year when these other holdings need more manpower than that permanently available.

Working with economic history in general **Ingrid Henriksen** has specialised in agrarian history from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Her particular field of interest is institutions, including agricultural co-operatives and rural credit. Some of the results are published in *Economic History Review*, *European Review of Economic History* and *Scandinavian Economic History Review*. I am presently a member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the *European Review of Economic History*.

13.33 Alp Yücel Kaya – Searching for economic and administrative reforms: the enquiry of 1863 in the Ottoman Empire

In the nineteenth century, especially during the Tanzimat/Reform period (after 1839) the Ottoman central administration introduced the administrative inspection as a tool for information collection in the way of formulating administrative and economic reforms. Enquiries of 1840, 1845, 1850, 1860 and 1863 – in the form of inspections led by inspectors appointed among high-level bureaucrats – served, therefore, as a mean of negotiation between the local notables and the central government. Especially the inspection of 1863 which resulted in the formulation of provincial laws of 1864 and 1867 is an excellent example of this interaction. Four inspectors (Ahmed Cevdet, Abdullatif Subhi, Ahmed Vefik, Ali Riza) went out in 1863 to the Ottoman countryside (i.e. Bosnia, Bulgaria, Western Anatolia and Northern Anatolia) with instructions to analyse local economic and social conditions, inspect local administration, advise on measures to improve communications and agriculture, and reform the conduct of the local councils and village notables. The inspection produced significant suggestions on the administrative and economic reform which would be based on the new configuration of local councils. This paper will therefore analyse the enquiry of 1863 in the Ottoman Empire and question the interaction between the local notables and the central administration as formulated not only in the enquiry but also in the coming administrative reforms.

Alp Yücel Kaya studied from 1998 to 2005 at EHESS, Paris and gained a PhD with ‘Politique de l’enregistrement de la richesse économique: les enquêtes fiscales et agricoles de l’Empire ottoman et de la France au milieu du XIXe siècle’,

in 2005. Since 2006, Alp has been Assistant Professor at Istanbul Technical University, Humanities and Social Sciences Department. Publications include ‘Les commissions cantonales de statistique sous le Second Empire’, *Le Canton – Un territoire du quotidien dans la France contemporaine (1790-2006)*, (ed. Y. Lagadec, J. Lebihan and J.-F. Tanguy), 2009 and ‘In the Hinterland of Izmir: Mid-nineteenth century traders facing a new type of fiscal practice’ in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (ed. by S. Faroqhi and G. Veinstein), 2008.

13.34 James Simpson and Juan Carmona – Enquiries in Spain

This paper looks at the major government enquiry of 1887–9 in the context of long-term changes in the nature of Spanish agriculture, and the changes in the international economy. It shows that on the eve of the 1880s, the Spanish state possessed very little information concerning the sector. In particular, there were still no official figures for farm output, and figures for factor inputs were limited. A critical look is provided of the Enquiry, both in terms of what information the government sought to collect, and what was not considered as being important or relevant. Finally a brief look is given to the major changes that took place concerning the role of the state in the decade or so following the Enquiry. The authors suggest that while many farmers exaggerated the extent of the effects of the international crisis on Spanish agriculture, farmers were successful in achieving an increase in tariffs which helped keep much of the sector profitable, at the cost of higher domestic prices. However, the Enquiry was also instrumental in encouraging the state to participate much more in the sector, especially in providing statistical and other information concerning production.

Juan Carmona (JC) has Ph.D in contemporary history, University Complutense, Madrid. He is a lecturer at the UC3M. He has published articles in the *Journal of Economic History*, *Continuity and Change*, *European Review of Economic History* (2011), *Revista de Historia Económica* and *Agricultura y Sociedad*, etc.. He is author (with James Simpson) of *Laberinto de la agricultura española* (PUZ, 2003). At present he is working on agrarian contracts, especially sharecropping in the Spain and France, land reform in Spain during the Second Republic and land markets.

James Simpson (JS) has a PhD from LSE. He is now Professor of Economic History at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. He has published papers in the leading economic history journals, and is author of *Spanish agriculture: the long siesta, 1765-1965* (1995, Spanish edition, 1997), and *Creating Wine; the Emergence of a World Industry, 1840-1914* (forthcoming September 2011).

13.35 Nicola Verdon – Agricultural reports on the household budgets and living standards of agricultural labourers’ families (1864–1914)

The British economy was in a state of flux in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A period of mid-century stability and prosperity, when Britain was labelled the ‘workshop of the world’, came crashing down in the 1870s and 1880s when trade slumps, increased foreign competition and cheap imports all undermined Britain’s position as the world’s preeminent economic power. Large-scale unemployment and workers unrest followed, with a series of strikes in urban industries the 1880s. The agricultural sector was also affected and entered into a period that historians have traditionally characterised as the ‘great depression’. The government response included the setting up of a major enquiry, to analyse the state of labour relations and work patterns in the key industries. This was published over the course of 1892–4 as *The Royal Commission on Labour*. This enquiry included several volumes on the agricultural labourer. This paper will analyse the content of these reports from England. They were conducted on a county basis, with one Poor Law Union within each county chosen for investigation. They examined issues relating to work patterns and wage levels, the role of women in agriculture, the provision of housing and allotments as well as the general condition of the agricultural labourer and ‘master-man’ relationships. The paper will analyse what these reports tell us about the state of the agricultural labourforce in England in the last decades of the nineteenth century and how the information they contain can be used by historians.

Dr Nicola Verdon is currently Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Sussex. Her main research focus is on the economic and social history of the British countryside since 1800 and she has published widely on female and child labour in agriculture, on other aspects of male work and wages, and on the household economies of farming families. Main publications include a monograph (*Rural Women Workers in Nineteenth-Century England: Gender, Work and Wages*, Boydell, 2002) and recent articles in *Economic History Review* (2008), *Historical Journal* (2009), *Agricultural History Review* (2009) and *History Workshop Journal* (forthcoming 2010). She is currently secretary of the British Agricultural History Society. □

13.4 Fascism and rural modernisation revisited

Room 202

Conveners: Miguel Cabo and Juan Pan-Montojo

Chair: Zsuzsanna Varga

In rural and contemporary history there has been a tendency to qualify the policies of fascist and fascistised regimes in twentieth-century Europe towards agriculture as being ‘anti-modern’ or reactionary. However, recent accounts have detected ‘modern’ aspects of agricultural regulation under fascist rule. These revisions evolve from the replacement. Thus, besides industrialisation and democratisation other pathways of agrarian modernisation – including those developed under the influence of fascism or authoritarianism – have come to the fore of ‘modernisation theory’ by approaches acknowledging the ‘ambivalence’ of modernity. The contributors to this panel aim at addressing the relationship of fascism and agrarian modernisation in several European countries in the first half of the twentieth century from a comparative perspective. The guiding questions are: first, by what indicators can ‘modernity’ be identified in the respective country or region and period? Second, to what extent had fascist agricultural policies a modernizing effect? Third, was agrarian modernisation intended by the regime or an unintended consequence? Fourth, was there a duality/contradiction between a ruralist discourse emphasizing anti-urban, anti-industrial and anti-capitalist elements, and agrarian policies aiming at the transformation of agricultural practices and rural identities?

Zsuzsanna Varga, M.A. (1993) and Doctor (1998) in History (Kossuth Lajos University) Associate Professor in the Department of Modern Hungarian History at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. She is a member of the Committee of Agrarian History and Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her more recent publications are: ‘The Impact of 1956 on the Relationship between the Kádár Regime and the peasantry, 1956-66’ *Hungarian Studies Review*, Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 1-2. (2007); ‘The ‘Modernizing’ Role of Agriculture in the Hungarian Economic Reforms’ in *Zu Physiognomie sozialistischer Wirtschaftsreformen. Die Sowjetunion, Polen, die Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, die DDR und Jugoslawien im Vergleich*. Christoph Boyer (ed.) Frankfurt/Main: Max-Planck-Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte. 2006. pp. 82-98, ‘Questioning the Soviet economic model in the 1960s’ in *Muddling Through in the Long 1960s. Ideas and Everyday Life in High Politics and Lower Classes of Communist Hungary*. János M. Rainer, György Péteri (eds.) Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology. 2005. pp. 109-34; ‘Agrarian development from 1945 to the present day’ in *History of Hungarian Agriculture and Rural Life, 1848-2004*, János Estók (ed.) Budapest: Argumentum Publishing House – Museum of Hungarian Agriculture. 2004. pp. 221-94.

13.41 Ernst Langthaler – Fascism and modernity revisited: the case of agricultural development in German-annexed Austria, 1938-45

According to the mainstream of historiography, agricultural development in Nazi Germany can hardly be assessed in terms of ‘modernisation’; on the contrary, the failure of the state-led food production campaign and inefficient institutions such as the Reich Hereditary Farm Law seem to prove its ‘anti-modern’ character. However, this debate suffers from the both theoretical and empirical shortcomings which the proposed paper aims to revise. At the theoretical level, ‘modernisation’ needs to be re-conceptualised according to notions of modernity stressing its ‘ambivalence’. At the empirical level the narrow focus on political-economic aspects ought to be widened to include social and cultural aspects as well. Seen from this doubly-revisionist

perspective, agricultural development in Nazi Germany as exemplified by the case of Austria 1938-45 was less ‘anti-modern’ and more ‘modern’ than claimed so far.

Ernst Langthaler studied history at the University of Vienna (master 1995, PhD 2000, habilitation 2010). He is currently senior researcher at the Institute of Rural History in St. Pölten, lecturer at the University of Vienna and the University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences Vienna and guest professor at the University of Innsbruck. His fields of research cover farming styles, agrosystems and food regimes in nineteenth and twentieth century Europe.

13.42 Daniel Lanero Táboas and André Taboada Casteleiro – The Portuguese ‘Estado Novo’: programmes and hindrances for agrarian modernisation, 1932–1974

This paper aims to study the proposals and actual achievements of the modernisation schemes of the Portuguese agriculture displayed by the dictatorship under the Estado Novo (1932–74). Firstly, the agrarian policy of the first years of the Portuguese dictatorship will be analysed, in the context of the international zenith of Fascism. To which degree the Portuguese projects were inspired by those applied in Germany, Italy or Spain will be discussed. Secondly, we will focus in the modernisation programmes for agriculture after 1945, in a completely changed international context (the triumph of democracy and the development of the Welfare State in Europe). It is open to debate if the modernisation of the agrarian sector can be achieved without a simultaneous political reform, and if so, how this could be carried out and what kind of resistance and social support it met.

Daniel Lanero Táboas got his Ph.D. in History at the University of Santiago de Compostela. He is currently a researcher in the Department of Contemporary and American History of the University of Santiago. His main fields of interest are Agrarian History and Social History of the rural world from a comparative perspective, focusing in the Francoist dictatorship and the early years of the Democratic period. He has been invited researcher at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais (ICS) of the University of Lisboa, the Instituto de História Contemporânea of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, the Dipartimento di Discipline Storiche (Università di Bologna, Italy) and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). He has written or edited an ample number of publications in both Spanish and international journals and publishing houses.

André Taboada Casteleiro: He has a degree in History and a Master in Contemporary History at the Department of Contemporary and American History in the University of Santiago de Compostela. He is currently writing his Ph.D. on the Francoism and the Transition to Democracy in the rural world.

13.43 Ana Cabana Iglesia and Alba Díaz Geada – Agrarian technicians and the modernisation of agriculture in Francoist Spain (1936-75)

This paper aims at studying the evolution of agrarian policies during the four decades of Francoism, from the autarchic model of the forties inspired by Fascist and Nazi examples, to a completely different one applied with the help – and following the model – of the United States, with the 1950s as transition. The role of the agrarian technicians and the patterns of relationship with the agrarian producers suffered a dramatic evolution, as well as the balance of power and the rivalries among technicians, Francoist syndicalists and the different factions within the Franco Regime.

Ana Cabana Iglesia wrote her PhD in 2006 and is currently Assistant Professor at the Department of Contemporary and American History in the University of Santiago. Her research focuses in the social attitudes in the Galician countryside before the Francoist dictatorship, particularly around the forest policies.

Alba Díaz Geada is a junior research student at the Contemporary and American History Department, University of Santiago de Compostela. She was Bachelor in History with a National award for academic excellence (2007–08). She did the Masters degree in Contemporary History, University of Santiago (2009) with a final investigation on: ‘The countryside in movement: the role of country unions in the rural Galician area during the last times of the Franco dictatorship and the first period of the new democracy, 1964–1986’, which is in the process of being published. She is doing a PhD about changes in the Galician rural area from the sixties until it became part of the EU. Her fields of interest are rural history, social movements, social and cultural change in the Spanish countryside.

13.44 Miguel Cabo Villaverde, Lourenzo Fernández and Juan Pan-Montojo – Fascism and modernity in the European countryside: a reconsideration

This paper aims at giving a global view of both the agrarian policies applied by fascist or fascistised regimes and the social attitudes (consent and/or open or passive resistance) of the farmers and peasants. It addresses and wants to review the classical theses developed around the role of agrarian policies, theoretically put into place to win the allegiance of rural societies, in Italy under fascism and Germany under the Third Reich as well as under authoritarian regimes developed with the strong influence of classical fascism (Spain, Vichy France, the Portuguese *Estado Novo*...). The achievements of these policies in economic and political terms will be as well analysed. Comparativism will therefore be the central element of this paper, which seeks to act as a kind of provocative statement for the global discussion of the panel.

Miguel Cabo Villaverde is Associate Professor at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain) and has been a Visiting Professor in the Universities of Rennes II (France) and Pollenzo (Italy). He has co-chaired the Rural History network within the European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC) in the 2002, 2004 and 2006 editions and has been between 2002 and 2009 a member of the Editorial Board of *Historia Agraria*. His main fields of interest are associations and collective action in the rural world, Spanish political history between 1874 and the Franco dictatorship, and nation-building processes. He has written a number of articles and books on these topics, including recently “‘The Long and Winding Road of Nationalization’”. Eugen Weber’s *Peasants into Frenchmen* in European modern history (1976-2006)’ (co-authored with Fernando Molina – *European History Quarterly* 39:2 2009); ‘Quelle nation dans les campagnes? État et nation-building en Espagne, un débat ouvert’, in Jean-Luc Mayaud and Raphael Lutz (ed., 2006), *Histoire de l’Europe rurale contemporaine. Du village à l’État*, and ‘Agrarisme et agrariens en Galice’, in Pierre Alphandéry, Hugues Lamarche and Jean-Luc Mayaud (ed., 2007), *Agrariens et agrarismes, hier et aujourd’hui, en France et en Europe*.

Lourenzo Fernández Prieto is Full Professor at the Department of Contemporary and American History in the University of Santiago. He is the author of a series of articles and books in the fields of agrarian and political history. He is currently the director of a research team on the repression in Galicia during the Civil War and the Francoism.

Juan Pan-Montojo, Graduate in Philosophy and Letters (Modern History), 1986, and Economic Sciences (Economic Sociology), 1987, and doctor in Modern History, 1992, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. He has worked as a visiting researcher in the London School of Economics and Political Sciences, London, in the New School for Social Research, New York, and in the Friedrich-Alexander Universität of Erlangen-Nürnberg. He has been Lecturer (1990-1997) and is Associate Professor (1997 until the present day) of Modern History at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. He has done most of my research in agrarian and rural history (wine sector, agrarian policies, agricultural engineering, agrarian associations...) and history of the public economy (state building, tax reforms, government expenditure...). He has published more than 60 articles in specialised journals and in different collective academic publications. He is the author of the books: *Carlistas y liberales en Navarra, 1833-1839* (Pamplona, 1990), *La bodega del mundo. La vid y el vino en España, 1800-1936* (Madrid, 1994), and *Profesión, apostolado y tecnología. Una historia de los ingenieros agrónomos en España* (Madrid, 2005), and he has coordinated *Más se perdió en Cuba. España, 1898 y la crisis de fin de siglo* (Madrid, 1998), *Bodegas, vinos y mercados. El cambio técnico en la vitivinicultura española, 1850-1936* (Zaragoza, 2001), *Los inspectores de hacienda en España: una mirada histórica* (Madrid, 2007), and (with Frederik Pedersen) *Communities in European History. Representations, Jurisdictions, Conflicts* (Pisa, 2007). He is currently co-editor of the journal *Historia Agraria* and member of the scientific committee of *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrasoziologie*.

13.45 Tatsushi Fujihara – ‘Erbhofgesetz’ in Manchukuo: a case study of the acceptances of the Nazi agricultural ideology by the Japanese Empire

On 13 November 1941, the Reclamation Farm Law (*Kaitakunôjohô*) was proclaimed in *Manchukuo*, which was a virtual puppet state of the Japanese Empire. The empire had already forced hundreds of thousands of poor peasants to move from Japanese villages to various areas in *Manchukuo*. The policy specified that the Korean peasants who cultivated the paddy fields were to be controlled by Japanese public corporations. The policy purposed to improve the agricultural structure of Japanese villages and to create an anti-capitalistic utopia for Japanese peasants in the puppet state. Therefore, the law prohibited not only the buying and selling of land estates but also

their partition in *Manchukuo*. That is to say, it limited ownership, the most important condition of capitalism, for the purpose of protecting the new farms from a market mechanism.

What must be noted, is that this was modelled on the Hereditary Farm Law (*Erbhofgesetz*) proclaimed on 1 October 1933 in Nazi Germany. In those days, the National Socialists' anti-capitalism ideology and policies were enthusiastically introduced to Japan by many agronomists. The *Erbhofgesetz* was one of the most important acceptances of National Socialism by the Japanese Empire.

Why was the *Erbhofgesetz* chosen? It was not in Japan; so why was it in *Manchukuo*? This paper will consider these questions by focusing on the similarities and differences in agricultural structure between Japan, *Manchukuo* and Germany.

Dr Tatsushi Fujihara is a Lecturer in Laboratory of Agricultural History, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Tokyo. From 2006 to 2007 he was Visiting scholar, Institute for the History of Medicine, Stuttgart Germany and from 2002 to 2009, Research assistant, Institute of Research in Humanities, Kyoto University. His research interests include agricultural policy and ideology in the Third Reich, the food crisis during WWI in Germany, rice breeding in the Japanese Empire and agronomists in the Japanese Empire.

13.5 Expert knowledge in twentieth-century agriculture

Room 203

Chair: Jules Pretty

13.51 Jan Roobrouck – Promoting agricultural progress through science in Belgium (1944-95)

After the second World War, Western democracies fully embraced modern science and technology to foster economic growth and serve strategic interests. Governments poured more money into the applied sciences and technology than ever before. States guided and supported the creation of new knowledge and its applications. This official 'cult of scientific and technological power' had many followers. Professionals and experts from all areas transformed an often nearly archaic world into a system of clockwork efficiency and utilitarian ingenuity. Agriculture, a strategic economic sector, did not escape this tendency towards mechanisation and rationalisation.

The scientific structures designed to facilitate the modernisation process were effective in increasing agricultural productivity, but they were less adapted to meet the challenges posed by social or environmental pressures. The development of an agricultural research policy (1945-1995) clearly illustrates how the Belgian administration paired knowledge expansion to welfare construction. Using a unique budgetary dataset, meeting records and interviews, we will demonstrate how state officials, scientists and politicians were expected to reconcile the interests of farmers, industrialists and consumers. We will link these policy issues to broader social and agricultural developments while tracing the dynamic of rural change in Belgium.

Jan Roobrouck (b.1983) received his Master's degree as a historian at K.U.Leuven (Belgium) in 2005. After brief academic trips to the US (Furman University, Greenville, SC) and Canada (University of Toronto), he started working in Rome (Italy) on a two-year project. This project linked Belgian political and social history to the papacy of Pius XI (1921-1939). Jan is currently writing a doctoral thesis entitled 'In Search of Elegant Solutions: Agronomy and Agricultural Policy in Belgium (1945-2002)' under the assignment of the Leuven Interfaculty Centre for Agricultural History (ICAG) and the Flemish Institute for Agriculture and Fisheries Research (ILVO). His interest lies in the history of agriculture, science, religion and politics – any subject with a transnational dimension.

13.52 Gabriel Söderberg – Science and scale: application of knowledge in twentieth-century Swedish agriculture

This paper uses a Schumpeterian model to suggest the importance of market power in the creation and application of scientific knowledge in economic growth and modernisation. It focuses on Swedish agriculture, 1890 to 1960, in which a sector consisting of many small production units modernised alongside a growing, more concentrated industrial sector. The research question for this paper is: How did the specific market structure of agriculture influence the way agricultural science was initiated, financed and implemented in the creation of modern agriculture? Case studies of two components of modern agriculture – plant breeding and artificial fertilisers – follow. In plant breeding, dissatisfaction with the quality of domestic grain among refinement industries – mills, bakeries, breweries – led them to favour imported grain. As domestic grain producers lacked scale and resources to refine grain quality on their own, the Swedish Seed Association, with support by the state and in co-operation with above-mentioned industries, initiated programs to create more suitable grain. In the case of artificial fertilisers the state research system in association with the regional agricultural associations carried out considerable research, increasingly in co-operation with a cartel of fertiliser producers. In this way application of and expansion of agricultural science, went hand-in-hand with increased agricultural regulations, in creating a place for domestic agriculture in industrialised Sweden.

Gabriel Söderberg began as an economist and entered economic history to pursue inquiries outside the constraints of conventional economic theory. Research focuses on knowledge creation, technological development and the role of market power in agriculture. The classical market structure for agriculture is many small farms spread out in rural areas, making producer collusion difficult. This goes for pooling resources in order to advance knowledge and technology as well. Studying this problem thus not only sheds light on the conditions of rural areas during modernisation, but also gives important clues on the links in general between market structure and technological development.

13.53 Jovica Lukovic – Peasants: an anti-modernist class? Introducing expert knowledge to Yugoslav agriculture, 1918–1941

When the south-eastern European states were founded after the First World War, they were genuinely agrarian states. In inter-war Yugoslavia – on which I will concentrate here – 75 per cent of the population lived on agriculture, which provided 50 per cent of the gross national product. Altogether, peasants were the most important productive class of the country.

Yugoslav agricultural politics faced a double task: Firstly, to develop efficient structures for its rather backward agriculture, e.g. by regulating property, homogenising the domestic markets, capitalising production, etc. Secondly, it was necessary to increase the efficiency of individual farms fairly quickly.

To achieve modernisation, it was necessary to improve the educational background of the peasants, whose illiteracy rate was over 80 per cent. The introduction of agricultural machines, new seeds and stock races as well as the capitalisation of production required specific training. Experts of different sorts made their appearance and tried to spread scientific knowledge among peasants.

The implementation of expert knowledge often clashed with the peasants' traditional concepts of work techniques, farm management etc. As a consequence, they were perceived as uninterested and unwilling to learn; certain experts even alleged that peasants did not have the 'psychological disposition' to assume a modern, scientific attitude. This idea was spread by experts such as economic theorists and agricultural practitioners, which reinforced the popular stereotype of the anti-modernist peasant. In my paper, I will question this hypothesis which still persists in agricultural history.

I will underline my argument on two examples that shows that peasants did actively approach agricultural problems: the letters and reports of young peasants who had taken the opportunity of a work placement on modern farms in Switzerland. The standard of knowledge among Yugoslav peasants did remain low in general, but this was not to blame on the peasants' lack of interest only but just as well on the experts' inadequate practices of knowledge transfer.

Jovica Lukovic (b.1965, Yugoslavia) is doing a PhD in South-Eastern European History at the Free University of Berlin (Prof. Dr. Holm Sundhaussen, Institute for Eastern Europe). His PhD thesis is 'From peasants to labourers? Social differentiation as acculturation of a transitional class in Yugoslavia, 1918–1941'. He has recently been a Visiting Fellow at the project 'Ergaenzungsraum South-Eastern Europe: Concepts and Strategies of the 'Mitteleuropaeischer Wirtschaftstag' at the University of Vienna, Austria. His latest publications focus on agricultural reforms and the property rights of peasants in South-Eastern Europe.

13.54 Yves Segers – Agricultural science and the establishment of a knowledge network in Belgian Congo, 1908-1933

According to the French colonial historian Christophe Bonneuil, agricultural science played a crucial role in the creation of 'developmentalist states' in tropical Africa. The aim of this interventionist policy, a form of 'authoritarian economic and social engineering' from above, was to reorganise modes of production and improve living conditions of African rural society. Bonneuil situates this development in the 1930s, in reaction to the Great Depression.

It is my hypothesis that Belgian Congo functioned already earlier as a 'laboratory' for state interventionism, via investments in land reclamation and cultivation, the introduction of 'cultures obligatoires' and the start of an 'agricultural science offensive'. Via new research and education initiatives, the Belgian government tried to raise knowledge regarding farming in an equatorial environment, to dismantle indigenous 'routines' and to 'improve' and rationalise African farming systems.

In this paper I analyse the establishment by the Belgian authorities of an agricultural knowledge network on behalf of its colonial interests and objectives during the period 1908-1933 (or between the end of Congo Free State and the establishment of *INEAC: Institut National pour l'Etude Agronomique du Congo Belge*). I analyse the specificity of the Belgian case, which is clearly understudied in the national and international literature, and compare with other African colonies. Did a specific 'Belgian colonial farming model' already exist in this period or not?

Yves Segers is professor of Rural History and director of the Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History of the University of Leuven, and professor of Economic History at Hogeschool-Universiteit Brussel (HUB). His research interests focus on the history of agriculture, rural societies and the food chain since the late eighteenth century. In recent years he has published on the history of agricultural education, agricultural machinery exhibitions, the allotment movement, food consumption and living standards. He published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Agricultural History Review*, *Appetite*, *Food & History*, *European Review of Economic History*, *Histoire & Mesure*. Together with Leen Van Molle he edited the general synthesis: *Leven van het land. Boeren in België, 1750-2000 (Living from the land. Farming in Belgium, 1750-2000)*. Leuven, 2004. Yves Segers is also a member of the general board of the research network CORN.

13.55 Margreet van den Burg – Rice research for global food security, stability and welfare: 50 years of the International Rice Research Institute, IRRI, Philippines

The fiftieth anniversary of the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), Los Banos, the Philippines, in 2010, called for a well-contextualised historical analysis contributing to the consolidation of IRRI's heritage for future generations. Rice production, considered as indispensable for global food security after WWII turned out to be of strategic importance in the era of Cold War rivalry. IRRI received an international mandate to work on the improvement of rice varieties. Although the funds came largely from two giant US Foundations, Rockefeller and

Ford Foundations, and the Philippines provided land to build the institute on, IRRI was international in its intention, mandate and status.

For this contribution I will focus on the way the (changing) research policies of IRRI were framed and justified in relation to successes, criticism and financial cutbacks. It will show how IRRI redefined its field of expertise and what scientists and programmes it attracted for widening their scientific authority accordingly. Source materials will be public speeches, (IRRI) policy papers, annual reports and research programme reports. The trends spotted will be related to overall developments in agricultural research.

The research programming will also be contrasted to the ongoing critical voices of especially environmental and feminist activists, supported by critical scientists. Here, I will especially address their challenges to IRRI in relation to reversing growing environmental degradation, gender inequality and human rights violations. This comparison will show several science dynamics phenomena at work, both in the diverging identifications of what is 'really' going on and what contributes towards improvement (diagnostics), and in scientific development suffering from mutual failing in thoroughly in-depth exchange and communication. For this purpose the various roles of IRRI within the global arena must be considered within the wider historical picture of international aid, clashing and changing views on human and economic development, and the role of technology in such development.

Margreet van der Burg is UD (university lecturer/researcher) at Wageningen University, the Netherlands. She is part of the Department of Social Sciences and posted in the Rural History Group. Since 2002, she is especially entrusted with rural history gender studies. In 2006 she hold the Maria Goeppert-Meyer Guest Professoriate for international gender studies at the Institute for Rural Development, Faculty of Agricultural Sciences, Georg-August University at Göttingen, Germany. Her publications mainly deal with genderedness in agricultural modernisation, rural development and their institutionalisation processes. In three major studies, she analysed the genderedness of the Dutch agricultural knowledge system and its institutions (science, extension and education) in relation to agricultural modernisation policies, changes in family farming and farm labour, rural activism and rural development. All show a strong underlying interest in representations of gender, class, race and generation with respect to the opportunities and disadvantages in rural contexts that are connected to perceptions of rurality. Her main focus used to be Europe and the northern Americas, but this has been gradually extended towards a (contemporary) global context along the lines of historical colonial and imperialistic hegemonies and dependencies.

Wednesday 17.15 to 18.00**Session 14****Asa Briggs (A2) Lecture Theatre****Launch of the European Rural History Organisation***Chair: Paul Brassley*

At this meeting we will discuss the plans and proposals to form an organisation to promote rural history in Europe.

A working group has prepared a planning document, which is printed at the back of this book, and the purpose of the meeting is to receive comments on the document, and to elect the President and Management Committee, whose task will be to carry forward the activities of the organisation, among which will be the organisation of a further conference to follow this meeting in Brighton and continue its work.

The meeting will be chaired by Dr Paul Brassley, who has acted as chair of the working group. It is open to all those attending the conference. Anyone who wishes to propose a candidate for the Management Committee, and has not already done so, should contact Paul Brassley before the meeting.



The Old and the New

Asa Briggs (A2) Lecture Theatre

Plenary Lecture – **Professor Jules Pretty** – Sustainability in agricultural and rural systems: recent history and future challenges

Chair: Professor Alun Howkins (President, British Agricultural History Society)

On the subject of ‘Sustainable Intensification of Agriculture’, Professor Pretty has written:

‘All commentators agree that food production will have to increase substantially. But there are very different views about how this should best be achieved. Some still say agriculture will have to expand into new lands. Others say food production growth must come through redoubled efforts to repeat the approaches of the Green Revolution; or that agricultural systems should become organic. Traditionally agricultural intensification has been defined in three ways: increasing yields per hectare, increasing cropping intensity (i.e. two or more crops) per unit of land or other inputs (water), and changing land-use from low-value crops or commodities to those that receive higher market prices ...

Agronomy refers to the management of crops and livestock in their specific circumstances, and matches with the emergence of the term agro-ecology to indicate that there is a need to invest in science and practice that gives farmers a combination of the best possible seeds and breeds and their management in local ecological contexts.

This suggests that sustainable intensification will very often involve more complex mixes of domesticated plant and animal species and associated management techniques, requiring greater skills and knowledge by farmers ... Too many successful efforts in raising production yields have ended in failure when farmers were unable to market the increased outputs. Understanding how to access rural credit, or how to develop warehouse receipt systems and especially, how to sell any increased output, becomes as important as learning how to maximise input efficiencies or build fertile soils.’



Professor Jules Pretty OBE is Pro-Vice-Chancellor at the University of Essex, and Professor of Environment and Society. His 18 books include *This Luminous Coast* (in press, 2011), *Nature and Culture* (2010), *The Earth Only Endures* (2007), and *Agri-Culture* (2002). He is a Fellow of the Society of Biology and the Royal Society of Arts, former Deputy-Chair of the government’s Advisory Committee on Releases to the Environment (ACRE), and has served on advisory committees for a number of government departments. He is a regular speaker, contributor to media, and presenter of the 1999 BBC Radio 4 series *Ploughing Eden*, a contributor and writer for the 2001 BBC TV Correspondent programme *The Magic Bean*, and a panellist in 2007

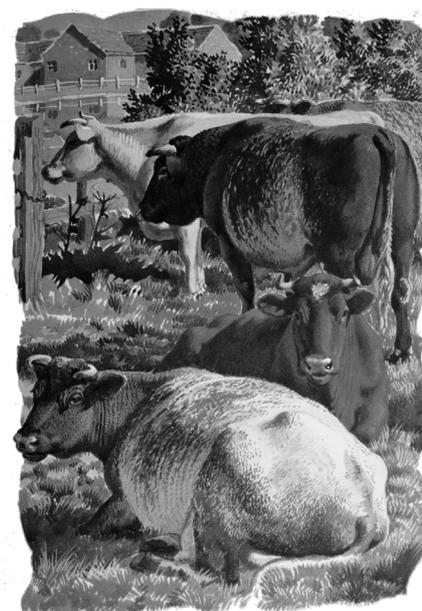
for Radio 4’s *The Moral Maze*. He received a 1997 international award from the Indian Ecological Society, was appointed A D White Professor-at-Large by Cornell University from 2001, and is Chief Editor of the *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability*. He received an OBE in 2006 for services to sustainable agriculture, and an honorary degree from Ohio State University in 2009.

More details can be found at:

www.essex.ac.uk/pvc/sustainability and www.julespretty.com.

Thursday at a glance

	Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
9.00 – 11.00	16.1 Law courts and contracts in the European countryside, c.1300–c.1860: I	16.2 Property rights	16.3 Markets in butter, cheese and beef	16.4 Economic organisation processes and politicisation in European rural societies, c.1850–1940, I	16.5 Winners and losers in the modernisation of the countryside in the late twentieth century
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor				
11.30 – 13.00	17.1 Law courts and contracts in the European countryside, c.1300–c.1860: II	17.2 The Scandinavian bonde: a challenge to the peasant-farmer dichotomy?	17.3 Agricultural development and colonisation	17.4 Economic organisation processes and politicisation in European rural societies, c.1850–1940, II	17.5 How local are local foods? Historical approaches to 'new' terroir products
13.00 – 14.00	Lunch in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor				
14.00 – 16.00	18.1 Law courts and contracts in the European countryside, c.1300–c.1860: III	18.2 New approaches to labour	18.3 Drink and Farming in the Modern World		18.5 Museums and movements in the Belgian countryside
16.00 – 16.30	Tea in Bramber House Conference Centre, Second Floor				
16.30	Conference closes				



Shorthorns

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
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16.1 Law courts and contracts in the European countryside c.1300–c.1860: I

Room 103

Convener: Chris Briggs

Chair: Phillipp Schofield

16.11 Chris Briggs – Courts, contracts, and rural society in medieval Europe: an overview

Drawing on existing research in the field, this paper summarises some of the central issues involved in the study of the various bodies used for the registration and enforcement of peasant contracts in medieval western Europe. The primary focus is on the diverse range of contracts involving the exchange of goods and labour that were encountered within rural society, many of which involved credit. Transactions involving land and real property are also given consideration under the heading of contracts, though these present a wider range of problems that cannot be addressed fully here. The paper makes a distinction between institutions that provided primarily for the *registration* of new contracts (e.g. notaries), and institutions which provided primarily for the *enforcement* of broken contracts (e.g. law courts). It examines the hypothesis that there was variation across medieval Europe in the relative importance and level of development of the two types of institutions, and that this may have had long term consequences for economic progress in different regions.

Chris Briggs is Lecturer in Medieval History, University of Southampton. Publications include *Credit and Village Society in Fourteenth-Century England* (OUP/British Academy 2009); ‘Seigniorial control of villagers’ litigation beyond the manor in later medieval England’, *Historical Research* 81 (2008); ‘Manor court procedures, debt litigation levels, and rural credit provision in England, c.1290-c.1380’, *Law and Hist. Rev.* 24 (2006). He is currently completing with (Phillipp Schofield) *Select cases in manorial courts c.1250-c.1350: debt, detinue, and covenant*, to be published by the Selden Society. This volume results from an AHRC-funded research project ‘Private law and medieval village society: personal actions in manor courts, c.1250-c.1350’.

16.12 Jaco Zuiderdijjn – Law courts and contracts in late medieval Holland

In the course of the late middle ages peasants in Holland (the western part of the present-day Netherlands) had to adapt to deteriorating agricultural conditions. The shrinking of peat lands caused the large parts of the county to become too wet for growing winter grains. For their grain supplies peasants came to depend on markets; to be able to buy grains they had to earn money by producing marketable goods. As parts of Holland gradually began to sink, peasants also had to improve water management, which required them to create local institutions that levied taxes and were in charge of funds. To what degree did the commercialisation of the countryside require law courts to adapt? How did these courts contribute to a rural economy where investments by individuals and communities, money and credit became more important? And how did rural courts fit into the judicial system of the counts of Holland? These questions will be answered using court records, rural contracts and data on the public debt the villages of Holland created.

Dr. Jaco Zuiderdijjn (Utrecht University/Dutch Money Museum) studied medieval history at Leiden University and in 2007 defended his PhD thesis *Medieval capital markets. Markets for ‘renten’, state formation and private investment in Holland (1300-1550)* (now published: Boston/Leiden: Brill, 2009). He also published about the public debt created by villages of Holland and the participation of rural and small-town households in capital markets. He is presently working on a project that looks into the development of asset management of households in Italy and the Low Countries.

16.13 Xavier Soldevila i Temporal – To live indebted in medieval Catalonia: the rural world in the bishopric of Girona, 1270-1348

The importance of credit nets in understanding the daily lives of most rural and urban families is now well established by Catalan historiography. It is also increasingly clear that many debtors failed to have their debts cancelled, so that their creditors were forced to claim against them in judicial courts. In spite of these claims and judicial actions, it is also clear that many indebted families went on for several years working their own lands and even borrowing more money or making credit sales. The main aim of this paper is to study how these families were able to survive although their financial distresses and also what strategies they used to solve such problems. This has two main aspects. First, we must identify the ways that allowed indebted families to survive, such as the prorogation of debts or the negotiation of new conditions from creditors. Second, we examine the consequences of the intervention of justice, including the seizure of goods and possible pauperisation of debtors. The difficult work of tracing individuals and families is undertaken using a combination of sources. These are: the rich notarial books from several towns in the bishopric of Girona; the more fragmentary judicial records from these towns; and records from the chancery of the bishop of Girona, a lord often concerned with the credit and debt arrangements of his subjects.

Xavier Soldevila is a member of the Research Centre Jaume Vicenç i Vives (Centre for Research in Rural History), of the University of Girona. His research has considered many aspects of late medieval Emporda (in Catalonia), with a particular focus recently on the issue of credit and debt in rural society. His numerous publications include, most recently, 'Carestías y crisis de subsistencia en el mundo rural catalán: el Baix Empordà en el siglo XIV', in Hipólito Rafael OLIVA i Pere BENITO (Eds.), *Crisis de subsistencia y crisis agrarias en la edad media*. Seville, 2007; and his book *Crèdit i endeutament al comtat d'Empúries (1330-1335)*. Girona, 2008, 239 pp. Among his other activities, he is currently studying for a degree in English language and culture.

16.2 Property rights over time

Room 104

Chair: TBA

16.21 José Vicente Serrão – Property rights, land settlement and land conflict in the colonial Americas: a comparative study

In this paper I intend to analyse, in comparative terms, the variety of solutions used by the different European-based empires (Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, British and French) in dealing with property rights, patterns of settlement and conflicts over land in colonial Americas.

In this study I am especially concerned with some crosscutting questions, to be analysed in each imperial context, in order to reach some comparable results. Just some examples: what were the main legal institutions regulating land tenure and land use brought into play in each empire? How were the European institutional matrixes transposed to the imperial spaces, and how did they overlap, or merge, with local institutions and cultural foundations? Which was the coloniser's view on the pre-existing indigenous land tenure and property rights systems? To what extent were the native communities deprived of their lands? What was the effective economic impact of the property rights freshly brought in? How did they serve purposes of settlement in frontier areas? Were those property rights an instrument of exclusion, or else of inclusion of autochthonous communities? To what extent, and in which ways, did property rights step into the negotiation and conflict processes between imperial authorities, native communities and 'creole' communities?

José Vicente Serrão (b.1959), is Associate Professor of History at the Lisbon University Institute, Portugal. His fields of research and publication have been mainly the rural, economic, social and population history of Early Modern Portugal and Europe. More recently he is focusing his research and teaching on topics related to transnational, global and imperial history. He is currently coordinating two international research projects ('Lands over Seas: Property

Rights in the Early Modern Portuguese Empire' and 'Territoriality and Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Portuguese America'). He was also member of the Management Committee of the recently finished 'Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies' (COST Program A35, 2005-2009).

16.22 Christopher Jessel – The structure of farming in England since 1970: a legal perspective

The paper discusses the influence of legal factors on farming practice in the last 40 years, principally in England but taking account of the growing influence of European and latterly world issues. At the beginning of this period farming was relatively small scale and operated through traditional farms, both owner-occupied and tenanted where farming was the principal activity. Forty years later farming structures are divided between part-time smallholdings, traditional farms, many still run by a family, and substantial agri-business. Many farms are operated under partnership or contract arrangements and the occupiers often diversify into other related businesses.

The paper considers business structures and sources of finance, the decline and reconstruction of the tenanted sector, the impact of environmental issues and planning law and the influence of taxation. One major influence concerns security of tenure and succession rights under the Agricultural Holdings Acts and the introduction in 1995 of farm business tenancies. Another is the Common Agricultural Policy, including intervention, quotas, the MacSharry reforms and the Single Farm Payment.

Christopher Jessel has been for 40 years a solicitor with Farrer & Co of Lincoln's Inn Fields in Central London until retirement in 2008. He practised in property law particularly agriculture and advised many landed estates including Crown, Church and Collegiate landowners as well as farmers both owner occupiers and tenants on the issues discussed in his paper. He is the author of *The Law of the Manor and Farms and Estates: a Conveyancing Handbook*. He has recently been consulting editor to *Halsbury's Laws of England on Commons* and on *Open Spaces and Countryside*. He has been a regular speaker at legal conferences.

16.23 Martin Dackling – Landownership rights in twentieth-century Sweden: revitalising an old system?

This paper investigates the development of land ownership rights in Sweden during the first half of the twentieth century. Traditionally, historical research concerning landownership has to a great extent focused on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Sweden, landownership rights were 'unbedded' from social relations and other kind of restrictions during the nineteenth century, which in turn has been seen as a prerequisite for the development of a modern, capitalistic economy. The landowner was given extensive rights over land, at the expense of the owner's relatives. Landowning became based on individuals, not on families. The land market replaced inheritance and gifts as dominant ways to transfer land. At least, this is a common way to describe the development.

However, the tendency towards a free land market was challenged during the twentieth century. Instead there was a great interest in what was called 'the land question'. As a result of the debates, the state tried to regulate how the land was owned and how land was transferred. So far, there has been only little research on how this re-regulation of the land market was done and what effect it had on landownership. This project focuses on the conditions for landownership and transmission of land in Sweden during the period from 1850 to 1950. The results challenge the concept of modern landownership rights and indicate that some 'old' elements continued to play an important role for how landownership rights were practiced even in the twentieth century.

Martin Dackling is a Doctoral student in History at the Department of Historical Studies, University of Gothenburg, and working on a dissertation about landowning, the bond between land and family, and the invention of hereditary farms in Sweden during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

16.3 Markets in butter, cheese and beef

Room 107

Chair: Hilary Crowe

16.31 Paul Sharp, Ingrid Henriksen and Markus Lampe – The strange birth of liberal Denmark: Danish trade protection and the growth of the dairy industry in the mid-nineteenth century

The usual story of the ‘first era of globalisation’ at the end of the nineteenth century sees Denmark as something of an outlier: a country which, like Britain, resisted the globalisation backlash in the wake of the inflow of cheap grain from the New World, but where agriculture, rather than going into decline, in fact flourished. Key to the success of Danish agriculture was an early diversification towards dairy production. We dispute this simple story which sees Denmark as something of a liberal paragon. Denmark’s success owed much to a prudent use of trade policy which favoured dairy production. Moreover, this favouritism continued even after a more general movement to free trade in the 1860s. Using micro-level data from individual dairies, we quantify the implied subsidy to dairy production from the tariffs, and demonstrate that this in many cases ensured the profitability of individual dairies.

Paul Sharp is a post-doctoral researcher, funded by a grant from the Carlsberg Foundation, at the Department of Economics, University of Copenhagen. He completed his PhD thesis in June 2009 on ‘Wheat, Globalization and History’, looking at the intercontinental growth of trade in grains in the nineteenth century. He has contributed two chapters to Karl Gunnar Persson’s *Economic History of Europe* (2010) and published a paper, “‘1846 and All That’: the rise and fall of British wheat protection in the nineteenth century”, *AgHR* 58 (2010), and is currently studying the emergence and success of the Danish dairy industry in the nineteenth century.

Working with economic history in general **Ingrid Henriksen** has specialised in agrarian history from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Her particular field of interest is institutions, including agricultural co-operatives and rural credit. Some of the results are published in *Economic History Review*, *European Review of Economic History* and *Scandinavian Economic History Review*. I am presently a member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the *European Review of Economic History*.

Markus Lampe is Assistant Professor at the Department of Economic History at the University Carlos III in Madrid. Before, he completed his PhD at the University of Münster (Germany) on ‘Bilateral Free Trade Agreements in the 19th Century – Determinants and Effects of the Cobden-Chevalier Network’ and was a post-doctoral researcher funded by the Economics Department at the University of Copenhagen, and continues to work with Ingrid Henriksen and Paul Sharp on Danish economic history, especially tariff policy and dairies in the 19th Century. He published a paper on 19th Century MFN bilateralism in the *Journal of Economic History* (Vol. 69, 2009).

16.32 James Watson – When food-miles really mattered: New Zealand meat exports and the First World War

There is a perception in New Zealand that the country’s greatest contribution to the Allied effort during the First World War was through the supply of farm products, particularly meat. In fact for much of the War the authorities in London were somewhat embarrassed by their agreement to purchase all New Zealand’s exportable surplus of sheep-meat and beef. Sources of supply closer to the United Kingdom, principally in the Americas, were much more readily accessed, despite their meat commanding higher prices. The New Zealand Government found itself embarrassed in turn as refrigerated storage space filled up as increasingly scarce ships were diverted to trans-Atlantic routes. As in the negotiations over the United Kingdom’s entry to the European Economic Community half a century later, New Zealand’s preparedness to contribute militarily to the Empire’s cause appears to have wrung valuable concessions in London.

James Watson is Senior Lecturer at Massey University. He has an MA and a PhD from Canterbury University and his area of specialisation is New Zealand History, particularly on the interaction between technological change and

economic, social and political developments; and the history of fascism, principally in Europe. His current research is on New Zealand political history; the history of farm technology in New Zealand, 1920-60; and William Ferguson Massey. Sample publications include *Links – A History of Transport and New Zealand* (GP Publications/Ministry of Transport, Wellington, 1996) and *Along the Hills: A history of the Heathcote Road Board and the Heathcote County Council 1864-1989* (The Caxton Press, Christchurch, 1989).

16.4 Economic organisation processes and politicisation in European rural societies, c.1850–1940, I

Room 202

Conveners: Gloria Sanz Lafuente and Corinne Marache

Chair: Corinne Marache and Gloria Sanz Lafuente

16.41 Gloria Sanz Lafuente and Corinne Marache – Introduction: economic organisation processes and politicisation. Current state of research

The changes that took place in rural Europe during the nineteenth century were diverse in nature. The ‘staging of communication’, the opening of markets and the gradual disappearance of the Old Regime systems led, according to different paces and modalities, to profound changes within rural societies. Among these changes, we want to focus this session on the contribution the approaches and processes of economic organisation made to the politicisation of peasants in nineteenth- and twentieth-century European societies. If the issue of politicisation has been the object of much research over the last few years, this more specific issue concerning the relationship between the circumstances and modalities of economic interest formation and its contribution towards politicisation of the peasants has not been studied in European ruralist and agrarian literature. The aim during this session is to establish a synthesis of current research in Europe on the relations between the different organised economic interests, the responsibility-taking of peasants and their politicisation.

The first part of the session aims to reflect on the evolution of the different types of economic organisation of rural society on all scales in the research, from local to national. In this regard and in particular, the most structured and formal systems will be studied – agrarian societies, trade unions, credit systems, co-operatives, agriculture chambers, technical parliamentary commissions with representatives of the peasants, etc. – their radius of action and the reasons behind their success or failure and their evolution. We will attempt to analyse the peasants organised *as sectoral producers* – of wine, oil, etc. – and the first lobbies, *as consumers* – co-operatives – or *as landless workers, landowners or leaseholders*, who find themselves in the middle of, and in fact generate, competition and conflicts of interest. Likewise we will study strategic alliances – action set – of limited duration that are caused by the interaction with other industrial or trading economic groups. The economic ties between cities and villages also influence the politicisation of peasants through competition or complementarity which must be studied.

In a second part we want to study *how* these economic organisations have contributed (or not) to the politicisation of peasants following a system of inclusion or exclusion in formal politics. Did peasants participate in these organisational structures and assume responsibilities? To what extent did these structures encourage political participation of the rural world? Were peasants considered as ‘*political observers*’ or as ‘*political actors*’? What connections did they establish with politics and how? Have they operated separately from political parties or have they been instrumentalised by political parties? How have these economic organisations contributed to encouraging the political and civic responsibility of peasants? By means of individual ties and/or assemblies, meetings, etc. How did they contribute to making peasants’ interests known to public opinion (press, speeches, publicity)? Were the demands of peasants satisfied in this field or not? Did these

organisations impose forms of politicisation in villages (top-down politicisation), or did they evolve according to the political demands of the peasants (bottom-up politicisation)? New professions linked to agriculture such as veterinary surgeons, agronomists and agriculture teachers also contributed, through their participation in agrarian economic organisations, to the reception, creation and diffusion of new political demands. We want to focus our thoughts on these issues and on others during this session.

Gloria Sanz Lafuente is Assistant professor of economic history in the Departamento de Economía. Area de Historia económica at the Universidad Pública de Navarra.

Corinne Marache is Maître de conférences at the Université de Bordeaux 3.

16.42 Clemens Zimmermann – Politicisation in German rural society 1875–1945.

Internal dynamics and external drives

In this history of politicisation, the growing presence of the media – *Medialisierung* – plays an important role, as does the greater integration of the agrarian economy in the general economy, especially in the global market. From the eighteenth to the twentieth century, different degrees of politicisation in agrarian societies can be found. It was only during National Socialism that the primacy of the politically recognised communities – *ländliche Gemeinden* – fractured as the basis for the experiences that motivated political decisions. In this regard, neither the bourgeois revolution of 1849, nor the so-called ‘fundamental politicisation’ of the Empire, nor the acute struggles of the Weimar Republic, could generate a decisive break with the peasant political tradition tied to localist and network principles. With the radicalisation of agrarian issues starting in 1928, a vehement politicisation emerged with a focus toward clashing national issues, issues in which the local points of view and their internal communication would have less importance. The political relevance of the local community had existed ever since the ‘Kommunalismus’ of the Early Modern Era. However, agrarian societal actors of the Kaiserreich and the Weimar Republic, except some elitist forces, never managed to influence central decisions – in the bureaucracies, parliaments and agrarian organisations – by themselves. There was, however, the articulation of immediate and accessible interests on the village level. In addition, it is clear that the agrarian crises, especially the collapse of prices in the 1880s and the world economic crisis in the 1930s, caused the agrarian producers to distance themselves further from liberalism. Conservative and anti-socialist, protectionist forces made progress. The Social Democrats and the Communists of the Weimar Republic, in contrast, could only move forward in villages close to the cities and among artisans and industrial workers living there.

Clemens Zimmermann is at the Lehrstuhl für Kultur und Mediengeschichte in the Historisches Institut at the Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken. From 2000 to 2008 he held the Chair for Media and Cultural History at the same university.

16.43 Antonio Herrera, David Soto and Manuel González de Molin – Socialism and agrarian issues in Spain, 1890–1930

We focus our attention on how Spanish Socialism understood the agrarian matter at the end of nineteenth century and first decades of twenty century. We are interested on weight up the actions realised by the Socialist Unionism (UGT) in order to promote politisation among peasant.

Because the Socialist theory mostly adopts the main ideas of orthodox Marxism, they did not pay too much attention to rural world, convinced that the change would be played by the proletarians of urban areas. That was the idea developed by political and union ‘elites’. In spite of that if we pay attention to local level we could notice peasant behaviour. Peasant social conflicts show that they participated in the construction of the political structure. In this sense it is not very well known that

local electoral results show that peasant preferred non conservative options as traditional historiography pointed out. That is the reason because we are checking traditional perspectives that identify rural world with political and social backwardness.

Antonio Herrera has a PhD from the Universidad de Jaen (Spain), Department of History, 2003. He is currently Associate Professor (Contemporary History) at the University of Pablo de Olavide (Seville, Spain). His research fields are Spanish Contemporary History, Democracy and Social Movements, Rural History, and Environmental History. In 2009 he was Visiting Scholar in the Department of Sociology at Pittsburgh University and in 2004, Visiting Scholar at Canada Blanch Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science. His publications include *La construcción de la democracia en el campo (1975-1988)* (Editorial M.A.P.A. Madrid, 2007); ‘Otra lectura de la transición española es posible. La democratización del mundo rural (1975-1982)’, *Ayer* 74 (2009); and (with Soto, D. and González de Molina, M.) ‘Peasant protests as environmental protests (eighteenth-twentieth centuries)’, in *Global Environment* (in press) and ‘El Pacto Andaluz por la Naturaleza: la confluencia del movimiento campesino y el movimiento ecologista’, in *Historia Agraria* (in press). Current projects are Democracy and Citizenship in the Rural World and the History of Environmental Movement in Spain.

16.42 Dulce Freire – Local movements with national goals. Political mobilisation during the First Portuguese Republic, 1910–1926

The renewed interest of researchers in social movement issues has revealed aspects neglected by the studies carried out before the 1980s. This paper aims to contribute to the discussions that are ongoing, focusing the analysis on the processes of mobilisation in the rural context.

Empirical data were collected for a small village located in the centre of Portugal. This rural community acquired national projection during the first decades of the twentieth century. It was during this period, characterised by strong economic and political instability, that the Monarchy was replaced by the Republic (1910). In studies conducted by Portuguese historians, social movements that took place in this village are presented with different political meanings. First they are seen as an example of the ability of republican elites to mobilise ordinary people and as an important contribution to the Monarchy collapse. And then, when national resistance to the young Republic arose, as a local focus of anarchist mobilization. These interpretations agree that this village is one of the cases that show the inability of the First Republic (1910-1926) to assure the expectations of the social alliance that had supported the new regime.

As recalled by A. Walder (2009) recently, political approaches are insufficient to clarify the processes of mobilisation and collective action. Taking up the suggestions of Tilly and others, to understand the formation and development of social movements it is necessary to consider different aspects, such as the diverse motivations of the protagonists, social networks, local problems, and collective identities. To clarify these aspects requires analysis based on the internal dynamics of the rural community. Focused on the small village of Alpiarça, this paper seeks to explain the mobilisation of different social groups during the tumultuous years of the First Republic.

Dulce Freire is a researcher at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon). Her areas of research are agrarian policies in Portugal and Europe, the impact of the modernisation of agriculture, technological innovation, social movements and social change. Since 2006, she has chaired, with Anton Schuurman, the Rural History Network for ESSHC.

16.5 Winners and losers in the modernisation of the countryside in the late twentieth century

Room 203

Chair: TBA

16.51 Erwin Karel – The modernisation of the Dutch agriculture system after the Second World War (1950-70)

In 1958 the Dutch minister of agriculture Sicco Mansholt became the first European commissioner for Agricultural Affairs. Ten years later he launched a plan intending to reorganise the whole European agriculture system. His plan was opposed by most European farmers, because it left too little room for the traditional family farms. The modernisation of the Dutch agriculture during the period from 1950 until 1970, was partly based on the same ideas that Mansholt put forward in

Europe: rationalisation, specialisation and increasing in scale. His policy resulted in the Netherlands in large farms with high output and strong market orientation. The reverse side of the medal was the disappearance of more than 75 per cent of the farms (from 400,000 to 80,000) and growing environmental problems. Both questions are today well-known all over Europe.

The modernisation of the Dutch agricultural system in the period between 1950 and 1970 covered both technical and social aspects. A large-scale land consolidation, concerning nearly all the Dutch farmers, was the technical aspect. The government also developed a social program for so called backward farmers. This program intended to push the traditional farmer and his family into modern times. It learned how to run (financial) a farm, about modern aspects of housekeeping, about raising children and about career opportunities. The paper will mainly deal with the meaning of state interference in the agriculture sector.

Dr. Erwin H. Karel is co-ordinator of the Dutch Agricultural History Institute. He also works as lecturer for the Department of Economic and Social History at the University of Groningen. In 2005 he wrote a thesis about the Rural Area Development Program as an instrument of the Dutch agriculture policy. He is one of the authors and editors of the forthcoming books on *Rural Economy and Society 500-2000*. Besides Rural History he publishes on themes concerning environmental history.

16.52 Carin Martiin – Ruling the rural: incorporation of the Swedish countryside into the welfare state

The transformation of Sweden from being rural to urban-dominated, did to great extent take place during the second half of the twentieth century. By then, much of the rural exodus came to be patronised by the emerging welfare state, whose success partly depended on opportunities to change structures in the countryside. First and foremost agriculture had to be rationalised in order to supply the rapidly expanding industrial sector with labour, but without reducing total farm production. Moreover, economic and social aspects were to be taken into account, both for political reasons and to design the process of urbanisation as a long-term win-win project for everybody. The results were enormous. In the course of the second half of the twentieth century the number of farmers decreased from one third to a few per cent of the total population, while agricultural productivity increased considerably. Yet, it would be a mistake to argue that the process was painless. On the contrary, ‘the flight from the countryside’ caused disappointment among the rural population as well as among many rural-born urban dwellers. The paper analyses parts of the parliamentary process that ruled this transformation and highlights instructions from the Ministry and interesting discussions in the official reports on which the process was based from the late 1940s to the very beginning of the 1990s.

Carin Martiin is associate professor at Stockholm University and at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala. She is agronomist, PhD in agricultural and rural history, and ‘docent’ in economic history. At present, Carin Martiin is writing a textbook on agricultural economics for Routledge. Among recent publications are ‘Swedish Milk, a Swedish Duty’, *Rural History* (2010), and ‘Milk as means of payment for farm labour: the dairy economy of a Swedish estate 1874-1913’, *Ag.HR* 57 (2008). Her present research focuses on agricultural politics during the twentieth century with particular emphasis on influences from two world wars.

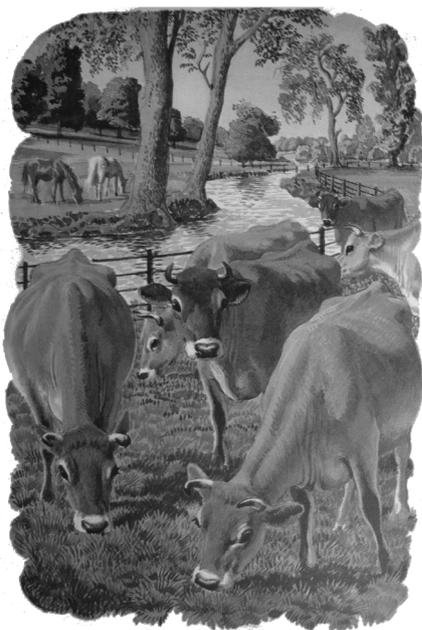
16.53 Korrie Melis – Secondary education in the rural region of North-Groningen, the Netherlands, from the 1950s to the 1990s

Incorporating elements from both history and cultural geography, this paper focuses on and explores how secondary education in the rural region of North-Groningen, the Netherlands has changed over time between the 1950s and the 1990s. In many Dutch rural regions after World War Two secondary education became increasingly accessible for rural youth. This occurred as a result of the development of national institutional factors, like compulsory school attendance, child

allowance and, later on, the Dutch Secondary Education Act of 1963. On a more regional level the development of educational facilities, like the development of technical schools and domestic science schools, were a contributing factor to the advancement of a region. Based on quantitative and qualitative data, such as in-depth interviews with representatives of schools, reunion books and minutes, this paper analyses the school developments in North Groningen in relation to the concepts of livability and regional identity. The analysis shows that governmental intervention, which from 1968 onwards resulted in an increase in scale of educational facilities, has changed the educational provision in North Groningen. Additionally a shift in the traditional importance of denominational schools is noticeable.

Korrie Melis holds an MSc in Cultural Geography attained at the University of Groningen. Her Master's thesis was a qualitative study about females in the man-ruled profession of dairy and arable farming in the North of the Netherlands. Since September 2008 she is working on a PhD in Economic and Social History at the University of Groningen. Her PhD deals with socio-cultural developments in the Northern part of the province of Groningen, the Netherlands, after World War Two. The PhD is part of a bigger project about the 1959 report 'Threatened Existence, the social, economic and cultural situation in North-Groningen'.

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>17.1 Law courts and contracts in the European countryside, c.1300–c.1860: II</p> <p>Convener: Chris Briggs Chair: TBA</p> <p>17.11 Olivier Mery: Credit registration and guarantee clauses in late medieval Provence</p> <p>17.12 Lluís Sales Favà: Credit and nonpayment in late medieval Catalonia: court proceedings of Caldes de Malavella, 1330–1350</p> <p>17.13 Pere Orti Gost: Sant Feliu de Guíxols and its jurisdictional court during the fourteenth century</p>	<p>17.2 The Scandinavian <i>bonde</i>: a challenge to the peasant-farmer dichotomy?</p> <p>Convener and Chair: Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen</p> <p>17.21 Bjørn Poulsen: The free <i>bonder</i> of Scandinavia – who were they?</p> <p>17.22 Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen: Primitive peasants or free yeomen: <i>bonder</i> in early modern Scandinavia</p> <p>17.23 Mats Morell: The modern <i>bonde</i> in Scandinavia</p>	<p>17.3 Agricultural development and colonisation</p> <p>Chair: TBA</p> <p>17.31 Seung-Jin Chung and Takenori Matsumoto: The Japanese Hosokawa Family Farm at a Colonial Korean Village: Its Experiences at the Obamura Village in North Cholla Province</p> <p>17.32 Bina Sengar: The villages of Marathwada transforming themselves from Maratha-Nizamat hegemony to British: perceptions of the villagers</p>	<p>17.4 Economic organisation processes and politicisation in European rural societies, c.1850–1940, II</p> <p>Conveners: Gloria Sanz Lafuente and Corinne Marache Chair: Miguel Cabo Villaverde and Gloria Sanz Lafuente</p> <p>17.41 András Vári: Political mobilisation and economic support for agriculture. Austria and Hungary (from the 1870s to the First World War)</p> <p>17.42 Leen van Molle: Peasants, political parties and national identities in a multilingual state: Belgium, c.1880–1940</p> <p>17.43 Edouard Lynch: ‘The wine and the bread’: the socialist co-operative movement and the politicisation of countrysides, 1890–1940</p>	<p>17.5 How local are local foods? Historical approaches to ‘new’ terroir products</p> <p>Conveners: Dulce Freire and Monica Truninger Chair: TBA</p> <p>17.51 Atle Wehn Hegnes: Thinking and doing protected designations: a tale from the ‘food specialisation’ of Norway</p> <p>17.52 Dulce Freire and Monica Truninger: The qualification process of the Western Rocha Pear: inventing a ‘new’ terroir product?</p> <p>17.53 Stefano Grando: Non-food agricultural production and rural development. A story of success and failure from southern Italy</p>



Jersey cows on rich pasture

17. 1 Law courts and contracts in the European countryside c.1300–c.1860: II

Room 103

Convener: Chris Briggs

Chair: TBA

17.11 Olivier Mery – Credit registration and guarantee clauses in late medieval Provence

This paper is based on the study of notarial registers from Reillanne, a small town in Provence. Like most notarial records, credit acts from the late middle ages are very common, although they show strong transformations during this period, especially during the fourteenth century. The proportion of credit registered by the notaries was clearly decreasing. Several hints indicate that the writing of specific kinds of transaction was more and more often made by local trade actors who owned a personal cartularium. In addition to the urban courts of Provence, there was a dense network of small rural lords' courts, in which local notaries played a major part. The lack of judicial archives is a problem when trying to reconstitute what happened after the debt creation, in terms of economic situation or eventual justice procedures. The credit acts usually only mention the very common obligation of all goods which is of little help. But the occasional presence of specific clauses such as the mention of guarantors or the obligation to be *hostagium* for the debtor reveals that a fragile situation – a potential threat to debt recovery – was a possibility for the actors of the transaction.

Olivier Mery is currently in the third year of his thesis, under the direction of Professor Laurent Feller, University of Paris I. He also has a three-year contract to teach medieval history in the University of Evry, in the south of the Parisian area. The purpose of his work is to produce a monograph on a small Provençal town, Reillanne, based on notarial and communal registers. He is trying to incorporate new investigation themes such as credit, the land market, networks studies and the use of computer data bases. The results are expected to offer a different and complementary approach to the French annales tradition of rural economics and society.

17.12 Lluís Sales Favà – Credit and nonpayment in late medieval Catalonia: court proceedings of Caldes de Malavella (1330-1350)

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in North-Eastern Catalonia were increasingly active in civil litigation (mainly related to credit and debt). Our current study seeks to determine social differences and dynamics while researching credit networks. An impressive number of sources remain from this period in our local archives, ranging from notarial to court books and enabling us to reconstruct how and why court proceedings functioned as they did. Catalonia, as the rest of Western Europe, was at the time a jurisdictional puzzle; fragmented because of baronial estates and jurisdictional traditions working within. Our paper will be presenting the case of a court in a small-town; those central places that worked as economic and credit distributors to their rural surroundings. The object of our study will be the court of Caldes de Malavella (a seignoral town). We will be presenting the methodological inconveniences that show up while researching on court proceedings, as well as explaining the system that enabled the estate dwellers to prosecute their debtors. Our initial hypothesis is that apart from constituting a powerful pleading system that secured the extension of credit, court proceedings were as well used by creditors as binding mechanisms to enforce their debtors on on-going economic relations.

Lluís Sales Favà (b. Barcelona, 1982), is a post-graduate student of the History Department of the University of Girona. Until February 2007 he worked as a funded-researcher of a project entitled 'Prosopography of a small medieval town and its surroundings: Sant Feliu de Guíxols and the Vall d'Aro during the second half of the fourteenth century', directed by Pere Orti. He is currently working on his thesis on credit and unpayment as evidence useful in analysing the

standards of living and the socioeconomic cleavages in a late medieval society. He is attached to the Rural History Research Centre of the University of Girona. In 2008 he obtained his DEA (Diploma of Advanced Studies). He is engaged as well in the research project 'Credit and unpayment in north-eastern Catalonia (fourteenth-fifteenth C.)', funded by the Spanish Education and Science Ministry.

17.13 Pere Orti Gost – Sant Feliu de Guíxols and its jurisdictional court during the fourteenth century

Sant Feliu de Guíxols was a small town and leading sea-port in northern Catalonia, ruled by its monastery community and abbot until 1354, when it became part of the royal estates. But it was not until 1374 that its rural hinterland was incorporated to the court's jurisdictional district. This paper will analyse this jurisdictional shift and its consequences in court proceedings, with the hypothesis that these changes caused a greater articulation of this rural territory and at the same time an economic take-off of the small town.

Pere Orti Gost (b. Barcelona, 1963) is a professor in Medieval History at the University of Girona, member of the Rural History Research Centre of the University of Girona and attached as well to the Milà i Fontanals Institution, of the CSIC (Scientific Research Superior Council). He has published some researches on royal assets and State and municipal tax systems in medieval Catalonia, most notably the edition undertaken with M. Sánchez, of the chapters of the donation of the Catalan Parliament in the fourteenth C. ('Corts, parlaments i fiscalitat a Catalunya: els capítols del donatiu (1288-1384)', a study on the city of Barcelona ('Renda i fiscalitat en una ciutat medieval: Barcelona, segles XII-XIV') and several articles on the first general taxing system that operated in Catalonia ['Una primera aproximació als fogatges catalans de la dècada de 1360' and 'La primera articulació del Estado feudal en Cataluña a través de un impuesto: el bovaje (s. XII-XII)']. He has been engaged as well in a French-Spanish project, directed by D. Menjot and M. Sánchez, on local tax systems in the West Mediterranean, the first results of which can be found in 'La fiscalité des villes au Moyen Âge' (1996 and 1999). In 2004 he received a Generalitat (regional government) Award on University Research Promotion. He is the director of the research project 'Credit and unpayment in north-eastern Catalonia (fourteenth -fifteenth C.)', funded by the Spanish Education and Science Ministry.

17.2 The Scandinavian *bonde*: a challenge to the peasant-farmer dichotomy?

Room 104

Convener: Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen

Chair: Janken Myrdal

17.21 Bjørn Poulsen – The free *bønder* of Scandinavia – who were they?

From the eighteenth century it was an integrated part of the historical discourse that the Viking Scandinavians were free men without aristocracy. This was maintained by nineteenth-century Swedish historians, such as Erik Geijer, as well as contemporary Danish scholars, such as C. F. Allen. During the last part of the twentieth century opposition to this view has rightly been raised, stressing the existence of early aristocracies and manors. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the rural population of all the Nordic Countries from the Viking age and through the middle ages was, to a high degree, composed of relatively large farms run by farmers, freeholders, termed *bonder* or *bønder*. Recent studies stress this, even in regard to the most aristocratically dominated of the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, where 100 per cent freeholders are found in some areas. It is the aim of this paper to trace the early roots of the group of *bønder* and to show its growing terminological and social separation from the rest of society during the late middle ages. The question will be raised how this group fits into the general discussion of European peasantries.

Bjørn Poulsen (b.1955) has been Professor of European History 1000–1750, University of Aarhus, since 2001. His publications in English include: 'Rural credit and land market in the Duchy of Schleswig c.1450–1660', in: B. van Havel and P. Hoppenbrouwers (eds), *Landholding and land transfer in the North Sea area (late middle ages –*

nineteenth century) (2004); (with Jeppe Büchert Netterstrøm) (eds), *Feud in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2007); (with Nils Hybel) *The Danish Resources c.1000–1550. Growth and Recession* (2007); (with Klaus-Joachim Lorenzen-Schmidt) (eds), *Writing Peasants. Studies on Peasant Literacy in Early Modern Northern Europe* (2002); (with Finn E. Eliassen and Jørgen Mikkelsen) (eds), *Regional Integration in Early Modern Scandinavia* (2001).

17.22 Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen – Primitive peasants or free yeomen: *bønder* in early modern Scandinavia

In the early modern period, the Scandinavian *bonde* or peasant became consolidated as a distinctive group. It was a period of increased taxation and conscription by the state, and, for noble tenants, demands of labour service and increased manorial authority. State and landlord policy nonetheless consolidated the solid family farm, which was seen as suited to paying taxes and providing labour service. Consequently large parts of Scandinavia remained dominated by farms of fairly equal size. In much of Scandinavia the holders of these farms – the *bonder* or *bønder* – were in low esteem from higher strata, but they farmed most of the land and dominated village life over cottagers and crofters.

In northern Sweden and much of Norway solid family farms also prevailed. Their holders were also seen as *bønder*, but they had a more free status and were seen as entrepreneurial. When the *bønder* of lowland Scandinavia were largely freed from feudal bonds in the late eighteenth century, the image of the ‘free’ *bonde* from upland Scandinavia in many ways served as ideal.

The paper discusses the relationship between social and conceptual development.

Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen (b.1960) has been Associate Professor of Early Modern History, University of Aarhus since 1998. Since 2008 he has been Chairman of the Danish Agricultural History Society. His publications in English include: ‘An English or a continental way? The great Agrarian reforms of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein in the late eighteenth century’, in Santos, R., Congost, R. (eds), *Context of property. The social embeddedness of property rights to land in Europe in historical perspective* (forthcoming, 2010); ‘Property rights in the duchy of Schleswig’, in Iversen, T., Myking, J. R. (eds) *Land, Lords and Peasants* (2005); ‘Modern manors?’, in Sundberg, K., Germundsson, T., Hansen, K. (eds) *Modernisation and Tradition* (2004); and ‘Corvée and Paid Work’, in Sundberg, K. (ed.), *Work and Production on Manors in the Baltic Sea Region, 1700–1900* (2002).

17.23 Mats Morell – The modern *bonde* in Scandinavia

From the mid-eighteenth century an emancipation process blew over Scandinavia. Tenants were encouraged to buy themselves status as freeholders. Falling taxes and rents and increased production promoted their economic progress. Largely they carried the agricultural revolution on their shoulders and they were positive to consolidations and enclosures. Social and cultural advancement followed and they strengthened their political influence both in the emerging national bicameral parliaments and in the restructured local governments, where the dominance of large landowners was challenged.

The owner-occupying *bønder* combined old and new in a way to that rendered tradition-modernity dichotomies problematic. They involved themselves in a vivid co-operative movement that transformed them into entrepreneurial commercial actors. Despite the *fin de siècle* smallholder movement and post-war structural transformation, with partial leases and formation of large farm units, *bønder* with medium size farms remained the backbone of the farming communities throughout the twentieth century, and the term *bonde*, which for urban observers have sometimes symbolised backwardness, has turned from a sociologic-historical category into an occupational one: any farmer – even a large estate owner of aristocratic descent – may call himself *bonde*.

The paper elaborates on the tension between concept, image and reality

Mats Morell (b.1955) has been the Professor of Economic History at Stockholm University since March 2010. From 2006, he was Guest professor in the section for Agricultural History at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

and from 2004, Professor of Economic History at Uppsala University. His publications in English include: 'Trade crisis and regulation of the farm sector: Sweden in the inter-war years', in Olsson, Sven-Olof, *Managing Crises and De-Globalisation: Nordic Foreign Trade and Exchange, 1919–1939* (2009); 'From Wartime Provisioning to Barbarous Prosperity: Eli F. Heckscher's Investigations of Food Consumption in Early Modern Sweden', in Ronald Findlay et al, *Eli Heckscher, International trade and Economic History* (2006); 'Family Farms and Agricultural Mechanization in Sweden Before World War II', in Jonung, L. & Ohlsson, R. (eds.), *The Economic Development of Sweden since 1870* (1997); 'On the Stratification of the Swedish Peasant Class', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 28 (1980); (with Janken Myrdal) (eds) *The Agrarian History of Sweden* (forthcoming).

17.3 Agricultural development and colonisation

Room 107

Chair: TBA

17.31 Seung-Jin Chung and Takenori Matsumoto – The Japanese Hosokawa Family Farm at a Colonial Korean Village: Its Experiences at the Obamura Village in North Cholla Province

In contrast to many feudal lords who lost their political and economic positions in the aftermath of the Meiji Restoration, the Hosokawa family from Kumamoto Japan succeeded in transforming themselves to large landlord both in their old prefecture and in the new colony. The Hosokawa family came to Korea immediately after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), acquired a large tract of land, and built a tenant farm and model village. The family put forth a great amount of investment and donation to Obamura so as to build social infrastructure as well as to carry out land improvement for rice production. The Obamura Village in Cholla Province, the best rice-basket in Korea, was a Korea branch of the Hosokawa farm domain, and witnessed a rapid development of Japanese immigrant society. However, this highly-developed community brought about confusion and alienation to the native Korean villagers, and presented itself as a contradiction to the assimilation policy of the colonial authorities. It was because the Obamura Village stood as a quick transplantation of the Japanese version of rural improvement project for building a model village, rather than as an outgrowth of native agricultural development and local improvement.

Seung-Jin Chung is Lecturer in the Academy of East Asian Studies and the Department of Economics, Sungkyunkwan University, South Korea. Research area: Modern Korean Economic History, Comparative Colonialism in East Asia. Published Book: *The Regional Economic History in Modern Korea* (2003).

Takenori Matsumoto is Professor in the Laboratory of Agricultural History, Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, University of Tokyo, Japan. Research area: Rural History of Colonial Korea, especially focusing on the relationship between the colonial apparatus of administration and Korean peasants. Published Books: *The Irrigation Association Project in Colonial Korea* (1991), *Colonial Power and Korean Peasants* (1998), *Experiences of 'Colonial Modernity' in Colonial Korea* (2005)

17.32 Bina Sengar – The villages of Marathwada transforming themselves from Maratha-Nizam hegemony to British: perceptions of the villagers

The Maratha and Nizam's power were the supreme in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Deccan in Indian Subcontinent. Their supremacy was far ingrained to the political authority which they envisaged over the region and its people. A major source of the revenue and economic support in the region was carried by the political powers of the region through the rural population of Marathwada, as a result they reconstructed overall socio-cultural and economic functioning bodies of the village system of the region. The mechanism of village which they formulated continued to thrive itself till the hegemony of Britishers developed its stronghold. In the initial years of the British domination in the region, the British constituted the continuation of the pre-existing system

because of the administrative constraints and physiographic and cultural differences that existed in the region. However, after middle of the nineteenth century, several changes that were introduced in the land-revenue administration of the region invariably affected the socio-cultural milieu of the people of the Marathwada region. The research paper intends to understand the change which occurred in the region in the transition phase of administrative system from Maratha-Nizam to British and how it affected the people of the village. Wherein to build the argument: case studies of two villages is taken into consideration from the historically important two case studies of the towns of Sillod and Kannad in Aurangabad district. The study will emphasise the comparative understanding of the regional in the inter-temporal triangulations.

Bina Sengar is Assistant Professor, Department of History, Faculty of Social Sciences, Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Aurangabad, India. She has a PhD in History with a thesis entitled: 'Role of Gandhians and social transformation of Gujarat tribes, 1920-1960', January 2005 from the M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara. Her post-doctoral research includes 'Democracy among the Tribal Communities of Western India', 'Health Through History: The Health Practices of Tribal Communities of Eastern Gujarat', and 'A Study of Existing and Emerging Medical Practices among the Indigenous Communities and Emergent European Influence since 1500 AD in Northern Bengal Region'.

17.4 Economic organisation processes and politicisation in European rural societies, c.1850–1940, II

Room 202

Conveners: Gloria Sanz Lafuente and Corinne Marache

Chair: Miguel Cabo Villaverde and Gloria Sanz Lafuente

17.41 András Vári – Political mobilisation and economic support for agriculture. Austria and Hungary (from the 1870s to the First World War)

The paper compares the national and regional agricultural associations of three countries, Germany, Austria and Hungary from the end of the nineteenth century to the First World War. At this period, an intense political mobilisation took place in rural society. The driving forces behind this mobilisation were different associations, fighting partly for narrow economic aims like tariff protection, but also for a more generally anti-liberal government policy. This paper argues, that there were three or four major factors determining the extent, width of political mobilisation. One has been long obvious, the extent of the franchise. But other factors have hardly been studied. The paper looks first at the extent of concrete economic assistance, which the associations were able and willing to extend to their members as a determining factor for the attractiveness of their economic policy propositions. A wider variety of concrete assistance from the economic associations seems to have strengthened the political message of the associations substantially. What other trans-local organisations, networks were there beside the agricultural associations, seems also to have enhanced or emaciated the political response from the land. Both the rural co-operatives movement and the friendly societies, mutual help associations have multiplied in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There are a number of instances where their effect strengthened rural political mobilisation. Finally, the larger issue of relations between landlords and peasant farmers determined by the different course of peasant emancipation and the tax and tariff policies of the liberal governments of the 1860 and 1870 will also be investigated. But small matters need to latch onto larger issues to have a major impact.

András Vári is Senior lecturer at the Department of History, University of Miskolc. Since 2003 he has been a member of the board of editors, *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* and, since 2006, member of the board of the directors, István Hajnal Social History Association, Budapest.

17.42 Leen van Molle – Peasants, political parties and national identities in a multilingual state: Belgium, c.1880–1940

The process of the politicisation of farming people is a subject that has already exercised more than one generation of historians from various European countries. If anything has become apparent it is that the process was not linear or unambiguous, but had a multiplicity of causal factors and was multi-layered. In this respect, Belgium represents a special case, not simply because of the dominance of a single agricultural organisation – the *Boerenbond* (Farmers' League) – with wide-ranging economic and political sway, remarkable internal cohesion and an unflagging dynamism, but also because of the influence had by specifically Belgian contextual factors on that politicisation in this country. The process here was in fact dual. On the one hand was a tendency towards convergence around a Belgian, Catholic, organisational model that rested on a romantic image of peasantry and countryside. On the other was organisational fragmentation along the fault lines in Belgian society: the first, the ideological cleft between Catholics, liberals and socialists; the second, the socio-economic gulf between agriculture and industry, between rural and urban areas; and the third, the widening rift separating Belgian, Flemish and Walloon nationalism. Those brands of nationalism, the formation of political parties, the extension of the right to vote and economic transformation all acted upon each other, and it was within this context that farming people became a much-focused-on object of electoral mobilisation, albeit that this was in various and sometimes contradictory directions at the same time. The paper argues that the development of agricultural organisations not only stemmed from the strained context within which they operated, but was also partly responsible for bringing the fault lines into greater relief.

Leen Van Molle is professor of modern history at the University of Leuven (Belgium), Department of History. Her research focuses on Belgian and comparative European social history from 1800 to the present, especially rural history, the rural-urban divide, the construction of social identities, co-operative saving and lending, gender and the methodology of oral history. She is co-promotor of the international research group CORN (*Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area*, FWO), president of ICAG (*Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History*, University of Leuven).

16.43 Edouard Lynch – ‘The wine and the bread’: the socialist co-operative movement and the politicisation of countrysides, 1890–1940

In the political history of contemporary French countryside, the concept of politicisation is firmly linked to the nineteenth century and the slow establishment of the Third Republic. However, political thought did not cease to drive new ideologies, norms and political practices in 1880. Throughout the twentieth century, the way citizens interacted with politics continued to evolve. This is clear from the growth of trade unions, mass political parties and new forms of political expressions.

Politicisation was reinforced by the emergence of new political organisations and by socialism. The urban working class was the key protagonist. Yet, socialists in France and across Europe needed to target and win over the rural population, if only to achieve a broader geographic footprint and a better chance of electoral success.

This was manifest in the creation of a new economic entity, the co-operative. Originally concerned with the storage and reselling of agricultural produce. The co-operative, particularly in the wine-making sector, was the key player in the SFIO's electoral expansion in rural France before 1914.

If the co-operative model was well adapted to the needs of a wine-making sector, faced with increasing over-supply and quality issues; the Great Depression of the 1930s, saw the focus of the co-operative shift to other sectors, such as cereals. The storage of wheat had become a major factor in the organisation and control of agricultural markets.

Creating and encouraging co-operatives had not just an economic purpose. It was part of a conscious political strategy, to engage and organise French rural society, who were being wooed on all sides.

Édouard Lynch is Maître de conférences in Contemporary History in the Laboratoire d'Études Rurales at the Université Lumière Lyon 2. His publications include 'Les campagnes du Front populaire : entre violence et politisation', in Gilles Morin and Gilles Richard (eds), *Les deux France du Front Populaire* (2008); 'Les révoltes de la Champagne au miroir de 1907: modèle languedocien et médiatisation protestataire', in *L'Aude et la Vigne: cent ans de passion*, Actes du colloque de Carcassonne (28-30 juin 2007) (2008); 'Les manifestations paysannes de la IV^e à la V^e République : un répertoire protestataire à l'épreuve (1953-1965)', in Gilles Richard and Jacqueline Sainclivier (eds), *Les partis et la République. La recomposition du système partisan. 1956-1967* (2007); 'Socialisme européen et question paysanne: des ambiguïtés fondatrices', in Jean Vigreux and Serge Wolikow (eds), *Rouge et rose, deux siècles de socialisme européen* (2007).

17.5 How local are local foods? Historical approaches to ‘new’ terroir products

Room 203

Conveners: Dulce Freire and Monica Truninger

Chair: TBA

The debate on local food has received wide attention in the field of agro-food studies. Framed within this debate, local food meanings and its contradictions alongside a critique of the ‘local’ for rural and sustainable development have all been scrutinised by the sharp social scientific eye. See, for example, the numerous dedicated articles to this topic in specialised journals (e.g. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *Journal of Rural Studies*). Despite prominent contributions have moved forward the debate onto groundbreaking reflective spaces, the historical links of the territorial connections of product and place received far less attention by agro-food scholars. As to the historians, there has been a long discussion on food quality schemes embedded in the territory, crucially since the Portuguese government took the pioneering resolution in 1756 of defining the first world demarcated region – the Oporto wine region. Thus, origin-linked product schemes that carry a guarantee of quality have caught the eye of many historians and anthropologists, particularly for the cases of wine and cheese – some of the very first products to receive such status. In this vein, this session aims to revisit and engage with these debates by bringing closer the historical approaches to local food. Nevertheless, instead of focusing on processed products such as wine and cheese (what we can call the ‘old’ *terroir* products), the session attempts to give visibility to fresh fruit and vegetables (the ‘new’ *terroir* products). Several reasons justify this focus. Compared to wine and cheese, most fruit and vegetables have received much later territorial designations, either symbolically or statutorily enforced (e.g. PDO, GPI, etc.). However, they also reclaim a strong link to a long distant past. Moreover, freshness is deeply associated with local food meanings, possibly contributing to consolidate further territorial bonds. Lastly, fruit and vegetables are a relatively mundane and ordinary component of peoples’ food diets, deprived from a strong symbolic and cultural feature (unlike meat and dairy products). Yet, they can be part of important identity territorial codes that are reproduced through time and the object of political, economic and cultural battles. Hence, three questions steer this session:

- 1) To what extent and to what point in time can we draw and map the historical local roots of fruit and vegetables?
- 2) To what extent the know-how, techniques and skills employed in cultivation, packaging and storage activities replicate and reproduce older and past systems of knowledge and practice?
- 3) To what extent the ‘new’ *terroir* products overlap and dispute the symbolic, cultural, political and territorial spaces of the old ‘*terroir*’ products? What are the consequences of such overlapping in the bio-material, political, cultural and social design of local foodscapes?

17.51 Atle Wehn Hegnes – Thinking and doing protected designations: a tale from the ‘food specialisation’ of Norway

By the end of the 1980s one can see a new way to produce and to think about food in Norway. Norwegian governmental authorities have since this time worked hard to implement different schemes that focus on different kinds of food quality (the quality turn) to stimulate sales of high quality food. In the Norwegian context it is appropriate to name this evolution ‘The Food Specialisation of Norway’, referring to one of the most prominent terms introduced by the

governmental forces trying to name this new way of thinking about food production, sales and consumption in the Norwegian context.

Using the idea of ‘The Food Specialisation of Norway’ as a context, this paper aims to conceptualise aspects of the dynamics in one of the schemes introduced – the Norwegian Scheme for Protected Designations. The study highlights two aspects of the scheme. In first place it is a study of documents to find ideas about how the scheme came about, where shaped and influenced the implementation. The second aspect concerns how this scheme is practised by involving actors and is based on interviews conducted in 2007 and 2008.

Applying this perspective makes it possible to bring a historically oriented narrative of the history of the implementation of the scheme together with contemporary studies of how it is practised today. The questions will not only evolve around ‘what’s going on’, ‘what kind of transformations do such schemes generate’, but also the question of method; how to do the work – empirically as well as theoretically.

Atle Wehn Hegnes holds a Cand. Polit. degree in sociology and is Research fellow at the Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo. Hegnes held a position as research assistant at the National institute for consumer research in the period 2005-2006. His ongoing PhD project has the working title: ‘Modern global rules for traditional local products – A study of implementation, comprehension and practicing of “Regulation on the Protection of Designations of Origin, Geographical Indications and Designations of Specific Traditional Character of Foodstuffs” in Norway’.

17.52 Dulce Freire and Monica Truninger – The qualification process of the Western Rocha Pear: inventing a ‘new’ terroir product?

This paper focuses on the historical process of qualification of the Western Rocha Pear – an autochthonous Portuguese pear variety which was granted PDO status in 2003. According to its PDO territorial boundaries, this pear variety is associated with a territory that is much larger than the boundaries that demarcate its origin – Sintra municipality (an area within the region of Lisbon). In this paper, we describe two processes: on the one hand, the myth-making surrounding the origins of Western Rocha Pear (first appeared in 1836 in the farm of Mr. Rocha), wherein we argue that regional market and administrative interests justify, in part, the extension of the territorial boundaries beyond Sintra; on the other hand we offer an historical account of the know-how and skills involved in the production of traditional Rocha Pear orchards and the gradual shift towards the use of modern technologies (refrigeration systems) and mechanisation (water irrigation), which now feature in the current *filière* of Western Rocha Pear, to respond to pressures for globalisation and quality standards of export markets.

The paper aims to contribute to the debate on the classic and new notions of *terroir* (enshrined in EU regulations on GIs) by arguing that: despite this product and its sector’s infra-structure clearly defy a classic notion of *terroir* – according to Tregear (2003), it should be based on traditional and non-modernised production, small scale, collective *savoir-faire* – the Rocha Pear still delivers and fulfills an important role as a cultural and identity marker of a region, and is representative of the Western region food culture.

Dulce Freire is a researcher at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon). Her areas of research are agrarian policies in Portugal and Europe, the impact of the modernisation of agriculture, technological innovation, social movements and social change. Since 2006, she has chaired, with Anton Schuurman, the Rural History Network for ESSHC.

Monica Truninger is a Research Associate at the School of Social Sciences (University of Wales, Bangor) since February 2005. She has joined the project ‘Comparative assessment of environmental, community and nutritional impacts of consuming fruit and vegetables produced locally and overseas’, which is part of the Rural Economy and Land Use (RELU) programme funded by Research Councils UK. She has recently completed her PhD in Sociology at the University of Manchester under the supervision of Prof. Alan Warde. Her PhD thesis was focused on organic food

consumption and its articulation with the food provisioning system in Portugal. Prior to her post-graduate studies she worked as a junior researcher in various social sciences projects related to public opinion, environmental issues and organic food consumption at Observa (Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon and ISCTE – Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa, Portugal). Her primary research interests are food consumption and environmental issues.

17.53 Stefano Grando – Non-food agricultural production and rural development. A story of success and failure from southern Italy

Bergamot is a citrus fruit that looks like a slightly flattened lemon. It contains an essence that is a very important and widely used in the perfume industry. The essence is nearly a natural monopoly for the Southern Italian region of Calabria, since the large majority of the essence marketed in the world comes from that region. Nevertheless Calabrian bergamot production, after two centuries of high profits, has plunged into a deep crisis in the last few decades, so that the survival of the production is at risk.

This contribution, based on a field research conducted by the Author for the Department of Economics of the University of Naples ‘Federico II’, describes two different initiatives that have been undertaken in recent years in order to overcome the crisis, and discuss them in the light of the current literature on rural networks and rural development. Although these initiatives differ from one another in many respects, both of them move towards the establishment of closer linkages between bergamot production and the territory, in a perspective of multi-faceted rural development and multifunctional use of resources.

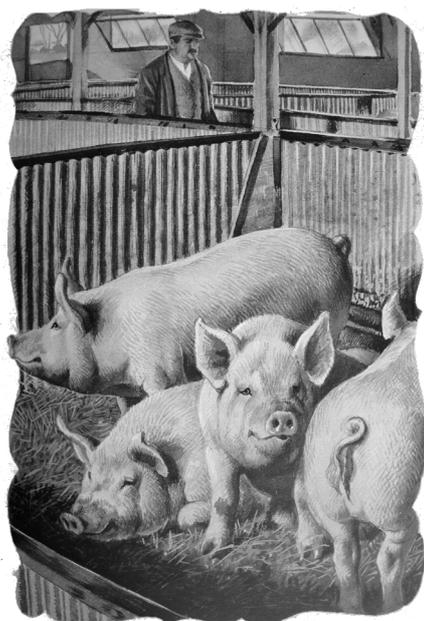
A brief history of the production is presented as well as an analysis of the main supply chain, with the aim of discussing the reasons of the crisis and of analysing the strategies at the base of the two initiatives in the context of the literature on vertical and horizontal networks, rural development and culture economy.

Stefano Grando holds a PhD in Agrarian Economics from the University of Basilicata (Potenza, Italy) with a dissertation on organic farming, and a MSc in Regional Development from the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of Wales (Cardiff, UK). He has been Research Fellow at the Department of Economics of the University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’ and at the department of Economics of the University of Naples ‘Federico II’. He has worked in research project with the Department of Applied Economics of the University of Asturias (Oviedo, Spain) and as a consultant for the IFAD – International Fund for Agricultural Development. Currently he is Research Associate at the SPES Development Studies Research Centre of the University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’. His research interests include rural development, local development, agricultural economics, rural sociology, economic development, rural-urban dynamics in developing countries, ecological economics.

Thursday 14.00 to 16.00

Session 18

Room 103	Room 104	Room 107	Room 202	Room 203
<p>18.1 Law courts and contracts in the European countryside, c.1300–c.1860: III</p> <p>Convener: Chris Briggs Chair: TBA</p> <p>18.11 Piotr Guzowski: Village court rolls and the Polish peasant economy in the late middle ages and early modern period (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries)</p> <p>18.12 Quentin Duquesne: ‘Taking disputes to the altar of concord’. Debt litigation before local judges from seigneurial courts to the revolutionary Justices of the Peace in Dauphiné, France, 1782–1793</p> <p>18.13 Tracy Dennison: Contract enforcement in Russian serf society</p>	<p>18.2 New approaches to labour</p> <p>Chair: Richard Hoyle</p> <p>18.21 Joyce Burnette: Measuring the seasonality of agricultural employment, 1740–1850</p> <p>18.22 Ryutaro Mizuta: Labour exchange and peasant economy</p> <p>18.23 Jeannie Whayne: Building it of brick and hollow tile: Lee Wilson and black labour</p> <p>18.24 Johann Custodis: Employing the enemy: the economic contribution of German and Italian prisoner-of-war labour in British agriculture, 1941–1947</p>	<p>18.3 Drink and farming in the modern world</p> <p>Convener: John Chartres Chair: TBA</p> <p>18.31 John Chartres: Drink versus bread and feedstuffs in Britain, c.1600–1914</p> <p>18.32 Noelle Plack: Common land, wine and the French Revolution, c.1789–1820</p> <p>18.33 James Simpson: Wine, brands and consumers: vertical coordination in the New World wine industry, 1880–1914</p>	<p>18.5 Museums and movements in the Belgian countryside</p> <p>Chair: Leen van Molle</p> <p>18.51 Chantal Bisschop: The Flemish rural movement on the move, 1960s–1970s</p> <p>18.52 Rien Emmery: The ‘Year of the Village’ (1978) in Flanders: scenes from a Christian-Democrat tragedy</p>	



Large White pigs

18.1 Law courts and contracts in the European countryside

c.1300–c.1860: III

Room 103

Convener: Chris Briggs

Chair: TBA

18.11 Piotr Guzowski – Village court rolls and the Polish peasant economy in the late middle ages and early modern period (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries)

The first village court rolls were written in Poland at the turn of the fourteenth century, after the introduction of German law. The rolls documented the work of village courts, which were comprised of bailiffs and aldermen recruited from among the local peasantry. The rolls include short descriptions of individual cases and the court's verdict. The rolls served also as books, in which wills and other transactions were notarised. Since records in the rolls were made at a charge, it is believed that only the most important court cases were put into writing. In spite of their naturally selective character, village court rolls are an invaluable primary source for the study of demography and the economic and social history of Polish peasants. This paper presents the results of a detailed analysis of selected rolls. This research indicates that approximately seventy percent of all records concerned real estate sales. A typical peasant first appeared in the village court rolls at the moment he purchased or inherited land, whereas the last time his name was mentioned was when he was transferring land at retirement, making a will, or having his estate appraised after his death or when his heirs appeared in court.

Dr Piotr Guzowski is Assistant Professor, Institute of History, University of Białystok, Poland. Recent Publications: *Chłopi i pieniądze na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych (Peasants and Money at the turn of the Late Middle Ages)*, Avalon, Kraków 2008. Research interests include: peasant economy; land markets; commercialisation; credit markets; peasant and gentry family and households in the late middle ages and early modern period; historical demography.

18.12 Quentin Duquesne – ‘Taking disputes to the altar of concord’. Debt litigation before local judges from seigneurial courts to the revolutionary Justices of the Peace in Dauphiné, France, 1782–1793

On the eve of the French Revolution, seigneurial justice was still in France a powerful and active institution in the countryside at the lowest level of the jurisdictional apparatus. These courts therefore had to settle the huge mass of minor financial disagreements between villagers. At the beginning of the French Revolution, Justices of the Peace took over this particular function. Indeed, the Revolution invented a new jurisdictional system and put in place the election of the local judges by their fellow citizens with the intent of provoking a radical change within the local judicial administration. The aim was to encourage peasants to make use of an institution that would be quicker, cheaper and more efficient than the former tribunals rather than using other infrajudicial means of settling their disputes.

Based on the civil sentences records of both institutions in three nearby villages of the Dauphiné, this conference paper examines how the jurisdictional reforms put in place by the Constituent Assembly changed the way ordinary people settled debt litigation in the french countryside. This will allow us to determine whether the State judicial authority, as represented by Justices of the Peace, managed to establish itself as the main agent pacifying social and economic tensions in the countryside at the beginning of the French Revolution.

PhD student **Quentin Duquesne** is currently teaching history in the university of Grenoble under a temporary contract while preparing a thesis under the direction of Dr René Favier (University of Grenoble).

His investigation holds on justice of proximity from the end of the Ancien Régime to the Napoleon Empire in the province of Dauphiné. It focuses especially on the territorial network made up by local courts settlement and its implications on the social practice of resorting to judicial authority in the countryside.

18.13 Tracy Dennison – Contract enforcement in Russian serf society

This paper examines questions about contract enforcement in the absence of formal legal institutions, using archival evidence for one particular rural society in pre-emancipation Russia. Serfs in Russian had no formal legal status; they were considered the property of their landlords. As such, they were denied access to civil institutions, except in extraordinary circumstances. The evidence presented here indicates that some landlords devised substitute – quasi-formal – legal institutions to enable their serfs to engage in contractual transactions. The enforcement services provided for the estate examined here made it possible for serfs to engage in a wide variety of contractual transactions, with other serfs and with free persons. However, this system had significant drawbacks in that the poorest serfs could not afford these services and no serf had recourse beyond the manor.

Dr Tracy Dennison is Associate Professor of Social Science History, California Institute of Technology. Publications: *The Institutional Framework of Russian Serfdom* (forthcoming CUP); ‘Serfdom and Social Capital in Bohemia and Russia’ (with Sheilagh Ogilvie), *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 60 (2007); ‘Did Serfdom Matter? Russian Rural Society, 1750-1860’, *Historical Research* 79(203), 2006, pp. 74-89. Research interests include: rural institutions, especially serfdom; political economy; economic development; pre-revolutionary Russia and eastern Europe.

18.2 New approaches to labour

Room 104

Chair: Richard Hoyle

18.21 Joyce Burnette – Measuring the seasonality of agricultural employment, 1740–1850

Agricultural employment is generally agreed to be very seasonal in grain-producing areas such as the southeast of England. The outdoor poor relief system, cottage industry, and resistance to the threshing machines have been interpreted as consequences of seasonal unemployment.

This paper measures the seasonality of agricultural labour using a wide sample of accounts from English farms in the period 1740-1850. Previously, the seasonality of labour has been measured mainly by wages, though settlement examinations have also been used. There have also been detailed studies of individual farms that show the seasonality of employment at those farms. This paper will measure seasonality using employment records from a large sample of English farm accounts, which will allow me to examine how seasonality varied across regions and over time.

For each farm I measure the employment of male and female day-labourers in the third quarter (July through September) and compare that to average employment for the other three quarters. On average, the employment of male labourers in the third quarter exceeded the normal level by one-third. Seasonality was much greater for female labourers; the number employed in the third quarter was four times the average of the other three quarters. Employment was less seasonal at estate farms and at larger farms.

Joyce Burnette is Professor of Economics, Wabash College. She has a PhD in Economics, Northwestern University, 1994. Selected Publications include *Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain* (2008); ‘Married with Children: The Family Status of Female Agricultural Labourers at Two Southwestern Farms in the 1830s and 1840s,’ *AgHR* (2007); ‘How Skilled Were Agricultural Labourers in the Early Nineteenth Century?’ *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 59 (2006); ‘The Wages and Employment of Female Day-labourers in English Agriculture, 1740-1850,’ *Econ. Hist. Rev.*

57 (2004); “‘Labourers at the Oakes’: Changes in the Demand for Female Day-Labourers at a Farm near Sheffield During the Agricultural Revolution”, *J. Econ. Hist.* (1999).

18.22 Ryutaro Mizuta – Labour exchange and peasant economy

The common production organisation in Japanese villages is a small peasant farm, which depends on labour mainly supplied by the family members. However, as history has taught us, Japanese peasants have not been engaged in agricultural production solely by depending on the labour supplied by the family members. Japanese peasants have spontaneously developed a unique production organisation based on the co-operative relationship among peasants to make the production process more efficient through the exchange of labour. Interestingly enough, an entirely new form of production organisation called ‘co-operative work’ became rapidly prevalent in Japanese villages under the leadership of a nationwide organised agricultural association between the two world wars, when the population of agricultural labourers was on the decline. This production organisation is considered to have been established on the basis of firm community relationships characterised by strong social interactions among people tied by both blood and locational affinity; these relationships have made a major contribution to the maintenance of agricultural yields as a mechanism to mutually coordinate labour among peasants and improve the efficiency in agricultural work under the specific economic conditions of labour shortages. This paper aims to focus on this agricultural co-operative work reported to have been widely prevalent as part of the agricultural labour force countermeasure, particularly during the war, and to help reveal the actual conditions of the organisation and function of such co-operative work – both qualitatively and quantitatively – by looking at the data of the peasant.

Ryutaro Mizuta (b.1982) is a Doctoral Student in the Division of Natural Resource Economics, Graduate School of Agriculture, Kyoto University JSPS Research Fellow (DC1). His research fields are Japanese Economic History and Japanese Agricultural History.

18.23 Jeannie Whayne – Building it of brick and hollow tile: Lee Wilson and black labour

Planter Lee Wilson of Mississippi County, Arkansas, who operated a 50,000-acre plantation in early twentieth-century Arkansas, enjoyed a reputation for better treatment of Black labour but he also used physical coercion and debt peonage to maintain his labour force. Even Wilson’s construction of a model school for African Americans in 1924 has to be understood in terms of how it served his interests. As Wilson stood viewing the smoldering ashes of the school on the morning of its scheduled dedication, he silently smoked his cigar and said nothing. When he returned to his office, however, he ‘gave vent to his feeling’ and vowed to begin again, ‘except that I may build it of brick and hollow tile’ to prevent the arsonists from repeating the offense. Incidents of white capping against both African Americans and the planters who hired them were notorious in the region, and not even Lee Wilson, who was almost a law unto himself, was exempt. Whites wanted plantation jobs, but Blacks were cheaper and planters were in the business to make money. Wilson, who considered himself a paternalist and embraced what C. Vann Woodward characterised as the conservative position on race, may have deserved some of the praise he received – occasionally even from black activists in Arkansas – but he could not protect black labour from white violence, and he was not above using force himself. This paper examines his reputation against the backdrop of a notorious lynching of a black man, a man who stood accused of killing Wilson’s brother-in-law and niece. Here we see in sharp relief the limitations of Wilson’s paternalism.

Jeannie Whayne is professor of history at the University of Arkansas and adjunct curator of America History at the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art in Rogers, Arkansas. She has published numerous articles and eight books including *A New Plantation South: Land, Labour, and Federal Favor in Twentieth-Century Arkansas* with the University of Virginia Press in 1996, a book which won the Arkansiana Award. She has a book under contract with

LSU Press, *Delta Empire: Lee Wilson and the Transformation of Southern Agriculture* which will be published in a series on the Modern South edited by distinguished historian David Goldfield in fall 2011. She has given dozens of conference papers and has had fellowships at the Smithsonian Institution and the Carter Woodson Institute. The Agricultural History Society recently named her a ‘Fellow of the Society.’ She has won numerous awards for both her teaching and publications.

18.24 Johann Custodis – Employing the enemy: the economic contribution of German and Italian prisoner-of-war labour in British agriculture, 1941–1947

Davis considers prisoner of war (POW) labour a liability for captors in the twentieth century. This paper tests his hypothesis by assessing German and Italian POW employment in British agriculture during and after World War Two. Historians stress the significant role of Italian and German POW labour for British agriculture while government sources are ambiguous. New qualitative and quantitative evidence from British and Canadian National Archives provides a first estimate for POW contribution to British GDP and produces new POW productivity results. Rural POW employment developed from small-scale wartime experiments with Italians to large-scale German POW usage post-war. At peak in 1946, one in five rural workers was a German POW. POWs on average represented one eighth of Britain’s rural labour force 1944-1947, twice as much as official government figures allege. They were half as productive as civilians and in high demand by farmers despite initial scepticism. They contributed on average seven per cent to British net rural output. Sensitivity analysis yields a German POW contribution in agriculture of approximately one per cent to British GDP in 1946. Davis therefore omitted an economic valuation of POW labour for the captor’s agricultural sector. German and Italian POW workers alleviated manpower shortages and production bottlenecks and enabled civilian labour releases to war-relevant industries.

Johann Custodis has read BSc Economic History with Economics and received an ESRC scholarship for Economic History Master and PhD studies at the LSE. His current research examines the economics of prisoner of war (POW) employment in Britain, Australia and Canada during and after World War Two with a particular focus on agriculture. He has taught European Economic History and presented at various international conferences. Recent and forthcoming publications include contributions to an undergraduate microeconomics textbook, a volume on wartime economic exploitation and papers for the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Journal of Scottish Historical Studies.

18.3 Drink and farming in the modern world

Room 107

Convener: John Chartres

Chair: TBA

A three-paper session exploring drink production and perceived threats to food supply in early modern and modern Britain; the privatisation of common lands and the development of viticulture in revolutionary and post-Revolutionary France (Dr Noele Plack); and wines, brands and consumers in the New World wine industry –1880-1914 (Prof. James B. Simpson).

18.31 John Chartres – Drink versus bread and feedstuffs in Britain, c.1600–1914

Periodically, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as in previous periods, the principles of the assizes of bread and of ale were invoked in periods of dearth to present the manufacture of beers as threats to the consumer. From the later seventeenth century, there was an additional perceived threat, in the distilling of spirits, that was rarely seen as a direct threat to human subsistence, at least in England, but was perceived as a danger to the pig producer, and to poultry keepers, and thus an indirect danger to the food supply. The first part of this paper will explore the evidence for these perceptions, and attempt to outline the commitment of potential cornlands to drink production, and thus to evaluate the alleged threat. From the middle years of the nineteenth

century, in some sectors earlier, Britain externalised elements of its food supply, and this included increasing quantities of Caribbean sugar, which were fed into traditional drink industries, reducing dependence upon home-produced malting barley, and changing market conditions for many barley growers. If alcoholic drink had been a genuine threat to the nation's bread before the 1830s, it had ceased to be such from the middle of the century. As the UK globalised its food and drink markets.

John Chartres is Professor of Social and Economic History at the University of Leeds, current President of the British Agricultural History Society, former Secretary and Editor of the *Agricultural History Review*. Publications include contributions to the *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, volumes V, VI, and VII; 'Leeds, Regional Distributive Centre of Luxuries in the Eighteenth Century', *Northern Hist.*, XXXVI (2000); 'The Eighteenth-century English Inn: a Transient "Golden Age"?' in Beat Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty, eds, *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (2002); 'England: Early Modern Period', in Joel Mokyr, ed, *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Economic History* (2003), II; 'Spirits in the North-east? Gin and Other Vices in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory, eds, *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (2004); 'A special crop and its markets in the eighteenth century: the case of Pontefract's Liquorice', in R. W. Hoyle, ed., *People, Landscape and Alternative Agriculture: Essays for Joan Thirsk (AgHR, Supplement Series 3, 2004)*; 'Foodstuffs Trade, Early' in J. B. Hattendorf, *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Maritime History* (2007); and 'Producers, Crops and Markets, 1600-1800', in J. Broad, ed., *A common agricultural heritage? Revising French and British Rural divergence (AgHR, Supplement series 5, 2009)*.

18.32 Noelle Plack – Common land, wine and the French Revolution, c.1789–1820

Recent revisionist history has questioned the degree of social and economic change attributable to the French Revolution. This paper will test these ideas by examining the Revolutionary, Napoleonic and Restoration attempts to transform the tenure of communal land in one region of southern France, the department of the Gard. The time span is significant. For although relatively few legal divisions of common land occurred in the region during the 1790s, the Revolutionary attempts to privatise common land unleashed a torrent of illegal partitions and usurpations. These actions, which were primarily undertaken by poorer peasants, would later be checked and regularised by laws passed by Napoleon and Louis XVIII. By analysing the results of the legislative attempts to privatise common land, this paper will also highlight how the Revolution's agrarian policy profoundly affected French rural society and the economy. Not only did some members of the rural community, mainly smallholding peasants, increase their land holdings, but certain sectors of agriculture were also transformed. The expansion of commercial viticulture in the region, which includes the *Côtes-du-Rhône*, was a direct result of the privatisation of common land in this period. This finding is important as it sheds light on the growth which occurred in viticulture in the south of France before the monocultural revolution of the 1850s. It is also significant because it testifies to the considerable impact that the Revolution had on rural socio-economic structures.

Noelle Plack has a PhD from the University of Birmingham, 2004. She is currently Reader in French History at Newman University College, Birmingham, UK. Her research interests are the French Revolution in its rural dimension and her current project seeks to explore how wine was produced, traded and consumed during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic decades. Her publications include: *Common Land, Wine and the French Revolution: Rural Society and Economy in Southern France, c.1789-1820* (2009); 'Making and Ending the French Revolution: Nobility, Bourgeoisie and "the People"' *European History Quarterly*, 39:1 (2009); 'Collective Agricultural Practices and the French State: Aspects of the Rural Code from the eighteenth to the twentieth century' in N. Vivier, *The State and Rural Societies: policy and education in Europe 1750-2000* (2008); 'Drinking the Fruits of Revolution: Common Land Privatisation and the Expansion of Viticulture in Languedoc, c.1789-1820' *European Review of History* 13:2 (2006); 'Agrarian Reform and Ecological Change during the Ancien Régime: Land Clearance, Peasants and Viticulture in the Province of Languedoc', *French History*, 19:2 (2005).

18.33 James Simpson – Wine, brands and consumers: vertical coordination in the New World wine industry, 1880–1914

The wine industry was organised very differently in the Old World and New World in 1914. Growing conditions for grapes were consistently more favourable in the New World, and this led to the appearance of specialist family grape growers, which permitted wine producers to exploit the increasing economies of scale to be found in the winery. This in turn allowed the production of relatively large batches of homogenous table wines, which could be sold under brand names. The paper looks at the rapidly changing wine industry in Argentina, Australia and California, and argues that an important factor to explain the major organisation differences in the three countries was the nature of market demand for wine. In both Australia and California producers had to develop new markets among consumers who were accustomed to drinking beer or spirits rather than wines, while in Argentina brands had limited success because consumers wanted wines which were cheap and with a high alcoholic strength, attributes which offered producers limited stimulus to develop brands.

James Simpson (JS) has a PhD from LSE. He is now Professor of Economic History at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. He has published papers in the leading economic history journals, and is author of *Spanish agriculture: the long siesta, 1765-1965* (1995, Spanish edition, 1997), and *Creating Wine; the Emergence of a World Industry, 1840-1914* (forthcoming September 2011).

18.5 Museums and movements in the Belgian countryside Room 203

Chair: Leen van Molle

18.51 Chantal Bisschop – The Flemish rural movement on the move, 1960s–1970s

The sixties were for Flanders, as for the rest of Western Europe, a period of quick and profound societal changes. The Flemish countryside in particular was changing into a post-productivist and multifunctional area. Furthermore, new social movements were emerging all over the Western World.

At the same time, the oldest and nearly monopolistic farmers' organisation of Belgium, the catholic *Boerenbond* transformed itself, splitting up into a highly specialised farmer's league and a broad rural movement in which non-farming inhabitants of the countryside were expected to play an equally important role. How should we understand this drastic change? Is it, from an international comparative perspective, as unique as the *Boerenbond* itself postulates?

Initially the idea was to modernise the farmers' organisation so that it could withstand the rapidly changing farming sector. Spurred by its economic divisions and inspired by the women and youth organisations that had already opened their doors for non- agricultural members, the concept of a broader rural movement with local rural guilds (*Landelijke Gilden*) was born.

By use of a variety of oral and archival sources we will present an in-depth investigation of the initial objectives of the upper ranks of the rural movement, their (international) sources of inspiration and the different strategies that were used to achieve their goals. This range of ideas will be compared by the actual functioning of the rural movement in its early years.

Chantal Bisschop (b. Bruges, 1984) studied Modern History at the Catholic University of Leuven (K.U.Leuven) in Belgium and the François Rabelais University of Tours in France. She also obtained an academic teachers degree. For her master's dissertation on 'A history of underwear: performance, meaning, and identity (Flanders 1930-2006)' she recently received the Johanna Naber Award from Aletta and the Dutch Association for Women's History. For the Leuven-based Centre for Agrarian History (CAG) she coordinated the Flemish-Dutch exposition 'Supermarket Europe: 50 years of agriculture and food'. Since May 2008 she is preparing a doctoral thesis on *The rural movement in*

Flanders at the Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History (ICAG) of the K.U.Leuven. She published about the history of underwear in the Dutch yearbook for women's history and collaborate on the chapters of agricultural organisations and the ministry of agriculture in 'Sources for the study of contemporary Belgium, nineteenth to twenty-first century'.

18.52 Rien Emmery – The 'Year of the Village' (1978) in Flanders: scenes from a Christian-Democrat tragedy

As one of the most densely populated and industrialised regions of Europe, Flanders has developed a very ambiguous relationship with its countryside over the course of the twentieth century, especially following the Second World War. As a result of agricultural modernisation and increased mobility, the rural sphere increasingly opened up to economic and social functions other than agriculture, such as industry, housing and recreation. The emergence of this 'post-productivist' countryside spurred a hegemonic struggle in which several societal actors competed for the use of the rural space. Especially the *Christelijke Volkspartij* (CVP, the Flemish Christian-democratic party) and its associated social and cultural organisations advocated the countryside as a healthy, peaceful and generally idyllic environment. For several decades, the CVP initiated incentives to promote housing, economic development and recreation in the countryside. However, nearing the end of the 1970s, the desired rural amenities were visibly harmed by a continuing process of what turned out to be unrelenting urbanisation.

Mimicking the structure of the classical Greek tragedy, my paper will argue that the 'Year of the Village' – a governmental campaign in 1978 officially aimed at motivating individuals, organisations and village authorities to assume an active stance in the ongoing process of rural restructuring – was actually an attempt by the Flemish Christian-democratic party to turn the tide, reshape their dominant representation of the countryside and even 'ruralise' Flemish society as a whole, with the intent to prevent further urbanisation of the countryside. The 'Year of the Village' still relied heavily on the well-established and popular imagery of the rural idyll, but now mainly as a discursive strategy to appeal to the general public. The ultimate goal was not just protecting the countryside from unrelenting urbanisation, but rather the implementation of nation-wide spatial and social policies reminiscent of 'traditional' rural community. However, several other actors concerning themselves with the countryside tried to 'hijack' the campaign and call attention to their own view of rurality. In short, the 'Year of the Village' represents an exceptional case-study to assess the twentieth-century hegemonic struggle within the Flemish countryside.

Rien Emmery studied history at Ghent University (2001-2005) and has published several books and articles on the political history of Belgium, specifically Prince-Regent Charles and the Belgian Royal Question. Currently, he is affiliated with the research unit 'Modernity & Society, 1800-2000' at the University of Leuven. He is preparing his PhD within the framework of the project '*Paradoxical rurality. Dwelling in rural Flanders, 1948-1978*', funded by the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO), which is an 'Associated Project' of the housing pillar of EUWOL, the Collaborative Research Project within the European Science Foundation's EUROCORES Programme 'Inventing Europe'. Rien Emmery is also the representative for University of Leuven at the Belgian Society for Contemporary History (*Belgische Vereniging voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis*) and a member of the editorial board of its publication, the *Mededelingenblad*.

<p>EURHO – The European Rural History Organisation</p>

<p><i>Plans and proposals for an organisation to promote rural history in Europe</i></p>
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The function of this document

This document is a draft (i.e. it may be altered) plan for a European Rural History Organisation (EURHO), to be adopted at the international rural history conference to be held in Brighton, UK, in September 2010.

It has been prepared by a working group consisting of Gerard Béaur, Paul Brassley, Rosa Congost, Ernst Langthaler, Peter Moser, Anton Schuurman, Yves Segers and Leen Van Molle.

Individuals and societies are invited to make proposals for the positions of President and Vice President, for members of the Management Committee, and to run the next conference in 2013. All these proposals should be sent to Paul Brassley (paulbrassley@aol.com).

Proposal

It is proposed that a learned society called the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO) should be founded at the international rural history conference to be held at Brighton in September 2010. *Note: alternative names for the organisation have been suggested, including the European Rural History Society (EURHIS or EURUHIS) and the European Society for Rural History (ESRH).*

The purpose of a European Rural History Organisation (EURHO)

The objective of the society should be to promote rural history in Europe, by encouraging and supporting research, teaching and publications in the field.

EURHO should be a working group of and for those studying the history of agriculture and rural life in Europe in any historical period. It should be a network both of individual academics and researchers, and of rural or agricultural history organisations, and so function as the meeting place for all rural historians in Europe and abroad, and those in related academic disciplines, engaged in the study of European rural history.

It should be an interdisciplinary and international organisation of scholars, aiming to stimulate dialogue and debate between historians and all other scholars engaged in research on the rural past.

The activities of the EURHO

In order to achieve its objectives, the EURHO aims to:

- 1) encourage the dissemination of rural history in Europe and improve access to it by providing translations and directories of publications and current research;
- 2) encourage and promote the study of European rural history in a comparative perspective or in the context of larger projects;
- 3) foster communication among rural historians across Europe, and their colleagues elsewhere, especially through conferences, publications, and internet services;
- 4) promote the further institutional development of rural history within the tertiary educational system;
- 5) promote research in rural history in academic programmes

It aims to hold biennial symposia, following the first conference held at Brighton in the UK in 2010 (although the first may not be held until 2013, in order to avoid clashes with the biennial European Social Science History Conference, which includes a rural group) for which it will appoint an organising committee and a conference secretariat.

It seeks to connect with and hence reinforce the activities of other relevant networks and journals.

Membership and funding

Members of the society may include organisations, institutions, and individuals.

National organisations concerned with the promotion of rural history will be encouraged to affiliate to the EURHO, and to make an annual financial contribution to its running costs in proportion to their membership and resources, as determined by the society's Management Committee.

Individuals, especially those in countries that do not have a national organisation, or in which the national organisation has not affiliated, may also join the EURHO. Those attending the biennial symposium would be required to make an individual contribution, as determined by the Management Committee.

Funding will be required for the secretariat of EURHO and for all the activities of the organisation, such as meetings of the board members, producing and maintaining websites and newsletters, and the initial organisation of symposia. In addition to the funds raised from national organisations, one of the important functions of the secretariat will be to raise funding from national research

programmes and European organisations such as the European Science Foundation or the European Commission.

Organisation

ESRH will be led by a **President**, who will act as its spokesperson. The President will normally hold office for two years and may be re-elected. Holders of the position are chosen from the Vice-Presidents. One of the Vice-Presidents will take the place of the President if necessary.

A number of elected members of the Society should act as a **Management Committee** to support and advise the President. The term of office will be two years. No one should serve more than three terms consecutively. The composition of the Management Committee should be as follows: an Executive Group of five, consisting of the President, two Vice-Presidents, the Secretary/Treasurer, and the Editor (who will have overall responsibility for all the publications of the Society), six regional representatives, (*Suggestion: the regions might be arranged thus: 1. Scandinavia, 2. North West Europe (Ireland, UK, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg), 3. South West Europe (France, Spain and Portugal), 4. Central Europe (Germany, Switzerland, Austria), 5. Eastern Europe (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and the states of the former USSR), and 6. Southern Europe (Italy, Greece, the former Yugoslav states, Bulgaria and Romania.)*) and a representative from each national society making a significant financial contribution to the Society.

Ordinary General Meeting: the society will hold an Ordinary General Meeting (OGM) at each symposium. The OGM will choose the Committee members. The Management Committee will propose a central theme and location for the next symposium, which must be approved by the OGM. The OGM may appoint a Symposium Planning Committee of up to five members to advise the Organiser of the next symposium. Notice of the OGM and its Agenda will be circulated by the Newsletter before the symposium.

The EURHO will require a secretariat (which should include a treasurer). The role of the secretariat will be to produce and maintain the website, to edit and produce the electronic newsletter, and to receive and disburse the funds of the organisation. The location(s) of the secretariat and the institutions(s) concerned will be decided upon by the Management Committee at its first meeting.

Language and constitution

The working language of the Society should be English. Other languages may be spoken to promote ease of communication among the members, or used for documents where necessary for legal purposes.

The foregoing document is no more than a proposal for the foundation of the organisation. One of the initial tasks of the Management Committee will be to formulate a detailed constitution, based, for example, on the model of the constitution of the European Society for Environmental History. The EURHO should be non-profit-making and so constituted as to qualify as a charity in the country in which the secretariat is located.

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