

Rural History 2019

**Conference Programme
Abstracts of all Panels and Papers**

**École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Paris
10-13 September 2019**

4th EURHO Conference

Organisers:



With the support of :



Conference book

© Centre de Recherches Historiques (CNRS-EHESS), 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75 006 Paris

Cover: Picture Gérard Béaur, Alsatian vineyard landscape

Editing: Gérard Béaur and Federico Zemborain

Language under the responsibility of the panels'organisers

Illustrations inside: Perrine Mane and Nadine Vivier

Lay-out: Anne Varet-Vitu, Nadja Vuckovic, Mounira Boumessaoud and Federico Zemborain

Print: Jouve

Rural History 2019 – Conference of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO)

Organising Team : Gérard Béaur, Mounira Boumessaoud, Laurent Herment, Anne Varet-Vitu, Nadja Vuckovic, Federico Zemborain

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Welcome Note of President of EHESS

It is an honour for the École des Hautes Études et Sciences Sociales to host the 4th Congress of the European Rural History Organisation, and it is indeed my great pleasure to welcome all the participants to this event. My pleasure derives, naturally, from the theme addressed by this congress, as well as from the insightful discussions that, undoubtedly, will arise during this conference. The issue of rurality, the uncertainties surrounding agriculture's and farmers' place in today's societies, as well as the environmental concerns underlying these questions are regularly debated in the political arena and in the media. In this respect, the historical, interdisciplinary and international approaches allow for a better understanding and tackling of such pressing matters. And, if these approaches are indeed among the top priorities assigned to this congress, I cannot but remind that they are also integral part of our School's DNA.

Since its foundation in 1975, and, actually, even before, as the 6th section of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, EHESS has always put the emphasis on the study of the rural world. By implementing economic and social approaches, in line with its founder, Fernand Braudel's methodological programme, by following Ernest Labrousse's steps, as well as by maintaining close connections with the *Annales*, which Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre founded, it is no wonder that EHESS did fully commit to this of research. Let us recall that, in the 1960s and 1970s, a time viewed as the golden age of rural studies in France, some of the most prominent rural historians were full or associate members of the School: let us think of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Pierre Goubert, to name but a couple of them.

However, even though this research is still vibrant and dynamic in several of its teams collaborating with its historical close partner, the CNRS, EHESS has shifted its focuses towards historical anthropology and anthropology in general, towards material history, political history and cultural history, towards rural sociology, towards environmental issues and geography by integrating space into our research questions. Another shift concerns that of cultural areas which our institution resolutely endorses, also in its internal organisation. Today, EHESS favours two approaches regarding rurality: internationalisation, on the one hand, stemming from the multiple links developed with research centres abroad and the enrolment of students investigating rural life in and outside Europe; interdisciplinarity, on the other hand, thanks to the journal *Études Rurales*, one of the many publications of EHESS.

The School's involvement in the organisation of today's major event – what's more: in the EHESS premises offers the occasion not only to connect with our tradition, but also to renew our ties with it, and also to show our revived interest in the issues that will be discussed in the forthcoming four days. I do not doubt that being hosted by EHESS will stimulate your on the rural world, especially in the perspective of Fernand Braudel's "*longue durée*".

Christophe Prochasson
President EHESS

Greetings of President of EURHO

In 2020, EURHO will celebrate the tenth anniversary of its, at sight, tentative meeting in Brighton, UK. “Rural History 2010” was the name of the then conference, and the welcoming words came from the president of the British Agricultural History Society. However, there was already a Committee that represented the whole of Europe, from north to south and from east to west, there was an illustrated conference book with the abstracts of all papers, and there were over 200 delegates and speakers. An inspiring model was set in place.

Moreover, the conference in Brighton launched the “plans and proposals for an organisation to promote rural history in Europe”, and the following conference in Bern in 2013 turned these plans into the formal establishment of EURHO. Numerous are the ‘rural historians’, from Europe and beyond, who were present in Brighton and who have attended all EURHO’s biannual conferences since: Bern 2013, Girona 2015, Leuven 2017 and now Paris 2019. I am sure that the attendance of Rural History 2021 in Uppsala is already guaranteed. With its conferences, website and newsletter, EURHO has proven its lasting value in the landscape of those who study “all things rural”, from Ancient Times up to the recent past. The EURHO membership became, in a short period of time, a kind of scholarly family, an ideal open space for the exchange of information, for debate and collegial encounters. Enough reasons thus to call the initiative of 2010 a masterstroke, and to congratulate all those who have contributed to EURHO’s continuous success, including in particular the organisers of Rural History 2019 in Paris.

“We cannot escape history”: this famous phrase of Abraham Lincoln, addressed to the American Congress in 1862, can perhaps serve as a motto for rural historians. We cannot escape rural history: the globalized world of today is continuously confronted with the stamps and consequences of its rural past, and of what is commonly perceived as the modernization of the agro-food system and the de-ruralisation of the countryside. Floods and droughts, hunger and obesity, demographic pressures and migration, so many current societal problems are directly and indirectly related to the history of agriculture and the countryside. Rural historians are enviably located at the crossroads of past and present, and they contribute to the multifaceted and nuanced understanding of the pressing issues of today. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why EURHO is attracting a growing number of young scholars, interested in the historical roots of food supply and famines, environmental concerns and rural ways of life. The future of rural history and the future of EURHO are in these younger hands, and this future is promising.

Leen Van Molle
President EURHO

Opening Welcome of the Chair of EURHO Paris-2019

I am particularly delighted that Paris and EHESS have the good fortune to host Eurho's four-the biennial Conference. The success of the previous Conferences – the inaugural meeting in Brighton (2010) and its successors in Bern (2013), Girona (2015) and Leuven (2017) – has shown EURHO to be a useful and effective tool to promote the history of the countryside. This Conference is organized by the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, with the assistance of the Centre de Recherches Historiques (CNRS/EHESS) and support from the Ile-de-France regional government and from many other institutions and companies (the CNRS, the EPHE, the FMSH, Crédit Agricole, Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations, Fondation Maison de Salins, Compagnie de Saint-Gobain, and the Fédération Nationale de l'Agriculture Biologique). It brings together around 500 experts on topics related to the rural world, people mainly from Europe, but, also from countries all around the globe.

As in our previous Conferences, we are trying to promote a dialogue among researchers that transcends national boundaries, crosses chronological barriers and breaks down the frontiers between disciplines. This Paris Conference will focus on a large variety of themes varying widely in historical scope and geographical space and in their approach, scale, and method. It welcomes all topics that bring new insights to the problems of rural society, ranging from the economic and social history of the countryside (agricultural or preindustrial production, social reproduction, consumption, material culture, village life, technology, tourism and other subjects), to the ties between these questions and environmental, political, anthropological and cultural history, and links beyond, to the disciplines of geography, sociology, economics, archeology, agronomy, biology and zoology.

Within the four days and eleven sessions of this Conference we have scheduled no less than 112 panels and two keynote speeches. This gives some indication of the richness of our meeting. The Committee has, to its regret, often had hard choices to make. Many panel proposals, often highly deserving ones, had to be turned down, in many cases just to avoid duplicating other sessions or because of space limitations. We have also, unfortunately, been obliged to exclude many excellent paper proposals for which there was simply no space on panels that had already been organized. We apologize for this, and hope to welcome them in future Conferences.

The success of our call for proposals has all our desires. But our pleasure is increased by another hopeful sign for the future of Eurho: the interest displayed by scholars who were not in the habit of attending our meetings, and notably by researchers from countries outside Europe. This increased international openness is very important to us, and is obviously the guarantee of an ever-increasing audience.

I am proud that Paris is to be the meeting place for all these researchers. The knowledge and experience that they bring with them will enrich our way of thinking about the history of the countryside and enable us, in time, to completely renew our vision of it. I am confident that this will be a fruitful meeting, and that it will spur us on to produce even more research on the international dimensions of rural history. I wish all participants an enjoyable and stimulating meeting.

Gérard Béaur
Chair, Scientific Committee

Practicalities

Conference Registration

First Floor of EHESS, 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75 006, Paris

Timing

Tuesday 10 September	from 8. a.m. to 12. 30 p.m. from 2.30 p.m.to 5 p.m.
Wednesday 11 September	from 8. a.m. to 1 p.m.
Thursday 12 September	from 8. a.m. to 1 p.m.
Friday 13 September	from 8. a.m. to 1. p.m.

Beware. No payment of the fee on site.

Infopoint

For any question or if you require some help, please get in touch with the registration stand

Ground Floor, 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75 006 Paris and Ground Floor, 105 Boulevard Raspail, 75 006, Paris

Website

All information on ruralhistory2019.ehess.fr

Registration on Azur-colloque (CNRS)

Refreshments

Offered daily during the coffee breaks: either 54 Boulevard Raspail, Room 23 . 24 or 105 Boulevard Raspail, Rooms 4 & 5

Lunchs

Available on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday at 1. p.m. if pre-ordered when registering, only in dining room of 54 Boulevard Raspail, Ground Floor (see plan)

Welcome Lunch

All registered participants are invited to the welcome lunch on Tuesday 10 September at 1. p. m. in the first floor of EHESS, 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75 006 Paris

Final Lunch

On Friday 13 September, free, 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75 006, Paris

Cocktail

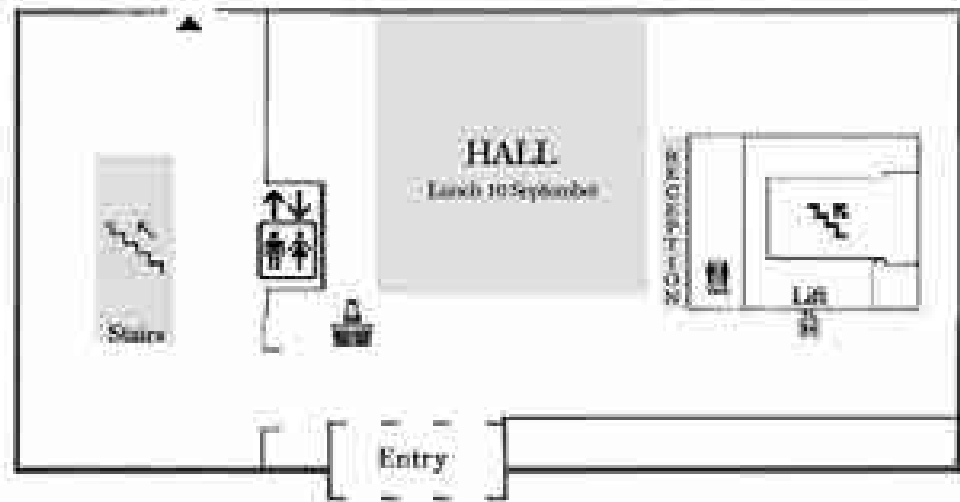
The participants are invited to the reception in the Salons of the Rectorat de l'Académie de Paris at the Sorbonne (47 rue des Ecoles, 75 005 Paris) Beware: access only for preregistered participants. Registering is compulsory

Excursions

On Wednesday 11 September afternoon. Only for preregistered participants. Departure at 2. p.m, from 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75 006, Paris

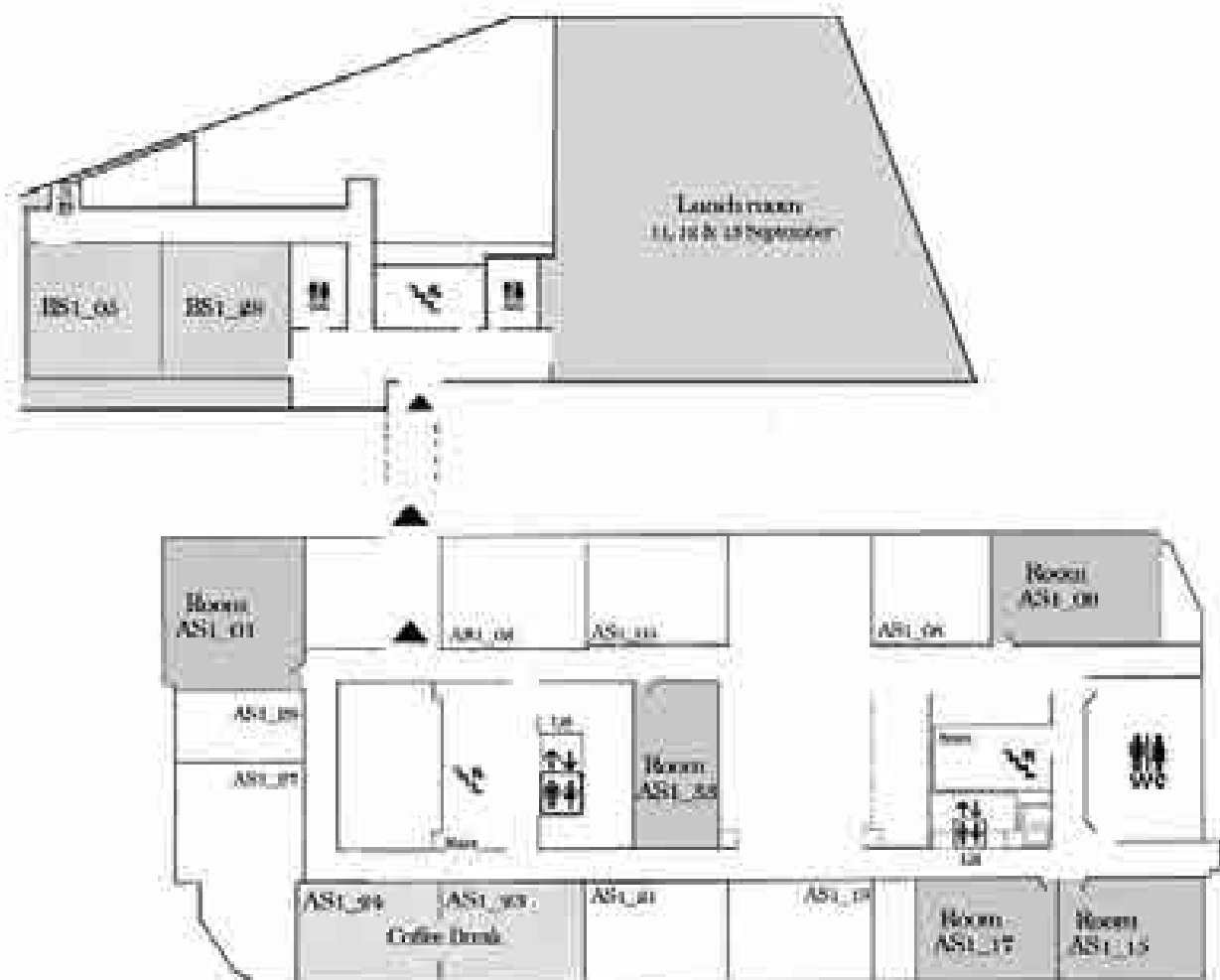
Plans: Building 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris

Ground floor



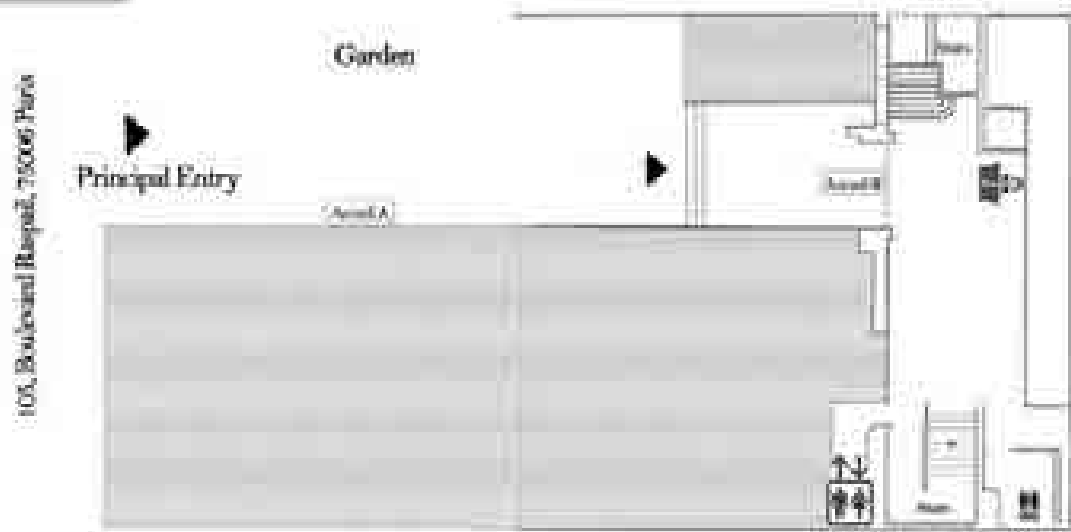
▲ 54, Boulevard Raspail, 75006, Paris

1st Underground



Plans: Building 105 Boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris

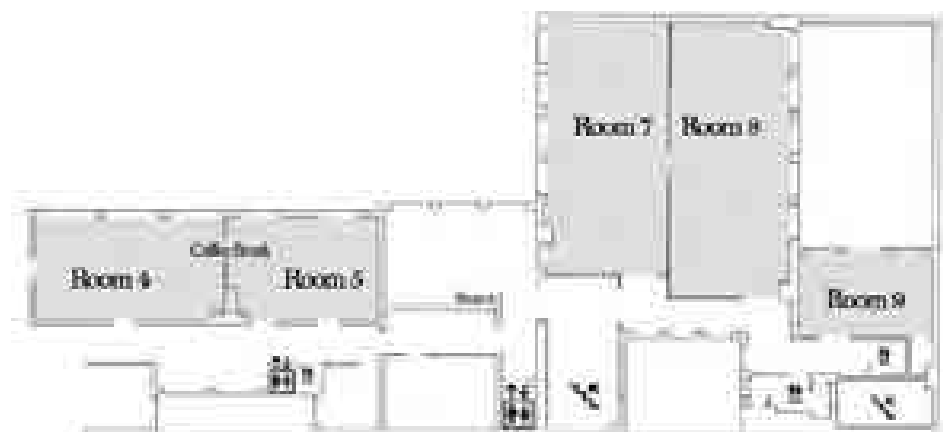
Ground Floor



1st Floor



2nd Floor



Conférence under the auspices of:

EURHO

The EURHO is a non-profit organisation concerned to promote the study of all aspects of rural history in Europe and beyond. It organises, through its members, a bi-annual international conference, runs the website www.ruralhistory.eu and publishes a newsletter, the Rural History Newsletter. Membership is open to scientific institutions concerned with the furtherance of rural history and to individuals who attend the organisation's conferences.

The EURHO has evolved from recent initiatives in the field of international rural history such as the research network CORN (Comparative Rural History of the North-Sea Area), the Rural network of the European Social Science History Conference and the ESF-COST Action PROGRESSORE (Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies). The EURHO has its legal seat at the Institut of Rural History in St Pölten, Austria which provides administrative services to the organization.

The current officers are President: Leen Van Molle; Vice-Presidents: Gérard Béaur and Patrick Svensson; Secretary: Ernest Langthaler; Treasurer: Peter Moser.

EHESS

Since 1947, the EHESS (6th Section of the EPHE till 1 became École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, in 1975) has pioneered innovative methods and ideas that have made landmark contributions to the evolution of the humanities and the social sciences. An interdisciplinary approach, global outlook and critical spirit are cornerstones of the EHESS philosophy, and have informed the thinking of some of the most well-known French scholars,

The École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences) is a graduate-only research institution that has a unique standing in the world of research and higher education in France. It hosts scholars from all over the world committed to the study of contemporary societies seen within broad cultural and historical contexts. It trains students up to PhD level in all disciplines of the social and human sciences (history, anthropology, sociology, economics, geography, linguistics, psychology, demography, cognitive science, political science, philosophy and mathematics). With its high percentage of international students and faculty, EHESS has created a unique global academic network. With over 1,000 round-table seminars a year, in which faculty and guest scholars present and discuss their current research with students, EHESS occupies a central position in French intellectual life.

EHESS has 252 full time Faculty members. It has its main base in Paris with three regional campuses in Marseille, Lyon, and Toulouse. The current President of EHESS is Christophe Prochasson.

CNRS

The French National Centre for Scientific Research is among the world's leading research institutions. Its scientists explore the living world, matter, the Universe, and the functioning of human societies in order to meet the major challenges of today and tomorrow. Internationally recognised for the excellence of its scientific research, the CNRS is a reference in the world of research and development, as well as for the general public.

The French National Centre for Scientific Research, a multidisciplinary research body, structures its mission around six priorities:

- Support world-class basic research in all disciplines.
- Promote interdisciplinarity, in particular with regard to major societal issues.
- Work hand in hand with industrial and economic players on groundbreaking innovations.
- Be a key driver in promoting the international visibility of French research, in particular within the framework of large-scale European programmes and infrastructures.
- Reshape partnerships with autonomous universities.
- Contribute scientific culture and expertise to decision-makers and society at large

CRH

CRH produces work from Antiquity to the present day on a diverse range of cultural topics.

The Center's researchers have a shared interest in the *longue durée*, long-term historical structures, Social History, interdisciplinarity, the interplay between the local and the global, the renewal of historical sources and share an international in research objects, programs and practices.

CRH is made up of 130 researchers, professors, and associate and assistant professors, who work in its 15 research teams.

The Center is also home to hundreds of PhD students, half of whom are from overseas.

Béaur, Gérard, Directeur of Studies, CNRS and Professor EHESS, Paris, France, Chair
Congost, Rosa, Professor, Universitat de Girona, Spain
Gerhard, Gesine, Professor, University of the Pacific, Stockton, USA
Head-König, Anne-Lise, Professor, Université de Genève, Switzerland
Herment, Laurent, Research Fellow, CNRS, Paris, France (co-organiser)
Hoyle, Richard, Professor, University College of London, United Kingdom
Langthaler, Ernst, Professor, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria
Morell, Mats, Professor, Uppsala University, Sweden
Moser, Peter, Director, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland
Petmezas, Socrates, Professor, University of Crete, Greece
Svensson, Patrick, Professor, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden
Thoen, Erik, Professor, Universiteit Gent, Belgium
Van Molle, Leen, Professor, Ku Leuven, Belgium
Varga, Zsuzsanna, Professor, Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest, Hungary

Béaur, Gérard, Directeur of Studies, CNRS and Professor EHESS, Paris, France, Chair
Boudjaaba, Fabrice, Research Fellow, CNRS, CRH, Paris
Herment, Laurent, Research Fellow, CNRS, CRH, Paris, Co-organiser
Chatriot, Alain, Professor, Sciences Po, Paris
Hachez-Leroy, Florence, Professor, Université d'Artois
Ingold, Alice, Professor, EHESS, CRH, Paris
Laferté, Gilles, Research Director, INRA, Dijon
Labbé, Morgane, Professor, EHESS, Paris.
Luna, Pablo, Professor, Sorbonne Université, CRH, Paris
Mane, Perrine, Directeur of Studies, CNRS, CRH, Paris
Mignemi, Niccolò, Research Fellow, CNRS, Paris
Paranthoën, Jean-Baptiste, Post Ph D Student, EHESS, CRH
Varet-Vitu, Anne, Research engineering, CNRS, CRH, Paris
Vivier, Nadine, Professor, Le Mans Université
Vuckovic, Nadja, Assistant Engineer, EHESS, CRH, Paris
Zemborain, Federico, Research engineering, CNRS, CRH, Paris

Conference programme: Overview

Location:

EHESS, 54 and 105 Bd. Raspail, 75006, Paris

Sorbonne (12.09), 17 rue Sorbonne, 75005, Paris

Tuesday 10 September		Wednesday 11 September		Thursday 12 September		Friday 13 September	
9.- 10:30	Scientific Committee Reception	8:30 -10:30	Session 3 Panels 301 to 310	8:30- 10:30	Session 5 Panels 501 to 511	8:30- 10:30	Session 8 Panels 801 to 810
10:30- 12:30	Session 1 Panels 101 to 111	10:30- 11.	Pause	10:30- 11.	Pause	10:30- 11.	Pause
12:30- 14:30	Lunch – Welcome Drink Hall, 54 Bd. Raspail, 75006, Paris	11.- 13.	Session 4 Panels 401 to 410	11.-13.	Session 6 Panels 601 to 610	11.-13.	Session 9 Panels 901 to 910
14.30- 16.30	Session 2 Panels 201 to 210	13.- 14.	Lunch	13.- 14.30	Lunch	13.- 14.30	Lunch
				14.30- 16.30	Session 7 Panels 701 to 710	14.30- 16.30	Session 10 Panels 1001 to 1010
16.30- 17.	Pause	14.- 19.	Excursions - Chartres (until midnight) - Versailles, Queen’s Hamlet and Grignon - Jardin tropical Vincennes	16.30- 17.	Pause	16.30- 17.	Pause
17.-18.	General Assembly 105 Bd. Raspail Amphitheatre François Furet			18.-19.	Keynote Sorbonne Katherine Jellison: “From the Palati- nate to Pennsylva- nia: Gender Rela- tions and the New Agriculture in Europe and North America” Amphitheatre Liard, 17 rue Sorbonne 75 005, Paris	17.-19.	Session 11 Panels 1101 to 1110
18.- 19.30.	Round Table Agriculture and Food-Supply. Perspectives for a global history Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail 75006, Paris			19.-21.	Cocktail Salons du Rectorat Sorbonne 47 rue des Ecoles, 75005, Paris		Final Drink Hall 54 Bd. Raspail 75006, Paris

Conference programme: Keynotes

Keynote 1

Round table, Tuesday 10 September, 18.-19.30,
Amphitheatre François Furet, 105 Boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris

Chair: Nadine VIVIER (Le Mans Université),

Discussants:

Paul BRASSLEY (University of Exeter), Antoni FURIÓ (Universitat de València)

Alessandro STANZANI (CNRS and EHESS)

Agriculture and Food-Supply. Perspectives for a global history

Feeding the world's population has always produced challenges for agriculture, and these challenges are increasing. In the short term farm output is always affected by fluctuations in weather conditions. In the long run agriculture has to feed a growing number of consumers, and an increasing proportion of them no longer produce what they eat. In the past these factors led to a search for external resources and encouraged the rise of productivism.

This double pressure on producers has had some well-known perverse effects: poor peasants needing to have regard to the demands of colonial powers; some countries engaging in land grabbing and controlling local products and resources; farmers in rich countries increasingly relying on markets and distribution networks; and finally environmental problems such as soil and water pollution associated with the intensive use of fertilizers and pesticides.

The purpose of this round table is to explore the way in which these phenomena are interlinked and to attempt to answer some key questions. To what extent has agriculture succeeded, in the long term, in meeting the food requirements of rural and urban populations? How did it ensure these supplies, and what changed and what remained the same over time? To what extent are the uncertainties about the future of human nutrition a product of history? In other words, do these uncertainties emerge from policies and practices (of producers, consumers, and trading networks) that have developed over centuries? To what extent is agriculture at a crossroads in having to cope with the growth in world population, a large part of which is already undernourished or malnourished? Finally, to what extent can agriculture turn its back on productivism at a time of demographic pressure and colonization of cultivable land by other uses, while simultaneously promoting sustainable development?



Plantes potagères, Nouveau Larousse universel, 1948, © BnF..

Keynote 2

Conference, Thursday 12 September 19.- 20.

Amphitheatre Louis Liard, Sorbonne, 17 rue de la Sorbonne, 75005 Paris

Katherine Jellison (Ohio University, co-chairperson of the Rural Women's Studies Association and past president of the Agricultural History Society)

From the Palatinate to Pennsylvania: Gender Relations and the New Agriculture in Europe and North America

The New Agriculture that developed in West Central Europe during the Early Modern period included subsistence farming with some market participation, maintenance of soil fertility through the planting of legumes and the application of manure, crop diversification, and keeping large numbers of animals. It also rested on the concept of patriarchal authority over the household labor force. Within that patriarchal structure, however, existed a system of “mutuality” that emphasized shared responsibilities and flexible labor roles. In the Palatinate, Alsace, Baden, and other areas where the New Agriculture developed, the agricultural household emerged as both hierarchical and team-based. The male head of household held ultimate authority, but he and his wife – along with their children and servants – recognized that the household's survival relied on the interdependence of male and female labor. Nomenclature among German-speaking agriculturalists of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries reflected the economic interdependence of male and female household heads, with the man designated as *Hausvater* (“father of the household”) and the woman as *Hausmutter* (“mother of the household”). Only in the 19th century did terms reflecting the bourgeois notion of separate spheres become common in the German-speaking countryside, with *Landwirt* (farmer) and *Hausfrau* (housewife) coming into daily usage.

In contemporary Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, North American descendants of one group of Early Modern agriculturalists – the Old Order Amish – seemingly represent a direct link to the European past. Rejecting the separate spheres model that 19th-century European and American agricultural experts prescribed, the Amish retained a system of labor-intensive family farming that required mutuality and the crossing of strict gender-role boundaries. Evidence from an extensive study of Lancaster County Amish households in the 1930s demonstrates the degree to which they maintained the practices of their Early Modern ancestors into the modern era.

The Amish are atypical in the extent to which they seemingly continue Early Modern customs in the 21st century, but examination of the agricultural practices that they and other German-speaking settlers brought to colonial North America lends insight into how well the gender customs of Central European agriculture adapted to the American environment.



Édouard Debat-Ponsan, *Coin de vigne*, 1886 (Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts).

Tuesday 10 September 2019

	Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail
Session 1	Panel 101 Gender, Race, and National Identity in Rural Europe and North America	Panel 102 From the commons to the markets. Using collective action and common resources to enter markets (1300-1800)	Panel 103 Rural Europe and Famine Histories	Panel 104 From the local to the global: Pine resin as forest resource and chemical commodity	Panel 105 Change and conflict in European wetlands, c. 1400-1800

	Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail
Session 2	Panel 201 Long-run inequality in the rural economy (1500-2000)	Panel 202 Transatlantic Perspectives on Agricultural and Rural Change in Industrial Societies	Panel 203 Latin American Agriculture: Globalisation, Institutions and Natural Resources, (1900-2015)	Panel 204 Crime and Criminal Justice in Rural Europe: The French experience in a broader European-Context	Panel 205 Agrarian Modernization, a global transboundary process that generates local asymmetries

Tuesday 10 September 2019

Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 9 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 106 Continuous patterns and innovations in animal breeding practices and technologies, 19th to early 21st century	Panel 107 Innovative peasants. Land property, investment, work and agrarian change in late Middle Ages	Panel 108 On the Way to Exit the Feudalism: Transformation of Legal and Institutional Frameworks Concerning Peasants under the Rule of Russian Tsars in the Kingdom of Poland and the Baltics in the 19th-20th Centuries	Panel 109 Men Alone: Bachelors and Widowers in Rural Europe from the 16th to the 19th Century	Panel 110 Livelihood Transitions. 19th Century Land Use Change as a Key issue for Long Term Socio-Ecological Process	Panel 111 Agro and Railways: Ruptures, Changes and Continuities (19th-21st centuries)

Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 206 Environmental impacts of feudal resource exploitation: The case of Central European forests (16th-19th centuries)	Panel 207 The new technologies and the study of social change in rural societies: Need and opportunity	Panel 208 Applied sciences, innovation and rural development in Europe, from the age of productivity to the one of bioeconomy. A transnational and multidisciplinary perspective (1945-nowadays)	Panel 209 Rural Consumption of fancy goods in peripheral markets	Panel 210 Famine in the manorial society and economy

Nadine Vivier (Le Mans Université)

Discussants:

Paul Brassley (University of Exeter),
Antoni Furio (Universitat de València),
Alessandro Stanziani (CNRS and EHESS)

Keynote

Round table

Agriculture and Food-Supply. Perspectives for a Global History

Amphitheatre François Furet, 105 Boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris

Wednesday 11 September 2019

Session 3

Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail
<p>Panel 301 (Part I)</p> <p>The destruction, integration, and “harmonisation” of agrarian and rural associations in European dictatorships during the interwar period</p>	<p>Panel 302 (Part I)</p> <p>Service and the Labor Laws in Comparative Perspective: Europe 1300-1850</p>	<p>Panel 303 (Part I)</p> <p>Rural Grain Markets in Early Modern Europe (16th-18th centuries)</p>	<p>Panel 304 (Part I)</p> <p>Social Players and the Diffusion of Agronomic Knowledge and Technical Innovation in the European Countryside (end 18th–early 20th centuries)</p>	<p>Panel 305 (Part I)</p> <p>The Nutrition Transition and Beyond: Dietary Change in the World since 1945</p>

Session 4

Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail
<p>Panel 401 (Part II)</p> <p>The destruction, integration, and “harmonisation” of agrarian and rural associations in European dictatorships during the interwar period</p>	<p>Panel 402 (Part II)</p> <p>Service and the Labor Laws in Comparative Perspective: Europe 1300-1850</p>	<p>Panel 403 (Part II)</p> <p>Rural Grain Markets in Early Modern Europe (16th-18th centuries)</p>	<p>Panel 404 (Part II)</p> <p>Social Players and the Diffusion of Agronomic Knowledge and Technical Innovation in the European Countryside (end 18th–early 20th centuries)</p>	<p>Panel 405 (Part II)</p> <p>The Nutrition Transition and Beyond: Dietary Change in the World since 1945</p>

Wednesday 11 September 2019

Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 306 (Part I) Rural Epistemologies in Dialogue: The Production of Knowledge in Peripheral Regions in the 19-20th Centuries	Panel 307 (Part I) Agricultural Estates, Land and Labor in the Ottoman Empire, Eastern Europe and the North Western Mediterranean: A Comparative Approach	Panel 308 (Part I) American Pathways of Agricultural Growth	Panel 309 (Part I) Global Connections, Rural Translations: Circulations of expertise and technology between the rural and the global in the 19th and 20th centuries	Panel 310 (Part I) Bringing back the Agrarian Question. Territories and Sustainability in Latin America from a Global Perspective (1900-2018)

Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 406 (Part II) Rural Epistemologies in Dialogue: The Production of Knowledge in Peripheral Regions in the 19-20th Centuries	Panel 407 (Part II) Agricultural Estates, Land and Labor in the Ottoman Empire, Eastern Europe and the North Western Mediterranean: A Comparative Approach	Panel 408 (Part II) American Pathways of Agricultural Growth	Panel 409 (Part II) Global Connections, Rural Translations: Circulations of expertise and technology between the rural and the global in the 19th and 20th centuries	Panel 410 (Part II) Bringing back the Agrarian Question. Territories and Sustainability in Latin America from a Global Perspective (1900-2018)

Thursday 12 September 2019

	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail	Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail
Session 5	Panel 501 (Part I) Moving pictures and their impact on rural history	Panel 502 (Part I) New technology and new public intervention: The birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th-20th centuries)	Panel 503 (Part I) Dreaming California: Transnational models for innovation in agriculture (1860s-2010s): Crossing Borders	Panel 504 (Part I) Plants and animal breeding from the second half of the 18th century to the end of the 20th century. Global, comparative and connected perspective	Panel 505 (Part I) Between agriculture and the market: The transformation of rural shops and services in Europe, 1600-1900

	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail	Amphithéâtre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail
Session 6	Panel 601 (Part II) Moving pictures and their impact on rural history	Panel 602 (Part II) New technology and new public intervention: The birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th-20th centuries)	Panel 603 (Part II) Dreaming California: transnational models for innovation in agriculture (1860s-2010s): Looking at the "cornucopia"	Panel 604 (Part II) Plants and animal breeding from the second half of the 18th century to the end of the 20th century. Global, comparative and connected perspective	Panel 605 (Part II) Between agriculture and the market: the transformation of rural shops and services in Europe, 1600-1900

	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail
Session 7	Panel 701 Measuring agricultural productivity before and during the Agricultural Revolution: Methods and sources	Panel 702 Rural work and commensurability issues in colonial situation: Contracts, social rights, standards of living (first half of the 20th century)	Panel 703 Equality and commons? The redistributive character of historical common pool institutions Explored	Panel 704 Peasant studies in Global perspective, 1940s-1980s	Panel 705 Regional examples of spatial organization and cooperation in open field farming

Thursday 12 September 2019

Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 9 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 506 (Part I) Negotiating land reform programs 18th-20th centuries: Local actors and social responses	Panel 507 (Part I) State and collective action in rural commons: The water institutions	Panel 508 (Part I) Rural global transition: From agricultural villages to new ruralities	Panel 509 (Part I) Between history and archeology: Exploring the sustainable practices in the management of environmental resources (1600-2000)	Panel 510 The water management and the market economy	Panel 511 The Archives of private enterprises and its potential value for rural history

Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 606 (Part II) Negotiating land reform programs 18th-20th centuries: Local actors and social responses	Panel 607 (Part II) State and collective action in rural commons: The water institutions	Panel 608 (Part II) Rural global transition: From agricultural villages to new ruralities	Panel 609 (Part II) Between history and archeology: Exploring the sustainable practices in the management of environmental resources (1600-2000)	Panel 610 The role of agricultural cooperatives in innovation and knowledge systems since the late 19th century

Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 706 Roaming the Rural: Shepherds and Pastoralists as Cross-Cultural Agents in the Mediterranean Basin (15th-16th centuries)	Panel 707 CORN (1994-2019): Past, Present and Future of Comparative Rural History	Panel 708 Mobile Land - Contexts of Changes in Ownership	Panel 709 Rachel Carson's heritage. Almost 50 years after the Silent Spring	Panel 710 The restructuring of the rural territory through the foundation of new villages, as an engine of urban economic development (Middle Ages-Early Modern Period)

Keynote Sorbonne

Katherine Jellison (President of the *Agricultural History Society*, Professor at Ohio University)

From the Palatinate to Pennsylvania: Gender Relations and the New Agriculture in Europe and North America

Amphitheatre Liard, 17 rue Sorbonne, 75005 Paris

Friday 13 September 2019

	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail
Session 8	Panel 801 Agricultural modernizations in the 19th and 20th centuries	Panel 802 Global expertise and agricultural markets: Between national sovereignty and international cooperation (1889-1949)	Panel 803 Enclosure, agricultural progress and landscape change: regional studies	Panel 804 Kinship, Law and Succession on Family Farms in the Nordic Countries	Panel 805 Interdisciplinary approaches to understanding the bio-cultural heritage of forests in Europe

	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail
Session 9	Panel 901 Build and maintain a ministerial specificity. Ministries of agriculture in the 19th and 20th centuries	Panel 902 Agriculture Meets Ecology in the 20th Century	Panel 903 Landscape evolution and new farming system in the Western part of Europe (Celtic areas) from the 15th to the early 20th centuries	Panel 904 Peasant household production before the modern era	Panel 905 Agrarian Markets in Rural Europe, 16th-19th centuries

	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail
Session 10	Panel 1001 (Part I) The introduction of colonial products (coffee, chocolate, sugar, tea, tobacco) in the European countryside. A "consumer revolution"?	Panel 1002 (Part I) The Healthy Countryside? Perceptions, Experiences and Representations of Health, Healthcare and Illness, 1750-2019	Panel 1003 (Part I) The scientisation and medicalisation of livestock agriculture: New perspectives on, and approaches to health, breeding and production post-1945	Panel 1004 (Part I) From Contestation to Incorporation? Global and Comparative Perspectives on the Organic Farming Movement (20th-21st centuries)	Panel 1005 (Part I) Female strategies in transforming rural regions of Europe from the 1960s to 1990s

	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail	Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail
Session 11	Panel 1101 (Part II) The introduction of colonial products (coffee, chocolate, sugar, tea, tobacco) in the European countryside. A "consumer revolution"?	Panel 1102 (Part II) The Healthy Countryside? Perceptions, Experiences and Representations of Health, Healthcare and Illness, 1750-2019	Panel 1103 (Part II) The scientisation and medicalisation of livestock agriculture: New perspectives on, and approaches to health, breeding and production post-1945	Panel 1104 (Part II) From Contestation to Incorporation? Global and Comparative Perspectives on the Organic Farming Movement (20th-21st centuries)	Panel 1105 (Part II) Female strategies in transforming rural regions of Europe from the 1960s to 1990s

Friday 13 September 2019

Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 806 Famines and politics. The political implications of harvest failures and food scarcity	Panel 807 Grading and the food grain chain: Assessing the end- use qualities of wheat and other Cereals	Panel 808 A new comparative perspective on rural society: The Integrated Peasant Economy concept goes East	Panel 809 Forest clearing and land reclamation: Between ownership rights and resourcemanagement in European mountains, 13th to 20th century	Panel 810 In search of a New Utopia? The Influence of Denmark on rural thought and practice in Europe and beyond 1800 to the present

Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail	Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 906 Transtemporal Imperial Structures of Rural Areas in the Habsburg Monarchy	Panel 907 Rural Social, Political, and Economic Reform in Global Perspective	Panel 908 Rural pluri-activity: How long did it last? Local dynamics in global perspectives, 18th-20th centuries	Panel 909 Transmitting land property and reframing kinship boundaries in wetlands across time	Panel 910 Reputation, Long-Term Care, and Animal Well-being: Health in Rural Europe, 1300-1800

Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 1006 (Part I) Organized capitalism within agriculture: Agricultural associations and state intervention in the European agriculture, 1880s-1930s	Panel 1007 (Part I) Ethnographing Labor in Large-Scale Agriculture. Renewed Social Histories, between Work, Migration and Daily Lives	Panel 1008 (Part I) Alpine vernacular Architecture and the so-called pastoral revolution	Panel 1009 Material culture of medieval countryside. Clothing at the village, 13th-15th centuries	Panel 1010 Preserved food in the 19th-20th centuries. Consumption, production, supply chains

Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail	Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail	Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail	Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail
Panel 1106 (Part II) Organized capitalism within agriculture: Agricultural associations and state intervention in the European agriculture, 1880s-1930s	Panel 1107 (Part II) Ethnographing Labor in Large-Scale Agriculture. Renewed Social Histories, between Work, Migration and Daily Lives	Panel 1108 (Part II) Alpine vernacular Architecture and the so-called pastoral revolution	Panel 1109 Regional Economies of Welfare and Philanthropy in Northern Europe c. 1750-1834	Panel 1110 Developing and changing land tenure system, goals and methods



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Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
101. Gender, Race, and National Identity in Rural Europe and North America Organiser and Chair: Katherine Jellison	101.1. Women Bestowed with Land, Endowed with Confidence Obsessed with Utopia: The 1846 Migration from Rural Central Sweden to Rural Illinois Irene A. Flygare, Marja Erikson	101.2. Look Away: Race and Sex on the Wilson Plantation in the Mid-20th Century Jeannie Whayne	101.3. Ethel B. Dawson, the National Council of Churches of Christ Home Missions Division, and Racial Activism in Rural Jim Crow Arkansas Cherisse Jones-Branch	101.4 Farm Women and Farm Work: re-Evaluating in the 1980s Pamela Riney-Kehrberg		PANEL 101 Amphitheatre François Furet <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
102. From the commons to the markets. Using collective action and common resources to enter markets (1300-1800) Organiser and Chair: Maïka De Keyzer	102.1. Commercialising a Common-Pool Resource? The Management of Rights in English Urban Commons, 1500-1850 Henry French	102.2. Collective action of cloth entrepreneurs in rural Flanders during the 15th and 16th centuries Jim van der Meulen	102.3. Commons and Micro-credit Practices in the Early Modern Rural Lombardy Matteo Di Tullio	102.4. Commons, market and sustainability. Fuel supply to Madrid and the management of common forests in inland Spain in the 18th C. Javier Hernando		PANEL 102 Room AS1_9 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
103. Rural Europe and Famine Histories Organisers and Chairs: Margu�rite Corporaal, Miguel �ngel Del Arco Blanco	103.1. The Great Famine of the Highlands of Scotland, Migration and Memory Laurence Gourievidis	103.2. Land and Power during Ireland's Great Famine, 1845-1849 Margu�rite Corporaal	103.3. The Famine in Estland and �sel in 1868-1869: A Man-Made Local Disaster? Kersti Lust	103.4. Why the 'Hunger Years'? Causes of the Francoist Famine in Spain, 1940-1941 Miguel �ngel del Arco Blanco		PANEL 103 Room AS1_15 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
104. From the local to the global: Pine resin as forest resource and chemical commodity Organiser and Chair: Juan Delgado	104.1. The Pine Resin and the Protectionist Policies between Paris and Bordeaux: Political Authorities and Social Partners in the face of the crisis (1921-1939) Luca Andreoni	104.2. A Tale of Two Forests: Knowledge Circulation Patterns between French and American Naval Stores Chemistry (1900-1970) Marcin Krasnodebski	104.3. A 20th-century story: Forest conservation and Sustainability from the pine resin perspective Juan Delgado	104.4. Corporative organization and Resin: The Portuguese case during the Estado Novo years Ignacio Garcia-Pereda		PANEL 104 Room AS1_17 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
105. in European wetlands, c. 1400-1800 Organiser and Chair: Piet van Cruyningen	105.1. Property relations in central Holland c. 1550-1650: Change or continuity? Piet van Cruyningen	105.2. Consent, coercion, and water politics in the northern fens of early modern England Elly Dezateux Robson	105.3. Wetlands in tension. French draining policy and its local enforcement, 17th-18th century Rapha�l Morera	105.4. Landscape changes in the wetlands of Tuscany. An historical GIS Camillo Berti, Margherita Azzari, Paola Zamperlin		PANEL 105 Room AS1_01 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
106. Continuous patterns and innovations in animal breeding practices and technologies, 19th to early 21st century Organisers and Chairs: Margaret Derry, Gianpiero Fumi, Marco Marigliano, Bert Theunissen	106.1. Quest for Quality: Black Box or Gene Architecture Theory in Animal Breeding Methodology, 18th to 21st Century Margaret Derry	106.2. Cattle breeding in 20th century Italian agriculture: from biometric selection to Gianpiero Fumi, Marco Marigliano	106.3. By eye or by numbers? Innovation through tradition in postwar livestock breeding Bert Theunissen	106.4. A pure Friesian is a true Friesian. Innovation and the persistence of purity in the modernisation of the Friesian horse during the crises of the 1910s and 1960s Jorieke Savelkouls		PANEL 106 Room BS1_05 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
107. Innovative peasants. land property, investment, work and agrarian change in late Middle Ages Organiser: Antoni Furió Chair: Catherine Verna	107.1. Peasant investment in land in Central Italy in the 9th and 10th century Laurent Feller	107.2. Peasant engineers. Traces of agency of the Tuscan sharecroppers in the cultural choices and management of livestock Gabriella Piccini	107.3. Peasant agency. Technical and productive innovation and market involvement in Iberia in late Middle Ages Antoni Furió, Pau Viciano	107.4. The peasant route to innovation Pieter De Graef		PANEL 107 Room AS1_33 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
108. On the Way to Exit the Feudalism: Transformation of Legal and Institutional Frameworks Concerning Peasants under the Rule of Russian Tsars in the Kingdom of Poland and the Baltics in the 19th/20th C. Organiser and Chair: Michał Gałędek	108.1. The Long and Winding Road to Peasant Emancipation in the Kingdom of Poland. 1814 Civil Reform Committee Programme of Serfdom Reforms Michał Gałędek, Anna Klimaszewska	108.2. Baltic Peasants after Emancipation. Free People or a New Social Estate? Marju Luts-Sootak, Hesi Siimets-Gross	108.3. The problems of application of the Napoleonic Code in the Polish countryside Piotr Pomianowski	108.4. Land Reform as the Final Step of Exiting the Feudalism in Estonia Karin Visnapuu		PANEL 108 Room 9 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
109. Men Alone: Bachelors and Widowers in Rural Europe from the 16th to the 19th Century Organisers and Chairs: Francisco García González, Margareth Lanzinger	109.1. Between Biopolitical Resource and Immorality. The Janus-faced Stereotype of the Rural Bachelor, Bern 1750-1850 Amo Haldemann	109.2. Young men, sexuality and religion in Western Switzerland, 1750-1850 Sandro Guzzi-Heeb	109.3. From Italy to Norway: men alone in the rural migration process in the 19th century Mónica Miscali	109.4. Men alone in rural Galicia (Spain), 18-19th centuries Ofelia Rey Castelao	109.5. Circumventing loneliness? Old age and men in the Saint-Malo area during the 18th century Emmanuelle Charpentier	PANEL 109 Room 7 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
110. Livelihood Transitions. 19th Century Land Use Change as a Key issue for Long Term Socio-Ecological Process Organiser: Rita Garstenauer Chair: Anna Westin	110.1. Changes in rural environment and livelihood conditions following forest and energy transition in France (1830-1900): A socio-ecological perspective Julia Le Noë, Simone Gingrich	110.2. Floating Logs and Fluctuating Populations. Assessing the Socio-ecological Effects of a 18th and 19th Century Wood Extracting Regime from a Humanities Perspective Rita Garstenauer	110.3. Ecological Niche Construction on the Baltic Sea Region: Population and Land-Use Change on Coastal Landscapes of North-West Estonia during the transition from Feudal Society to Capitalism Hele Kiimann	110.4. Alder meadows of northern Romania. Tracing relationships between human practices and Ecosystems Tommy Lennartsson, Anna Westin, Anamaria Iuga, Monica Stroe, Bogdan Iancu, Cosmin Marius Ivascu		PANEL 110 Room 8 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
111. Agro and Railways: Ruptures, Changes and Continuities (19th-21st centuries) Organiser: Deborah González Jurado, Hugo Silveira Pereira Chair: Ian Gregory	111.1. An approach to the study of rural expropriations in Spain due to the construction of railways (19th century) Deborah González Jurado, María Olga Macías Muñoz	111.2. Railroad in a remote rural region, 1891-1933: "Export" trade and impacts on agricultural and animal production Eduardo Beira, Maria Fernanda Rollo	111.3. Agriculture and Railways: Revisiting debates on Colonial Railways from the Perspective of Labour Amal Shahid	111.4. Mail, Rail, Legwork, and Agricultural Education: The Transformation of Postal Service in Rural Great Britain and France 1830-1914 Robert M. Schwartz		PANEL 111 Room 2 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>

Panel 101. Gender, Race, and National Identity in Rural Europe and North America

Organiser: Katherine JELLISON, Ohio University, USA

Discussant: Nicola VERDON, UK

This panel will examine how rural women challenged gender norms in the 19th and 20th centuries and thus established new ways of thinking about national identity and race.

Flygare and Erikson investigate why farmwomen in Sweden's grain-growing Torstuna district defied their fathers, husbands, and male employers and clergy to challenge orthodox Lutheranism and embrace the radical Christianity of Erik Jansson. Swedish farmwomen's devotion to the Janssonite movement caused many of them to follow their leader to the United States, where Jansson established the utopian community of Bishop Hill, Illinois, and his female followers established a new identity as Swedish-Americans.

Rural women who challenged the gender norms of the American South also confronted their society's racial codes and customs. Wayne tells the story of a white woman who defied social conventions to assert her sexual independence, but thereby endangered the object of her desire – a young black man. Wayne argues that the young man's failure to receive protection from a local planter demonstrates the waning power of the planter class in the 1930s as federal farm programs and mechanization transformed southern agriculture and society.

Jones-Branch explores how one rural black woman challenged gender and racial hierarchies in the changing South of the 1950s. Building bridges between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the United Council of Church Women, Ethel B. Dawson sought alliances with other progressive Christians through the National Council of Churches of Christ Home Missions Division and successfully employed Christian reform in rural Arkansas.

Riney-Kehrberg considers Iowa in the 1980s, when the economic farm crisis prompted women to leave their farms for non-agricultural employment that provided cash for the family farm. While many farm men argued that farms reliant on outside income were not really farms at all, farmwomen saw their efforts as necessary to preserve the family farm. These women helped sustain the American family farm and the identity of the American farmwoman.

101.1. Women Bestowed with Land, Endowed with Confidence, Obsessed with Utopia: The 1846 Migration from Rural Central Sweden to Rural Illinois

Irene A. FLYGARE, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Marja ERIKSON, Uppsala University, Sweden

Flygare and Erikson's paper examines why well-to-do farm daughters, farm maids, and farm widows in the Swedish grain-growing district of Torstuna defied their fathers, husbands, and male employers and clergy members to challenge orthodox Lutheranism and embrace the radical Christianity of Erik Jansson. Swedish farmwomen's devotion to the Janssonite movement caused many of them to follow their leader to the United States, where Jansson established the utopian community of Bishop Hill, Illinois, and his female followers established a new identity as Swedish-Americans.

101.2. Look Away: Race and Sex on the Wilson Plantation in the Mid-20th Century

Jeannie WHAYNE, University of Arkansas, USA

Legally sanctioned separation of Euro-Americans and African Americans was a reality of life in the United States from the late 1800s through the first half of the 20th century. Especially in the American South, rural women who challenged gender norms also often confronted the racial codes and customs of their era. Wayne examines an incident in which a white southern woman defied social conventions to assert her sexual independence. In doing so, however, she endangered the object of her desire – a young black man. The young man's failure to find adequate protection from a local planter, Wayne argues, demonstrates the waning power of the planter class in the 1930s. She uses this incident as entrée into a larger discussion of gender and race relations during a time when federal farm programs and farm mechanization were transforming southern agriculture and society.

101.3. Ethel B. Dawson, the National Council of Churches of Christ Home Missions Division, and Racial Activism in Rural Jim Crow Arkansas

Cherisse JONES-BRANCH, Arkansas State University-Jonesboro, USA

African-American women devised new strategies to challenge existing gender and racial boundaries in the mid-20-century South. Jones-Branch's paper focuses on Ethel B. Dawson, who worked tirelessly to improve the health, economic conditions, and political status of rural African Americans in 1950s Arkansas. Dawson embraced a new vision of Christianity as her guiding principle. Building bridges between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the United Council of Church Women, Dawson sought alliances with other progressive Christians through the National Council of Churches of Christ Home Missions Division and successfully employed Christian rhetoric to push for significant social, economic, and political reform.

101.4. Farm Women and Farm Work: Re-Evaluating in the 1980s

Pamela RINEY-KEHRBERG, Iowa State University, USA

Riney-Kehrberg's paper focuses on Iowa in the 1980s, when the economic farm crisis prompted women to leave their farms in search of non-agricultural employment that brought needed cash resources back to the family farm. While many farm men argued that farms reliant on outside income were no longer really farms at all, farmwomen actually saw their efforts as necessary to preserve the family farm. In the process of putting their off-farm employment to the service of their farms, these women helped redefine the American family farm and the identity of the American farmwoman.



Glandée en octobre, sculptée au début du XIIIe siècle sur la façade occidentale de San Zeno de Vérone © P. Mane.

Panel 102. From the commons to the markets. Using collective action and common resources to enter markets (1300-1800)

Organiser: Maïka DE KEYZER, KU Leuven, Belgium

Discussant: Maïka DE KEYZER, KU Leuven, Belgium

Commons are linked more easily to a moral economy than a market economy. In medieval Europe, the rise of common pool institutions was associated with the need for communities to protect themselves from erratic and immature market forces around the 12th and 13th century. Most attention has been paid to the ban on commercialising common pool resources. In a wide range of by-laws it is stated that the [resources] that were derived from the commons, such as fuel, animals, loam or wood could not be sold on local or regional markets, but had to be preserved for subsistence needs. Nevertheless, collective action and communal property were no antidote to commercial practices. While institutions for collective action formed an alternative for accumulation practices and capitalist enterprises, the commons were never absolutely isolated from markets. This session explores how common property and collective action could facilitate commercial strategies of the commoners. First of all, several types of common pool resources, especially indirect resources such as wool from communally grazed sheep, could be sold. Secondly, commonly managed sales, could strengthen common pool institutions in the long run. Finally, collective action provided the human capital and the advantages of scale that were often required for small-scale farmers or producers to enter on the local and urban markets.

102.1. Commercialising A Common-Pool Resource? The Management of Rights in English Urban Commons, 1500-1850

Henry FRENCH, University of Exeter, UK

This paper will focus on the ways in which the management rules of English urban commons ('town lands') were modified in operation by processes of commercialisation. English urban commons conformed to many of the essential features of a 'common-pool resource'. They were bounded spaces, reserved to enfranchised members of the urban corporate body. In the largest 'borough' towns urban commons collective rights were vested in lands possessed by the 'body corporate' that governed the town. Smaller towns had systems of government that resembled rural 'manorial' use-rights.

The paper will illustrate processes of transition in these common-pool resources, particularly the ways in which governance structures responded to changing patterns of wealth and status, urban economic change and commercial-use pressures. Although such changes were not necessarily in-line with the initial intentions behind management rules, they did not always weaken or extinguish commons. Instead they could introduce flexibility into rules that were economically and socially anachronistic by the 16th and 17th centuries. It will examine: The growth of differences in rights, particularly associated with property-holding or social status and the sub-letting of common rights. the paper will also argue that such changes could subvert these 'common-pool resources' and extinguish them.

102.2. Collective action of cloth entrepreneurs in rural Flanders during the 15th and 16th centuries

Jim VAN DER MEULEN, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

During the late Middle Ages, the production and trade of textiles was the cornerstone of the economy in the county of Flanders. Yet, whereas Flemish cloth and urbanisation had long gone hand in hand, from around 1350 onwards textile manufacture became increasingly concentrated in the county's countryside. Rather than being controlled exclusively by urban capital however, some of the cloth villages in Flanders, most notably in the so-called West-Quarter, were almost completely directed by rural entrepreneurs. Indeed, there appears to have been a correlation between economic expansion and closely coordinated collective action among the local entrepreneurs, both on the industrial and commercial fronts. This paper will compare the collective industrial and commercial strategies of these villages with other (semi-) rural cloth centres, to determine to what extent collective action formed the foundation stone of successful textile industries in the countryside, and how we might interpret the results in light of a supposed economic 'transition' in Europe at the close of the Middle Ages.

102.3. Commons and Micro-credit Practices in the Early Modern Rural Lombardy

Matteo Di TULLIO, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy

During the early modern period, the countryside of Lombardy was characterized by the spread of a “capitalist” agriculture. The spread of this new agrarian economy was promoted by the continuous concentration of land ownership, the social polarisation between few big land owners and wealthy tenants and many peasants without land and the progressive shift from the “village economy” to the “agrarian individualism”. The increasing loss of power by the rural communities and by other collective institutions was a general consequence of this phenomenon, particularly because the common pool resources were the objective of the growing interest by the new capitalistic system and the intensifying debt of the rural populations and institutions favored the sale of these assets.

The general picture becomes less linear by adopting a microanalytical approach, which gives the possibility to reconstruct the local practices in the management of common pool resources. This paper will explore the different types of management of common pool resources at local level and how the destiny of the local societies could be different in coping with the spread of the “capitalistic” agriculture. In particular, I will focus on some innovative micro-credit practices designed to “protect” the common pool resources but that, the same time, gave the opportunity to the local population, particularly the elites, to become important actors in the local and provincial land and credit “markets”.

102.4. Commons, market and sustainability. Fuel supply to Madrid and the management of common forests in inland Spain in the 18th century

Javier HERNANDO, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

This communication aims to analyse the process of commodification of common-pool resources and its effects on the management of common forests in New Castile during the 18th century. Supply of fuel – firewood and, above all, charcoal – to the city of Madrid required a wide territory, stretched to a radius of more than 150 Km around the city. Rural communities, the main possessors of woodlands, had therefore to integrate into a process of commercial exploitation of resources which were basic for peasant economies. It was a process of commodification partly internal – in the sense of local response to market incentives –, but mostly exogenous, as it was forced by government intervention, which considered the availability of fuel in the city as a guarantee of social stability. Through the combination of privileges to the supply system and fiscal pressure to local communities, governmental intervention promoted the commercial integration of common resources. The objective of this work therefore focuses on the study of the sustainability of common-pool institutions in a dynamics of increasing commodification.



Battage au fléau en août vers 1170 sur le portail occidental de Saint-Lazare d'Autun © P. Mane.

Panel 103. Rural Europe and Famine Histories

Organiser:

Margu rite CORPORAAL, Radboud University, Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Miguel  ngel DEL ARCO BLANCO, Universidad de Granada, Spain

Discussant: Peter GRAY, Queen's University Belfast, UK

Research on how famines affected Europe's countryside, and especially its economy, demography and cultural legacies, has increasingly adopted a transnational approach (  Grada, Vanhaute and Papin 2007; Newby, Luciuk and Curran 2015), but many comparative issues are relatively underexplored. Why did such famines arise, what power structures were involved in aggravating or relieving distress, what were demographical consequences, what patterns of migration ensued, and how were these food crises remembered in social, political and cultural history? This panel features papers about four European famines, in Scotland, Ireland, the former Russian empire and Francoist Spain that will address these issues by a focus on rural societies. In so doing, the papers will lay bare analogous European pasts and experiences.

103.1. The Great Famine of the Highlands of Scotland, Migration and Memory

Laurence GOURIEVIDIS, Clermont Auvergne Universit , France

This paper will explore the memorialisation of the migration which resulted from the famine that struck the Highlands and Islands of Scotland between 1846 and 1851, looking at and contrasting the process of remembrance in both Scotland and the host countries where the migrants settled, with a specific focus on how the famine's effects on rural communities were experienced and remembered.

103.2. Land and Power during Ireland's Great Famine, 1845-1849

Margu rite CORPORAAL, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Mary Meaney's Irish-American novel *The Confessors of Connaught; or the Tenants of a Lord Bishop* (1865) voices the idea that 'English imperial legislation' is primarily known 'to the Catholics of Ireland' by 'depopulated fields' and 'levelled villages'. The effects of the outbreak of potato blight in Ireland on rural existence, and especially the plight of the tenantry, were addressed in works of literature and art during and immediately after the Famine. This paper will explore such representations against the background of sociohistorical realities, focusing specifically on tenant-landlord relationships.

103.3. The Famine in Estland and  sel in 1868-1869: A Man-Made Local Disaster?

Kersti LUST, University of Tallinn, Estonia

The paper aims to show that the last hunger crisis in the Baltic Provinces of Russia resulted rather from the inadequate societal response to harvest failures than from inadequate resources. The paper explores the measures taken by the institutions of state government, the nobility, communities, and charitable committees to relieve suffering in Estland and  sel. It shows the insufficiency of the transfers and redistribution of resources in both vertical and horizontal terms. Secondly, it considers variation in mortality rates at parish level and dissimilarities in the local features of the crisis on the background of similar socioeconomic profile and government food supply policy.

103.4. Why the 'Hunger . ears'?: Causes of the Francoist Famine in Spain, 1940-1941

Miguel  ngel DEL ARCO BLANCO, Universidad de Granada, Spain

This paper will explore the causes of the Spanish Famine that occurred in the first years of the Francoist Dictatorship (1940-1941). The regime would silence the existence and magnitude of the famine, falsely attributing the "years of hunger" (1939-1951) to the consequences of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). This contribution will try to demonstrate the real origins of the famine pointing to the dictatorship policies (agrarian, supply and food policies) as the main factor that caused the harsh and terrible conditions that led to starvation, undernourishment and diseases to a large part of Spanish lower classes.



Calendrier des travaux agricoles : *Le Rustican* de Pietro de' Crescenzi, enluminé vers 1465 dans l'ouest de la France (Chantilly, Condé, ms. 340, f. 303v).

Panel 104. From the local to the global: Pine resin as forest resource and chemical commodity

Organiser: Juan DELGADO, Independent scholar, Mexico

Discussant: Albert FOLCH, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Pine resin, and its main derivatives turpentine spirit and rosin, has been one of the most important non-timber forest products around the world during the modern era. However, its history is barely known (Uriarte, 1995, 2007; Langenheim, 2003; Delgado, 2017; Krasnodebski, 2017). In this regard, the aim of this panel is to put it in the front of our historical approach to recognize its improvement as forest resource and chemical commodity. As heirs of the international trade of tar and pitch since the early 16th century until the early 19th century, turpentine spirit and rosin took the place of those commodities in the global resinous market. Thanks to the development of chemistry since the late 18th century, industrialists could take advantage of them in the manufacture of diverse items, e.g., paints, varnishes, rubber, soap, paper, printing inks, medicines, lubricants, public illuminating, perfumes, etc., etc. Nevertheless, to run a pine resin business was not necessary expertise in chemistry but only some basics about distillation, and, access to the forests (through owned or leased pinewoods). Thus, while demand of pine resin commodities began to grow along the 19th century, more and more people got interested in them. Such a situation did create different responses, according to local, regional and national circumstances, in order to satisfy the increasing consumption of such raw materials for the chemical industries around the globe. Therefore, we do not intend to display an internal history of such a object, quite the contrary, we will try to embed its into bigger historical problems, in order a) to reassess the importance of pine derivatives in the broader range of the forest issues; b) to better understand mechanisms, paths, and temporalities of the evolution of the concept of sustainability from an economic to an ecological value (Grewe 2010, 50). Moreover, the intention is to open new insights of broader themes in which pine resin has been involved: from rural life to landscape changes, from property rights to technical transfers, from industrial history to the development of science and technology, from the institutional to the environmental, from the local to the global, and the other way round.

104.1. The Pine Resin and the Protectionist Policies between Paris and Bordeaux: Political Authorities and Social Partners in the face of the crisis (1921-1939)

Luca ANDREONI, Independent scholar / Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Caio Giulio Cesare", Italy

In the period between the two world wars, the economic universe concerning the production of pine resin in the Southwest France knows a profound crisis. Heralded by the fall in prices in 1921, the crisis becomes more critical since 1927 (De Coincy 1936, 16-31; Sargos 1938; Allezaix 1941, 83-97; Lacoste 1948, 175-191). Despite the increasing interventions by public authorities and the development of the chemical research and its industrial application (Krasnodebski 2016, 2017), the crisis invests production and prices, sales markets, as well as internal consumption of French industries, for complex reasons, both local and contextual (international competition). After showing the general characteristics of the crisis in this sector, the paper aims to answer the following question: what were the results of the initiatives implemented by the political authorities and social partners (associations, trade unions) to deal with this crisis? In particular, the protectionist policies adopted in the 1930s will be analyzed, starting from the activities of the Comité central des produits résineux: based in Paris since 1935, it was the central organ in which the interests of all the actors involved (workers, landowners, distillers, traders, brokers) were discussed, with the aim to face the crisis.

104.2. A Tale of Two Forests: Knowledge Circulation Patterns between French and American Naval Stores Chemistry (1900-1970)

Marcin KRASNODEBSKI, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

While resin chemistry can trace its roots to the 18th century, it did not become an autonomous academic discipline until the first decades of the 20th century. It was in France, near the Landes Forest, where the Pine Institute, the largest resin laboratory in the world, was formed in the 1920s. Its chemists studied resin harvesting and distillation methods, as well as properties of turpentine and rosin. They laid the foundations of applied resin chemistry, and their institution was at the heart of the global resin chemistry community. The studies of French researchers were notably an inspiration to their American colleagues, who tried to improve their own resin industry, much less productive than the French one. The resin section of the US Bureau of Chemistry was established as early as in the 1910s but it remained a small unit, relying on publications produced in France and in Germany. The Americans considered France an example to follow and regularly visited the country to learn more about the progress made in resin chemistry. And yet, after World War 2, the knowledge flow reversed. This was due not only to the isolation of the French chemistry during the Occupation but also to profound shifts in the American scientific landscape throughout the war. By the 1950s, the United States became the new world center in the field and the French could only try to emulate the American success.

104.3. A 20th-century story: Forest conservation and Sustainability from the pine resin perspective

Juan DELGADO, Independent scholar, Mexico

Pine resin industry in European countries like Spain, Portugal, and France is facing a recovery period (especially in the first two) since 2010. Among other causes, one of them being the support of the European Union to encourage its industrial renewal under the umbrella of both forest and rural conservation. In regard to forest conservation, such impulse comes from the features of pine resin technology, which combined with forestry science, aims to maintain the yielding quota as long as possible. Such technological system was performed throughout the 19th- and the 20th centuries in which forest conservation was a consequence of it, not its primal outcome. The political use of pine resin technology to stress such effect is, in fact, a 21st-century's narrative, at least in Europe. However, it appeared for the first time in Mexico. Before the revolution of 1910 the country became part of an early 20th-century North-American movement deeply concerned with natural resources conservation. After the revolution, the goal was clear: forest conservation through rational exploitation. Thus, Mexican Forest Service decidedly encouraged the use of the European technique of tapping the pines and harvesting the resin because it was deemed as a conservationist method. Besides narrating this story, the aim of this paper is to participate in the discussion of the historical development of both conservation and sustainability concepts from a pine resin perspective throughout the 20th-century.

104.4. Corporative organization and Resin: The Portuguese case during the Estado Novo years

Ignacio GARCIA-PEREDA, Instituto de História Contemporânea, Portugal

This article provides an analysis of the forestry policies carried out by the dictatorship regimes that ruled Portugal (1933-1974). This subject is studied in the Portuguese context, from the perspective of the forestry and industry sector, by revising the role of a corporative organization of economic coordination, the "Junta Nacional dos Resinosos" (JNR), responsible by the regulation of resin sector (forestry and industry). The arguments are organized into three parts. First, it describes the role assigned to *Pinus pinaster* forestry in national economic and social development. Then, it presents the policy measures for resin products. Is our intention to reflect on the process of transformation suffered on this sector by understanding the insertion of this institution in the Portuguese economy between the 1930's and 1960's. Furthermore, is also the analysis of the important investment that the JNR made in science, innovation and know-how in order to emphasize the consequences in the industrialization process and in the modernization of Portuguese forestry. In sum, our research is based on the JNR, by presenting the guidelines of his performance, his insertion in the Estado Novo' context and its consequences, interpreting the path of the key economic goals that allows understanding not only the developments and the achievements but, also, the limitations and the failures of the regime.

Panel 105. Change and conflict in European wetlands, c. 1400-1800

Organiser: Piet VAN CRUYNINGEN, Wageningen University, the Netherlands

Discussant: Tim SOENS, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

During the late Middle Ages and early modern period urban interest groups managed to gain control of large parts of the wetlands in western Europe. They did this by purchasing land from impoverished peasants in already reclaimed wetlands, thus altering property relations in favour of urbanites. They could also act with the backing of local powers. Since landownership was the basis for participation power in the institutions responsible for organizing maintenance of the water infrastructure in the wetlands, this also meant that wealthy town dwellers expanded their authority in the wetlands at the expense of the local peasant communities.

More spectacular were the large-scale drainage projects that took place all along the North Sea coasts and in parts of the Mediterranean. Hundreds of thousands of hectares of wetlands were reclaimed and 'improved' by companies of mostly urban investors. These reclamations often caused tensions between the investors who perceived the wetlands as useless wastelands that had to be made productive and local communities for whom the wetlands provided indispensable resources for their farming operations. In England, these reclamations were often violent and protracted, whereas in the other shore of the North Sea, if there were any reclamations they seldom lasted long. Apart from wetland communities and urban investors, the state played a part. Usually it sided with the investors, granting concessions for reclamations and sometimes even applying military power to subdue rebellious communities.

This session aims to explore the causes and consequences of these developments from a comparative perspective. Several questions can be asked. Why were town dwellers able to encroach on the wetlands and seize control of water management? What part did the state play in this? What consequences did this have for wetland societies and economies and for investments in water management? Why did rural communities in England resist the loss of their resources, while communities in the Low Countries meekly accepted their loss?

105.1. Property relations in central Holland c. 1550-1650: Change or continuity?

Piet VAN CRUYNINGEN, Wageningen University, the Netherlands

During the early modern period urban landownership in the wetlands of the Low Countries increased strongly, mostly due to the reclamation of marshes in Zeeland, Flanders and Brabant and the draining of lakes in Holland. According to Bas van Bavel this contributed to a transformation of property relations in the wetlands. He also assumes that urbanites 'expropriated' the peasantry of the central Holland peat lands, that had been reclaimed during the central Middle Ages, by buying up their land and farms. Around 1550, town dwellers had indeed acquired a considerable part share of the land in the peat areas. Van Bavel assumes that they enlarged their possessions between 1550 and 1650 by purchasing land from peasants had had been impoverished due to warfare and floods. This is a plausible assumption but it is not supported by any evidence on the distribution of landownership in the area from the 17th century. Recent research does not really seem to support the assumption that there was a general trend towards increasing urban landownership between 1550 and 1650. Local circumstances seem to lead to divergent developments. In this contribution the existing evidence for the 17th century is surveyed to verify Van Bavel's assumptions.

105.2. Consent, coercion, and water politics in the northern fens of early modern England

Elly DEZATEUX ROBSON, University of Cambridge, UK

17th-century drainage schemes in eastern fenlands were amongst the first projects of large-scale environmental transformation in England, instigated by the early Stuart crown and undertaken by engineers and entrepreneurs. Implemented within wetland commons that were collectively managed by fen communities, such schemes generated contact between different legal cultures and forms of environmental knowledge and practice.

Critically, reconfiguration of fen flow and property rights could not proceed without consent from local communities, embedding the legal principle of negotiation. This paper traces the development of increasingly coercive legal strategies to circumvent local dissent to drainage and investigates how fen conflict intersected with national controversies about the nature of political authority.

It further argues that fen communities presented the greatest obstacle to top-down environmental change. As drainers and commoners articulated rival visions of the fens in both Westminster courtrooms and wetland commons, political landscapes of flux emerged. The capital and labour intensive demands of water infrastructure rendered it particularly vulnerable to neglect and sabotage, making environmental reconfiguration difficult to sustain in the longterm without local legitimacy.

105.3. Wetlands in tension. French draining policy and its local enforcement, 17th-18th century

Raphaël MORERA, CNRS, France

From the end of the 16th century to the eve of French Revolution, the Bourbon Monarchy steadily promoted a wetlands drainage policy. The aim was to develop cultivated soils in order to increase domestic population. The Monarchy argued that these areas were empty and useless to justify the change in land exploitation. This assertion did not correspond with reality. Actually, the King's territorial policy had to deal with local opposition. Which opposition did the drainers have to confront? How did they overcome them? Could they move from conflict to negotiation? This presentation aims to propose a synthetic view to show how change in wetlands and water management generated new relations between actors.

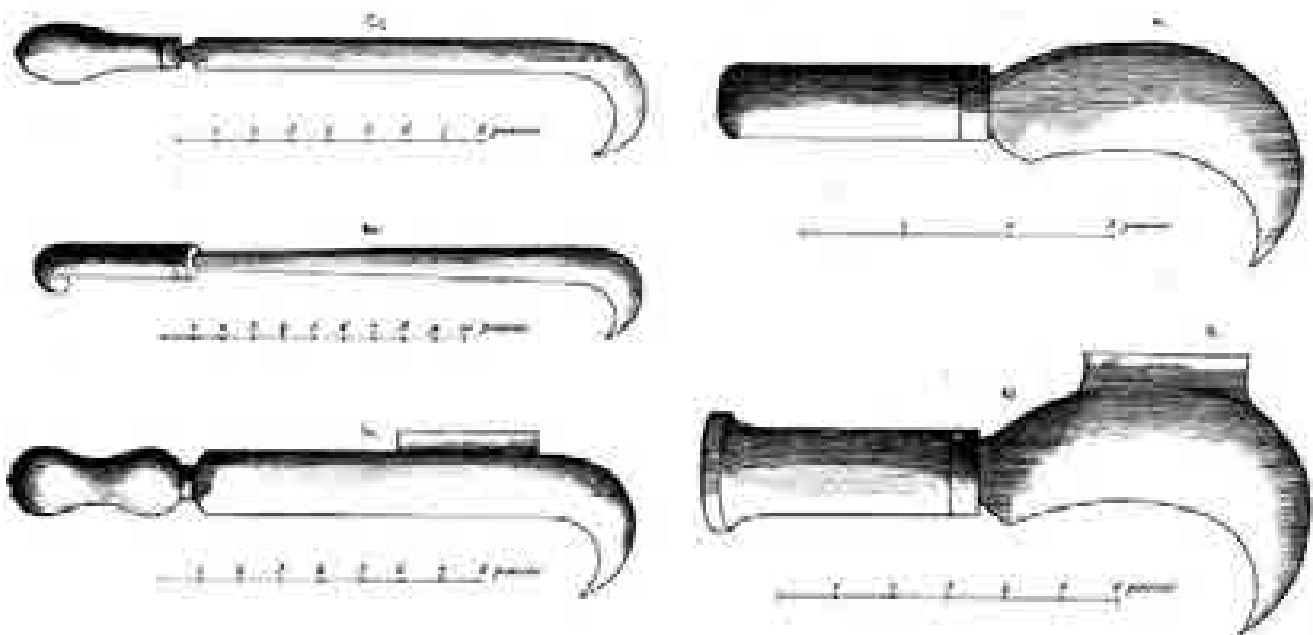
Two main periods can be distinguished. During the 17th century, conflicts used to confront foreign and capitalist investors to local inhabitants whose traditional uses were threatened by new agricultural practices. In many cases, these conflicts turned out to be violent and long lasting. The logic of conflicts evolved in the 18th century when most important conflicts involved different investors who adopted divergent attitudes. Nevertheless, local resistance still disrupted new projects. But in both cases the Monarchy conceived new rules of negotiations in order to avoid brutal confrontation as well as litigation.

This presentation will be based on examples of draining projects in Southern France (Languedoc, Provence) as well as on the Atlantic coast (Vendée, Aunis) and Northern France (Flandres).

105.4. Landscape changes in the wetlands of Tuscany. An historical GIS

Camillo BERTI, Margherita Azzari, Paola ZAMPERLIN, Università di Firenze, Italy

The aim of the research is to analyse from a geo-historical point of view the evolution of the landscape of the wetlands of Tuscany, during the modern and contemporary age. The Tuscan landscape was characterized until the contemporary age by the presence of many wetlands: both coastal wetlands and inland wetlands. Over the centuries the Tuscan wetlands have undergone alternate events: they were considered on the one hand a resource for local communities, who practiced fishing, hunting and gathering marsh plants, on the other hand a threat to the inhabitants due to malaria and the risk of flooding nearby cities. Governments have always tried to reduce the extension of these areas through remediation, giving rise to a real "water war". The work focuses on the acquisition of a time series of land use data from historical cartography and remote sensing sources and the management of such data in a GIS, with the aim of creating a geographic database on the wetlands and a historical series of thematic maps. One of the main objects of the research is the reconstruction of the history of transformations in wetlands and former wetlands, focusing on the analysis of land use as the foremost indicator of the historical landscape. The adopted methodology is based on the integration and comparative analysis of archaeological, historical and geographical data coming from different sources. The complex set of data taken into consideration has been stored and analysed by means of a GIS.



Serpes de vendangeurs, P. Boitard, *Les instruments aratoires*, Paris, 1833 © BnF.

Panel 106. Continuous patterns and innovations in animal breeding practices and technologies, 19th to early 21st century

Organiser:

Margaret DERRY, University of Guelph, Canada

Gianpiero FUMI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

Marco MARIGLIANO, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Piacenza, Italy

Bert THEUNISSEN, Utrecht University, the Netherlands

Discussant: Telmo OTERO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

During the last two centuries, animal breeding has experienced a continuous evolution in practices and theories, changing the way of feeding, reproducing and healing animals. The many sectors of animal production have changed at different levels, prompted by knowledge and under the pressure of competition and other internal or external factors. The aim of this panel is to analyze the issue of selecting and reproducing animals, the transfer of resources and knowledge between areas, the convergence or of interests, the drivers of innovation and the resistance of traditional practices. Particularly for the cattle, it will focus on the main paths of innovations in animal breeding practices, the rationale of purebred and hybrid systems of breeding, the trade and the economic impact of technologies such as cloning, frozen embryos, and semen, the role of national centres and international networks of experts, and that of agricultural organizations and producers' associations, in directing and spreading innovations in animal reproduction.

106.1. Quest for Quality: Black Box or Gene Architecture Theory in Animal Breeding Methodology, 18th to 21st Century

Margaret DERRY, University of Guelph, Canada

Two differing theories on how to approach, understand, and work with heredity had evolved by the 19th century. Improving breeders believed that breeding predictability could be had with no understanding of the force behind hereditary laws: selection methods could rest on what in today's terms would be called black box theory. Naturalists, trying to understand what drove breeding results, held that methodology should be driven by understanding the genetic architecture of heredity. Standardized methodologies evolved from one or the other of the black box and genetic architecture outlooks. When a dispute over which method worked best arose in the 20th century, the underlying variation in attitude did much to explain why certain methods penetrated agriculture industries and others did not. This presentation looks at methods in light of their theoretical background from the late 18th century to the present, and at the effect black box/genetic architecture-based methodology had on the livestock breeding industries.

106.2. Cattle breeding in 20th century Italian agriculture: From biometric selection to artificial insemination

Gianpiero FUMI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

Marco MARIGLIANO, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Piacenza, Italy

Cattle breeding experienced a deep qualitative evolution during the 20th century all over the world. Italian case wasn't an exception, experimenting improvements in the sector both in terms of productivity and profitability. The paper focuses on the innovation of animal reproduction, a key aspect of this enhancement. From the beginning of the century, genetic innovation was pursued by several protagonists of the zootechnical sector, such as farmer associations, scientific institutions, and researchers. Indeed, prominent figures such as Telesforo Bonadonna (1901-1987) – who was active in animal experimentation and in the spread of artificial insemination in Italy and abroad – worked side by side with agricultural organizations interested in the improvement of animal genetics. In that period, the productivity of Italian breeding was heavily dependent on foreign livestock, but over few decades the already mentioned innovations implemented it, making Italy one of the top exporter of highly selected semen all over the world.

106.3. By eye or by numbers? Innovation through tradition in postwar livestock breeding

Bert THEUNISSEN, Utrecht University, the Netherlands

The postwar 'modernisation' of livestock breeding entailed an increasing emphasis on quantitative selection for production traits. According to quantitative geneticists, the new approach of breeding by numbers was, by the 1970s, finally replacing the older selection method based on the evaluation of external characteristics (breeding by eye). Scientists opposed the two methods in terms of scientific versus traditional, and objective versus subjective. In actual practice, however, breeding by eye may have become less visible, but it has never become obsolete. It has even continued to be an indispensable element in most sectors of livestock breeding. While quantification is generally considered to be at the heart of 'scientific' breeding, putting it at the centre of the modernisation process creates a false impression of what really changed in postwar livestock breeding. To see this, the significance of breeds as 'brands' must be taken into consideration, and thus their role in the marketing of stock. Disputes between scientists and breeders about 'modern' approaches to breeding involved different views on breeding aims rather than on the efficiency of breeding methods, and in defining these aims breeders gave precedence to marketability over productivity. For quantitative approaches to succeed, such disagreements had to be resolved first. Even though breeding by numbers has proved extremely useful in most sectors, in some it continues to be subordinated to breeding by eye.

106.4. A pure Friesian is a true Friesian. Innovation and the persistence of purity in the modernisation of the Friesian horse during the crises of the 1910s and 1960s

Jorieke SAVELKOULS, Utrecht University, the Netherlands

In 1913 only three purebred Friesian stallions remained. Since the mid 1800s the local Frisian variety was made obsolete in favour of specialised crossbreeds thought more economically viable and efficient for farm work. When Friesland faced a deep crisis in the 1880s, the Friesian horse faced extinction; by 1915 only one aged breeding stallion was left. By the late 1930s, however, the breed again thrived. Many thought the Friesian had reclaimed its position on the Frisian farm. After the Second World War, another crisis emerged and the breed was displaced by the tractor. Breeders and breed officials alike sought to take the Friesian horse into the modern age fast and to see it thrive as it once had. Between the late 1950s and early 1970s a series of debates over modernisation, innovation and experimentation were overshadowed by growing health concerns within the breed caused by yet another genetic bottleneck. Was crossbreeding the only viable option that was left? I will argue that the Friesian KFPS studbook became one of the most innovative registries in the world as a direct result of a Frisian breeding culture that emerged from its purity movement. The driving forces behind the purity movement led breeders to reject crossbreeding in the 1960s despite the success of competing warmblood registries that did embrace hybridisation. The studbook honoured its traditions but took on a proactive role against genetic issues and inbreeding depression by driving innovation from within.



Julien Dupré, *La récolte des foins*, 1881 (Collection particulière)..

Panel 107. Innovative peasants. Land property, investment, work and agrarian change in late Middle Ages

Organiser: Antoni FURIÓ, Universitat de València, Spain

Chair: Catherine VERNA, Université Paris-8, France

Discussant: Luís ALMENAR, Universitat de València, Spain

The rural history of the late Middle Ages has been traditionally distorted by prejudices and common places that, despite having been fought and dismantled by the medievalists for a long time, continue to be very resistant. One is that of an autarchic Middle Ages, closed in on itself, characterized by self-consumption and technical stagnation. What has been denied by the research carried out in the last twenty or thirty years, in particular by the British historiography, which has shown the extent of the commercialization of the late medieval English society. The other is that of a passive peasant, averse to risk and innovation. Most of the studies on technical and productive progress and, in general, on agrarian change have focused on lords and 'capitalist' entrepreneurs (England) and on citizens and urban owners (Low Countries, Northern Italy), totally neglecting the role of peasants, unable to promote or implement such advancements, from the improvement and extension of irrigation systems to the introduction of new, more commercial crops.

This panel intends, on the contrary, to focus on the agency of the peasants in the implementation of such progress. Peasants were not insensitive to the stimuli of the market and tried to orient agricultural production towards commercialisation and the that this entailed. It proposes to study the peasant property, whether free or allodial as that held in tenure, and the possibilities that the regime of possession of the land granted to the peasant at the time of selling, bequeathing, yielding, mortgaging the land, faced with the limitations that leasing and sharecropping entailed. Secondly, investments in money and labour by peasants will be examined in order to apply technical and productive improvements. In particular, the role of peasants in the management of irrigation systems, in their extension and improvement, and in the introduction of new crops, more clearly commercial, will be studied. All this in order to provide a more nuanced vision of the peasants' contribution to the agrarian change and end with a view that presents them as the bastions of the agricultural stagnation, reluctant to any kind of change.

107.1. Peasant investment in land in Central Italy in the 9th and 10th century

Laurent FELLER, Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, France

The transformations of the landscape in Central Italy at the end of the early middle ages have been subsumed under the concept of incastellamento. It puts social and economic change initiative down to lords whose leadership is expressed by their ability to compel inhabitants to move their habitat, to group together and to regroup their farms. Aim of this communication is to remind that peasants have been able to take the initiative of such dramatic changes, leading to the foundation of grouped habitats and to the constitution of true "finages". The written documentation reached to us shows that direct farmers have been able to constitute important savings as soon as the 930's. They invested them acquiring land through the payment of 'entrages', to obtain the right to work this land belonging to monastical landlords. Doing so, they gave the monasteries the possibility to lead a politic of reformation of their patrimonies and of their communities, establishing a community of interest between peasants and monastic landlords. The existence of these communities was the condition of the success of the operations of incastellamento. Coercion had a minor part in it. Consent, resting not on humiliation or obedience but on the conscience of a common interest, and on the building of it, has been the key to success for these operations.

107.2. Peasant engineers. Traces of agency of the Tuscan sharecroppers in the cultural choices and management of livestock

Gabriella PICCINI, Università degli Studi di Siena, Italy

Through the analysis of hundreds of publishing sharecropping contracts (from the 13th to the 15th century), the many books of administration of farms and memoirs (especially Florentine and Siense, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and with the integration of sources of literary character (collections of short stories and poetic texts) it is possible to identify the agricultural and contractual innovations of peasant initiative. From this initiative sometimes sour contrasts also arose between sharecroppers and owners, and the peasants were accused of 'malice' and theft by the owners. An ancient proverb of the Tuscan area recites "peasant shoes big and brains up", to indicate his ingenuity.

107.3. Peasant agency. Technical and productive innovation and market involvement in Iberia in late Middle Ages

Antoni FURIÓ, Universitat de València, Spain

Pau VICIANO, Universitat de València, Spain

This paper fights two common places quite widespread in historiography. That in the Middle Ages there was no technical or productive innovation and that, if any, it was carried out by lords and urban owners. On the contrary, our contribution emphasizes the peasant agency in substantive aspects of agrarian transformation, such as the introduction and diffusion of new commercial crops (rice, sugar, mulberry), the improvement and extension of irrigation networks and the commercialization of agricultural production. The chosen observatory is the Iberian Peninsula, especially the rich irrigated plains of the Mediterranean coast, from the mid-13th century to the early 16th century, and the study is mainly based on fiscal, notarial and judicial sources, as well as municipal statutes and minutes books. From all this emerges an active peasantry and very involved, individually and collectively, in the market and in the agrarian change.

107.4. The peasant route to innovation

Pieter DE GRAEF, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

In peasant studies as well as agricultural/economic history, smallholding families are seen as risk-avoiding economic units, that aimed at survival from their actual production strategies. New approaches to their farming activities – especially innovations that required substantial cash outlays – were kept at arm's length, because of the uncertainty of the outcome. However, certain natural or societal evolutions might urge peasants to raise yields, for which access to new inputs was sometimes required. The analysis of the introduction of new fertilizers in a peasant region illustrates that smallholders adopted these innovations, after they saw their beneficial working on pioneering large farms. A peasant behaviour of risk limitation can thereby be confirmed as well as nuanced.



Labour et semailles en septembre : *Heures de Catherine de Médicis*,
enluminées durant la première moitié du xvi^e siècle (Paris, BnF, Smith Lesouëf 42, f. 9) © BnF.

Panel 108. On the Way to Exit the Feudalism: Transformation of Legal and Institutional Frameworks Concerning Peasants under the Rule of Russian Tsars in the Kingdom of Poland and the Baltics in the 19th/20th Century

Organiser: Michał GAŁĘDEK, University of Gdańsk, Poland

Chair: Michał GAŁĘDEK, University of Gdańsk, Poland

Discussant: Marju LUTS-SOOTAK, University of Tartu, Estonia

Our panel will focus on a comparative analysis of selected aspects in the legal and institutional transformations concerning the status of peasants in Poland and in Estonia. In the researched period, the situation of both these countries was similar in many ways. Poland, just like Estonia, had been under the rule of Russian tsars since the 18th century. Both regions had an autonomous legal status. In the Kingdom of Poland, an autonomous province, it stemmed from the fact that the Napoleonic Code, implemented in 1808, was maintained in force, while the situation of Estonia was an effect of the special status that Baltic governorates enjoyed within the Russian Empire. This resulted in, among others, a new peasant law being issued for Estonia in 1816 as part of Baltic emancipation reforms (1816-1819), followed by the "Esth-, Liv- und Curlaendisches Privatrecht" of 1864-1865. Similarities also stemmed from the fact that in both these regions, the key social and economic problem was the abolishment of serfdom, viewed within a broader context of moving from feudalism to capitalism and of materializing the liberal principle of equality before the law. The process of liberating peasants from the bounds of feudal serfdom was of paramount importance for the processes of shaping the modern Polish and Estonian nations and for the character of Polish and Estonian statehood after they gained independence following the end of World War I in 1918.

108.1. The Long and Winding Road to Peasant Emancipation in the Kingdom of Poland. 1814 Civil Reform Committee Programme of Serfdom Reforms

Michał GAŁĘDEK, Anna KLIMASZEWSKA, University of Gdańsk, Poland

The popularization of Enlightenment-era natural law ideas in the circle of Polish political elites resulted in reforms, whose crowning element was the adoption of 3 May Constitution 1791. It did not abolish serfdom, instead only signalling that peasants would be protected by law. This only became possible following the collapse of the Republic of Poland, when Napoleon established the Duchy of Warsaw and octroyed its constitution which guaranteed equality before the law and implemented the Napoleonic Code on the Polish territories. However, on the country still ruled by the landed gentry, the French Civil Code did not contribute to the resolution of a sore social problem. Efforts were made to change this situation after Napoleon's demise. The victorious Tsar Alexander decided to maintain separate Polish statehood in the form the Kingdom of Poland. For this purpose, in 1814 he appointed the Civil Reform Committee and ordered it, among others, to draft a complex land reform. The objective of this paper is to shed light on the awareness and views of the representatives of Polish political elites, members of this Committee, on the peasants issue, and especially to answer the following questions: How did they diagnose the existing situation? Did they consider the issue of peasant emancipation indispensable for the modernization of the nation and of the state, and if so, then to what extent?

108.2. Baltic Peasants after Emancipation. Free People or a New Social Estate?

Marju Luts-SOOTAK and Hesi SIIMETS-GROSS, University of Tartu, Estonia

At the beginning of the 19th century in the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire, the peasants formed 95% of the total population. The peasants, in their turn, were mainly serfs: in the province Estonia (Germ. Estland), only 3.5% of the peasants were free, in the province Livonia (Germ. Livland) only 1.5% were free and in the province of Courland (Germ. Kurland) 9.5% were free. In the Baltic provinces, the peasants were emancipated earlier than in the "inner" provinces of the core Russian territory and the former Polish territories (1861). The emancipation of peasants in Estonia happened in 1816, in Courland in 1817 and in Livonia in 1819. In Baltic historiography, it is a common view that Baltic peasants were emancipated according to the Prussian model. The question of what the crucial elements of the Prussian model are and whether this view is justified will be asked in our presentation. Special attention will be paid to the institutions and authorities that were set up for the peasant estate in the Baltic provinces.

108.3. The problems of application of the Napoleonic Code in the Polish countryside

Piotr POMIANOWSKI, University of Warsaw, Poland

In 1808 the Napoleonic Code was introduced into the Duchy of Warsaw. Many difficulties were of course caused by differences between France and the Duchy. The Napoleonic Code received full legal force in Poland, although its promulgation did not derogate any of the rights acquired before. The one and only exception was serfdom, which had been abolished by the Constitution granted by Napoleon in 1807. There were no interim provisions determining time or manner of introducing the Napoleonic Code to these acquired rights. It meant that in some areas of civil law, the old laws still remained in force, without any perspective of applying the Napoleonic Code to them. It undermined the idea of the code which completely covers a particular area of law. That model of implementation was different than the manner of adoption in France.

In my paper I will present some problems connected with implementation of capitalistic French law in Polish countryside, where feudal relation still remained in force. I will focus on pańszczyzna (labour service which peasants had to provide to the owner of the land. It often meant working in the masters' fields) and serwituty (peasants' common rights from a given village over forests, meadows or wasteland located in the masters' domain, where their cattle could pasture).

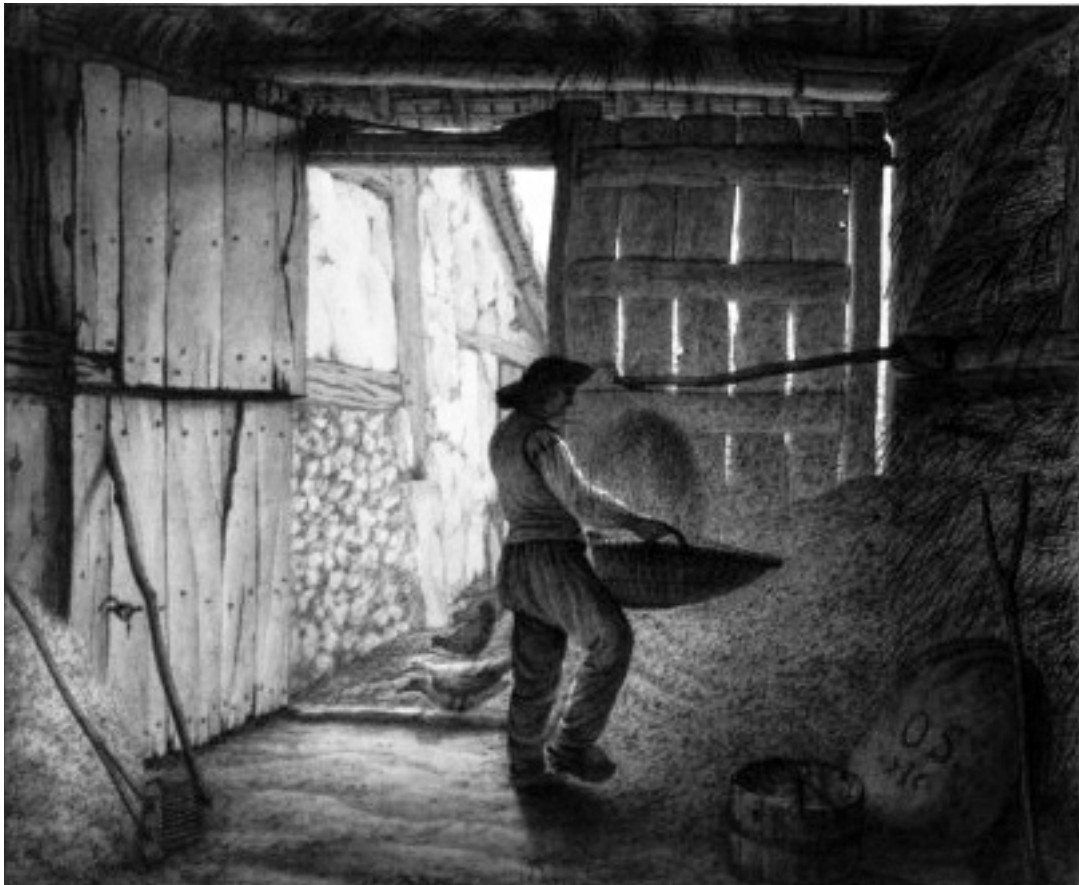
108.4. Land Reform as the Final Step of Exiting the Feudalism in Estonia

Karin VISNAPUU, University of Tartu, Estonia

In the beginning of the 20th century, there were still remains of feudalism in the agrarian structure in Eastern- and in some of the Central-European countries. Land distribution was dominated by large estates (manors) owned by landlords. Since it was a relic from the past period of serfdom and wasn't modern at all, then land reforms were carried out in these countries after the World War I.

In addition to the intention of ending the remnants of feudalism, there were also different political reasons why the land reform was necessary. Estonian government needed to bring together loyal citizenship and the only thing that the state had to offer during the time, was land. Another reason is that since the Estonian War of Independence was still going, it was necessary to get men to fight for the new state and giving soldiers a piece of land on this new independent home country, was a quite good motivation for them.

The purpose of this paper is to show which was the legal basis of the Estonian land reform and how it changed during the first period of Estonian Independence.



Vanneur d'avoine, dessin de J.-J. Lequeu, 1790 (Paris, BnF) © BnF.

Panel 109. Men Alone: Bachelors and Widowers in Rural Europe from the 16th to the 19th Century

Organisers:

Francisco GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Spain

Margareth LANZINGER, Universität Wien, Austria

Discussants:

Margareth LANZINGER, Universität Wien, Austria

Francisco GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Spain

*The increasing masculinisation of that segment of the rural population that lives in single-person households is among the most striking social and demographic transformations currently taking place in Europe. In order to understand the dimension of this phenomenon in an appropriate manner and in its *longue durée*, it is necessary to take a look back through history.*

So far, the topic of men living alone in rural areas has received little historiographic attention. For one thing, rural societies – due to their assumedly strong social cohesion and in contrast to urban ones – have often been placed within a paradigm that overlooked single people (Ginestous, 2007). What's more, work focused on historical forms of the family has likewise frequently neglected and ignored people who lived alone. Single people represented an antithesis of sorts, above all in societies that themselves via marriage in a central way (Lanzinger y Sarti, 2006).

In view of such circumstances, we think it is time that this topic (which was already taken up decades ago in the of sociology, above all by Pierre Bourdieu [1962]) – be put up for renewed debate and dealt with in greater depth. And strengthening this of research is all the more important in light of how the question as to single women or women as household heads has so far enjoyed considerably greater interest (García González y Contente, 2017), being present in numerous studies, especially from the perspective of gender.

The objective of the proposed panel is to identify and analyse various and diverse situations of single or widowed men who lived alone in rural Europe on the basis of approaches that permit a look at demographic and socio-economic conditions as well as at outward appearances and representations. A broad palette of questions can be formulated as part of the this panel's work, including as to the reasons for which men lived alone, the composition, size, and structures of the households in which they lived, their occupations, their status and other social categories, their income and wealth situations, stereotypes that stigmatised them, the legal framework within which they operated, their survival strategies and reproductive strategies, the of property transfer models, and their spheres of action during the individual phases of their lives.

109.1. Between Biopolitical Resource and Immorality. The Janus-faced Stereotype of the Rural Bachelor, Bern 1750-1850

Arno HALDEMANN, Universität Basel, Switzerland

This paper shows how the single man of the rural regions of Bern turned into the representation of a Janus-faced stereotype and became a major object of a new governmentality during the transition from the 18th to the 19th century. During this period, he was perceived as fertile but sexually misbehaving social element.

Thus, on the one hand, he constituted a major object of biopolitical reflection. He played a crucial role in the enlightened debates of the sophisticated urban elite. Therein, he either represented a fascinating artefact from a different world or a healthy and fertile resource for progress. Therefore, the unmarried countryman had to be converted into an utilitarian citizen.

On the other hand, he personified the epitome of immorality and illegitimate sexuality. He was stigmatized as a constant threat to local security, communal resources and sexual morality. Hence, he was a main issue in consistorial court records and petitions, where different groups asked the nascent state for his disciplining.

For these reasons, the rural bachelor became a central object of a governmental logic which sought after the monopoly on legitimate use of force and biopolitical strength.

109.2. Young men, sexuality and religion in Western Switzerland, 1750-1850

Sandro GUZZI-HEEB, *Université de Lausanne, Switzerland*

The sexuality of young men in early modern Europe remains largely a mystery. Bachelors were often perceived as a source of troubles, but the details of their sexual behavior remain largely unknown.

Focusing on information about illegitimacy and prenuptial conceptions, however, we can observe an important change occurring between 1700 and 1850: in Western Switzerland, as in other European regions, illicit penetrative sexual relations among young, unmarried people became much more frequent and illegitimacy rates kept increasing in the 19th century.

Micro-historical inquiries based on large genealogical databases from different Catholic and Protestant communities of Western Switzerland allow to outline some important evolutions in the behavior of young men. Were young bachelors more often responsible for sexual indiscipline than other male groups? Can we seize the peculiar characteristics of young men involved in illicit sexual relations? Were young men who were members of local Catholic confraternities more likely to respect traditional sexual discipline?

109.3. From Italy to Norway: men alone in the rural migration process in the 19th century

Mónica MISCALI, *Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway*

The demographic acceleration that happened in Europe in the 19th century led to a notable increase in population. This demographic transaction was followed by a parallel transformation of the economy: an industrial revolution that was accompanied by a less ostentatious "Agricultural Revolution" that involved important consequences, including the impoverishment of smallholders and the increase of landless families. As a consequence, there was a strong growth in immigration. (Livi Bacci, *In cammino. Breve storia delle migrazioni*, Il Mulino, 2010:63). In this period, many peasants had to leave the Italian peninsula to look for land to be cultivated, or to find other possible work, on other continents. Some of them reached Scandinavia, which in the 19th century certainly could not be considered a desirable migratory destination.

They were mostly single men who travelled from Italy to Norway. To this regard my presentation wants to reconstruct the migratory process of these lonely men who arrived in Norway in a period of time, ranging from the 19th century until the 60s of the 20th century. The long-time span will allow us to see how migration changed over time.

109.4. Men alone in rural Galicia (Spain), 18th-19th centuries

Ofelia REY CASTELAO, *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain*

The aim of this paper is to analyse the relevance of "men alone" in the households of rural Galicia (1752-1860). To do so, a comparative analysis is developed between the Atlantic and the inland Galicia. The main axis of study are: 1) The figures and percentages of "men alone" as head of households and its changes between the two centuries. 2) The labour structure of this "men alone". 3) the position of bachelors in relation with inheritance and women of the same family; 4) The role of bachelors in migration movements; 5) the effects of this phenomenon in military service from 1762 changes; 6) The elderly: number of men older of sixty years old, family context, economic performance, etc. In order to do so, demographic, economic and military sources are mobilized. More particularly, the census of 1787 and 1860; the fiscal data of Catastro de Ensenada, and the military list of 1762 and 1837 onwards are studied in detail. With the data provided, is possible to produce maps witch proves the differences between the Atlantic and the inland Galicia, focused in the women and men alone distribution. Finally the comparison with other areas is one of the main concerns of this work.

109.5. Circumventing loneliness? Old age and men in the Saint-Malo area during the 18th century

Emmanuelle CHARPENTIER, *Université de Toulouse, France*

Whereas the situation of single women and their perception of old age have aroused many studies, french historians has shown less interest in men. Yet the fear of the old days, often assimilated to loneliness, is also felt by men in a society where no assistance is planned by the state. In coastal societies, this apprehension appeared in the 18th century through the trajectories followed by the sailors living near Saint-Malo (Brittany). The registrations of the Classes de la Marine, the parish registers and the notarial funds reveal the choices made to anticipate old age. They are often about circumventing loneliness and differentiating themselves from women's strategies. Nevertheless, this loneliness, whether suffered or chosen, cannot be limited to a family environment; it would be forgetting the solidarity at work in rural parishes. This intervention will be based on the GEMER project (GEns de MER), coordinated by P. Hrodej (Université de Bretagne-Sud, TEMOS), with M. Signoli (CNRS, ADES) and E. Charpentier.

Panel 110. Livelihood Transitions. 19th Century Land Use Change as a Key issue for Long Term Socio-Ecological Process

Organiser: Rita GARSTENAUER, Centre for Migration Research, Austria

Chair: Anna WESTIN, Swedish Biodiversity Centre, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Discussant: Jawad DAHEUR, CNRS, France

19th century Europe saw massive land use changes due to demographic and technological transformations, including agricultural intensification, forest transitions, changing commodity markets and urbanization. These processes resulted in changing ecosystem characteristics, and were articulated in the social realm through legal, institutional and administrative reorganisation of governance, e.g. the abolition of manorial land tenure. The rural populations, in turn, adapted their livelihood models by altering land management, developing (or ceasing) pluriactivity, or by migrating. Land use and rural livelihood are focal points of observation for socio-ecological processes. This panel assembles conceptual and empirical contributions on the interdependence between human practice and ecosystems in the 19th century, discussing a variety of socio-ecological processes including agriculture, forestry, or mining.

110.1. Changes in rural environment and livelihood conditions following forest and energy transition in France (1830-1900): A socio-ecological perspective

Julia LE NOË, Simone GINGRICH, University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Wien, Austria

France experienced a forest transition at the turn of the 19th century, changing surfaces, use and management. Woodfuel was replaced by coal, while the intensification of agriculture decreased cropland, freeing space for more forest. The biophysical trends went along with interventionist state policies after the Code Forestier (1827), shifting from a multi-use to an industrially managed forest in favour of the state and capitalists. This affected both ecological status of forest, and livelihood of rural population. A socio-ecological metabolic perspective helps to understand the transition as re-articulation of the social and ecological realm, regarding carbon fluxes and stocks in fossil fuels, biomass and soils. We use data on forest surfaces/production from the Enquete décennale de la statistique agricole since app. 1800. We survey archival sources on forestry management, land and energy use. The data and a biogeochemical model allow to compute the carbon budget of the forest and energy transition. We identify the consequences for rural livelihood, resistances and local conflicts, in particular a reinforced the subordination of rural and peripheral areas to cities and central power.

110.2. Floating Logs and Fluctuating Populations. Assessing the Socio-ecological Effects of a 18th and 19th Century Wood Extracting Regime from a Humanities Perspective

Rita GARSTENAUER, Centre for Migration Research, Austria

The increasing demand in fuel wood was answered by different strategies in Lower Austria in the period from mid 18th to mid 19th. The most immediate response to increasing wood prices was all but sustainable. Rivers and streams were adapted for the transportation of fuel wood from remote forests in order to increase the volume of wood harvested and transported to the cities. Wood floating was a business opportunity, despite the high infrastructure cost, but it usually lasted only a few decades until the areas close to the canals were harvested. The local booms that came with a canal project had a substantial impact on the local forest ecosystems: biomass extraction, a change of the local hydrological balance, and an increase of human population, despite forest laws that banned the creation of settlements for the migrant engineers as well as the loggers and their families. The log floating businesses provide interesting case studies for the interdependence of wood extraction, hydrology and demography. This paper discusses approaches to research on indicators for ecosystem change within archival material, contemporary legal, scientific literature and vernacular ecosystem observations.

110.3. Ecological Niche Construction on the Baltic Sea Region: Population and Land-Use Change on Coastal Landscapes of North-West Estonia during the transition from Feudal Society to Capitalism

Hele KIMMANN, Uppsala University, Sweden

The coastal landscapes of north-west Estonia have undergone dramatic changes over the centuries. This paper analyzes settlement and land use changes on the Noarootsi (Nuck'o) peninsula in the NW of Estonia. Historical-cartographical analysis, together with population compilation on the research area, has been applied in order to answer how the local inhabitants survived in a changing environment over time. A description of how natural preconditions enable or constrain the living conditions of local inhabitants is developed through an analysis of cartographical material. To describe the cultivation practices and possibilities, soil cover maps have been compiled and fieldwork conducted for humus content estimation. The calculations for the number of inhabitants per farm, their changing livelihoods and the evolving farming systems of the coastal peasants are examined in order to demonstrate the fluctuations in population. The results of this research reveal new insights into the Estonian-Swedish settlement history, both spatial and temporal, in the context of the Baltic Sea region.

110.4. Alder meadows of northern Romania. Tracing relationships between human practices and Ecosystems

Tommy LENNARTSSON, Anna WESTIN, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Swedish Biodiversity Centre, Sweden

Anamaria IUGA, National Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Romania

Monica STROE and Bogdan IANCU, National University of Political Studies and Administration, Romania

Cosmin Marius IVASCU, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Rural livelihood relies on local use of natural resources in interaction with culture. We discuss the use of alder meadows, which has been central for subsistence in several villages in northern Romania. Using interdisciplinary methods, we explore its significance for the needs of the community, its continuity and change. Based on interviews with farmers and historical-ecological field studies, we interpret the ongoing use of the system as a biological cultural heritage that can help interpreting historical maps. This ecosystem is an example of multi-layered land-use combining products from the trees with products from the ground vegetation. Sustainable use of the alder meadows requires a multitude of activities in the tree/shrub layer as well as in the ground vegetation to create, maintain, and harvest the ecosystem's resource. Changes of the practices can cause a collapse of the eco-system and high costs for restoring it. This can explain why the system has remained an important part of agriculture through various political and economic changes. Historical-ecological studies of traditional land-use systems in active use enable unique insights in historical use of natural resources.



Balthasar Van Der Ast, *Nature morte avec panier de fruits*, 1622 (North Carolina Museum of Art).

Panel 111. Agro and Railways: Ruptures, Changes and Continuities (19th-21st centuries)

Organisers:

Deborah GONZÁLEZ JURADO, *Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France*

Hugo SILVEIRA PEREIRA, *Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal*

Chair & Discussant: Ian GREGORY, *Lancaster University, UK*

Using varied, interdisciplinary perspectives applied in different countries, this panel examines the ruptures, changes and continuities in agriculture and the agrarian world that arose from the introduction and expansion of railways during the 19th and 20th centuries. Despite the recent growth of interdisciplinary studies of railway history, the relationship between railways and agriculture remains an important but understudied subject, especially in the Western Mediterranean, Iberia, British India, and France. In addressing this lacuna, papers treat the following topics: 1) in Spain, historical ruptures in land and landscapes through railway construction and the effects of administrative changes and land expropriations in rural society; 2) in Portugal, the agrarian associated with the arrival of narrow gauge rail way in the Duoro Valley; 3) in Colonial India, new research and debates on the agrarian effects railway construction—including the Great Famine of 1896—from the new perspective of the labour employed; 4) in Britain, the relationship between the growth of rural postal service, railway expansion, and the spread of agricultural science through increased postal communications.

111.1. An approach to the study of rural expropriations in Spain due to the construction of railways (19th century)

Deborah GONZÁLEZ JURADO, *Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France*

María Olga MACÍAS MUÑOZ, *Universidad del País Vasco, Spain*

This paper examines the negative effects in rural society of railway expansion in Spain during the 19th century. Begun through a new railway law of 1855 that encouraged foreign investment, huge amounts of French capital arrived in the Iberian Peninsula to finance new business and infrastructure projects, including the construction of new railways.

However well intended, railway expansion led to expropriations of lands from individuals and families in the countryside and permanently altering the rural environment, subjects little studied in Spanish economic history.

Based on the Historical Archive of Spanish Railways and the official state newspaper, the *Gaceta de Madrid* (Madrid Gazette), the paper offers quantitative and qualitative analyses of the expropriations. The results tabulate the reasons for the expropriations and the proportions of affected lands by region ((Andalusia, Castile, Catalonia and others). Taking the path of micro-history, the paper also explores the lived experiences of those who lost land, the human and familial costs of state-sponsored economic expansion.

111.2. Railroad in a remote rural region, 1891-1933: “Export” trade and impacts on agricultural and animal production

Eduardo BEIRA, *Universidade do Porto, Portugal*

Maria Fernanda ROLLO, *Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal*

In 1887 a new narrow gauge railroad began to operate in the Tua valley, a northeastern peripheral region of Portugal. It ran from the tiny Foz Tua junction to Mirandela city, with a second leg going to Bragança city, the capital of the province in 1906. Although short (around 135 kms), the railroad brought the first rapid transportation to the remote, isolated “province” of Trás os Monte – literally “beyond the mountains.” During its 100-year history, the railway served as an engine of progress aimed at developing the agricultural and mineral wealth of the Valley.

Using freight data from 1891 to 1933, the paper studies that development, describing the significant impact of rail transport on agriculture, animal production, and trade over four decades. Analyzing the trade in olive oil, grain, wine, and live cattle reveals patterns of change and persistence in exports from “the periphery” to centers of consumption in and around Oporto City. From Oporto, in return, new tools and fertilizers arrived to expand production while rail service also gave rise to new industrial activities in Casa Menéres (cork, olive oil, wine) and Mirandela (olives, olive oil and derivatives).

111.3. Agriculture and Railways: Revisiting debates on Colonial Railways from the Perspective of Labour

Amal SHAHID, Graduate Institute of International and Development studies, Geneva, Switzerland

This paper will examine the impact of railways on agriculture of colonial India. Railways have so far occupied a special role in the historiography of agriculture in colonial India. Scholars have various viewpoints on the impact of railways on agricultural areas: railways as a means of expansion of colonial trade in commercial products to the detriment of grain trade; and as a means of enhancing communications and control over the subcontinent. Another set of debates pertains to famines: that railways exacerbated famines by aiding trade objectives, or that railways helped transport grain from areas of surplus to areas of scarcity, and thereby helped reduce impact of famines. This paper discusses how railways were built: the employment of casual labour, much of it from the countryside, on construction of railways. As much of this construction took place during famines, this paper will address both set of debates by showing that they are related and not mutually exclusive. It will argue that, while data may show that railways helped reduce impact of famine, in practice the welfare and trade policies worked against it. The paper uses correspondences, minutes of evidence and data from published reports and census; in addition to literature from social history of railway construction and labour from Asia, Africa and Americas.

111.4. Mail, Rail, Legwork, and Agricultural Education: The Transformation of Postal Service in Rural Great Britain and France 1830-1914

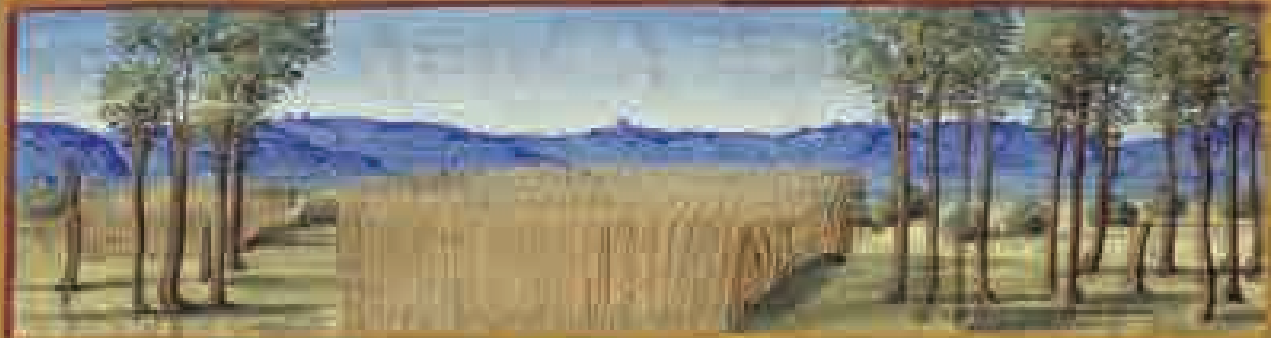
Robert M. SCHWARTZ, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, USA

This paper examines the effects of railway expansion on the growth of postal communications in Great Britain and France from 1830 to the eve of the Great War. It uses spatial analysis in historical GIS to trace and compare the expanding geographies of railways and post offices and considers the enhanced circulation of agricultural science that resulted.

The modern Postal Age in Great Britain and France began in 1830s. In Britain in 1839, the Parliament obligated railway companies to convey the Royal Mail throughout the kingdom at reasonable rates. Consequently, the majority of rural households received regular, daily mail by 1914.

In France, a larger country with a relatively vast rural population, the task of modernizing postal service began with the creation of a "rural service" in 1829, based on the legwork of 5000 newly employed letter-carriers who delivered and collected mail throughout the countryside. Beginning in the 1870s the Third Republic moved to strengthen the loyalties of its rural population through the joint expansion of rural rail and mail service.

Just as the expansion of mail service furthered national integration through the expanded circulation of newspapers and postal communications, so it opened rural communities to wider worlds of information and events. News of agricultural improvements, political issues, agricultural co-operatives reached more and more farmers.



Des quatre temps de l'an.



ostre intention est de traictier
en ce livre des quatre temps

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>201.</p> <p>Long-run inequality in the rural economy (1500-2000)</p> <p>Organisers: Migue Artola, Erik Bengtsson Chair: Juan Carmona</p>	<p>201.1</p> <p>Income inequality in rural Flanders, ca. 1500-ca. 1800</p> <p>Wouter Ronsijn</p>	<p>201.2.</p> <p>Rural and Urban Inequality in Early Modern Europe: West Sweden in 1715</p> <p>Erik Bengtsson, Mats Olsson, Patrick Svensson</p>	<p>201.3.</p> <p>Asset-Holding in Rural Spain: New Evidence from Tax and Census Data (1900-1950)</p> <p>Miguel Artola</p>	<p>201.4.</p> <p>Agrarian inequality from above: The evolution of nobility landproperties between 19th and 20th centuries. The House of Alba</p> <p>Jose Miguel Hernandez Barral</p>		<p>PANEL 201</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_9</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>202.</p> <p>Transatlantic Perspectives on Agricultural and Rural Change in Industrial Societies</p> <p>Organisers: Juri Auderset, Deborah Fitzgerald, Peter Moser Chair: Tony Varley</p>	<p>202.1.</p> <p>Farming Styles and Food Regimes: Bridging the Micro-Macro Divide in Agro-Food Studies</p> <p>Ernst Langthaler</p>	<p>202.2.</p> <p>Modernization of Farmers in the United States</p> <p>David B. Danbom</p>	<p>202.3.</p> <p>Knowledge Networks and Expertise in Agriculture</p> <p>Deborah Fitzgerald</p>	<p>202.4.</p> <p>Epistemic Journeys: Swiss Agronomists in North America and the Transnational Entanglements of the Agrarian-Industrial Knowledge Society</p> <p>Juri Auderset, Peter Moser</p>		<p>PANEL 202</p> <p>Amphitheatre</p> <p>François Furet</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>203.</p> <p>Latin American Agriculture: Globalisation, Institutions and Natural Resources, (1900-2015)</p> <p>Organiser: Miguel Martin-Retortillo Chair: Vicente Pinilla</p>	<p>203.1.</p> <p>Lewis' unreachable path: the farm problem, agricultural pathways in Latin American countries and development policy alternatives</p> <p>Angel L. González-Esteban, Elisa Botella-Rodríguez</p>	<p>203.2.</p> <p>Productivity and Resource Usage in Modern Brazilian Agriculture</p> <p>Herbert Klein, Francisco Vidal Luna</p>	<p>203.3.</p> <p>Agrarian mechanization in settler economies (1900-2010). The Diffusion of tractor in Uruguay and New Zealand</p> <p>Pablo Castro Scavone, Henry Willebald</p>	<p>203.4.</p> <p>The new agro-export model and family farming: Explorations from the Peruvian case (1990-2015)</p> <p>Jackeline Velazco</p>	<p>203.5.</p> <p>Crop Specialization and Food Dependency: A physical and monetary valuation of Colombian agrarian trade during the 20th century</p> <p>Alexander Urrego-Mesa</p>	<p>PANEL 203</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_15</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>204.</p> <p>Crime and Criminal Justice in Rural Europe: The French experience in a broader European Context</p> <p>Organiser: Dieter Bruneel Chair: Nadine Vivier</p>	<p>204.1.</p> <p>Collective Actions and Patterns of Criminality in Rural Communities (17th-18th centuries, Northern Spain)</p> <p>Tomás Antonio Mantecón Movellan</p>	<p>204.2.</p> <p>To promote the law, to defend usages. The difficult question of the rural police in France (1791-mid-19th century)</p> <p>Fabien Gaveau</p>	<p>204.3.</p> <p>Economic Crises and Rural Property Crime: A Comparative Approach to Land, Authority and Criminal Law in 19th-Century Rural Belgium</p> <p>Dieter Bruneel</p>			<p>PANEL 204</p> <p>Room 2</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>205.</p> <p>Agrarian Modernization, a global transboundary process that generates local asymmetries</p> <p>Organisers: Antonio Chamorro Cristóbal Chair: Daniel Lanero Taboas</p>	<p>205.1.</p> <p>Why Here "Yes" and There "Not"? The Iberian Dictatorships in Face of the Exportation of American</p> <p>Agrarian Extensionism (1950- 1975)</p> <p>Daniel Lanero Taboas</p>	<p>205.2.</p> <p>The Near East Foundation in Iran, 1945-1979</p> <p>Joshua Thew</p>	<p>205.3.</p> <p>The Agrarian Modernization puzzle in the Andes: fragmented Landscapes</p> <p>Antonio Chamorro Cristóbal</p>	<p>205.4.</p> <p>Inheritances and challenges of the Green revolution in Argentina: the role of social and environmental problems</p> <p>Cecilia Gárgano</p>	<p>205.5.</p> <p>Organisational alternatives, community strategies and recovery of traditional knowledge in relation to the modernisation process in the Ecuadorian rural sector</p> <p>Ana Gendron</p>	<p>PANEL 205</p> <p>Room</p> <p>BS1_05</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>206.</p> <p>Environmental impacts of feudal resource exploitation: The case of Central European forests (16th-19th century)</p> <p>Organisers: Sarah Claire, Jawad Daheur Chair: Sarah Claire</p>	<p>206.1.</p> <p>Local population and imperial forest management in the Western provinces of the Russian empire in 1800-1860s</p> <p>Marina Loskutova</p>	<p>206.2.</p> <p>The Transformation of the Environment? Agrarian Reform, Raw Materials and Institutionalization of the Forests in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 16th century</p> <p>Vytautas Volungevičius</p>	<p>206.3.</p> <p>Environmental Degradation and Social Conflict Galician Peasants' Attitudes towards the Overexploitation of Forests by Large Landowners in the 19th century</p> <p>Jawad Daheur</p>			<p>PANEL 206</p> <p>Room AS1_01</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>207.</p> <p>The new technologies and the study of social change in rural societies: Need and Opportunity</p> <p>Organisers: Rosa Congost, Massimiliano Grava Chair: Rosa Congost</p>	<p>207.1.</p> <p>Two centuries of socio-economic evolution in rural Tuscany: A GIS-based approach to place names as historical sources</p> <p>Nicola Gabellieri, Massimiliano Grava</p>	<p>207.2.</p> <p>Landscape transformations and social change in rural areas. A geo-historical approach</p> <p>Camillo Berti</p>	<p>207.3.</p> <p>Historic cadasters as a tool for analyzing socio-spatial relationships: A case study in Agro-Romano</p> <p>Keti Lelo</p>	<p>207.4.</p> <p>Exploring silent social changes: the digital exploitation of a big mine of historical data (Catalonia, 18th century)</p> <p>Rosa Congost, Jordi Regincós, Rosa Ros, Enric Saguer</p>		<p>PANEL 207</p> <p>Room AS1_33</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>208.</p> <p>Applied sciences, innovation and rural development in Europe, from the age of productivity to the one of bioeconomy. A transnational and multidisciplinary perspective (1945-nowadays)</p> <p>Organiser and Chair: Pierre Cornu</p>	<p>208.1.</p> <p>Strengthening a regional dairy system: The application of protein knowledge in Friesland, the Netherlands, 1950-1985</p> <p>Merijn Knibbe, Marijn Molema</p>	<p>208.2.</p> <p>Technologies and Rationalization at Farm Level from the mid-20th century onwards</p> <p>Carin Martijn</p>	<p>208.3.</p> <p>Non-conventional approaches to food systems and rural development: The contribution of the Italian school in the European context of the late 20th century</p> <p>Gianluca Brunori</p>	<p>208.4.</p> <p>The acculturation of agronomic research to international scientific competition A French perspective, 1978-2004</p> <p>Pierre Cornu, Egizio Valceschini</p>		<p>PANEL 208</p> <p>Room 8</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>209.</p> <p>Rural Consumption of fancy goods in peripheral markets</p> <p>Organiser: Beatrice Craig Chair: Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux</p>	<p>209.1.</p> <p>Shops in the Valencian agrotowns in the later middle ages</p> <p>Frederic Aparisi</p>	<p>209.2.</p> <p>Rural Consumption in South-Eastern Europe (18th century)</p> <p>Constanta Vintila-Ghitulescu</p>	<p>209.3.</p> <p>The spread of new goods in the Quebec countryside in the early 19th century</p> <p>Béatrice Craig</p>	<p>209.4.</p> <p>Rural consumption of foreign goods in early modern Transylvania</p> <p>Mária Pakucs</p>	<p>209.5.</p> <p>Rural Consumption in 19th- and Early 20-Century Russia</p> <p>Galina Ulyanova</p>	<p>PANEL 209</p> <p>Room AS1_17</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>210.</p> <p>Famine in the manorial society and economy</p> <p>Organisers and Chairs: Piotr Miodunka, Marten Seppel</p>	<p>210.1.</p> <p>Agricultural crisis of the 17th century from economic and environmental perspectives</p> <p>Piotr Guzowski</p>	<p>210.2.</p> <p>Scarcity or abundance, in the 17th century cereal cultivating in Transylvania?</p> <p>Enikő Rűsz-Fogarasi</p>	<p>210.3.</p> <p>The role of manorial and communal institutions in famine relief in the Russian Baltic Province of Livland in the mid-1840s</p> <p>Kersti Lust</p>	<p>210.4.</p> <p>Responses to the 1840s famines in Poland and Ireland</p> <p>Pawel Hamera</p>		<p>PANEL 210</p> <p>Room 7</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel 201. Long-run inequality in the rural economy (1500-2000)

Organisers:

Miguel ARTOLA, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

Erik BENGTTSSON, Lund University, Sweden

Chair: Juan CARMONA, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

Discussants:

Gilles POSTEL-VINAY, Institut national de la recherche agronomique and EHESS, France

Juan CARMONA, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

Long-term trends in wealth and income concentration are attracting an increasing attention from both the public opinion and the academic community. Until recently, the consensus was based on Kuznets' (1955) model, who envisaged an increase (and later) decrease of inequality due to industrialization. Nowadays, inputs by Piketty (2014), Lindert and Williamson (2016), Milanovic (2016) and others have shown that other factors than sectoral shifts need to be considered. For example, for Swedish inequality 1750-1900, increasing inequality within the rural sector was the most important driver of inequality (Bengtsson et al., 2018).

Not the least, inequality within sectors – agriculture, industry, services – and changes in within-sector inequality needs to be considered. However, most of the recent research has not paid special attention to the dynamics of the rural economy. In this session we aim to cover this gap by bringing together new research along the following two axes. First, to provide new evidence that enables a better understanding on how the agrarian income is distributed between land, labour and capital. Results can be based on a macro perspective (as in modern national accounts) or on a relevant case study (i.e. micro data on either wages, rents and for a location). Second, to discuss the factors that affect the distribution of income and wealth among rural households. Among them, it is possible to highlight classical topics, such as the increase or decrease of landownership rates (proletarianization), the rural to urban shift, or the impact of regulations, such as land reforms, rent control laws or labour codes.

201.1. Income inequality in rural Flanders, ca. 1500-ca. 1800

Wouter RONSIJN, Università Bocconi, Italy and Universiteit Gent, Belgium

This paper reconstructs income inequalities in rural Flanders throughout the early modern period. A newly compiled dataset allows us to follow inequality levels in a selection of rural case-studies from ca. 1500 to ca. 1800. The dataset is based on tax records that not only document land use but also non-agricultural forms of income, particularly for those using little or no land. Therefore, by going beyond the distribution of holdings by size, these data provide us with a richer picture of the rural social structure. The data exist for three different regions within Flanders: (1) Coastal Flanders, sparsely populated, characterised by large, market-oriented farms worked by landless or semi-landless labourers; (2) Inland Flanders, densely populated, characterised by a balance between large and small holdings, and by the development of proto-industrial spinning and weaving; and (3) the Land of Waes, characterised by medium-sized holdings and the development of diverse rural industries. A comparison, across three centuries, of three different areas within Flanders, each with their own specific development, can shed light on the factors that drove inequality levels upwards or downwards.

201.2. Rural and Urban Inequality in Early Modern Europe: West Sweden in 1715

Erik BENGTTSSON, Lund University, Sweden

Mats OLSSON, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Patrick SVENSSON, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

In this paper, we present a detailed study of wealth and its distribution on the West coast of Sweden in 1715, using the taxation lists from a one-off wealth tax imposed in this year. The great advantage of this tax is that it – unlike other taxes in Sweden at this time – was imposed equally (with a 1, then 2 per cent rate) on citizens of all social classes, from the nobility down to servants and workers. The dataset covers all household in the county of Bohuslän, of which 9,368 are rural, distributed among 79 parishes with different economic and ownership characteristics. Of the urban observations, 2,318 are from the important harbour and trading city of Gothenburg, and 866 from the four smaller towns in the county. Each observation states the name and residence of the household head, and the value of his or her assets, real estate and movables in separate columns. The complete and detailed nature of the dataset allows us to study distribution of wealth from geographical and social class perspective, adding new and scarcely explored dimensions to the historical inequality literature.

201.3. Asset-Holding in Rural Spain: New Evidence from Tax and Census Data (1900-1950)

Miguel ARTOLA, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

Agrarian historians have for long discussed whether land ownership became more accessible to the Spanish rural population since the late 19th century. In a recent article, Carmona et al. (2018) present an optimistic market-friendly argument according to which the land reform started in 1932 was unnecessary and unjustified based on the apparent reduction in the number of landless workers and a correlative increase of those that became owners or tenants. Other scholars still defend that land inequality in southern Spain constituted an important drag on economic growth and was at the root of social conflicts. The debate remains inconclusive due to the lack of reliable sources

In this paper we explore a new set of sources at a national level. First, the statistics of the Community Tax Certificate (1870-1942) a graduated poll tax that classified the adult population by aggregating the taxes paid on non-financial assets. The main advantage of this source is that it solves the problem of double-counting the number of owners through land taxes. Secondly, we also use the rural and housing census carried in 1950. We discuss asset-holding, considering changes throughout time and among regions, and propose a new explanation for the long-term evolution.

201.4. Agrarian inequality from above: the evolution of nobility landproperties between 19th and 20th centuries. The House of Alba

Jose Miguel HERNANDEZ BARRAL, Centro Universitario Villanueva, Spain

The properties of the nobility have attracted the attention of modern agrarian historians since the very beginning. The impact of the juridical changes, the debate on backwardness or the necessity of agrarian reforms were some of the classical key matters. In my paper, I would like to focus on one of the main Spanish houses to ask about a different topic in the long run: the agrarian rent and the consideration of land as a profitable asset against the tide. In some sense talking about rent is nothing but a new issue. However, an approach which concerns about such a long period of time could tell us different answers to same questions.

Mainly, I wonder to pay more attention to the House of Alba during Francoism (1939-1975). The development of a direct exploitation turned upside down the tradition of the family and modified radically the rent trends. The deep transformations occurred in the whole European countryside seem to have increased inequality from the point of view of the rent. Alba House may be an exception but an interesting case in the South European horizon in the past to centuries.



Moisson en juillet : *Bréviaire de Châteauroux*, enluminé en 1414 à Paris (Châteauroux, BM, ms. 2, f. 4) © IRHT.

Panel 202. Transatlantic Perspectives on Agricultural and Rural Change in Industrial Societies

Organisers:

Juri AUDERSET, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

Deborah FITZGERALD, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

Peter MOSER, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

Chair: Tony VARLEY, National University of Ireland, Ireland

Discussants: Zsuzsanna VARGA, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

In the last two decades or so the writing of agricultural history, especially the history of agriculture in industrial societies, has witnessed remarkable broadenings and profound shifts. Popular narratives about the countryside, farming and the relations between agriculture and industrial societies in the 19th and 20th centuries have given way to revisionist approaches which emphasize the diversity and variety of agrarian experiences, the ambiguities of progress in the countryside, the mixed blessings of the attempts to industrialize the rural world and the manifold agrarian struggles facing the challenges of an increasingly globalized industrial-capitalist modernity. Whereas these endeavors have shaped the writing of agricultural history on both sides of the Atlantic, the intellectual exchange between American and European scholars working on these issues has only started lately. This panel intends to enhance these dynamics and suggests to engage in a transatlantic dialogue on agricultural changes and continuities in 19th and 20th century industrial societies. The contributions present some key conceptual frameworks that have recently been introduced into the debates among agricultural historians and seek to develop them further towards a more comparative and integrative view that leaves space for variety and difference, while at the same time explores interactions, and entanglements across political borders.

202.1. Farming Styles and Food Regimes: Bridging the Micro-Macro Divide in Agro-Food Studies

Ernst LANGTHALER, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz and Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Agro-Food Studies (AFS) have emerged as an interdisciplinary framework for investigating the production, distribution and consumption of food in global capitalism in innovative ways. However, AFS are split-up into two seemingly contradictory approaches: on the one hand, there is a focus on actors, both human and non-human, and their practices of “agency” within natural, social and cultural relations at the micro scale. On the other hand, there is a focus on political, economic and ecological structures (regulatory frameworks, commodity chains, ecosystems etc.) at the macro scale. The paper deals with the micro-macro divide in several ways: first, the potentials and limitations of micro and macro approaches are highlighted; second, “farming styles” (van der Ploeg) at the micro scale and “food regimes” (Friedmann/McMichael) at the macro scale are outlined as key concepts of AFS; third, these concepts are regarded as complementary rather than contradictory, thus bridging the micro-macro divide and other epistemological dichotomies (practice-structure, actor-system, qualitative-quantitative etc.). While the farming style concept provides close ups, the food regime concept offers long shots on one and the same snippet of reality. A dialectic perspective of this kind is more than the sum of its parts. This theoretical argument is highlighted through empirical cases, thereby revealing the added value of AFS beyond the micro-macro divide.

202.2. Modernization of Farmers in the United States

David B. DANBOM, North Dakota State University, USA

The process of agricultural modernization in the United States began with amateur experimentation. Federal and state governments provided minor assistance, but over time they assumed a larger role. Eventually agribusiness joined government, first as a junior partner and eventually as a dominant player, while amateurs faded away. While the outlines of this story are fairly well-known, one aspect of it deserves further investigation: The modernization of American agriculture required a dramatic change in the way farmers thought of themselves, and in their understanding of the economic world in which they lived and worked. For agriculture to be modernized, proud and independent farmers had to be convinced that their practices were deficient. This involved not merely a rejection of their own abilities, but also, in most cases, a repudiation of their fathers, who had taught them. That was a difficult process, which succeeded slowly and fitfully. Equally challenging for modernizers was the necessity of convincing many farmers that their entire economic and political worldview was wrong. While many of them had historically blamed forces external to the farm – bankers, middlemen, railroads, and market manipulators – for their problems, modernizers carried the message that the source of farmers’ problems lay in the farm itself, and that the farmer could solve them, not by radical political activity, but by improving his methods.

202.3. Knowledge Networks and Expertise in Agriculture

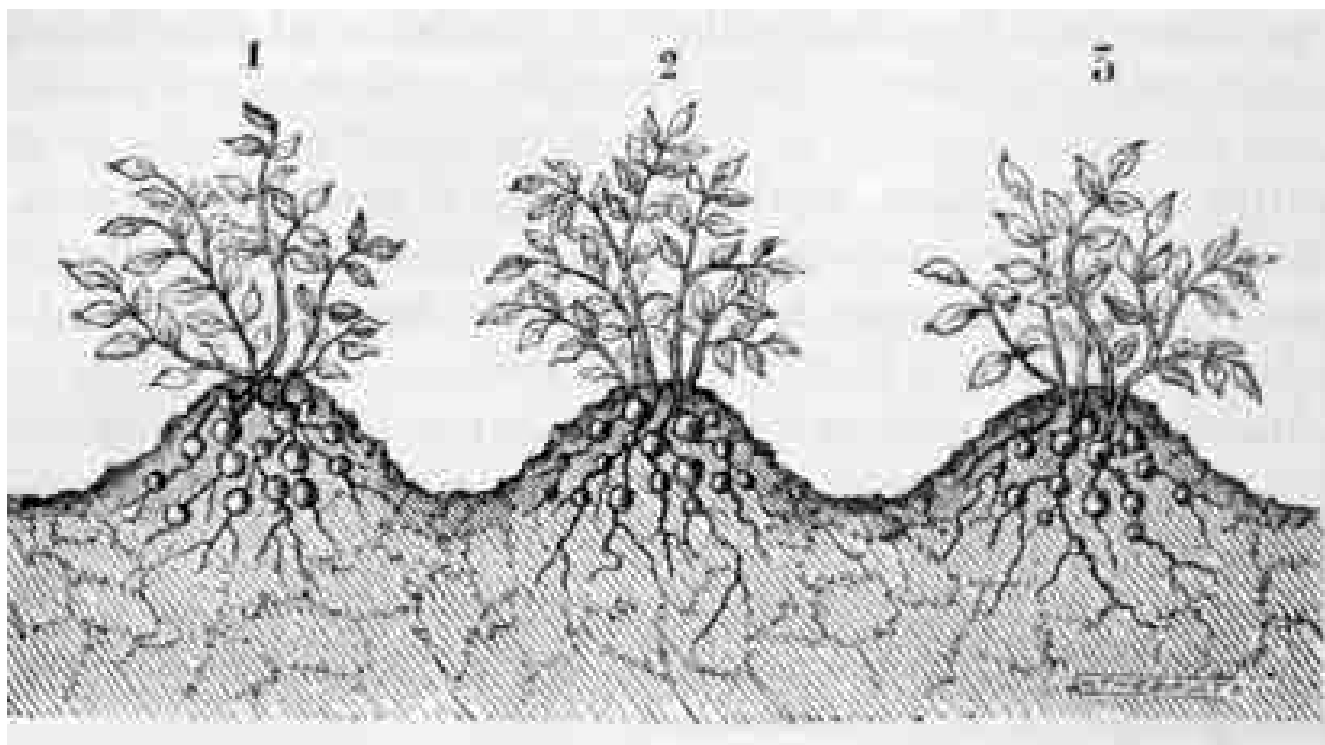
Deborah FITZGERALD, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

Historians of agriculture and rural life are accustomed to thinking about agricultural expertise as something that came about in the 19th century. The rise of factories, the use of the steam engine and other machinery, and the development of science-based practice, all seemed to play a part in creating a class of people who were considered more “expert” than farmers themselves, and who were available to offer advice and information to farmers. In this sense, agricultural expertise is seen as part of the modernization package. However, I would like to argue that farmers themselves had a great deal of expertise, or tacit knowledge, or long experience, that was often lost or co-opted by modernizing agents as well as through generational change. In this paper I will track the creation of modern agricultural knowledge networks, particularly centers of agricultural education and extension, throughout the world, with the aim of understanding, first, their geographic pattern of development; second, their purpose and motivation; and third, their encounters with farmers existing expertise. What has been gained, and what lost, in this slow-moving transition in many different places?

202.4. Epistemic Journeys: Swiss Agronomists in North America and the Transnational Entanglements of the Agrarian-Industrial Knowledge Society

Juri AUDERSET AND Peter MOSER, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

The concept of the agrarian-industrial knowledge society has recently been developed to explore the changes in the conceptions of agricultural production and the shifting agricultural knowledge regimes in industrial societies in the 19th and 20th centuries, drawing primarily on the Swiss case. This approach takes seriously the knowledge and experiences of those who actually worked with animals, plants and the soil, while at the same time taking into account the cultural and material force of the industrial paradigm that began to shape the expectations of agricultural progress and modernity since the mid-19th century. By focusing on Swiss agronomists and farmers who travelled to North America in order to study its agricultural settings in the late 19th and early 20th century, this contribution explores the potentials of applying the concept to transnational contexts. How did typical representatives of the agrarian-industrial knowledge society in Europe perceive and interpret the patterns of agricultural modernisation in the US and Canada? What were their key observations and how did they comparatively embed these observations in the epistemic paradigms shaped by their experiences at home? And, last but not least, how did their preoccupation with American agriculture and the transformation of knowledge, technology and practices shape the patterns of change within the agrarian-industrial knowledge society in Switzerland?



Pommes de terre buttées, G. Heuzé, *Les plantes industrielles en plein champ*, Paris, 1896 © BnF.

Panel 203. Latin American Agriculture: Globalisation, Institutions and Natural Resources, (1900-2015)

Organiser: Miguel MARTÍN-RETORTILLO, Universidad de Alcalá, Spain

Chair: Vicente PINILLA, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

Discussants:

Elisa BOTELLA-RODRÍGUEZ, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain

Ángel Luis GONZÁLEZ ESTEBAN, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

In the late 1800s agriculture became one of the most important drivers of Latin America's economic growth. Technological innovation, the increasing demand of food and raw materials, European migration and foreign direct investment enhanced export-led growth based on traditional exports and static comparative advantages in the region. The opportunities of export-led growth to promote economic growth resulted in diverse/heterogeneous patterns (according to the 'commodity lottery' of each country). Despite this diversity, the traditional export model was extensively implemented in most Latin American economies.

However, the two World Wars and the Great Depression progressively moved Latin America to Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) (1945-1973). ISI resulted in the highest growth of the region, despite increasing indebtedness and dependence on incomes from traditional exports. One of the main ISI problems was the urban-rural gap, with agriculture being placed in a secondary role within political agendas in the region. Land inequality also remained as one of the main drawbacks. Despite the relative scope of state-led land reforms, latifundia were substituted for capitalist farms and Green revolution technologies. In the 1980s, agriculture development shifted to productive reconversion programmes, the dismantling of basic grains production and non-traditional exports promotion, which were more crops in international markets. The Washington Consensus enhanced this 'Agriculture of Change' agenda in the 1990s, relegating agricultural and food policies until the Global Food Crisis (2007-2008). This panel discusses the role of institutions, natural resources and globalisation in Latin America's agriculture from the First to the Second Globalisation. The session also offers a multidisciplinary and updated debate on the opportunities, threats and recurrent problems of agriculture and development paths in the subcontinent. Accordingly, we call for qualitative and quantitative research on agricultural development, economic history, political economy and economic development of Latin America.

203.1. Lewis' unreachable path: The farm problem, agricultural pathways in Latin American countries and development policy alternatives

Ángel L. GONZÁLEZ-ESTEBAN, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

Elisa BOTELLA-RODRÍGUEZ, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain

It has been roughly a century since the "farm-adjustment problem" made its appearance in industrialised countries. The key idea was that gains in agricultural efficiency were not being matched by a comparable advance in farm revenues, and this posed the challenge of ensuring western farmers a "fair income". The most common political response, both in the US and in Western Europe, was directed towards the demand side, comprising price supports, export subsidies, and a wide range of protectionist measures. However, relief in the medium/long term came mostly from the supply side: millions of farmers left the country and started living in the cities. This led to an increased availability of land per worker and to substantial gains in agricultural productivity due to motorisation. This "success" in the history of western agriculture has sometimes been referred to as the "Lewis Path" and has commonly been put forward as a major road to economic growth in developing countries. However, there are reasons to believe that this model cannot be easily replicated in the rest of the world.

Several scholars have proposed different indicators to quantify the productivity gap between the agricultural sector and the rest of the economy. This paper constructs national series (1980-2015) for the Labour-Income Gap (LIG) and the Labour-Income Ratio (LIR), drawing on data from FAOSTAT (2018). In contrast to what is commonly assumed, there has been no clear trend in the LIR – either globally or in the group of most developed countries – over the last 35 years. Productivity gaps between agriculture and the rest of the economy have not disappeared in OECD countries, yet the "farm problem" has turned into a minor issue due to the reduced importance of agriculture in both labour and GDP. However, the conditions that originally gave rise to the problem at the international level – most notably, the low income-elasticity of demand for agricultural products – still represent a problem for closing the productivity gap in developing countries. This is most worrying, given that in many of these countries the number of people engaged in agriculture have not diminished (nor is expected to), and therefore the potential productivity gains due to "discharging" are limited. Since this is the case in most Latin American countries, this research explores different patterns of structural change in the region and, drawing on the existing literature, discusses alternative paths underpinned by agroecology and agricultural multifunctionality.

203.2. Productivity and Resource Usage in Modern Brazilian Agriculture

Herbert KLEIN, Stanford University, USA

Francisco VIDAL LUNA, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil

We will examine the question of how the recent expansion in Brazilian agricultural production has affected land usage in various regions of the country and how this will evolve in the future. There has been a major debate in national agriculture in terms of land expansion, usage and environmental protection. Given that much commercial agricultural production takes place in the Cerrado close to the legal Amazon, there has developed tremendous pressure for commercial farmers to adopt modern techniques of soil preservation, no-till cropping, and new systems of pastoral/agricultural production in efforts to preserve the fragile ecosystem. We will examine these various efforts to see how effective they are both in the Cerrado as well as in commercial agricultural production throughout Brazil.

203.3. Agrarian mechanization in settler economies (1900-2010). The Diffusion of tractor in Uruguay and New Zealand

Pablo CASTRO SCAVONE and Henry WILLEBALD, Universidad de la República, Uruguay

The aim of this paper is to study the agrarian mechanization in settler economies from an historical and comparative approach. The relevance of agriculture in the long-run evolution of these economies is evidenced for the productive specialization and the international trade based, historically, on primary products related to land exploitation. We propose an indicator of the agrarian mechanization in Uruguay and New Zealand for a very long period (from the beginning of the 20th Century to 2010). Our conceptual framework is based on Evolutionary and Neo-Schumpeterian approaches to pay attention to the complex nature of the technological change and the tacit, accumulative and path-dependence character of its long-term trajectory. We made a complete characterization of the tractor fleet – and the corresponding evolutions – of both countries and then we apply a logistic model to identify the dynamics of the adoption and dissemination of this technology in the agriculture. Our results confirm the extended idea of a persistent technological falling behind of Uruguay respect to New Zealand that implied important differences in terms of economic development.

203.4. The new agro-export model and family farming: Explorations from the Peruvian case (1990-2015)

Jackeline VELAZCO, Universitat de Girona, Spain

Since 1950, significant changes in the performance of Peruvian agriculture have taken place, such as the lower share of agriculture in both GDP and total employment, improvements in productivity (labor and total factor) and the predominance of smallholdings. As a result of the macroeconomic reforms implemented in the 1990s and the new model of agricultural development (oriented toward non-traditional exports), changes are identified in crops pattern, farm labor market, regional economic dynamics, agrarian structure and incidence of rural poverty. The aim of the paper is twofold. Firstly, to investigate the changes that have come about, since the 1990s, at the family farming level. The focus is on identifying the microeconomic transformations of the farm units. Bearing in mind not only the long-run stagnation of rural income when compared to urban income, but also the rise in the rural-urban income ratio since ends of 1990s The second aim is to explore the transmission mechanisms through which the boom in non-traditional exports and continued economic growth (in terms of GDP per capita) have affected income distribution, rural poverty, migration patterns, household farm consumption, technological innovation, income diversification and livelihood strategies.

203.5. Crop Specialization and Food Dependency: A physical and monetary valuation of Colombian agrarian trade during the 20th century

Alexander URREGO-MESA, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

The unequal exchange between developed and developing countries is a known topic both in the environmental and economic history of the developing countries; they analyze the ecological burden of natural resources and the linkages between economic development and natural resources endowment. This communication aims to bring these approaches together by examining the physical flows traded by the Colombian agrarian sector during the 20th century and its monetary value. I build the physical trade balance (PTB) and the apparent domestic consumption (DC) in biomass and energy to show the metabolic and social features of tropical crops specialization and food availability in a developing economy. I explore the relationship between this socio-metabolic profile of trade and the evolution of the terms of trade (TOT) and commodity prices. This proposal is a piece of the socio-metabolic analysis of the Colombian agrarian sector and completes its national biomass flows accounting.

Panel 204. Crime and Criminal Justice in Rural Europe: The French experience in a broader European context

Organiser: Dieter BRUNEEL, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Chair & Discussant: Nadine VIVIER, Le Mans Université, France

Following the Round Table “Borders and Bridges: Rural History and its Neighbours” at EURHO 2017, this panel wants to respond to the urban bias noticeable in most of the recent studies in the field of crime history (see comments by M. van der Heijden at the Table). The aim of the panel is to analyse aspects of crime, policing, justice and punishment in rural Europe during the early modern and modern period.

*During the past decades, crime history largely (but never entirely) transformed from the study of people – and their behaviour – into the study of the criminal justice system itself. While the rich realm of social experience remains visible at the margins, the structure of state institutions and the behaviour of particular administrators tend to take pride of place. This also entailed the increasing urban bias mentioned above. Nonetheless, crime – its practices, representations and the responses to it – were core constituents of everyday life in the past, and contribute substantially to the study of the mass of human experiences, both urban and rural, lost to passage of time. This is especially true for large parts of rural population who merely left a trace in archival documents – such as children and women, or landless households, rural servants and migrant labourers. Precisely these groups are rather well-represented in judicial archives (as offenders, victims or witnesses). Hence, crime history provides unique insights for the study of rural populations and their everyday experience of negotiating authority. It is no coincidence that the roots of the field of crime history go back to pioneering studies in social history with a strong rural component. Moreover, the study of rural crime also adds to the ambivalent, and often tense relationship between rural communities and the centralising state, a central topic in European rural history (see *RURHE 4*, edited by N. Vivier).*

This panel is a follow-up of a session at the ESSHC 2018 in Belfast, where we discussed the theme with papers focusing on Scandinavia, the Low Countries and Central Europe. At EURHO 2019 in Paris we explicitly want to bring the French historiography on criminal justice and rural populations into dialogue with broader European debates in rural history.

204.1. Collective Actions and Patterns of Criminality in Rural Communities (17th-18th centuries, Northern Spain)

Tomás Antonio MANTECÓN MOVELLAN, Universidad de Cantabria, Spain

During the 17th and 18th centuries, many dynamics of change were intensified in the rural societies of Northern Spain that affected both the evolutions of social change and those of the uses of natural resources by peasant communities. This brought about various forms of tensions: 1) between the peasant communities themselves, 2) within the community when some of their members with greater capacity tried to protect their own and singular interests, and 3) collisions of all of them with the Spanish Monarchy's own interests on the same resources. Each of these forms of tension created specific conflicts and complex spaces of negotiation.

The intensification of forms of collective protest about the appropriations of the traditional community's uses of resources as well as the reactions to that had a footprint on the judicial arena. This affected both the evolution of criminality patterns in these rural societies, and their dynamics of social change. The complex historical conversation – between conflict and negotiation - about rights and uses of resources also left a deep footprint on the landscape itself and the environmental history of this vast region of Northern Atlantic Spain.

This paper explains these issues, analyses the morphology of conflict and crime in this framework and helps characterizing the meanings of collective actions in these historical contexts during which European societies witnessed an intensified pressure on their environmental resources.

204.2. To promote the law, to defend usages. The difficult question of the rural police in France (1791-mid-19th century)

Fabien GAVEAU, Lycée Carnot Dijon, France

From the beginning of the French Revolution, protecting agricultural lands and forests became a necessity despite the lack of means to act. However, the revolutionaries soon drew up the decree on rural properties and usages, voted in Autumn 1791. Based on the recognition of many customary practices, it also proclaimed the freedom of the farmer and the primacy of private property. This contradictory text became the main reference of rural law for decades. At the same time, the function of the rural policeman was established. This rural policeman embodied the new public authority by bearing a sign mentioning “the Law”. He was the one who served the new legal order which the new State tried to create in France. Yet, considerable problems arose between the legal definition of the function and the realities of rural policing.

This paper deals with the question of how the establishment of a policeman imagined to be a local relay of the national law could act while he was also a member of the village community. In fact, he was at the crossroad of the national law and the local usages that organized how the inhabitants lived in the countryside. The conflicts created by this situation ultimately inform the difficulty of building a consensual new legal order, at a time when the imperative was, first, to safeguard the harvests in order to feed the cities and to support the war effort, and second, to protect the rights of the landlords against local customary usages.

204.3. Economic Crises and Rural Property Crime: A Comparative Approach to Land, Authority and Criminal Law in 19th-Century Rural Belgium

Dieter BRUNEEL, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

This paper looks at the relation between economic crises and criminal law in 19th-century rural Belgium. Comparing the sentencing of wood gathering, pasturing, gleaning and poaching during two periods of crisis (1845-1847 and 1873-1890), the shifting role of criminal justice institutions in the regulation of the rural economy and society will be addressed. The focus lies on the actors involved with the policing and judicial translation of the four different types of rural property crime mentioned before. These issues will be analysed as part of the history of shifting and conflicting regimes of ‘social property regulation’. I define these regimes not in purely governmental terms. Instead, I approach these shifting conventions as different engagements with the land reflecting diverse conceptions of property, crime and authority that co-existed synchronically and were continuously interacting. In doing so, the paper links the workings of the criminal justice system to the topic of power and authority.

The used source materials are judicial sentences for two different judicial districts (Bruges and Namur), and a selection of case files. In order to embed these sources within the rural social structure, the judicial data will be linked to the available HISSTAT-datasets (based on the Belgian population, industrial and agricultural censuses).



Fenaison : *Livre des propriétés des choses* de Barthélemy l'Anglais, enluminé vers 1480 dans le Berry (Paris, BnF, Fr 9140, f. 186) ©. Bnf.

Panel 205. Agrarian Modernization, a global transboundary process that generates local asymmetries

Organiser: Antonio CHAMORRO CRISTÓBAL, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Ecuador

Chair: Daniel LANERO TABOAS, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Discussant: Ana GENDRON, CNRS, France

This panel analyzes the technology transference during Agrarian Modernization, and its impact at the socio-environmental level from a global perspective. This process implemented through Institutes of Agrarian Research (IARs) in collaboration with international institutions, was not just a translation of the agrarian transformations that took place in United States before 1930s. The geopolitical context and the socio-environmental reality of the regions where it expanded were quite different, as well as the interest of local elites. Then, the effects of this cultural and technological package differed according to the geographical, environmental, economic and social particularities where it expanded. This process has allowed the connection between spaces of production and consumption, but it ignored local particularities and had an enormous socio-environmental cost for broad rural sectors, which were excluded becoming urban poor. Besides, it explains the expansion of a global agrofood network based on the export of agricultural commodities..

205.1. Why Here “Yes” and There “Not”? The Iberian Dictatorships in Face of the Exporaton of American Ararian Extensionism (1950- 1975)

Daniel LANERO TÁBOAS, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

The aim of this paper is to study the implementation processes of the Official Agricultural Extension Services in the Iberian Peninsula between the 50's and the 70's, with the existence of two dictatorial regimes (Francoism in Spain; New State in Portugal) as background. In addition to the scarce bibliography on this topic, this contribution will focus in the documentation preserved by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) – USA, originated from the Department of State and the US embassies (Agricultural attachés reports) in both countries. In the international framework of agrarian modernization during the Cold War, in which Agrarian Extension was a key element, my work wonders the reason why Francoism received American technical assistance with such an enthusiasm, whereas Portuguese Estado Novo (New State) showed much more caution and distrust.

205.2. The Near East Foundation in Iran, 1945-1979

Joshua THEW, The Graduate Institute, Switzerland

Despite the plethora of literature of on US Iranian relations in the 20th century very little has sought to analyze the role played by the Near East Foundation (NEF) and its actors as they attempted to expand rural education programs in Iran from 1945-1979. The literature that does exist was either published before the Iranian revolution or did not focus specifically on NEF programming warranting an overdue examination. The primary focus of research will be first to examine the principles and ethos that guided the NEF in Iran, one of the many templates of Point Four programs in the Post-War environment. NEF employees guided and shaped US technical assistance in Iran to include rural teacher training, agricultural improvements, sanitation and health training, in addition to higher education. The second aim of the research will show the continuity and ruptures in the NEF model as Cold War development programs spread to counter Soviet expansion. A final objective of the study is to bring to light how NEF worked with other US point four programs.

205.3. The Agrarian Modernization puzzle in the Andes: Fragmented Landscapes

Antonio CHAMORRO CRISTÓBAL, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Ecuador

Andean agrarian modernization shows similitude and differences with other modernization processes. The reforms in Ecuador and Peru acted as a sort of damping that avoid a more radical process of change. In both cases, reform had several stages that it is important to break down to understand how it was. The Bolivian case was different, due to the emergence of strong and articulated revolutionary social movements, where labor and peasant movements converged with the military after the defeat in the Chaco war. During and after Andean agrarian reforms, a technology transference model took place through Agrarian Research Institutes. This contribution wants to point how modernization programs showed difficulties to understand and translate local languages in Ecuador, and mainly responded to the interest of local elites, which managed to implement a Green Revolution model that responded to their own interests, as shows the analysis of the Crop programs implemented by Ecuadorian National Institute of Agrarian Research (INIAP).

farmers are adopting technics that are considered to be more environmentally friendly and organic agriculture is spreading to communities, with the recovery of traditional seeds. We propose that the collective strategies put in place by indigenous and peasant organizations to tackle the new challenges they face at the local level be addressed. Access to land, water or technology is a problem that hasn't been solved despite the accelerated modernization process to which rural communities were exposed.

205.4. Inheritances and challenges of the Green revolution in Argentina: The role of scientific research in social and environmental problems

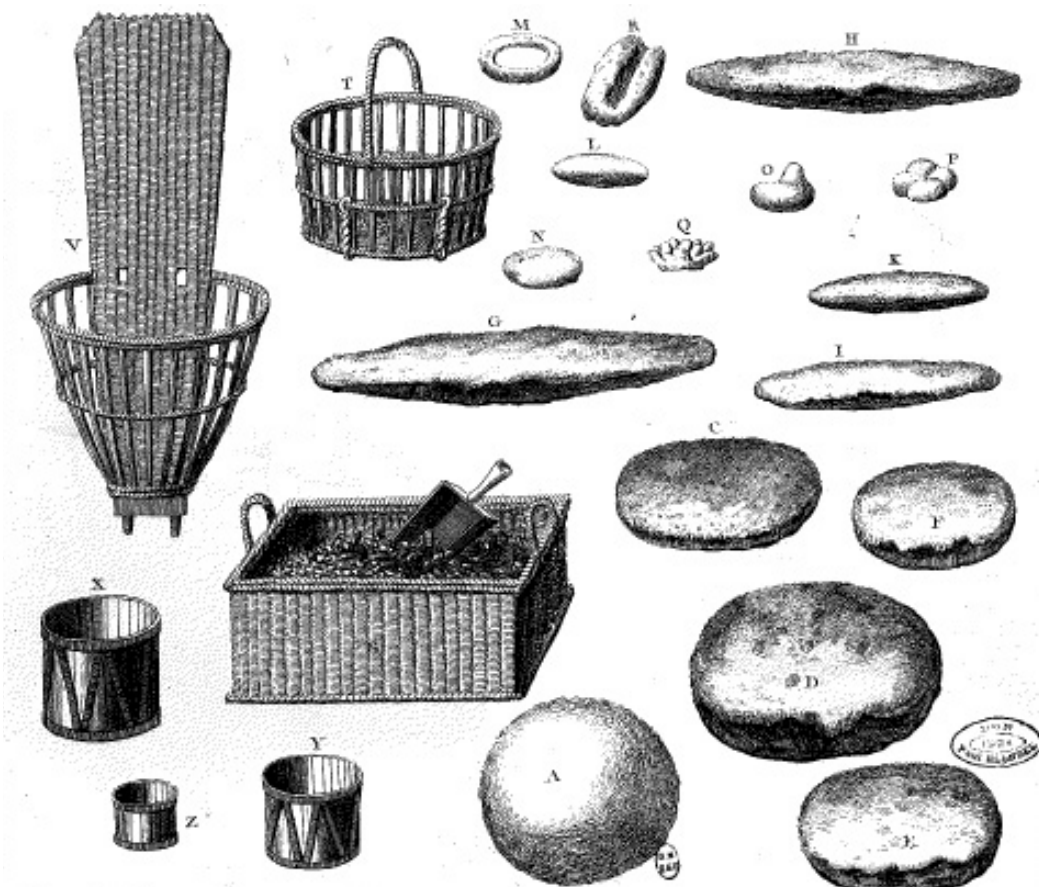
Cecilia GÁRGANO, Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) and Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA), Argentina

This paper analyzes the technology transference during Agrarian Modernization in Argentina through the study of a national state agency: National Agricultural Technology Institute (INTA), with a special focus on the social costs for excluded rural sectors. The analysis considers the content and perspective of the organization's rural extension agenda about sectorial policies and socio-economic transformations in rural areas. The operation of INTA's is evaluated through documentary sources and interviews with scientists and technicians; a review has been drafted on institutional directives, nationwide coordination of agricultural policies, and the experiences of INTA's extension workers. The study problematizes the role of scientific and technological knowledge associated with green revolution in the current productive agricultural model, and its link with social, economic and environmental problems. Finally, there is a reflection on the extension and deepness of a commodity-centered science and the need to promote critical approaches that question its assumptions and the socio-environmental implications of this kind of interventions.

205.5. Organisational alternatives, community strategies and recovery of traditional knowledge in relation to the modernisation process in the Ecuadorian rural sector

Ana GENDRON, CNRS, France

After agrarian reform, migration and the participation of the Kayambi in the labour market intensified. Despite time and space limitations characterize nowadays living conditions, in the communities near Cayambe, subsistence products still come from agricultural family. The elder's stories insist on the changes in traditional agricultural practices, which according to them have gone from the use of differentiated ecological levels and a diversified agriculture, to mechanized agriculture and monoculture. Today, however, a large number of farmers are adopting techniques that are considered to be more environmentally friendly and organic agriculture is spreading to communities, with the recovery of traditional seeds. We propose that the collective strategies put in place by indigenous and peasant organizations to tackle the new challenges they face at the local level be addressed. Access to land, water or technology is a problem that hasn't been solved despite the accelerated modernization process to which rural communities were exposed.



Le pain, D. Diderot et J. d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Paris, 1751-1771 © BnF.

Panel 206. Environmental impacts of feudal resource exploitation: the case of Central European forests (16th-19th century)

Organisers:

Sarah CLAIRE, EHESS, France

Jawad DAHEUR, CNRS, France

Chair: Sarah CLAIRE, EHESS, France

Discussant: Aleksander PANJEK, University of Primorska, Slovenia

Since the 16th c., society of Eastern Elbe Europe has been shaped by the organization of large estates based on an exploitation of serf labour as part of the second serfdom phenomena until its abolition in the 19th c. This social and economic structure has induced modes of occupation and exploitation of the territory and its resources, peculiar ecological and tensions. In particular, the forest resource has always been a central concern of local populations and ruling classes requiring large quantities of fuel and timber for households, industries, war or maritime expansion. As societies used natural resources to promote their interests and pursue their economic and political goals, our objective here is to propose a geopolitics of related to natural resources in modern Central Europe. While knowledge in these are primarily politic and economic, we propose here to privilege the environmental dimension. In different case studies, we will see how different modes of exploitation of forest resource reservoirs have contributed to the economic and political construction of the Central European states through the voice and agency of different rural actors.

206.1. Local population and imperial forest management in the Western provinces of the Russian empire in 1800-1860s

Marina LOSKUTOVA, National Research University - Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia

The paper will examine environmental transformation and socio-economic conflicts related to forest exploitation in the Western provinces, which the Russian empire annexed with the partitions of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Their distinctive legal and administrative traditions meant that forest management in this area retained its peculiarity within the Russian empire for many decades. Our recent research demonstrates the persistence of patterns in timber trade that had been formed under the Polish-Lithuanian rule. At the same time, the Russian imperial government applied considerable efforts to the making of a pan-imperial system of forest administration and management with increasingly wider range of goals. Forest cadastral surveys and new 'scientific' methods of forest husbandry based on the German model created tensions between the forest administration and local population – peasants, noble tenants of crown forests and timber merchants. The paper will analyse:

- Traditional practices of forest exploitation for non-timber products (cattle-grazing, wild honey-hunting) that clashed with new administrative ideas about 'scientific forestry' and growing commercialisation of forest use;
- Forest cadastral surveys and demarcations of property boundaries that paralleled a gradual dissolution of peasant communal rights of forest exploitation.

206.2. The Transformation of the Environment? Agrarian Reform, Raw Materials and Institutionalization of the Forests in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 16th century

Vytautas VOLUNGEVIČIUS, Vilnius University, Lithuania

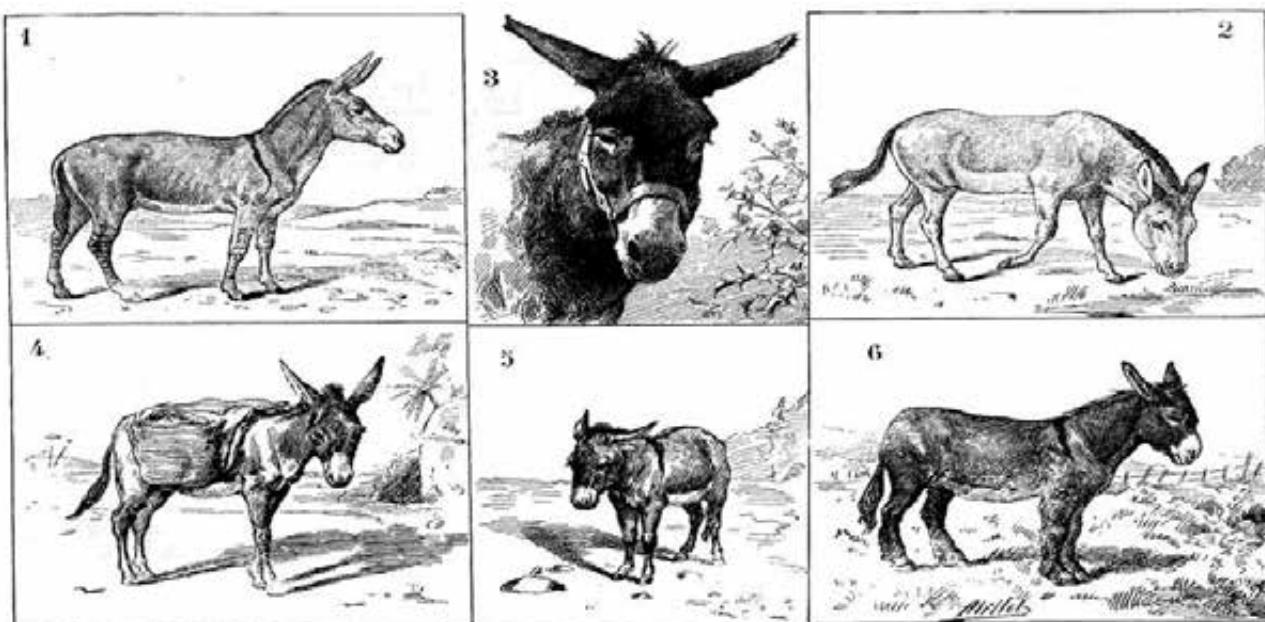
In the European historiography concerning pre-modern period, Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th and later centuries is seen as the space of “second serfdom”. Even if this large-scale Marxist notion is correct, it is not clear what kind of impact the formation of this socio-economical system to its environment made, which, by the contemporaries of the 15-16th c., was seen as a never-ending woods. The growing extent of production and the Western Europe’s demand for cheap raw materials were the circumstances of the formation of Eastern Baltic region’s economy in the 16th c. The port of Gdansk became a major regional center of Baltic Sea market, from which grains and wood to the West were transported. The local factors such as a restriction of the usage of the forests and Agrarian Reform should be seen in parallel.

By interlinking three Lithuanian Statutes (1529, 1566, 1588), Agrarian Reform (1547) and Revision of the Forests (1559), it is possible to observe changing attitude to the natural environment and variations in exploitation of the forests in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Factors mentioned above formed the context of the transformation of peasants’ socio-economic status and changing localization of villages in the 16th. c. How the new institutional framework changed the environment? What is the relation between Agrarian Reform and forests in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania? What dynamics of the forests may be observed in tension between growing interests of the aristocracy, monarch, demands from the West, and the restrictions of peasants’ economic activity?

206.3. Environmental Degradation and Social Conflict: Galician Peasants’ Attitudes towards the Overexploitation of Forests by Large Landowners in the 19th century

Jawad DAHEUR, CNRS, France

As a rural province of the Habsburg Empire mostly populated by Poles and Ukrainians, Galicia was in the 19th century known throughout Europe for its extreme poverty. At this time, it was affected by a major socio-environmental crisis, partly due to the overexploitation of forests. With the aim of producing timber for export to Germany and Austria, the Polish land aristocracy, which owned most of the forest area, sold many concessions to local merchants and foreign firms. This process resulted in a decrease in the amount of wood and timber available for local households and artisans. In addition, excessive logging contributed to land degradation and erosion, making the soils vulnerable to floods and droughts. In many places, agroecosystems became unfit for any exploitation. The first victims of this situation were poor farmers, in a context of demographic explosion and stagnation of the regional economy. Those who did not emigrate tried to adapt by all means, often developing forms of protest and resistance that remind the “ecologism of the poor”, as defined by the Spanish economist Joan Martínez Alier. Indeed, during the last decades of the century, farmers developed an environmental discourse that demonstrates a real awareness of the links between forests and the future of their living environments. By analysing themes and arguments used in their writings, the communication will seek to understand the functioning of peasant imagination of forest degradation.



Ânes, Larousse agricole, Paris, 1921, vol. 1 © BnF.

Panel 207. The new technologies and the study of social change in rural societies: Need and opportunity

Organisers:

Rosa CONGOST, *Universitat de Girona, Spain*

Massimiliano GRAVA, *Università di Pisa, Italy*

Chair: Rosa CONGOST, *Universitat de Girona, Spain*

Discussant: Gerard BÉAUR, *CNRS, France*

The object of historical science is the study of past societies and, in this respect, it could be said that all historical change, in the most diverse sectors, entails a change in society. Social change is clearly a subject of interest in the many sector-based lines of research that have opened new horizons in historical studies in recent years: environmental history, gender history, social inequality studies, family reconstitution, and many more. In all these advances in new information and digital technologies have opened up new possibilities to use databases in the analysis of continuity and rupture with regard not only to individual trajectories, but also to mass data handling. One of the biggest challenges facing historical research nowadays is how to make the most of the interesting potential of the information technologies developed in the last decade (data mining, big data, optical recognition and so on) for obtaining, handling and analysing large amounts of data from historical sources. Using these technologies opens up not only the possibility of recovering the longue durée perspective in a potentially more robust way than many previous approaches, but also the chance to not limit the analysis to relatively simple quantitative counts, which are important but never sufficient.

The major challenge facing the study of social change consists of relating and integrating the different types of transformations and overcoming certain ideas that for many years have dominated the interpretation of the role of rural social groups. Among the more deep-rooted ideas, since they are shared and common to the main currents in historiography, we could mention those that attribute a determining role to the urban actors as drivers of historical development and economic growth. In a way, this idea has been reinforced by the need to work from the documentary collections that have been preserved, among which the data related to the towns are undoubtedly overrepresented. Yet, it is also true that the new technologies enable us to make progress in mass data handling and the organizers of this session are looking forward historical researches in rural societies to advance in the knowledge of social changes through the comprehensive handling of data from different sources gathered with the help of computer tools.

207.1. Two centuries of socio-economic evolution in rural Tuscany: A GIS-based approach to place names as historical sources

Nicola GABELLIERI, *Università di Trento, Italy*

Massimiliano GRAVA, *Università di Pisa, Italy*

Many scholars have stated that place names can be used to suggest variations in the spatial definition of the landscape; studies underline the value of place names as signposts for the historical reconstruction of the landscape subjected to a high degree of transformation. The paper deals with the issue of toponyms as tools for the historical reconstruction of landscape with a small scale approach, aiming to assess how the patrimony of place names reflects the socio-economic evolution that occurred in Tuscany during the last two centuries through the examination of a geo-atlas of toponymy based on the GIS research.

This work demonstrates how modern GIS and spatial analysis techniques can benefit research into the management of a large amount of data collected from historical cartographies. The analysis highlights the potential but also the limits of the information contained in place names, especially when they are collected in a systematic way and are geo-referenced. The importance of economic practices and social transformation in the process of “naming the space” is underlined by their influence in place names evolution trends.

207.2. Landscape transformations and social change in rural areas. A geo-historical approach

Camillo BERTI, Università di Firenze, Italy

The aim of this paper is to show the development of spatial organization in a small town in the Apennine mountains of Tuscany from the 18th century to the present day, by means of analysis of historical cartography and new technologies. Spatial changes are analyzed in parallel with the social and economic dynamics that have determined them, with the aim of highlighting the phases of the modernization process and the interaction between man and the environment in the construction of the landscape.

The analysis is based on a geo-historical approach and on the use of historical documents and maps as the main source of investigation for the reconstruction of land use in the past, in order to show the way in which the patterns of spatial organization have stratified over time, shaping the current landscape. Traditional methods of investigation have been accompanied by modern technology tools, such as GIS, used for the acquisition and management of cartographic sources in order to create a geodatabase and a series of thematic maps on landscape transformations.

207.3. Historic cadasters as a tool for analyzing socio-spatial relationships: A case study in Agro-Romano

Keti LELO, Università Roma Tre, Italy

This paper deals with the analysis of socio-economic information retrieved from the 19th century cadaster of the Pontifical State, concerning a portion of the Agro Romano, the rural region of Rome. This historical source represents a fertile ground for experimentation in the domain of quantitative analysis of urban and rural space. The explicit relationships between the descriptive data of the cadastral registers and cadastral maps facilitate the construction of a GIS database enabling historical data management, analysis and representation. The 1:2.000 scale cadastral maps of Agro Romano were georeferenced and further digitized. Descriptive information was collected from cadastral registers. We were able to produce thematic maps such as: land uses, property types and values, social status of the owners, and to closely investigate spatial relationships amongst different information layers. Furthermore, we integrated the cadastral database with information obtained from the 17th century descriptive cadaster so-called Alessandrino. This integration enabled us to analyze the physical and socio-economic transformations of the territory.

207.4. Exploring silent social changes: The digital exploitation of a big mine of historical data (Catalonia, 18th century)

Rosa CONGOST, Jordi REGINCÓS, Rosa ROS and Enric SAGUER, Universitat de Girona, Spain

The aim of this paper is to explore the possibilities that new technologies offer to the historical analysis of social transformation by enhancing processes and giving voice to individuals and groups silenced by History. We will use the Mortgage Registry of Girona region as a source capable of reconstructing the multiple dimensions of social dynamism. We take as a starting point two findings: (1) The need to address the study of some processes of social change that we shall call silent as they have received little attention from historians. Among these we would highlight those which led to the transformation of both poor and well-off social groups. (2) The progress in techniques related to the automatic recognition of manuscript text and to the exploitation of data offers us a means of exploring documentary sources in a new and less expensive way. The potential of this procedure lies in its ability to address new problems and develop new methodologies. The former include current topics of interest to social scientists which until now have received little attention from historians, for example the emergence or decline of the middle classes, and the escape from poverty.

Panel 208. Applied sciences, innovation and rural development in Europe, from the age of productivity to the one of bioeconomy. A transnational and multidisciplinary perspective (1945-nowadays)

Organiser: Pierre CORNU, Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

Chair: Pierre CORNU, Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

Recent historical researches have highlighted the role of biosciences and technological innovation in the modernization of agriculture and cattle-breeding all along the 20th century: seeds selection, genetics and biotechnologies have had a growing impact on agriculture, together with chemical and mechanical innovations, allowing historians to develop a critical perspective on the relationship between biosciences and environmental issues. But linking cognitive and bio-technical innovation with rural development, including all the territorial and societal implications of the latter, is a quite different task. Indeed, it calls for a more systemic approach, considering environmental, technical, social, cultural, economical, and of course political criteria involved in the process of rural development, raising an integrated questioning on the link between innovation, learning processes and quality in the evolution of Europe from family based agrosystems to a globalized economy of bioresources.

Scientists may have a strong commitment to rationality, their relationship to the values attached to rurality is much more blurred, and getting even more in the crisis of reductionism that occurs in the second half of the 20th century. Under the disciplined appearance of state funded science, one must then acknowledge the growing epistemological dissensions that unfold among applied scientists, linked to the crisis of the horizon of "progress" that matures in the 1960's, explodes in the 1970's and leads to diverging (and rival) science-society patterns and development paths in the more recent decades.

The aim of this panel is thus to open a dialogue between historians, rural social scientists and agronomists, on the question of the role of applied sciences and institutions on the diverging destinies of the main types of family based agrosystems, facing the challenges of post-World War 2 rural Europe. "Productivity", "integration", "sustainability": changing watchwords have the relationships between agriculturists, scientists, rural populations and visitors, administrations and market operators, but have led to a growing integration of technical, biological and social processes, in a cognitive and institutional process that historians still have to integrate into their reshaping of the great narrative of rural development.

208.1. Strengthening a regional dairy system: the application of protein knowledge in Friesland, the Netherlands, 1950-1985

Merijn KNIBBE and Marijn MOLEMA, Fryske Akademy and Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts & Sciences, the Netherlands

In the post-war business climate, knowledge about protein in milk was slowly but surely embraced by key actors in regional based, European dairy systems. It triggered and backed systemic innovations, resulting in: the extension of cheese making at the cost of butter production; new ways of paying farmers for their milk; and advanced methods for breeding cows. Our contribution will investigate this process of knowledge-based growth. It studies the origins of the scientific-based knowledge about milk protein, and focus on the actors that were responsible for the application of this body of knowledge into the Dutch-Frisian dairy cluster: What were the motives of these actors, and which methods did they use in order to strengthen the system with the help of protein knowledge? How did these methods work in practice? Moreover, we will explore the geographical linkages to outer-regional, e.g. national and supra-national contexts within the process of knowledge-based growth by using protein science in Friesland. Did it change the regional basis of the dairy cluster, and if so, how? We expect that protein knowledge was one of the reasons that made the organization of breeding and selecting cows less regional and more (inter)national.

208.2. Technologies and Rationalization at Farm Level from the mid-20th century onwards

Carin MARTIN, *Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden*

The use of various kinds of farming technologies boosted from the mid-20th century and has continued since. The countryside has seen tractors, pesticides, milking machines and, lately, electronics being included in practices. The technologies were often aimed at saving work hours, and/or increasing volumes. In Western Europe, the process has been similar in character and followed a more or less similar time schedule. The technology-rationalization package has often served as a driver for scaling-up of arable areas, herd sizes, debts, and/or total output per work hour, all well in line with prevailing agricultural politics. To understand these changes it is important to consider the different characters of farm technologies. The first point this paper discusses is about technologies typical of the processes of change and rationalization of Western European agriculture (mid-20th - early 21st c). Are we e.g. talking about technologies that saved work hours only, or combined this with increased output? Or are we dealing with a time-saver that did not pay in terms of output? How about ergonomic aspects? Investments and running costs? As this paper shows, these aspects differed substantially. Our second aim is to exemplify changes in nuances in the technology-rationalization package in the Swedish case. Attention is paid to how this was driven by influential actors, such as state-financed research, commercial companies, field excursions and other forms of information to farmers.

208.3. Non-conventional approaches to food systems and rural development: The contribution of the Italian school in the European context of the late 20th century

Gianluca BRUNORI, *Università di Pisa, Italy*

Until the 1990's, the concept of rurality wasn't to be met in the Italian policy debate. All attention was on farming. In a context of mass production, integration into cooperatives and strong national value chains, was considered the key to fill farms' structural gap. Existing denominations of origin were also managed with "industrial" conventions. The crisis of the modernization process occurred in Italy sooner than in other countries. Back-to-land movements started in the early 1970's, looking at "rurality" as a source of positive values. The wine crisis of the late 1980's sped the "turn to quality". The idea that quality was negatively correlated to quantity started to be considered in business strategies. This debate found the agricultural economists largely unprepared: the dominant paradigm was neoclassical economics, both "left" and "right" scholars having adhered. Only a small minority underwent innovative avenues, met in the European scientific agora. They looked for approaches that would justify territorial diversity, opening themselves to evolutionary theories of innovation and neo-institutional economics. Inspired by the Italian school that studied the industrial districts, they started to consider "agglomeration economies" occurring at local level, and developed theories and empirical studies on local food systems. The paper discusses this transnational cognitive evolution and the specific chronology of its impact in Italy.

208.4. The acculturation of agronomic research to international scientific competition. A French perspective, 1978-2004

Pierre CORNU, *Université Lumière Lyon 2, France*

Egizio VALCESCHINI, *Institut national de la recherche agronomique, France*

In the 1970's, the INRA could reasonably consider itself as a robust partner for any international cooperation. But such projects were scarce, and mainly open to fundamental biosciences. Alarmed by the trend of privatisation of thematic research and by the loosening of their relation with the French government, the leading scientists of the INRA started developing a new strategy, aiming at re-legitimizing agronomic research by answering the double challenge of biotechnologies on the one hand, and of helping productive systems to find a way out of the overproduction crisis on the other hand. A report written in 1978 by Jacques Poly, "For a more economical and autonomous agriculture", set the mark for a rethinking of the relation between sciences and agricultural development, based on a proactive attitude towards the new "economics of innovation". Even if the goal of the report was not to be attained, it helped to start a new powerful trend of science normalization and adaptation to international standards, making the INRA one of the leading organisms of the age of bioeconomics at the turn of the 21st century, involved in strategic partnerships at European level. This paper aims at emphasizing the deep changes involved by the transition from applied public science, operating at territorial level, to international competitive science, operating at the meta-level of food systems, embedded in a process of cognitive intensification.

Panel 209. Rural Consumption of fancy goods in peripheral markets

Organiser: Beatrice CRAIG, Université d'Ottawa, Canada

Chair: Antoinette FAUVE-CHAMOUX, EHESS, France

Discussant: Antoinette FAUVE-CHAMOUX, EHESS, France

The history of consumption is a relatively new field which emerged in the 1980s among historians of the 18th century Anglo-American world; it initially focused on urban areas in highly commercialized economies, like the British and Dutch ones, and on the middle and upper classes. Rural population have been neglected, despite the fact more attention has been paid lately to non-middle class or elite customers. Weak transportation infrastructure, low standard of living and in the case of North-America, the myth of the pioneer easily led to the presupposition that rural consumption, especially farmers' consumption, had to be different. This doubly marginalizes farmers/peasants in peripheral area. Work like Jan de Vries on the "industrious revolution" or Thomas Breen on the "empire of goods", suggests we should not take the international or forced frugality and self-denial of farmers and other rural people for granted. So does Ann Smart Martin on the 18th century Virginia backcountry or Doug McCalla on early 19th century Ontario.

Consumption historians have also since gradually expanded their geographic scope to include areas outside the core Atlantic economies (Scandinavia, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Germany, Italy), but this work still concentrates on urban middle classes (or better) The jury is still out as to whether their consumption patterns were close to the British and Dutch ones or not. Ogilvie (2010) for instance argued against the existence of an "industrious revolution" in 18th Wurttemberg – but I have argued elsewhere in favour of a North American "industrious revolution". Little has been done on southern, eastern and south-eastern Europe, and surprisingly, Canada. Peripheral areas, assumed almost by default to be poorly integrated into global and even national commercial network are neglected, and their rural population doubly marginalized in the historiography. In addition, the customary timing of the "consumption revolution" (17th-18th century) means earlier periods have fallen off the historians' radar screen. Our panel aims at shedding light on some of the rural consumption history's blind spots.

209.1. Shops in the Valencian agrotowns in the later middle ages

Frederic APARISI, Universitat de Lleida, Spain

Stable shops in rural areas and in small towns have been considered as an exclusive phenomenon of the early modern period. Before, in the middle ages, trade had to do with the markets and fairs in specific moments of the calendar and with peddlers during most part of the year. The main way of distribution of the production was the selling without intermediaries between the client and the artisan in his workroom. Shops with different products or with the same item from different producers were strange even in large cities.

This paper shows the existence of stable shops in small towns and in some villages in the kingdom of Valencia during the 15th century examining notarial records and registries of the court of justice. It proves that all three ways of exchange -weekly markets and annual fairs, peddlers and stable shops- could coexist at the same time. The paper has in consideration the singularity of the kingdom of Valencia in comparison with other territories of feudal Europe, the presence of Muslim population in a Christian feudal kingdom. Muslim neighbourhoods had stable shops despite peddling was an activity frequently practised by Muslim peasantry as a complement of their economy

209.2. Rural Consumption in South-Eastern Europe (18th century)

Constanta VINTILA-GHITULESCU, New Europe College, Institute for Advanced Study (NEC), Romania

Rural populations' consumption of "oriental" products has attracted little attention from historians, except to a limited extent when it comes to the Ottoman Empire (Quataert, 2000, Faroqhi & Neumann, 2005, Jirousek, 2000, Sajdi, 2008). Yet, dowry contracts, wills, post-mortem inventories, and account books reveal rural populations engaging in forms of consumptions associated with social status or fashion. My research examines the phenomenon in rural Moldavia and Walachia, whose population was ethnically and socially diverse, comprised of Romanians, Jews, Bulgarians, Armenians, Greeks, Serbians or Russians, well-to do peasants and petty provincial boyards, clerks and small-scale merchants. The first section seeks to ascertain what kind of "foreign" goods were in great demand and consumed by rural people. The second analyzes the response to those "strange" or "foreign" products. An attempt will be made to categorize those products based on what the people themselves said about them. Can coffee still be considered a luxury for rural people for instance? What is the pace of silk among items forming a bride's trousseau? Of cotton among woolen and other textiles? What emotions does a watch elicit? What "taste" needs pepper? Those are a few questions to which my archives can provide interesting answers.

209.3. The spread of new goods in the Quebec countryside in the early 19th century

Béatrice CRAIG, Université d'Ottawa, Canada

The history of consumption is a very underdeveloped field in Canada, and almost no work has been done on Quebec in the first half of the 19th century. Using a corpus of account books from five country stores in the Ottawa and St Lawrence river valleys ranging from 1809 to 1867, my paper will examine the diffusion of new (and largely imported) factory textiles, manufactured food products (such as saleratus, baking soda and crackers) and household objects (like kerosene lamps). Mid-price, lightweight fashionable fabrics and practical objects were quickly adopted by a large proportion of customers; Convenience on the other hand did not lead to equally rapid adoption of new food products. Food tastes were rather conservative. My findings suggest that the behavior of rural consumers in the time period under consideration was a continuation of the one described by Duplessis for the French period and Christie for the end of the 18th century, and had been little affected by the incorporation of the colony into a different empire.

209.4. Rural consumption of foreign goods in early modern Transylvania

Mária PAKUCS, New Europe College, Bucharest, Romania

The question of consumption, its economic and social implications is an underexplored topic in Romanian historiography. In my paper I shall exploit a recently identified account book of a Greek merchant in Sibiu/Hermannstadt at the end of the 17th century. The Greeks, as Balkan-Levantine merchants distributing Ottoman products and controlling long-distance trade in South-Eastern Europe, created commercial networks that facilitated business ventures and credit operations. In the accounts of the late Kozma Potsis from Sibiu, we have the unique opportunity to understand retailing in a rural setting. The clients of the merchant included townfolk such as petty artisans but also the social elites of the villages from the surrounding area of Sibiu, such as the local priest and his family. Villagers bought from the Greek various imported textiles (Turkish cotton and silk, but also Central European cloth) and small amounts of spices, on credit. I assume that it would be unrealistic to speak of a village 'shop' during that time. We know that Greeks rented shops in Sibiu, in town, and that they also sold their good at fairs.

209.5. Rural Consumption in 19th- and Early 20th-Centuries Russia

Galina ULYANOVA, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia

Rural consumption in the Russian Empire still remains largely unexplored. My paper examines the laws that regulated peasant trade, the structure of retail and location of shops, their ownership and annual turnover, in the predominantly agricultural province of Moscow. Only goods listed in the laws of 1865 and 1888, could be sold in the shops. Similar rules existed for tea shops. Rural retailing, like any other kind of trade was subject to strict fiscal and sanitary control, discussed here in connection to some cases of the breaking of trading rules. Goods were mostly bought from producers/manufacturers or wholesale companies. For example, flour was acquired from the wholesalers in Kolomna, Tambov, or the Volga region, and brought by railways or river ways; sunflower seeds oil and butter were mostly bought from Moscow wholesalers. Sources of herrings varied greatly: Russian herrings came from Astrakhan, on the Caspian Sea, but also from the Netherlands, Shetland Islands, and Norway, and this imported product was popular with Russian consumers and could reach even small rural shops.

Initially rural shops only sold goods that peasant households could not produce. Changes in shop purchases reflected changes in peasant life style and their departure from a subsistence economy.

Panel 210. Famine in the manorial society and economy

Organisers:

Piotr MIODUNKA, Cracow University of Economics, Poland

Marten SEPPEL, University of Tartu, Estonia

Chair:

Piotr MIODUNKA, Cracow University of Economics, Poland

Marten SEPPEL, University of Tartu, Estonia

According to current research, famine seems to be an experience of western and northern Europe only. Many papers and books discussing subsistence crises and famines focus on these part of the continent, and the latest publication edited by the renowned duo Alfani and Alfani appears to additionally reinforce the impression (Alfani, Ó Gráda, 2017). The editors are well aware that the apparent lack of famines in Eastern Europe does not mean more alimentary security but is rather indicative of a relative scarcity of information, particularly acute when it comes to societies living barely at subsistence level. On the other hand, it is widely believed that at times of crop failures in Eastern Europe, landlords looked after their peasants as essential actors in the manorial economy and providers of unpaid labour (Kula, 1976). Real famines as such thus did not take place. One of the best-known Polish economic historians, Witold Kula, noted dubiously: It appears that in the 16th-18th centuries, Poland saw no such powerful, periodic famines affecting the whole country... Is this a misconception caused by data or is it actually true? If so, how can that be explained given that labour and land or the commercialization of agricultural production could hardly have been higher in Poland than in western countries? - he wrote (Kula, 1976). Today we know that episodes of famines occurred also in regions where manorial economy dominated, e.g. Livonia, Poland and Bohemia. The Swedish example shows that manorialism could mitigate the effects of one-year crop failures but was unable to prevent the negative consequences of extended periods of weather shocks (Dribe, Olsson, Svensson, 2012). We should also consider that during the poor harvest grain landlords had to buy grain at high prices.

The contributors to this panel will share the results of their research on famines in Eastern Europe, focusing on the causes (environmental, economic), processes, effects and, in particular, specific features. The leading issue will be however: to what extent did manorial economy increase or reduce food scarcity amongst peasants? And how did landlords and/or peasants change their normal strategies in face of disaster?

210.1. Agricultural crisis of the 17th century from economic and environmental perspectives

Piotr GUZOWSKI, University of Białystok, Poland

The beginning of the early modern era was the time of growth in Polish agricultural economy. At the same time, during the 17th century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth "encountered all of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse – pestilence, war, famine and death – "with catastrophic consequences" (Geoffrey Parker). While older literature pointed to the crisis of feudal institutions as a cause of agricultural crisis, Parker sought the reasons in political, military, and also climatic factors. The aim of this paper is to examine the seventeenth-century agricultural crisis with the use of traditional historical as well as environmental sources.

210.2. Scarcity or abundance, in the 17th century cereal cultivating in Transylvania?

Enikő RÜSZ-FOGARASI, Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania

Scarcity or abundance, in the 17th century cereal cultivating in Transylvania? My paper concentrated on the key questions whether the Transylvanian relief is compatible with cultivating cereals, and which cereals are most viable on this region's agriculture. For how long would the cereals last of yearly harvest? My investigated sources were the accounting books of principality fiscal lands, and noble lands, urbanium's and the city lands. These unedited documents give us possibility to show the general agrarian and fiscal process in 17th century Transylvania. We can learn from these documents about the different agricultural methods, and different kind of growing cereals, at different places. Because the fiscal lands were spread out throughout Transylvania, so processing the data from our sources depicts the whole Transylvanian agricultural landscape and procedures. We looking for what kind of factor influenced (war, weather and calamities) the cereal market and the prices. After we analyzing the prices of grain and other cereals, we'll be able to answer the question proposed in the title: Were the yearly crops enough to sustain an autonomic region? It was scarcity or abundance in 17th century's Transylvania? Of course, our entire work try to see the Transylvanian process in general European context.

210.3. The role of manorial and communal institutions in famine relief in the Russian Baltic Province of Livland in the mid-1840s

Kersti LUST, University of Tallin, Estonia

In the mid-1840s, the last subsistence crisis hit the largest Russian Baltic province, Livland. By law, communal granaries containing grain supplies gathered from landed peasants were supposed to provide the needy with assistance in the form of loans in times of distress, and in extraordinary situations, the state government granted relief loans to the peasant communities. In a manorial system, however, the question of famine relief is intrinsically related to the issue of the protective role of manorial lords. First, the paper considers the role of communities in applying for and distributing the state assistance loan. Since with collective responsibility the state relief loan was to be recovered by the community, the community authorities preferred to distribute it to peasant farmers who were able to pay back the loan and to ignore those whose situation was so helpless that any repayment seemed highly unlikely. While the communities held back famine relief to its landless members largely because of their poverty, the manorial lords commanded over ample resources that could have been used for helping the needy. Secondly, by using individual level linked vital records from different types of manors, we show that neither the manorial system nor the 'paternalist' lord of manor could shield its inhabitants from increased mortality risk. We use the semi-parametric Cox proportional hazards model to estimate the effects of crisis on individuals categorized into groups by manor type and socioeconomic status. Our modelling results show that neither the group of farmer peasants nor peasants living on the state estate or the manors owned by 'paternalist' landlords had a smaller risk of dying compared to landless or peasants living on other estates, respectively.

210.4. Responses to the 1840s famines in Poland and Ireland

Paweł HAMERA, Pedagogical University of Krakow, Poland

It was in the 1840s that Ireland was in the grips of the Great Irish Famine which led to mass death and emigration. Despite the fact that the Irish belonged to the mighty British Empire, they were not provided with adequate relief when they desperately needed it. The British government and local landlords failed to provide sufficient help to those who, because of the potato blight, for an extended period of time could not provide their families and themselves with sustenance. Also the Polish peasant was effected by the potato blight and food shortages in the 1840s. The high mortality among the Polish peasantry, especially in Galicia, suggests neglect and inadequate relief provided by Polish landowners and the authorities. The aim of this paper is to compare the famines that affected Polish and Irish societies in the 1840s, as well as the relief measures that were undertaken in order to help the starving, malnourished, and diseased Irish and Polish people.



Cabotage du lin, J.-A., Barral et H. Sagnier, *Dictionnaire d'agriculture*, Paris, 1888, vol. 3 © BnF.

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 Sofm capricomo.
 Dionis.
 Thome apli.
 Dionis.
 Natiuitas dmi.
 Stephi pthomris.
 Johis apli.
 Scor innocenciu.
 Thome archiepi.
 Siluestri p.



Fabrication du pain en décembre : Heures de Charles d'Angoulême, enluminées vers 1490 en Angoumois (Paris, BnF, Lat 1173, f. 6v) © BnF.

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>301.</p> <p>The destruction, integration, and “harmonisation” of agrarian and rural associations in European dictatorships during the interwar period – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Miguel Cabo, Juan Pan-Montojo, Lourenzo Fernández Prieto, Daniel Lanero Táboas Chair: Édouard Lynch</p>	<p>301.1.</p> <p>Agrarian Corporatism from Below: The Casas do Povo in the Day to Day of the Portuguese New State (1932-1974)</p> <p>Daniel Lanero Táboas, Miguel Cabo</p>	<p>301.2.</p> <p>Forms of Representation of Agrarian and Rural Interests in the Fascist Italy, between Transformation and Continuity</p> <p>Gianluca Volpi, Stefano Grando</p>	<p>301.3.</p> <p>The Destruction and Re-Structuring of a Agrarian and Rural Associations in Spain, 1936-1947</p> <p>Juan Pan-Montojo, Lourenzo Fernández Prieto</p>	<p>301.4.</p> <p>Wine cooperatives under authoritarian regimes: The consequences of the State intervention under the regimes of Mussolini and Franco</p> <p>Jordi Planas, Francisco J. Medina-Albaladejo</p>		<p>PANEL 301</p> <p>Room AS1_33</p> <p><i>54 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>302.</p> <p>Service and the Labour Laws in Comparative Perspective: Europe 1300-1850 – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Jane Whittle, Thijs Lambrecht Chair: Thijs Lambrecht</p>	<p>302.1.</p> <p>Control and Resistance: The Servant in Labour Legislation and Practice in 13th and 14th-Centuries Marseille</p> <p>Francine Michaud</p>	<p>302.2.</p> <p>Revisiting the English Labour Laws of 1349-1601</p> <p>Jane Whittle</p>	<p>302.3.</p> <p>Disciplining vineyard labourers through labour laws in 16th century Austria</p> <p>Erich Landsteiner</p>	<p>302.4.</p> <p>Servant law and its use in 17th- and 18th-century Denmark-Norway</p> <p>Hanne Østhus</p>	<p>302.5.</p> <p>The Meanings of Freedom: European Servants and the Law (16th-19th Centuries)</p> <p>Raffaella Sarti</p>	<p>PANEL 302</p> <p>Room AS1_9</p> <p><i>54 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>303.</p> <p>Rural Grain Markets in Early Modern Europe (16th-18th centuries) – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers : Luca Mocarelli, Giulio Ongaro Chair: Luca Mocarelli</p>	<p>303.1.</p> <p>Integration and relationship between rural market and urban ones and the economic players in Rome and the</p> <p>Gaetano Sabatini, Donatella Strangio, Renata Sabene</p>	<p>303.2.</p> <p>The role of rural grain markets in a boundary area. The Oltregiogo (17th-18th centuries)</p> <p>Andrea Zanini, Luciano Maffi</p>	<p>303.3.</p> <p>Grain prices and trade networks in the late medieval Flemish cities (14th century)</p> <p>Stef Espeel</p>	<p>303.4.</p> <p>Rural grain markets in Northern Italy (18th century)</p> <p>Giulio Ongaro, Luca Mocarelli</p>		<p>PANEL 303</p> <p>Room AS1_17</p> <p><i>54 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>304.</p> <p>Social Players and the Diffusion of Agronomic Knowledge and Technical Innovation in the European Countryside (end 18th-early 20th Centuries) – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Laurent Brassart, Corinne Marache, Andrea Maria Locatelli, Paolo Tedeschi Chair: Laurent Brassart</p>	<p>304.1.</p> <p>Spreading Agronomic Knowledge and Technical Innovation in the Countryside: Some case-studies of Institutions in Northern Italy (end half of the 19th century)</p> <p>Andrea Maria Locatelli, Paolo Tedeschi</p>	<p>304.2.</p> <p>Hungarian Agricultural Education as a means for knowledge dissemination on the turn of 19th-20th century</p> <p>Zsussi Kiss</p>	<p>304.3.</p> <p>The British Raj and the Vernacularization of Agricultural Science Communication in Rural India</p> <p>Pankoj Sarkar</p>	<p>304.4.</p> <p>Venice and the Disengagement of its élite: A missed economic transformation (1814-1866)</p> <p>Charia Natalie Focacci</p>		<p>PANEL 304</p> <p>Room AS1_15</p> <p><i>54 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>305.</p> <p>The Nutrition Transition and Beyond: Dietary Change in the World since 1945 – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Fernando Collantes, Ernst Langthaler Chair: Fernando Collantes</p>	<p>305.1.</p> <p>The Western Nutrition Transition Revisited: Pathways of Dietary Change in Europe and North America since the 1950s</p> <p>Ernst Langthaler</p>	<p>305.2.</p> <p>Chile’s Milk and Meat Consumption, 1930-2010: A History of Successful Nutrition Transition and Effective Social Policies</p> <p>Manuel Llorca-Jana, Juan Navarrete-Montalvo</p>	<p>305.3.</p> <p>The Consumption of Meat in Spain in the Context of the Nutritional Transition, 1940-2015: Long-term Social and Regional Disparities</p> <p>Xavier Cussó Segura, Gonzalo Gamboa, Josep Pujol-Andreu</p>	<p>305.4.</p> <p>The Reorganization of the Markets for Fishery Products in Spain, 1960-1986</p> <p>Jesús Giráldez Rivero, María Del Carmen Espido Bello</p>		<p>PANEL 305</p> <p>Amphitheatre François Furet</p> <p><i>105 Bd. Raspail</i></p>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
306. Rural Epistemologies in Dialogue: The Production of Knowledge in Peripheral Regions in the 19th-20th Centuries – Part 1 Organisers: Dietlind Hüchtker, Corinne Geering Chair: Joanna Rozmus	306.1. On the concepts of Sustainability and Social Justice: Pioneer Women in Agriculture and the Production of Knowledge around 1800 Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz	306.2. Reclaiming Rural Skills: Traditional Handicraft and Educational Mobility in Modern East Central Europe Corinne Geering	306.3. Knowledge and legal cultures: land registers in Habsburg and post-Habsburg regions Dietmar Müller			PANEL 306 Room 8 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
307. Agricultural Estates, Land and Labour in the Ottoman Empire, Eastern Europe and the North Western Mediterranean: A Comparative Approach – Part 1 Organiser: Elias Kolovos Chair: Elias Kolovos	307.1. What a landed estate meant in the 18th-century Ottoman Balkans Antonis Anastasopoulos	307.2. Landed estates and peasant farms in the Balkan countryside: Basic characteristics and changing dynamics of the organization of agricultural production from the 18th to the 19th centuries Yücel Terzibaşoğlu	307.3. Introducing potato in Eastern Europe: Was State pressure in agriculture needed? Melchior Jakubowski	307.4. Land Issue and Tenure Issue in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman çiftlik Agriculture Socrates Petmezas		PANEL 307 Room 7 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
308. American Pathways of Agricultural Growth – Part 1 Organisers: Pablo F. Luna, Alejandro Tortolero Chair: Pablo F. Luna	308.1. Liberal modernization, and the collapse of small commercial agriculture. The case of Los Tuxtlas, Mexico, 1880-1920 Eric Léonard	308.2. Emphyteusis contracts and economic growth in 19th century Brazil Manoela Pedroza	308.3. Punctuated Equilibrium: Technological Change and the Radical Restructuring of the U.S. Rice Industry, 1885-1915 Peter A. Coclanis	308.4. The limitations of agricultural growth in the Andean world: The way of working of haciendas, 19th and 20th centuries Pablo F. Luna		PANEL 308 Room AS1_01 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
309. Global Connections, Rural Translations: Circulations of expertise and technology between the rural and the global in the 19th and 20th centuries – Part 1 Organisers: Elizabeth Williams, James Simpson Chair: Paul Brassley	309.1. Why did it take the New World so long to produce fine wines Technological change and wine quality, 1850-1939 James Simpson	309.2. Managing North American forests, the European way? The remaking of the North-eastern Canadian countryside and the circulation of forestry theories and practices across the North Atlantic (1900-1940) Lisalou Martone	309.3. Rural Assistance for Relief and Rehabilitation: NEF & UNRRA Joshua Thew	309.4. Forced optimism and the politics of knowledge in rural development in Tanzania Felicitas Becker		PANEL 309 Room BS1_05 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
310. Bringing back the Agrarian Question. Territories and Sustainability in Latin America from a Global Perspective (1900-2018) – Part 1 Organiser: Elisa Botella Rodríguez Chair: Wilson Picado Umaña	310.1. De facto Agrarian Reform in Costa Rica. Trends on Monoculture, Forest and Land Tenancy since 1950 Elisa Botella Rodríguez Wilson Picado Umaña	310.2. The exhausted nature. The expansion of the agricultural frontier in Argentina and its socio-environmental impact (1980-2017) Adrian Zarrilli	310.3. Resilience and Adaptation in the Mexican Countryside (1990-2017) Gustavo Gordillo-De Anda, Cesar Suarez Ortiz			PANEL 310 Room 2 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>

Panel 301. The destruction, integration, and “harmonisation” of agrarian and rural associations in European dictatorships during the interwar period – Part 1

Organisers:

Miguel CABO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Juan PAN-MONTOJO, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Lourenzo FERNÁNDEZ PRIETO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Daniel LANERO TÁBOAS, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Chair: Édouard LYNCH, Université Lyon 2, France

Discussant: Gesine GERHARDT, Drake University, Iowa, USA

The period between the 1880s and the First World War saw an astonishing wave of creation of agrarian and rural associations (cooperatives, saving banks, cattle insurance societies, resistance leagues, parties...) in Europe. This movement adopted very different forms according to the features of the agrarian systems, the cultural background, and the legal and political framework, but from the Iberian Peninsula to the Czarist Empire and from Scandinavia to the Balkans, it can be said that all countries witnessed a process of self-organisation and organisation from outside rural society of the rural masses. These development implied seminal changes in many beyond the economic one, particularly if one assumes the neo-Tocquevillian theory (as the likes of Robert Putnam do) that the health of democracy is rooted on the density and variety of associations in the civil society. Historiography has dealt with this phenomenon but has also neglected a crucial dimension: their abrupt end in a wide range of countries between the 1920s and the 1940s. What happened to these organisations and the huge social, economic and cultural capital they implied, under the dictatorships, which triumphed in many European countries during the Interwar period? Did their disappearance mean a capital loss? How far did the new regimes take advantage of their resources? Did anti-pluralistic regimes manage to impose fully their state-led alternatives or did forms of negotiation and compromise take place with the previous associations? How was the interaction between national actors and policies with local actors and needs? How was the interaction between formal and informal forms of representing collective interests in the countryside under dictatorial rule? What did the period under authoritarian regimes mean, if we look at the long run, from the point of view of the collective action in the countryside? Was it simply a parenthesis or rather a peculiar phase in a secular process?

301.1. Agrarian Corporatism from Below: The Casas do Povo in the Day to Day of the Portuguese New State (1932-1974)

Daniel LANERO TÁBOAS and Miguel CABO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

The aim of this paper is to analyse the history of the agrarian asociacionism in Portugal between 1880 and 1974. In fact, we will take the period between 1880 – 1932, with the succession of three different political regimes (Liberal monarchy, First Republic and militar dictatorship) as an introductory framework from the point of view of rural associations in Portugal. However, the spotlight of this study, will be the agrarian corporative structure built by the Portuguese Estado Novo (Portuguese New State, 1932 - 1974), specially its local organizations, the Grémios da Lavoura (farmers unions/corporations) and Casas do Povo (salaried workers unions/corporations). We will focus on the everyday running of Casas do Povo, the main tool for the political and social categorizing of salaried workers, in the latifundist Southern regions of Portugal. Taking as a starting point the documentation produced by official institutions devoted to the supervision of corporative organisations, we will explore their daily management, the results of their actions, the socio-professional profile or their leaders, the political disputes with other local institutions or the conflicts among local elites. It is an original point of view, not very worked/developed by the historiography on the subject until today.

301.2. Forms of Representation of Agrarian and Rural Interests in the Fascist Italy, between Transformation and Continuity

Gianluca VOLPI, *Università degli Studi di Udine, Italy*
Stefano GRANDO, *Università di Pisa, Italy*

In the second decade of last century Italy was still largely an agricultural country. In this context, the representation of agrarian and rural interests became a key battlefield for the raise of Italian Fascism, whose main roots can be indeed found in the Po Valley, characterised by a strong development of cooperation inspired by left-wing and catholic political views.

These conditions deeply influenced the transformation of agrarian and rural representation of interests in fascist Italy. The creation of the regime itself moved from the fascist aim to annihilate cooperative forms of rural work and production, in order to consolidate the landowners economic interests and social dominance. This project aims to show the continuity of Catholic and socialist cultural and practical influence upon the rural masses in Southern Italy, in the Veneto and the so called 'redeemed lands', former subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

This paper aims to highlight the relation between continuity and change in the fascist transformation of agrarian and rural representations. Was this transformation fully completed? How strong was the opposition? How deeply the Fascist ideology colonised the rural world? Putting under critical survey the ambitious objective to create the new fascist Italian peasant, we think the establishment of the regime did not lead to something different from a superficial confirmation of the traditional power assets of the countryside.

301.3. The Destruction and Re-Structuring of a Agrarian and Rural Associations in Spain, 1936-1947

Juan PAN-MONTOJO, *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain*
Lourenzo FERNÁNDEZ PRIETO, *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain*

From the beginning of the Civil War, 1936, until the suppression of Agrarian Chambers and their integration in the official corporatist structure, in 1947, the pluralist and complex networks of rural and agrarian associations that had been created since the 1890s were transformed into a monolithic official structure. This process entailed the execution and imprisonment of leaders and known activists as well as the confiscation of the goods of those unions and associations which opposed or were supposed to oppose the military coup, but also the disappearance of many others that had supported the nationalist side. It transformed dramatically the relationship between the countryside and the state and between agricultural producers and the markets, and undermined the existing channels of technical diffusion. This paper will sum up the nature, aim, and results of this dramatic eleven years of profound and disrupting re-regulation of the Spanish rural world.

301.4. Wine cooperatives under authoritarian regimes: The consequences of the State intervention under the regimes of Mussolini and Franco

Jordi PLANAS, *Universitat de Barcelona, Spain*
Francisco J. MEDINA-ALBALADEJO, *Universitat de València, Spain*

Cooperatives were originally founded on the idea of self-help, but the financial and technical contribution of the State was critical for their expansion and consolidation. This was the case of wine cooperatives, which required a considerable initial investment as well as technical and financial assistance. In this paper we aim at assessing the consequences of the State intervention on this specific type of production cooperatives under the regimes of Mussolini and Franco.

Both authoritarian regimes saw the modernization of agriculture as one of their objectives and the development of agricultural cooperatives was an instrument in achieving it. Cooperatives were politically purged and lost their autonomy; the creation of new entities was not a spontaneous phenomenon, but was driven and led by the dictatorship's institutions, and they were subjected to strict institutional controls, in order to use them as tools of economic and social intervention. Both authoritarian regimes designed the internal rules and structures of the organization and management of cooperatives, and put them into practice through legislation and institutional control. They were used to industrialize wine production and to regulate the wine markets, as well as tools of social control, which meant that some of the International Cooperative Alliance's principles for defining cooperative enterprises (for instance, democratic control by members, autonomy and independence) did not apply.

Panel 302. Service and the Labour Laws in Comparative Perspective: Europe 1300-1850 – Part 1

Organisers:

Jane WHITTLE, University of Exeter, UK

Thijs LAMBRECHT, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Chair: Thijs LAMBRECHT, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Discussant: Carolina UPPENBERG, Lund University, Sweden

This session explores the dynamic relationship between labour laws and the institution of service in a range of European countries. Service was ubiquitous in rural Europe, and servants were the most heavily regulated part of the paid rural labour force. Surprisingly, there has never been a comparative history of the labour laws in this period. What is more, historians of the labour laws have tended to concentrate on the regulation of wages, rather than the form in which labour was provided. Labour regulations sought to control many aspects of service as well as wages, such as the length of contracts, broken contracts, the types of payments (in cash or in kind) by which servants were paid, and mobility of servants. However, perhaps the most striking clauses were those that placed young people in compulsory service, even if they already had somewhere to live or were earning wages from day labouring. This type of regulation was common in the early modern period in many European countries and demonstrates the preference of regulating authorities (local and national governments) for unmarried people to work as servants rather than labourers. The papers in will explore the relationship between labour laws and service but examining the nature of the laws, who created them and why, the forms of labour and types of worker they envisaged, the implications of the laws for the rural labour market, the implications of the laws for ideas about work and social control, and how and to what extent the laws were enforced in different regions.

302.1. Control and Resistance: The Servant in Labour Legislation and Practice in 13th- and 14th-Centuries Marseille

Francine MICHAUD, University of Calgary, Canada

In medieval centres heavily dependent on commercial exchanges, rural production concurrently conditioned domestic economies. This was especially true for Marseille, a wine-producing community regularly subjected to bread famines and, with the advent of the Black Death, severe labour shortages. Hence the 1348 labour legislation aimed to control the mobility and wages of agricultural labourers, although a large measure of freedom governed labour relations within the tightening strictures of contractual law. Marseille's archival records shed light on the rapports masters and servants agreed upon and, in several instances, breached, in the turbulent 14th-century period. This paper focuses on the concept of alterity by tracking the fate of two central actors involved in the renewal of domestic labour relations in late medieval Marseille: women and migrant workers, most originating from rural communities. This approach pays attention to (1) the conflicting notion of domestic service contractual parties understood in the changing context under analysis; (2) key factors determining the terms of employment; (3) the conditions leading to conflict, but also resolution in labour litigations.

302.2. Rural Servants in Labour Legislation and Practice in 14th Century

Jane WHITTLE, University of Exeter, UK

Between 1349 and the end of the 16th century a series of labour laws and other measures which sought to control labour, were enacted by the English government. The best known are the Ordinance and Statute of Labourers of 1349 and 1351, and the Statute of Artificers of 1563. However, there were also many laws concerned with vagrancy and poor relief, which touched on the regulation of labour. This paper revisits these laws to focus on three aspects. (1) How did the laws define, classify and control different types of workers? Typically workers were divided into three groups: servants, agricultural day labourers, and craftsmen. Servants were subject to more control. (2) Which aspects of work did the laws seek to regulate? The existing literature concentrates on the regulation on wages. However, the laws aimed to do much more than this. They also sought to force the unemployed into work, to strengthen the binding nature of verbal work contracts, to regulate the geographical mobility of workers, and to control the entrance into some occupations. (3) How and by whom were these laws meant to be enforced? This provides clues to their actual social and economic impact.

302.3. Disciplining vineyard labourers through labour laws in 16th century Austria

Erich LANDSTEINER, Universität Wien, Austria

Due to the peculiar property structures of specialised wine-growing areas in extra-Mediterranean Europe, wage labour was very common. Owners employed capable workers either by the day or by making seasonal contracts with labourers, if they did not choose to establish sharecropping contracts. In addition, the high demand for labour usually attracted migrant labourers. All this generated specific forms of organization, frequent conflicts over the terms of employment and remuneration, and a high demand for regulation. In 16th century Lower Austria frictions between vineyard owners and their workforce led to the enactment of extensive labour laws. These ordinances, initiated by urban vineyard owners, intended to prescribe wage levels and to regulate labour relations with a specific focus on the status and obligations of so-called "loose (unbound/unmarried) vineyard servants". In the late 16th century local initiatives tried to establish guild-like organizations for vineyard labourers prescribing terms of apprenticeship and rules of behaviour. In all these laws a clear intention to domesticate the workers and establish a relationship of master and servant is clearly discernible.

302.4. Servant law and its use in 17th- and 18th-centuries Denmark-Norway

Hanne ØSTHUS, Universität Bonn, Germany

This paper examines the laws that regulated service in Denmark-Norway during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Life-cycle service was a common occupation during this period with over 10% of the population working as servants. It was also an occupation promoted by the state through laws decreeing that large segments of the population were legally obligated to hire themselves out as servants. The state particularly sought to limit the amount of day labourers, who were seen as undermining both the social order and the economy. The paper investigates such laws on compulsory service. It also examines another important aspect of servant law in Denmark-Norway: the relationship between master and servant. This included rules on hiring and firing, but also on the masters' right to chastise his servant. In addition, the law also compelled the master to facilitate the religious education of his servants and to care for them in the event they fell ill. The servants, on the other hand, were obliged to respect and obey their masters and mistresses. Lastly, the paper examines the implementation of servant laws, particularly during the 18th century.

302.5. The Meanings of Freedom: European Servants and the Law (16th-19th centuries)

Raffaella SARTI, Università di Urbino Carlo Bo, Italy

This paper summarises the results of research I have carried out over three decades on how the law affects domestic service and as well as presenting some new results. I focus on the laws on the servants' freedom, or lack of freedom, to enter domestic service, to leave their masters and to marry, highlighting some important differences at the European level between 16th and 19th centuries. First I address the servant/slave distinction, analysing ideas expressed by a wide range of early modern people about the servants' and slaves' (lack of) freedom, focusing on similarities and differences as they were perceived and described. In particular, I study how different people evaluated the fact of being free or forced to serve, and how laws regulated the issue. On the other hand, I analyse how the laws regulated the exit from service: were servants (unlike slaves) free to leave their masters? Actually such an opposition often turns out not to be clear cut. After briefly mentioning the laws regulating the servants' marriage, I conclude by providing a short survey of the variety of forms of dependence from the late medieval period to the 19th century in different European areas.



Batteuse Damey à manège, E.-O. Lami, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique et biographique de l'industrie et des arts industriels*, Paris, 1881, vol. 1 © BnF.

Panel 303. Rural Grain Markets in Early Modern Europe (16th-18th centuries) – Part 1

Organisers:

Luca MOCARELLI, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Giulio ONGARO, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Chair: Luca Mocarelli, Università degli studi di Milano – Bicocca, Italy

Discussant: Friederike SCHOLTEN, Universität Münster, Germany

In the last years, many researches analysed the functioning of the markets in pre-industrial Europe, and particularly the level of integration of the international markets. More, other authors focused on the relationship between market integration and economic development. These researches were mainly based on quantitative (price series) and qualitative analysis on the grain markets, considering them a functional case study in order to focus on the commercial exchanges in Early Modern Europe. In spite of the relevant results achieved, many elements remain unclear: the most part of the researches relied on small databases. Few markets, exclusively urban markets (while around 60% of the population relied on rural markets), that do not allow to understand the numerous levels of the grain markets. Second, after the outlining of the degree of integration, we have to understand the underlying dynamics: the role played by the institutions, of the commercial networks, of the relationship between production, demand and distribution in the shaping of the markets.

The panel aims to start a discussion on these elements, focusing on the rural grain markets.

European countries in the Early Modern period. Main topics will be:

- The price series of grains in rural market,*
- The regulation of the grain commerce in the rural areas;*
- The integration and the relationship between rural markets and urban ones;*
- The economic players: merchants, salesmen, and so on;*
- The relationship between rural markets and agricultural production;*
- The relationship between rural markets and the trend of the food demand.*

303.1. Integration and relationship between rural market and urban ones and the economic players in Rome and the pontifical State

Gaetano SABATINI, Università Roma Tre, Italy

Donatella STRANGIO, Sapienza Università di Roma, Italy

Renata SABENE, Università Roma Tre, Italy

In the Papal State we find 3 different market levels: the city, the merchants and the Annona. All three play a key role in building a balanced market price for the wheat market. The Merchants circuit has had great relevance for the game related to the distribution, supply and sale of wheat, ending up also for conditioning the local city market; the reference price imposed by the Annona had the function of preventing, even if not always achieved, excessively strong enforcement of the selling price of wheat.

Nonetheless, we must attempt to build an understanding of what happens during food crises. Firstly, how much of the production of foodstuffs of a territory goes to market, and to which markets specifically? Does it go to local markets or those serving only urban areas? What about those serving rural areas or territories chronically deficient in cereals such as mountain areas, or does it go to external markets? The consequences for local populations are clearly very different in each instance. The presence or absence of a hierarchy of markets and their radius of attraction should be identified. Are there clearly defined spheres of influence or do boundaries adapt to circumstances? Are boundaries stable during periods of calm before shifting during crises (whereas authorities might tend to open borders in normal situations before shutting them in emergencies)? How did food, labor, and credit markets interact during subsistence crises?

303.2. The role of rural grain markets in a boundary area. The Oltregiogo (17th-18th centuries)

Andrea ZANINI and Luciano MAFFI, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy

During the early modern age, the so-called *Oltregiogo* was a vast rural area in north-western Italy, crossed by a mountain range, the Apennines, and laying at the crossroad among the neighbouring regional states: the Republic of Genoa, the Duchies of Savoy, of Parma, and of Milan.

Thanks to its geographic location, and to the presence of important transport routes linking the Ligurian Sea with the Po Valley, the *Oltregiogo* was crucial for trade between the coast and the hinterland. It was not only a place of transit, but also a place for market exchanges, as the development of several weekly markets and annual fairs testified. Over time most of them acquired a regional or, sometimes, over-regional relevance, as they worked as collecting centres for foodstuffs, above all grain, for the neighbouring urban places.

Despite this, rural grain markets in this area have not been fully explored. Therefore, we aim to outline the role and the functioning of grain trade in the *Oltregiogo*, and to identify the factors allowing a market to acquire a regional or over-regional importance.

303.3. Grain prices and trade networks in the late medieval Flemish cities (14th century)

Stef ESPEEL, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

The major Flemish Cities provide a unique context to investigate the origins, the impact and the consequences of the Great Shocks of the 14th century. New and exciting price series for grain for the major cities of Bruges, Ghent, Lille, Douai and Cambrai based on account series of different large landowners (urban hospitals, abbeys and collegial church chapters) allows us to analyse a wide variety of characteristics concerning the price and the trade networks of grain. These could have altered or adapted during dearth years, when low grain yields coincided with high prices. They were plentiful in the disastrous 14th century, with multiple periods of war, harvest failures and several outbreaks of the plague. The newly constructed price series of grain are no clear impression of the exchange of supply and demand, but will reflect the disparate economic behaviour and food strategies of the examined institutions that buy and sell food: where do these transactions take place, to whom, at what price etc. This behaviour will be influenced by a range of various factors: the population level, the regional agro-system, the interregional supply, production disturbances, government interventions, solidarity feelings etc. The strategies of these economically involved institutions will therefore be a paramount filter through which these factors will be examined.

303.4. Rural grain markets in Northern Italy (18th century)

Giulio ONGARO and Luca MOCARELLI, Università degli studi di Milano- Bicocca, Italy

The aim of the paper is to analyze the role played by rural markets (and merchants) in Northern Italy in the Eighteenth Century. We will first show some data about the trends of the prices in some case studies (such as Desenzano, Legnago, Senigallia), observing the integration with the urban markets.

We will also show the importance of the different kinds of products in these markets: indeed, not only wheat was commercialized, but also other “minor” cereals, especially maize. We will also focus on the players involved in the supply and in the purchasing of products in the rural markets, in order to shed new light on the relevant role played by these commercial spots for the internal and international cereal trade.



La confection de la meule à Gretz (Seine-et-Marne), début du xx^e siècle, carte postale © MUCEM.

Panel 304. Social Players and the Diffusion of Agronomic Knowledge and Technical Innovation in the European Countryside (end 18th-early 20th centuries) – Part 1

Organisers:

Laurent BRASSART, Université de Lille 3, France

Corinne MARACHE, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

Andrea Maria LOCATELLI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano (UCSC), Italy

Paolo TEDESCHI, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Chair: Laurent BRASSART, Université de Lille 3, France

Discussant: Ilaria SUFFIA, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

The most recent historical research has reconstructed, on the basis of the suggestions of the economic theory on the role of social capital in the processes of economic development, the concrete and tangible actualizations of the European knowledge in agronomy and zootechnics from the last decades of the 18th century to the eve of WWI. During the Rural History Congresses 2015 and 2017 papers which were presented in some relevant sessions clearly illustrated the players facilitating the generation, the increase and the diffusion of the intangible capital and of the technical innovation in agriculture. They also showed the different forms of knowledge transmission existing in the European countryside and they took into consideration the modalities, the players and also the social entities involved.

This panel wants to continue the discussion with a particular attention to the actions of some players (landowners and farmers, but also teachers in the agricultural schools or agronomists working in public institutions) who were able to understand the technological changes and to face new particular events arriving during the second half of the 19th century (improvements in transports and consequent enlargement of the markets, arrival of diseases, changes in peasants' attitudes linked to the diffusion of trade unions, etc...).

Papers participating in this panel will focus their attention on cases showing the propulsive role of key players in:

- 1) the modernization processes and in the creation of a new productive model where new knowledge in agronomy and zootechnics as well as new technology dominated and where it was necessary to modify agrarian contracts;*
- 2) the creation and enlargement of international networks of knowledge in agronomics and zootechnics and in the diffusion of innovations in the European countryside;*
- 3) the organization of landowners and/or farmers' associations having the aim of facing the negative economic trend of rural markets (e.g. the wheat and maize ones) or the diseases of relevant high added-value productions (vines/wine, cocoons/silk).*

304.1. Spreading Agronomic Knowledge and Technical Innovation in the Countryside: some case-studies of Institutions in Northern Italy (end half of the 19th century)

Andrea Maria LOCATELLI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

Paolo TEDESCHI, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

The aim of this paper is to show some new institutions and schools (as well as the people promoting their creation) which allowed to improve agronomic knowledge and to diffuse technical innovations. The paper concerns the 2nd half of the 19th century and illustrates the case of the agrarian schools in Eastern Lombardy and of the *Comizi Agrari* (Agrarian Committees) of Piacenza and Cremona. Eastern Lombardy and the Po Valley became among the most productive and efficient areas of the Italian primary sector during the 20th century.

As for education, the paper highlights how the new agrarian schools, created by the public institutions, with the relevant help of local benefactors' financing, allowed young peasants to improve their knowledge. These schools were located in the countryside but also in the outskirts of Brescia (the main town of Eastern Lombardy) and in the lake Riviera. They trained students having different specialisations and so they guaranteed a new generation of skilled peasants.

The *Comizi Agrari* were public institutions for the rationalization of rural production and for the representation of landowners' interests. They referred to the European experiences of the "Enlightenment Academies". The *Comizi Agrari* in Piacenza and Cremona represented two important experiences for the improvement of agrarian production and yields. The first also promoted the birth of the *Federconsorzi* (National Federation of Consortia), one of the most relevant agrarian institution in Italy.

304.2. Hungarian Agricultural Education as a means for knowledge dissemination on the turn of 19th-20th century

Zsussi Kiss, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

This paper is to show the role of Hungarian agricultural educational institutions in creating and maintaining international connections for disseminating technological innovations in farming between 19th and 20th century.

From mid-19th century, similarly as elsewhere in Europe, a strengthening tendency in Hungary emerged to educate professional agronomists. The need for professionals was motivated by the culminating challenges that agriculture faced in the period – ranging from the social consequences of the slow abolition of feudalism to new market experiences in a globalising world and to peculiar diseases and meteorological occurrences, just to mention some of these.

Similarly to other European countries a number of agricultural “Academies” (institutions of higher – but not certainly university – level education) were established under the supervision of the state since it increasingly recognized the economic and social importance of agricultural modernization (already existing private institutions were also taken over by the state in the second half of the 1800s) in the quest for coping with new social and economic circumstances.

The Higher Institution for Agriculture at Magyaróvár (the biggest Academy regarding the number of students and staff) is in the focus of my paper. My analysis is centred upon two main points: 1) the educational programme & curriculum and 2) the composition and career histories of the teaching & technical staff and that of the students’.

304.3. The British Raj and the Vernacularization of Agricultural Science Communication in Rural India

Pankoj SARKAR, Tata Institute of Social Science, TISS Mumbai, India

This paper aims to trace the evolution of agricultural science communication and its vernacularization process in colonial India. It will reflect on some aspects of the production and dissemination of existing and emerging agricultural knowledge and practices and how such dissemination was a negotiated outcome between various stakeholders involved at various levels such as the scientific community, colonial administration, farmer and so on.

Primarily on the analysis of vernacular (Bengali) archival sources, the paper brings out the perspective of the colonised. The field of STS studies has mostly used colonial archival sources that are in the English language. This paper seeks to bridge this gap by using both vernacular and English language sources in order to arrive at richer and more nuanced views of knowledge production and its circulation in agriculture in colonial settings.

The archival research finds that on several occasions, the diffusion of agricultural scientific knowledge and its practices played an important role in agricultural practices in colonial India. The process of circulation of such knowledge was shaped by the perceptions of knowledge in colonial Bengal, while also creating a new platform for negotiating knowledge for the various stakeholders such as cultivator, scientist, landlord, colonial bureaucrats, cooperative society, agricultural association. This was entirely a new phenomenon in the knowledge building exercise in colonial India

304.4. Venice and the Disengagement of its élite: A missed economic transformation (1814-1866)

Charia Natalie FOCACCI, Università di Bologna, Italy

Several scholars, including Acemoglu and Macry, have stressed the relevance of elites in supporting transformations from both social and economic perspectives. However, this is not immediately evident when areas that are under a strong and foreign ruler are taken into account. While Lombardy found its way out from the Habsburg crown by adapting to the new circumstances, primary sources from the Italian archives show a Venetian privileged group that remained static and almost indifferent to the possibility of change. This is particularly evident when considering the unengaged performance of Venice’s elite in respect to the economy of its region. The article, in particular, tries to shed light on the lack of intervention on their behalf during the era of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom in terms of supporting cultural and technical in terms of support to cultural and technical transformations. Section 1 introduces the position of the elites in Venetia, while Section 2 investigates the cultural setting in which the elite acted. Section 3 analyses the attitude of the latter in regards to the economic activities of the time, mostly founded on agriculture. Section 4 provides some conclusions.

Panel 305. The Nutrition Transition and Beyond: Dietary Change in the World since 1945 – Part 1

Organisers:

Fernando COLLANTES, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

Ernst LANGTHALER, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz and Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Chair: Fernando COLLANTES, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

Discussant: Deborah FITZGERALD, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

The panel is organised around three fields of research

(1) Major trends in food consumption in the world since 1945: All across the world, diets have been changing rapidly and profoundly in the period from 1945 to the present. In the global North, the postwar decades witnessed the rise of the “Western diet” and the culmination of the “classical” period of the nutrition transition, while the last few decades have featured a turn towards differentiated products (“food from nowhere” – “food from somewhere”). In the global South, the nutrition transition seems to be unfolding in ways that do not necessarily mimic those of the global North at an earlier stage.

(2) Causes of diet change: Changes in food consumption seem to be partly related to economic factors, such as the evolution of consumer income and food prices. These in turn connect the analysis of diet change to broader issues of economic growth, inequality and food chain dynamics. Yet, few would dispute that these economic variables exert their impact within political, social and cultural contexts (patriotic campaigns, social movements, religious norms etc.), the study of which is essential to our understanding of the causes of diet change.

(3) Consequences of diet change: The most immediate impact of diet change has to do with consumer health. There is now widespread concern about the negative consequences of excessive, unhealthy food consumption styles in the global North, as well as an increasing awareness of the role of food security in human development in the global South. Yet, there are other, indirect consequences of diet change, such as those that impact on the environment or on social cohesion. Diet change since 1945 has probably contributed to intensifying the food system’s impact on the environment, but there are also signs of increasing consumer interest in organic, seasonal and regional foods. The nutrition transition probably contributes in the long run to the making of a middle-class, mass consumer society, but the more recent turn towards differentiated foods and qualitative substitutions may well have started a new cycle of class-based differentiation.

305.1. The Western Nutrition Transition Revisited: Pathways of Dietary Change in Europe and North America since the 1950s

Ernst LANGTHALER, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz and Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

According to conventional wisdom, the postwar decades in the industrialized world witnessed the rise of the “Western diet” rich in processed foodstuffs (meat, vegetable oils, sugar etc.) and the culmination of the “classical” period of the nutrition transition, while the last few decades have featured a turn towards more differentiated products (“food from nowhere” – “food from somewhere”). The paper revisits this modernist argument in the light of the food balance sheets, published by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) since 1947. The multivariate statistical analysis of the development pathways of 24 Western countries shows a more differentiated picture: whereas it confirms the convergence of national nutritional patterns along the dimensions of “meatification” and “oilification”, dietary change was neither linear nor unidirectional. The Western nutrition transition turns out as a crude abstraction of the concrete pathways of dietary change European and North American countries took in the postwar decades.

305.2. Chile's Milk and Meat Consumption, 1930-2010: A History of Successful Nutrition Transition and Effective Social Policies

Manuel LLORCA-JANA, Universidad de Santiago de Chile, Chile

Juan NAVARRETE-MONTALVO, Universidad de Santiago de Chile, Chile

This paper provides the first available series on Chile's per capita consumption of both milk and meat, from the 1930s to 2010, making use of government official records for both national production and imports. It shows that there was a dramatic increase in the consumption of these two products, at times when GDP per capita was increasing, as well as real wages. During this period there were also important social policies promoting and subsidizing the consumption of these foodstuffs, including food education campaigns. We provide an explanation for this dietary change, which came hand to hand with the industrial processing of dairy and meaty products. Furthermore, we link the increase in per capita consumption of milk and meat to an increase in Chileans' height during these decades, as well as to a reduction in child mortality.

305.3. The Consumption of Meat in Spain in the Context of the Nutritional Transition, 1940-2015: Long-term Social and Regional Disparities

Xavier CUSSÓ SEGURA, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Gonzalo GAMBOA, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Josep PUJOL-ANDREU, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Our starting point is our latest published work on the nutrition transition in Spain, and the most reliable and recent literature and data on meat consumption in Spain. Chronologically we start from the Civil War (1936-39), which supposes for the majority of the Spanish population the beginning of a period of shortage that interrupted for more than a decade the process of nutrition transition. As of the 1950s the process restarted and since the 1960s it entered its final phase. Meat, along with milk or eggs, plays a fundamental role in this stage of the nutrition transition, characterized by the transformation (industrialization) and the spectacular increase in its production and consumption. In this paper, we will analyse the evolution of meat consumption of the Spanish population and its nutritional contribution, with a first approach to the evolution of the regional and social disparities that it presents. We will also explain the causes of this evolution and we will identify its main consequences on the population health, the Spanish economy and the environment. Our main sources will be food balances and surveys available throughout the entire period studied.

305.4. The Reorganization of the Markets for Fishery Products in Spain, 1960-1986

Jesús GIRÁLDEZ RIVERO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

María Del Carmen ESPIDO BELLO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

The paper aims to deepen the understanding of the factors and processes that can contribute to explain the uniqueness of the high consumption of fishery products in Spain between 1960 and 1986. In this period, the Spanish food patterns converged with those of the developed countries, which is manifested mainly in a higher proportion of animal proteins in the diet and a lower intake of calories derived from bread and potatoes. But convergence does not occur in the case of fish consumption. If during much of the 20th century this Spanish "difference" is understandable, taking into account the restrictions in the livestock supply, it is striking that it was during the expansion of the agro-food Fordism in key branches of the processing industry of food (such as dairy, swine meat, poultry, non-perishable food, etc.) when per capita consumption of fishery products reached very high levels compared to other countries and never previously registered in Spain. We will analyse changes (technical, economic and organisational) in production and foreign trade of fishery products, pointing out their most relevant features, the driving factors of these changes and their results. We can advance that the intense growth of supply and its great diversification contributed to increase fish consumption and made fishery products have an important role in the second nutritional transition in Spain.

Panel 306. Rural Epistemologies in Dialogue: The Production of Knowledge in Peripheral Regions in the 19th-20th Centuries – Part 1

Organiser:

Dietlind HÜCHTKER, Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Germany

Corinne GEERING, Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Germany

Chair: Joanna ROZMUS, Universität Wien, Austria

DISCUSSANT: Dobrochna KAŁWA, University of Warsaw, Poland

Modern society has been characterised as knowledge-based. In the 19th and 20th centuries, access to education, the popularisation of science, and mechanical labour have transformed knowledge into a valuable resource. In the case of rural actors, middle class and government-initiated reforms aimed to make knowledge appear unidirectional, as a product of center-periphery relations. Rural people were the subjects of modernization and education, not producers of knowledge. However, recent research has highlighted the role of rural-based producers in knowledge, in particular, the way indigenous and traditional ecological knowledge has contributed to agricultural science and botany. This panel expands such histories, with a focus on rural actors outside of agriculture and husbandry. Instead, the papers in this panel discuss the epistemologies of rural entrepreneurs, craftsmen, physicians, teachers, lawyers and members of various social and political organizations. While knowledge in these is still primarily associated with state centres and urban civil society, this panel instead addresses the formation, adaptation and ruptures of modern rural epistemologies that occurred in interaction with central initiatives.

The individual papers discuss the mutual production of knowledge in the of education, medicine, health and sexuality, craftsmanship and land property among others in Central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the case studies of these papers, knowledge serves as a prism to focus on processes of interaction rather than the passive notion of unidirectional enlightenment. Thus, the panel addresses the following questions: How did rural epistemologies shape political, social and economic structures? How were rural people overshadowed by more resourceful actors from the centres? What caused cleavages and By discussing these and other issues, this panel seeks to deepen the understanding of modern practices of knowledge in the countryside.

306.1. On the concepts of Sustainability and Social Justice: Pioneer Women in Agriculture and the Production of Knowledge around 1800

Leonore SCHOLZE-IRRLITZ, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

The presentation will focus on the new approach to nature in agricultural practice after the introduction in Prussia of the so-called English method of crop rotation. This new approach is closely related to the influence of the agrarian pioneer August Daniel Thaer in Berlin, as part of the rapid evolution of agricultural theory around 1800. We are particularly interested in two pioneer women in agriculture, who not only supported Thaer's move to Brandenburg, but also took part in the experiments on the Möglin/Oderbruch estate.

We will pursue the question of how the new knowledge established itself in the agri-cultural practice. What role did the new observations and the new experience play? We will investigate the actions of the people in various communicative contexts, by means of the concept of the "knowledge-milieu". In order to study the implicit knowledge from the mi-lieu-practice context and its transfer through active networks, we will use letters, agricultural documents and other archive material generated by the agriculturally active people in the Oderbruch region of the Mark Brandenburg.

306.2. Reclaiming Rural Skills: Traditional Handicraft and Educational Mobility in Modern East Central Europe

Corinne GEERING, *Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Germany*

In the late 19th century, the transition from manual to mechanical production challenged rural subsistence economy. Handicrafts including textiles, woodwork and ceramics that had been produced in the household were gradually replaced by cheaper production in factories. At the same time, the state and resourceful citizens sought to harness the dying handicraft as a resource in regional development. These initiatives mediated rural techniques and material culture presents one of the most striking examples of how rural epistemologies have found their way into modern everyday life.

Based on the northern regions of the Habsburg Empire, this paper discusses the strategies for reforming traditional handicraft. It pays special attention to educational mobility and thus highlights the role of rural agents. Between the 1870s and 1920s, educational reforms and the promotion of rural handicraft were closely connected in the Habsburg Empire and its successor states. The state introduced scholarships for men from modest backgrounds to obtain formal education in the cities. Upon their return, they would contribute to the development of education in the countryside. In the case of women, initiatives for schools for girls also went hand in hand with the establishment of handicraft workshops. Through the entanglement between economic reform and educational mobility, these processes reveal how rural agents sought to reclaim traditional handicraft in the age of mechanical production.

306.3. Knowledge and legal cultures: Land registers in Habsburg and post-Habsburg regions

Dietmar MÜLLER, *Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Germany*

Land registers together with a cadaster and notary publics formed a highly efficient institutional framework in the Habsburg lands which opened for the peasants ways for their economic empowerment and for their political and cultural emancipation as citizens. Several knowledge based professions contributed to this process: geodesists, lawyers, state officials at the cadastre and land registry, and public notaries. The professionals and the landowning agents on the land market created a distinct legal culture and practices in Habsburg lands. It differed considerably from the legal cultures of countries like Romania and Yugoslavia, which opens the question how those elites dealt with the legal Habsburg legacies in post-Habsburg provinces, such as Transylvania and Bukovina, or Croatia-Slavonia and Vojvodina after World War I. This paper analyzes processes of partial appropriation in that respect, but also significant political and professional opposition towards the Habsburg institutions, professions and legal culture of landownership. At the end of the interwar period, in both countries territorially shaped legal pluralism had not given way to legal unification in this field. A post-Habsburg phantom border emerged within the countries which was based and continually re-enacted both as real experiences of legal certainty and economic predictability and as expectations what institutions, processes, norms and values citizens could demand from their states.



Moisson en juillet, *Heures de Catherine de Médicis*, enluminé durant la première moitié du XVI^e siècle, en Val de Loire ou à Paris (Paris, BnF, Smith Lesouëf 42, f. 8.) © Bnf.

Panel 307. Agricultural Estates, Land and Labour in the Ottoman Empire, Eastern Europe and the North Western Mediterranean: A Comparative Approach – Part 1

Organiser: Elias KOLOVOS, University of Crete, Greece

Chair: Elias KOLOVOS, University of Crete, Greece

Discussant: Alp YÜCEL KAYA, Ege University, Turkey

Fernand Braudel in his opus magnum La Méditerranée observed, in the Ottoman Balkans, starting from the seventeenth century, the development of landed estates by conversion of low-lying lands of the plains, marshes and wet river-valleys. Producing initially cereals and then cotton, their conversion “closely resembles what was taking place in the West” and as in the West, cultivation of these estates resulted in social oppression in such a way that the “poor gained nothing”. Devoted to the comparative perspective, Braudel argued further that in case of relation with export trade, these landed estates created also conditions leading to the “new serfdom” as was the case also in the Danube Provinces or in Poland. Although landed estates and labour relations in the early modern and modern European and Mediterranean history are well studied with fresh perspectives for individual geographical units, a comparative framework is totally absent in the contemporary scholarship. Our panel will seek to look comparatively into the social organisation of production and the nature of production activities carried on in the landed estates in early modern and modern Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, as well as the Western Mediterranean. Drawing on earlier empirical and theoretical work on estate management and economy, the papers in the panel will address empirical questions surrounding the logic and actual workings of estate management, and the relationship of agricultural production organised in the estates to the market in agricultural produce. As far as south-eastern Europe under Ottoman rule is concerned the dominant understanding has been based on the primacy of the small peasant households and on a system of agrarian production relations based on such households. One of the implications of this argument is that landed estates which had emerged to prominence around the 18th century were ineffectual in re-organising agrarian relations on land precisely due to the dominance of the small peasant households in the countryside. Whereas, for Eastern Europe, the role of large landed estates in shaping the long-term growth trajectory of the region has been much more emphasised. The aim of the panel therefore is to evaluate the potential contribution of a comparative analysis of eastern and south-eastern European agriculture organised in landed estates and labour relations in dialogue with the European and Mediterranean rural history in general

307.1. What a landed estate meant in the 18th-century Ottoman Balkans

Antonis ANASTASOPOULOS, University of Crete/FO.R.T.H, Greece

Big, market-oriented, landed estates (çiftlik) have been a prominent feature of the rural economy and society of the 19th-century Ottoman Balkans. The roots of this phenomenon are often traced back to the 18th century, which is a much less studied period with regard to land regime and relations. Even though it is undeniable that there was gradual concentration of the control of rural land in the hands of local elites in various Balkan districts in the course of that century, it remains a question of academic debate what sparked this development, in which areas it was more pronounced, which were the dominant modes of exploitation of the land and which forms of labour relations prevailed. The aim of the paper is to address these issues on the basis of evidence from several regions, but with a focus on the district of Karaferye (Gr. Veroia), which lies to the west of Salonica. The paper will argue that for many big landowners land possession constituted another asset in a varied portfolio of investments, and not necessarily a source of wealth that they exploited to the fullest. In this respect, the paper will also discuss the question of the commercial orientation of rural production in 18th-century Balkan çiftlik. Finally, the paper will seek to highlight the socio-political aspects of the spread of big landownership, with regard to both the empowerment of local elites over the great mass of the population and the relations of these elites with state authorities.

307.2. Landed estates and peasant farms in the Balkan countryside: Basic characteristics and changing dynamics of the organization of agricultural production from the 18th to the 19th centuries

Yücel TERZİBAŞOĞLU, Boğaziçi University, Turkey

There is by now an established, dominant, understanding of the Ottoman rural economy and society which is based on the primacy of the small peasant households and on a system of agrarian production relations based on such households. This dominant view is constructed on certain premises about the nature of the peasant household, the type and forms of agrarian labour, land tenure, and in fact, on certain wider understandings of Ottoman society, economy and polity. One of the implications of this argument is that landed estates (*çiftlik*s) which had emerged to prominence in the 18th century – if not earlier – were ineffectual in re-organising agrarian relations on land precisely due to the dominance of the small peasant households in the countryside. This paper will consider this argument with a close reading of the available historical evidence (account books of a number of landed estates, coupled with data from Ottoman income surveys) from the Balkan landed estates (located at the hinterland of Salonica, and at Niş and Vidin) in the 18th and 19th centuries. It will focus on the organization of agricultural production (land tenure and labour relations) in the estates as opposed to peasant farms. By looking at the landed estate management literature on eastern European agrarian history, the paper will pose the question of whether or not a model could be constructed for estate agriculture in the Balkans, and what such modelling could achieve in the explanation and analysis of short and long-term dynamics of the agrarian economy of the region.

307.3. Introducing potato in Eastern Europe: Was State pressure in agriculture needed?

Melchior JAKUBOWSKI, University of Warsaw, Poland

In the Age of Enlightenment, the state-led modernization concerned various aspects of economy and social life, including agriculture. Introduction of the new crops had both economic and ideological dimension since 'better' plants were considered as indicators of modernity. The most important novelty were potatoes, revolutionary for the popular nutrition. During the 18th and 19th centuries potatoes conquered almost whole Europe. In Central and Eastern Europe it was strongly promoted by the modern administration of the absolute monarchies. Potato propaganda included special brochures popularizing the plant and encouraging its voluntary cultivation. In some cases, the planting of potato became compulsory, even under the military supervision. On the other hand, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, located between the aforementioned monarchies and deprived of the modern administration, there was no official campaign for the new crops. Potatoes spread there spontaneously, starting from the royal domain and gradually appearing throughout the whole country, mostly in the peasants' gardens. The paper argues that there was no need for a top-down imposed modernization. When the cultivation of the new plant was profitable, people did it of their own will. I would like to show some examples found in the local government and Church materials from the territories of contemporary Poland, Ukraine, Romania, Latvia and Russia.

307.4. Land Issue and Tenure Issue in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman *çiftlik* Agriculture

Socrates PETMEZAS, University of Crete/FO.R.T.H, Greece

The 'land issue' was identified as the primary motive of peasant and national revolts by Balkan historians who further differentiated between the Ottoman and the Balkan state policies: the Ottomans being considered as favoring the Muslim large landowners, while the Balkan states supposedly constantly favoring the distribution of *çiftlik* estates to the "landless" (Christian) peasantry. This paper distinguishes between a 'land tenure issue' (emerging ca.1830), and a later emerging 'land issue' (end of 19th c.). During this 19th century of rapid commercialization of the rural economy and of the growth of modern centralized state apparatuses, landowners were able to expand their 'land-holding rights' at the expense of the previously strong and lifelong tenurial rights of the peasantry, transmuted into a 'landless' (and restless) sharecroppers. Ottoman and Balkan governments recognized the urgency of a modern homogeneous land regime, based on absolute property rights. Large (hopefully innovation-driven) landownership was usually seen as a necessary component of the desirable agrarian structure, while land distribution was rationalized as a non-radical means of colonization of the sparsely populated lowlands. Large landowners were part of the dominant political and social elite (and recognized as such) both in the Ottoman and the post-ottoman Balkan societies.

Panel 308. American Pathways of Agricultural Growth – Part 1

Organisers:

Pablo F. LUNA, Sorbonne Université and EHESS, France

Alejandro TORTOLERO, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Iztapalapa, Mexico

Chair: Pablo F. LUNA, Sorbonne Université and EHESS, France

Discussant: Alejandro TORTOLERO, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Iztapalapa, Mexico

The objective of this session is to propose a comparative focus of what could be called the American pathways of agricultural growth, in its diverse appearance and practical evolution between the end of the 18th century and the 20th century. In this perspective, our axis of observation will be placed precisely in the different virtuous, local, regional (and even national) processes that were produced in North American and South America and in the modalities that shaped them. But we would also like to question ourselves about the unsuccessful experiences and the reasons behind such failures.

Accepted communications are characterized by precisely examining the cases indicated with whichever scale was chosen. Meaning that we will analyze the introduction and effects of new technologies (or new labor techniques), of new products and crops (and their target markets), of the best in the breeding of livestock (with better agricultural articulation), of the transformation in the use of natural resources (with supplementary labor), of the changes in the remuneration systems (with extension of salaried work), of the institutional mutations (property rights laws, regulation of work, recruitment), etc.

*An exchange between specialists of the two Americas like the one proposed will prolong other attempts made in similar spirit. Recall that in 2003, the Spanish review *Historia Agraria* published a set of texts on the routes of capitalist agricultural growth in Latin America. In 2015 and under the initiative of Cricec- International Research Group (Crisis and changes in the European Countryside), an international colloquium on the different historical pathways of agricultural growth was held in Ascona (Switzerland) (<http://crh.ehess.fr/index.php?4401>), from which a book will appear.*

Now, starting from those bases, what we would like to do is effectively compare the cases of the American continent. Which implies in fact, on one hand, having to critically refocus on the historiographical models that explain national and regional successes and failures, and on the other hand, to reevaluate the cases and experiences of agricultural growth in the context of the two Americas.

308.1. Liberal modernization, and the collapse of small commercial agriculture. The case of Los Tuxtlas, Mexico, 1880-1920

Eric LÉONARD, Institut de recherche pour le développement, France

This paper will analyze the socio-economical processes through which the dismantling of municipal estates and distribution of individual property deeds in the Tuxtlas region, in southern Mexico, during the 1880s, led toward the formation of an extremely polarized agrarian structure. It focuses on two dimensions of institutional and social processes: on the one hand, the contractual mechanisms through which the access of new commercial crops, tobacco and sugar cane, was organized; and on the other hand, the transformation of social relationships among village and domestic organizations. Both dimensions supported extremely fast processes of indebtedness and land dispossession. Two particular aspects of these processes will be described: (i) the resort to redeemable sales (*ventas con pacto de retroventa*) as the main way to access productive credits, and main tool of land dispossession; and (ii) the clientelization and monetization of intra-family relationships among Indians villagers. Briefly, the presentation will provide an analysis of the institutional and social micro-processes through which small farming family structures almost disappeared, and (very) large land estate became hegemonic, driving to an extremely polarized property structure.

308.2. Emphyteusis contracts and economic growth in 18th-century Brazil

Manoela PEDROZA, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil

The purpose of this communication is to stress the specific form of the so-called economic and agricultural growth in 19th-century Brazil, illustrated by the coffee and slave plantation in the province of Rio de Janeiro, and the manner in which emphyteusis contracts were used to become effective this growth. We will use as main source the records of emphyteuts (foreiros) and other information about them produced by the Superintendency of the Imperial Farm of Santa Cruz, nowadays a specific fund in the National Archives of Brazil. We will emphasize how these contracts were required and manipulated by the “emphyteuts of the emperor” in the struggle for property rights with other social agents, especially to pass over rights of squatters previously in place.

On the other hand, we will also see how the contracts clauses were disobeyed and what were the social results of the emphyteuts in doing so. We will relate the obtaining of an emphyteusis with the formation of the slave farms of coffee. Finally, we will follow some trajectories and the enrichment of some emphyteuts, in order to insert the emphyteutic contract as another shortcut for the accumulation of a few men who could benefit from it. We will see that this growth used the emphyteutic contracts to transfer public lands to private domain and to cheapen the formation costs of the slave farms.

308.3. Punctuated Equilibrium: Technological Change and the Radical Restructuring of the U.S. Rice Industry, 1885-1915

Peter A. COCLANIS, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, U.S.A.

This paper focuses on a drastic disruption in the U.S. rice industry that occurred in the states of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and California in the period between about 1885 and 1915 CE. Due to competitive pressures occasioned by global market integration and lingering disruptions due to the American Civil War, groups of highly networked farmers, entrepreneurs, and bankers transformed rice production in the U.S. into a highly mechanized, capital-intensive crop cultivated on huge parcels of land with little labor. This mode of producing rice was a first in world history, but was later introduced successfully into other parts of the world as well.

308.4. The limitations of agricultural growth in the Andean world: The way of working of haciendas, 19th and 20th centuries

Pablo F. LUNA, Sorbonne Université and EHESS, France

Some haciendas of the Andean world, between the 19th century and the middle of the 20th century, have certainly responded to the international demand for agricultural raw materials and natural products. Others haciendas and *latifundia* remained on the sidelines of this evolution and made the Andean countryside appear as places globally impervious to progress and agricultural growth.

Low investment of fixed and variable capital (with exceptions) has often been mentioned as a factor determining economic backwardness. Another explanation was the hiring conditions (called pre capitalist conditions) of a low-skilled and sometimes small workforce, which also contributed to this productive and technological backwardness.

There has even been talk of a close relationship and mutual support between these two realities, namely, the low capital investment and the lack of freedom of work (with a reduced place given to wage labor). This would have explained the persistence of a backward or unfinished capitalism. The hacienda could live with a labor force that was very low-paid because it was captive, and this labor force would have accepted the place given to it by its inertia and by the absence of other possibilities.

Panel 309. Global Connections, Rural Translations: Circulations of expertise and technology between the rural and the global in the 19th and 20th centuries – Part 1

Organisers:

Elizabeth WILLIAMS, University of Massachusetts Lowell, USA

James SIMPSON, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

Chair: Paul BRASSLEY, University of Exeter, UK

Discussant: Paul BRASSLEY, University of Exeter, UK

Innovations and developments in the rural sphere often have connections to broader global circulations of technology and expertise. This double panel highlights the multi-faceted and perhaps unexpected connections that come to light when these global intersections that merge in the rural local are explored. Bringing together methodologies from the history of technology, economic history, and environmental history, the papers on this panel examine circulations of expertise and technology as a multi-sited process of exchange and translation. They expose complex networks that challenge uni-directional narratives of progress and complicate notions of transfer. Spanning multiple continents and substantial periods of time, the papers consider the variety of local ecological particularities, social circumstances, or economic conditions that the translation of ideas and theories into local practice. Rejection of concepts or activities deemed “modern” or was not necessarily reactionary, but a measured, rational response based on local knowledge. On the other hand, “modern” or methods often owed more to prior practices than discourses about them were willing to acknowledge. The papers are global and multi-faceted in their scope, examining these connections and intersections from a variety of perspectives. They cover rural development in Tanzania, forestry practices spanning the North Atlantic, Italian wheat experiments in Ethiopia, rural assistance programs in the Balkans and Middle East, cattle breeding in South India, technological change in wine production between Europe and the New World, transatlantic exchanges of ideas about agrarian reform, and circulations of dry farming expertise within the Mediterranean and beyond.

309.1. Why did it take the New World so long to produce fine wines? Technological change and wine quality, 1850-1939

James SIMPSON, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

This paper is divided into four sections. The first looks briefly at the importance of marked demand in the creation of fine wines in Europe between the late 17th and mid 19th centuries. Section two considers the experience of technological change in wine-making in the Old World (in particular, France and Algeria) at the turn of the 20th century. Section three argues that by 1900 there were rapid advances on eliminating the obstacles to successful wine-making in hot climates, with information being diffused globally among scientists and producers in both the Old and New World. Finally, section four shows how the New World industry developed its own production structures according to the nature of market demand, and concludes that it was only when these markets became more discriminating that fine wine production became possible, encouraging change, or leading to producers exiting from the industry.

309.2. Managing North American forests, the European way? The remaking of the northeastern Canadian countryside and the circulation of forestry theories and practices across the North Atlantic (1900-1940)

Lisalou MARTONE, Université Lumière Lyon 2, France, and Université d'Ottawa, Canada

In the late 19th century, a movement of internationalization of sciences combined with a general belief in technological progress and economic pressures on forest resources, gave rise to the development of scientific exchanges tied to forest management and conservation between the two sides of the North Atlantic. European forestry being at that time considered a model to follow, North American foresters were sent to Europe to learn about its methods. The north-eastern Canadian provinces, which can be considered as a biological and cultural contact zone between Europe and North America, were at that time one of the battlegrounds of the war between proponents of agricultural settlement and advocates of forest conservation. As such, they constitute an interesting case study to observe how, throughout the first half of the 20th century, the development of Canadian forestry in the eastern provinces was influenced by the circulation of forest knowledge and practices developed in Europe and its colonies. Drawing on a wide range of archival sources documenting the diverse technical, scientific, and cultural perspectives that shaped forestry exchanges at the transatlantic level, I will explore how the circulation of knowledge, tree seedlings, and foresters resulted in the hybridization of both the forest environments and the foresters' practices within the transatlantic “contact zone,” at moment of intense global scientific colonization of the countryside.

309.3. Rural Assistance for Relief and Rehabilitation: NEF & UNRRA

Joshua THEW, *The Graduate Institute, Switzerland*

My research will place the Near East Foundation (NEF), its role and actors, within the context of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) that operated from 1943-1947. The humanitarian needs of the Second World War provided the context for UNRRA's mandate to operate; however, the actors and intermediary agencies that carried out programs and projects came with the experience of previous institutions and environments that contextualize their roles in UNRRA. In 1930, NEF was established as an American philanthropic organization transitioning from palliative relief operations to programs of practical rural education in the former Ottoman lands. UNRRA as an organization profited from NEF's expertise in its Balkan and Middle East operations, and this research seeks to examine the continuity of actors and their ideas in camp welfare, agriculture reconstruction, and health and sanitation training. The analysis will reveal how UNRRA utilized both international experts and local actors from the NEF. Additionally, the research will look at the roles and responsibilities of the employees in UNRRA including agriculture reconstruction, livestock improvement, home & camp welfare, health and sanitation training, and rehabilitation for the disabled. Finally, the investigation would go beyond UNRRA's brief existence to follow these NEF & UNRRA actors and ideas during the Cold War examining the continuity with UN organizations through technical assistance.

309.4. Forced optimism and the politics of knowledge in rural development in Tanzania

Felicitas BECKER, *Universiteit Gent, Belgium and University of Cambridge, UK*

Both during colonialism and after, rural development in Africa has been described by historians and anthropologists predominantly as a practice imposed by states seeking to expand their reach and entrench their presence in rural areas. The present paper draws on a long-term study of rural development in Lindi and Mtwara Regions, Southern Tanzania, to complicate this account. These were areas that were and remain marginal to cash crop production and were relegated to the status of food producers for plantation areas elsewhere. In this context, rural development initiatives often started with local or regional officials seeking to mitigate the embarrassment of poor tax collections or localised famines. Provincial officials struggled to engage the central state and obtain funding. In the process, they deployed what I refer to as 'forced optimism' to enhance the appeal of the initiatives they sought funding for. In the administrative interactions that ensued, claims to knowledge were carefully balanced with claims to ignorance, as the latter could provide justification for the often poor outcomes of the initiatives. Well-known problems were 'discovered' several times over to explain embarrassing failures. These processes suggest that the assertive rhetoric of development at times reflects not only the arrogance, assertiveness or ignorance of large-scale international institutions, but also a carefully-dissimulated desperation among the people tasked with making programmes work.



Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Récolte des pommes de terre*, 1877 (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria).

Panel 310. Bringing back the Agrarian Question. Territories and Sustainability in Latin America from a Global Perspective (1900-2018) – Part 1

Organiser: Elisa BOTELLA RODRÍGUEZ, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain

Chair: Wilson PICADO UMAÑA, Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica, Costa Rica

Discussant: Ángel Luis GONZÁLEZ ESTEBAN, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

The agrarian question is a historical, persistent and structural problem in Latin America, the most unequal region worldwide. Land is even more unequal in the region than income distribution where the Gini for income is 0.48 compared with 0.79 for land (OXFAM, 2016). Since the early 1900s, land inequality has been the root of struggles and revolutions in the subcontinent. Mexico during the Revolution (“La tierra para quien la trabaja”, claimed by Emiliano Zapata), the Cuban Revolution or the MST in Brazil. These tensions also enhanced continuing State-led interventions to redistribute land from large landowners to the peasantry. However, Import Substitution Industrialisation placed agriculture in a secondary role while State-led programmes resulted in a new era of agriculture capitalism. Leaving behind and accelerating the disappearance of old rural oligarchies dominant in the subcontinent until 1945, land was re-concentrated by old or new owners versus the limited role of small farmers in the new process of modernisation and agricultural growth. However, some spaces remained for autonomous indigenous communities, cooperatives and peasant economies. They had an active role in different land reforms processes.

The Global Food Crisis (2007-2008) and the increasing role of transnational peasant movements reopened the debate on land redistribution and the role of small farmers to produce food for national consumption. The rise of forest conservation policies, extractivism based on agribusiness plantations and large scale mining, and international drug nets also shaped the dimensions and features of the new agrarian question in the region. Whereas the land problem was mainly focussed on concentration, land tenancy and agricultural modernisation during the 20th Century, land is currently more attached to environmental services appropriation, communal and ethnical rights, ecological awareness and the expansion of GMOs and agrofuels. This panel offers a multidisciplinary and updated debate on the land question and its new dimensions in Latin America. Accordingly, we call for research on the complexity of agrarian change in the region as well as the study of global and local processes at the territorial level. Finally, long-term historical research and proposals on the new dimensions and characteristics of the agrarian question in Latin America are very welcome.

310.1. De facto Agrarian Reform in Costa Rica. Trends on Monoculture, Forest and Land Tenancy since 1950

Elisa. BOTELLA-RODRÍGUEZ, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain,

Wilson PICADO-UMAÑA, Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica, Costa Rica

This paper explores Costa Rica's agrarian structure since the early 1950s. Like other Latin American countries, this small economy never implemented a 'true' redistributive agrarian reform. In reality market forces and agrarian policies enhanced territorial changes that significantly transformed Costa Rican land tenancy in the long term. In the early 1950s the market began to redistribute land in a significant scale to promote traditional monocultures (mainly coffee, sugarcane and banana). In the 1980s 'Agriculture of Change' sponsored the shift from traditional to non-traditional export crops (more lucrative in international markets) such as pineapple and African Palm as well as forest plantations. In this context the state played an ambivalent role. From 1960 to 1990, the state tried to implement land redistribution programmes based on peasant settlements and colonies to stop rural struggles and small farmers' mobilisations against large owners. However, this partial intervention was generally directed to specific regions and flawed to modify land tenancy across the country. In 1970 the state also began to develop forest conservation policies based on national parks creation. Costa Rica shifted from being extensively dependent on grazing lands (*pastizal*) to a country strongly supported by forest plantations. These developments also transformed the state in 'an ecological land owner'. The government created an Environmental Payments Systems to favour forest conservation that ended up concentrating financial benefits in large landowner and private plantations. The outcome of these parallel processes and tensions has been the creation of a new land concentration phenomenon in Costa Rica.

310.2. The exhausted nature. The expansion of the agricultural frontier in Argentina and its socio-environmental impact (1980-2017)

Adrian ZARRILLI, *Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, Argentina*

The expansion of the agricultural frontier associated with the important growth of agricultural products in Argentina at the end of the 20th and 21st century, driven mainly by the great expansion of soybean cultivation, has produced one of the greatest economic, social, demographic and environmental changes in contemporary Argentina.

Blessing or curse? Soy, as the dominant crop of the last decades in Argentine agriculture, has been celebrated by some sectors, as demonized by others. For some, it is the crop that has allowed the recovery of the Argentine economy due to its high productivity and profitability and its positive impact on the trade balance of the last two decades. They emphasize the flexibility of the crop, the simplicity of its management and the high impact of its technological package, sustained in a model integrated by direct sowing, transgenic seeds and the generalized application of herbicides. For others, the cultivation of this oilseed triggers rapid deforestation of native forests, concentrates wealth in large corporations, destroys rural jobs, expels indigenous communities, annihilates biological diversity, and deteriorates environmental quality and affects human health. How much is there of myth and reality in this bid often biased by economic, political or ideological interests? This work will seek to clarify some critical and controversial aspects of this debate.

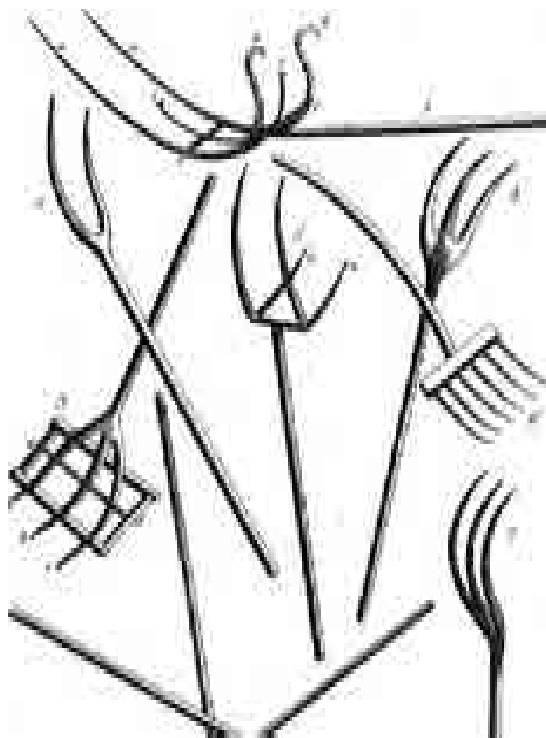
310.3. Resilience and Adaptation in the Mexican Countryside (1990-2017)

Gustavo GORDILLO-DE ANDA, *Centro Latinoamericano de estudios para el desarrollo, Mexico*

Cesar SUAREZ ORTIZ, *Secretaria de Desarrollo Urbano, Territorial y Agrario, Mexico*

Led by the translation of Chayanov's writings into English, the 1960s witnessed a new wave of research regarding peasants, peasant societies, and their relationship alongside processes of capitalist development. Scholars such as Teodor Shanin, Eric Wolf, Henri Mendras, and James Scott challenged the dominant notions of "peasant," and produced new understandings of a "peasant logic"; qualitatively different from a market logic, and operating within a system of social relations and institutions designed in support of subsistence. In this paper, we reconsider these arguments in the context of contemporary Mexico. In particular, we ask: what does the peasant economy look like following the advent of globalization and the emergence of the neoliberal state? In what ways, and to what extent has the peasant economy adapted to, and resisted, marketization?

In this paper, we present a conceptual framework for analyzing the contemporary peasant production system. We begin from the premise that peasants are necessarily embedded within a market system. However, we argue that peasant societies do not fully integrate, but rather employ various "coping strategies", notably (a) risk diversification and (b) exploitation of family labor, as a means of sustaining livelihoods. We examine these arguments using the ejido reforms of 1991-1992, and its implications. We conclude with an analysis of key challenges and potential policy solutions.



Fourches, M. Boitard, *instruments aratoires*, Paris, 1833, Planche 34 © Bnf..

NE POUR LA PEINE



L'Homme de Village

Tous les jours au milieu d'un Champ
Par la Chaleur par la froidure
L'on voit le Pauvre Paysan

Travailler tant que l'année dure
Pour amasser par son labeur
De quoi payer le Collecteur.

A Paris chez Bayot rue de la Harpe au coin de celle des Mathurins De son Magazin de Papiers en Rouleaux

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>401.</p> <p>The destruction, integration, and “harmonisation” of agrarian and rural associations in European dictatorships during the interwar period – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Miguel Cabo, Juan Pan-Montojo, Lourenzo Fernández Prieto, Daniel Lanero Táboas</p> <p>Chair: Ernst Langthaler</p>	<p>401.1.</p> <p>“Politization” of peasant economic and social organizations during dictatorship in interwar period (Slovenia in 1930s)</p> <p>Zarko Lazarevic</p>	<p>401.2.</p> <p>Regulated Self-Regulation of Agriculture during the Interwar Period: The Austrian Case</p> <p>Ulrich Schwarz-Gräber</p>	<p>401.3.</p> <p>Control Practices of the collective organisation in the Greek rural space during the Metaxas’ dictatorship</p> <p>Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis</p>	<p>401.4.</p> <p>Establishment of a bank in a Balkan rural state of the interwar period: the Greek trader will win and the Bank will not be harmed</p> <p>Virginia-Anastasia Fournari, Evangelos Prontzas</p>		<p>PANEL 401</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_33</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>402.</p> <p>Service and the Labour Laws in Comparative Perspective: Europe 1300-1850 – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Jane Whittle, Thijs Lambrecht</p> <p>Chair: Jane Whittle</p>	<p>402.1.</p> <p>The 1563 Statute of Artificers Service and labour regulation in early modern England</p> <p>Charmian Mansell</p>	<p>402.2.</p> <p>Labour legislation in the Southern Low Countries, c. 1600-c. 1820</p> <p>Thijs Lambrecht</p>	<p>402.3.</p> <p>Exposed Lives: Compulsory Service and ‘Vagrancy’ Practices in Sweden in the 1830s</p> <p>Theresa Johnson</p>	<p>402.4.</p> <p>Peasant estate representatives or employers? How peasant MPs in the Swedish Estate Diet understood servants’ labour and labour laws</p> <p>Carolina Uppenberg</p>		<p>PANEL 402</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_9</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>403.</p> <p>Rural Grain Markets in Early Modern Europe (16th-18th centuries) – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers : Luca Mocarrelli, Giulio Ongaro</p> <p>Chair: Luca Mocarrelli</p>	<p>403.1.</p> <p>Grain loss and grain market: Impact and economic strategies (Northern Italy, 17th-18th century)</p> <p>Laura Prosperi</p>	<p>403.2.</p> <p>Grain Prices, Living Standards and Social Conflict in 18th-century Normandy</p> <p>Cédric Chambru, Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu</p>	<p>403.3.</p> <p>England and Scotland as grain exporters in the mid-18th century</p> <p>Richard Hoyle</p>			<p>PANEL 403</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_17</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>404.</p> <p>Social Players and the Diffusion of Agronomic Knowledge and Technical Innovation in the European Countryside (end 18th-early 20th centuries) – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Laurent Brassart, Corinne Marache, Andrea Maria Locatelli, Paolo Tedeschi</p> <p>Chair : Andrea Maria Locatelli</p>	<p>404.1.</p> <p>A 19th-century military-agricultural farmer</p> <p>Gaetano Morese</p>	<p>404.2.</p> <p>The Napoleonic Agricultural Policy (1799-1815): A good or a bad business for the Landowners Notables?</p> <p>Laurent Brassart</p>	<p>404.3.</p> <p>Actions and structures promoting agricultural progress in Dordogne (France) in the 19th century</p> <p>Corinne Marache</p>			<p>PANEL 404</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_15</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>405.</p> <p>The Nutrition Transition and Beyond: Dietary Change in the World since 1945 – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Fernando Collantes, Ernst Langthaler</p> <p>Chair: Ernst Langthaler</p>	<p>405.1.</p> <p>Let Them Eat Beef? Changes in Global Beef Consumption since World War II</p> <p>Claire Strom</p>	<p>405.2.</p> <p>Food Sovereignty in Western Europe, 1961-2016</p> <p>Marc Rivas López</p>	<p>405.3.</p> <p>A Quality Turn After the Nutrition Transition? The Reorientation of Dairy Consumption in Spain since the 1990s</p> <p>Fernando Collantes</p>	<p>405.4.</p> <p>The Impact of the End of Communism on Diet in East-Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union</p> <p>Daniel Brett, Denes Stefler</p>		<p>PANEL 405</p> <p>Amphitheatre</p> <p>François Furet</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>406.</p> <p>Rural Epistemologies in Dialogue: The Production of Knowledge in Peripheral Region in the 19–20th Centuries – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Dietlind Hüchtker, Corinne Geering Chair: Joanna Rozmus</p>	<p>406.1.</p> <p>Betwixt and Between: A Schoolteacher in Rural Western Ukraine</p> <p>Matthias Kaltenbrunner</p>	<p>406.2.</p> <p>Epistemological dialogue in rural communities of the Po Valley, 19th-20th centuries. Schools, fairs and reinforcement of sanitation</p> <p>Luciano Maffi, Martino Lorenzo Fagnani</p>	<p>406.3.</p> <p>Science, Folklore, Identity. Rural Physicians as Agents of Modernization in mid-19th century Bavaria</p> <p>Manuel Trummer</p>	<p>406.4.</p> <p>Body knowledge: Youth and the Countryside during the People's Republic of Poland</p> <p>Dietlind Hüchtker</p>		<p>PANEL 406</p> <p>Room 8</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>407.</p> <p>Agricultural Estates, Land and Labour in the Ottoman Empire, Eastern Europe and the North Western Mediterranean: A Comparative Approach – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Elias Kolovos Chair: Yücel Terzibaşoğlu</p>	<p>407.1.</p> <p>Search for a Comparative Perspective for the Study of Rural Labour in the Mediterranean: Rural Labour between Mobility and Immobility in the 19th Century Balkans and Western Anatolia</p> <p>Alp Yücel Kaya</p>	<p>407.2.</p> <p>Unfree Labour in the Peasant and Manorial Economy in Poland during the Age of Growth (15th-1st half of the 17th century)</p> <p>Piotr Guzowski</p>	<p>407.3.</p> <p>Landlords and Sharecroppers of the Landed Estates in the Hinterland of Salonica in the Late 19th Century</p> <p>Dilek Akyalçın Kaya</p>	<p>407.4.</p> <p>Landlords and Sharecroppers in Wine Producing Regions: Beaujolais, Catalonia and Tuscany, 1800-1930</p> <p>Juan Carmona</p>		<p>PANEL 407</p> <p>Room 7</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>408.</p> <p>American Pathways of Agricultural Growth – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Pablo F. Luna, Alejandro Tortolero Chair: Alejandro Tortolero</p>	<p>408.1.</p> <p>New and old modernity in the Andes: Translating Green Revolution for small farmers. Andean crops, a local development icon for development programs</p> <p>Antonio Chamorro</p>	<p>408.2.</p> <p>Household Farming to Agribusiness: The United States from the Colonial Era to the 1850s</p> <p>Stephen J. Miller</p>	<p>408.3.</p> <p>The mexican path toward agrarian capitalism (19th and 20th centuries)</p> <p>Alejandro Tortolero</p>	<p>408.4.</p> <p>Transitions towards Agrarian Capitalism in Chile: Central Chile and the Frontier</p> <p>Claudio Robles-Ortiz</p>		<p>PANEL 408</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_01</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>409.</p> <p>Global Connections, Rural Translations: Circulations of expertise and technology between the rural and the global in the 19th and 20th centuries – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Elizabeth Williams, James Simpson Chair: Juan Pan-Montojo</p>	<p>409.1.</p> <p>Expertise from the Translator's Perspective: The Transatlantic Travels of Agrarian Reformer Carl S. Vrooman (1898-1920s)</p> <p>Jean-Louis Marin-Lamellet</p>	<p>409.2.</p> <p>Rethinking circulations of expertise and the emergence of the discourse and practice of dry farming, 1860-1925</p> <p>Elizabeth Williams</p>	<p>409.3.</p> <p>Cattle, Science and the Pursuit of Development in urban Mysore along the fringes of British-Empire, South India, 1900-1947</p> <p>Varsha Patel</p>	<p>409.4.</p> <p>Lessons from the Imperial Highlands. Italian Agrarian Expertise and the "Battles for Grain" in Ethiopia (1938-1941)</p> <p>Michele Sollai</p>		<p>PANEL 409</p> <p>Room</p> <p>BS1_05</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>410.</p> <p>Bringing back the Agrarian Question. Territories and Sustainability in Latin America from a Global Perspective (1900-2018) – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Elisa Botella Rodríguez Chair: Wilson Picado Umaña</p>	<p>410.1.</p> <p>Cooperation, collective action and the development of organic coffee growing in Central America: the case of Chiapas (1970-2018)</p> <p>Albert Folch, Jordi Planas</p>	<p>410.2.</p> <p>Return to the land in the Bolivian Southern Altiplano. New "campesinos quinoeros" between countryside's attractiveness and price volatility.</p> <p>Francesca Uleri</p>	<p>410.3.</p> <p>Social dynamics in the Frailesca region of Chiapas: Between ejidatarios and "the others"</p> <p>Alma Amalia González Cabañas</p>			<p>PANEL 410</p> <p>Room 2</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel 401. The destruction, integration, and “harmonisation” of agrarian and rural associations in European dictatorships during the interwar period – Part 2

Organisers:

Juan Pan-MONTOJO, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Lourenzo Fernández PRIETO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Daniel LANERO TABOAS, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Miguel Cabo, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Discussant: Nigel SWAIN, University of Liverpool, UK

The period between the 1880s and the First World War saw an astonishing wave of creation of agrarian and rural associations (cooperatives, saving banks, cattle insurance societies, resistance leagues, parties...) in Europe. This movement adopted very different forms according to the features of the agrarian systems, the cultural background, and the legal and political framework, but from the Iberian Peninsula to the Czarist Empire and from Scandinavia to the Balkans, it can be said that all countries witnessed a process of self-organisation and organisation from outside rural society of the rural masses. These development implied seminal changes in many beyond the economic one, particularly if one assumes the neo-Tocquevillian theory (as the likes of Robert Putnam do) that the health of democracy is rooted on the density and variety of associations in the civil society.

Historiography has dealt with this phenomenon but has also neglected a crucial dimension: their abrupt end in a wide range of countries between the 1920s and the 1940s. What happened to these organisations and the huge social, economic and cultural capital they implied, under the dictatorships, which triumphed in many European countries during the Interwar period? Did their disappearance mean a capital loss? How far did the new regimes take advantage of their resources? Did anti-pluralistic regimes manage to impose fully their state-led alternatives or did forms of negotiation and compromise take place with the previous associations? How was the interaction between national actors and policies with local actors and needs? How was the interaction between formal and informal forms of representing collective interests in the countryside under dictatorial rule? What did the period under authoritarian regimes mean, if we look at the long run, from the point of view of the collective action in the countryside? Was it simply a parenthesis or rather a peculiar phase in a secular process?

401.1. “Politization” of peasant economic and social organizations during dictatorship in interwar period (Slovenia in 1930s)

Miguel CABO Miguel Cabo, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Zarko LAZAREVIC, Institute of Contemporary History, Slovenia

The purpose of the paper is to present the importance of the agricultural organizations in Slovenia in the thirty years of the Yugoslavia. In January 1929 a royal dictatorship was introduced. The presentation will show how political parties transformed ways of political action through rural economic, social and cultural organizations after the introduction of the dictatorship. Focus will be on the case of the Slovene People's Party, a party of the Catholic political orientation sovereign in Slovenia since the end of the 19th century.

The party put the peasants (80% of the population) at the heart of national ideology. Another reason for political domination were rural organizations. The party had built an extensive network of economic (cooperative), social (rural youth, women, etc.) and cultural organizations. The cooperative network gave the Catholic political camp a half-century dominance in the political space of Slovenia. The co-operative facilitated the economic modernization of the countryside. The same can be said for social and cultural organizations that stimulated (symbolic and real) social affirmation of the peasant population. The network of various organizations was fully established under the Habsburg Monarchy. This network was the source of the political power of the Catholic political camp even after 1918, when Slovenia entered the Yugoslav state. It operated until the end of the Second World War, when the new Communists demolished it after 1945.

401.2. Regulated Self-Regulation of Agriculture during the Interwar Period: The Austrian Case

Ulrich SCHWARZ-GRÄBER, Institute of Rural History, Austria

Recent academic literature on agricultural policy during the first half of the 20th century has foregrounded the trend of the growing state intervention into rural economies. In the case of Austria, agricultural associations played a crucial role as intermediaries in this process. This paper will explore the development of these intermediaries during the period between 1922 and 1938, covering the transition from a liberal-democratic political environment into the fascist regimes of Austro-fascism and Nazism. By analysing institutional changes as well as the continuities of the leading agricultural organisations in Austria throughout regime changes, this paper will discuss questions of adaptability and flexibility of corporatist arrangements, different modes of regulation, as well as a general shift of power relations between agents of the state and the local field of powers in the countryside during this period.

401.3. Control Practices of the collective organisation in the Greek rural space during the Metaxas' dictatorship

Dimitris ANGELIS-DIMAKIS, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Our objective is to look into the development of the collective forms of organisation in the Greek rural space during the dictatorship of Metaxas (1936-1940). More specifically, we will examine the way in which the 4th of August regime tried to incorporate the existing collective organisations in the context of the prevailing agricultural policy. Firstly we will give a first picture of both the collective organisation in the countryside and the policies employed in the past few years. Then, we will concentrate on the measures adopted by the Metaxas' regime for the cooperative policy. The foundation, through the law of 1938, of the Confederation of the Agricultural Cooperatives of Greece and the establishment of the Under-Secretariat for Cooperatives a year later, will be two of our focus points. Furthermore, we will examine the other legislative initiatives which reflect the efforts to control the collective forms of organisation. The introduction of new institutions, as for example the Farmer's Homes, as well as the relations developed between the regime and the Agricultural Bank of Greece, which had been entrusted with the supervision of the cooperatives since 1929, will also be studied. Finally, we will explore the main aspects of the agrarian discourse of the regime.

We will try to register the Greek example in the broader context of other European authoritarian regimes, namely with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera which lasted from 1923 up to 1930.

401.4. Establishment of a bank in a Balkan rural state of the interwar period: The Greek trader will win and the Bank will not be harmed

Virginia-Anastasia FURNARI and Evangelos PRONTZAS, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Greece

The economic policy, following the defeats of the Balkan states and the exchange of populations, is determined by the specialization of the banking system in rural credit. The diversification of agricultural income and the political behavior of peasants per region is determined by the composition of farms, the dispersal of cooperatives and the regional distribution of short-term funding. The economic stalemate and the extent of starvation in rural society, within the social and political expectations created by the establishment and operation of an agricultural bank, direct the short-term policy towards long-term advances, the initiation of farmers in the return of loans, the political perception of the role of agricultural cooperations. The decline in prices causes the Balkan farmer to face the cost of production as the various taxes, insurance, living expenses, and in particular the interest on crop loans, which burden the inelastic production costs, are not changed. The impact of the fall in agricultural prices and the associated crisis is more about the net income of market-oriented agricultural holdings rather than those supporting self-cultivation production, differentiated by small-scale vs. large-scale exploitation.

As a charitable organization, the Agricultural Bank of Greece has no obligation to distribute a dividend since it has no shareholders. The doctrine of faith in its function is that 'all traders must make profits and the bank should not make any losses.'

Panel 402. Service and the Labour Laws in Comparative Perspective: Europe 1300-1850 – Part 2

Organisers:

Jane WHITTLE, University of Exeter, UK

Thijs Lambrecht, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Chair: Jane WHITTLE, University of Exeter, UK

Discussant: Hanne ØSTHUS, Universität Bonn, Germany

This session explores the dynamic relationship between labour laws and the institution of service in a range of European countries. Service was ubiquitous in rural Europe, and servants were the most heavily regulated part of the paid rural labour force. Surprisingly, there has never been a comparative history of the labour laws in this period. What is more, historians of the labour laws have tended to concentrate on the regulation of wages, rather than the form in which labour was provided. Labour regulations sought to control many aspects of service as well as wages, such as the length of contracts, broken contracts, the types of payments (in cash or in kind) by which servants were paid, and mobility of servants. However, perhaps the most striking clauses were those that placed young people in compulsory service, even if they already had somewhere to live or were earning wages from day labouring. This type of regulation was common in the early modern period in many European countries and demonstrates the preference of regulating authorities (local and national governments) for unmarried people to work as servants rather than labourers. The papers in will explore the relationship between labour laws and service but examining the nature of the laws, who created them and why, the forms of labour and types of worker they envisaged, the implications of the laws for the rural labour market, the implications of the laws for ideas about work and social control, and how and to what extent the laws were enforced in different regions.

402.1. The 1563 Statute of Artificers: Service and labour regulation in early modern England

Charmian MANSELL, Queen Mary University of London, UK

This paper outlines the key features of the Statute of Artificers, which was introduced in 1563 to regulate labour and wages in England. Primarily it was a codification of previous existing legislation, and placed the responsibility for setting wage rates and policing master-servant relations in the hands of local magistrates (Justices of the Peace). This paper firstly considers the context in which the Statute was introduced and summarises the social and economic importance of young people being placed in the structured, disciplined institution of service. Focusing on the policy of enforcement of compulsory service, the paper also explores the impact of this legislation upon society and the extent to which it was enforced. Evidence of men and women presented before the Quarter Sessions (county-level courts) for 'living without a master' will be discussed and compared with incidental evidence from church court depositions from South West England of men and women living by their own means. The paper will demonstrate that the labour laws were primarily enforced only in specific circumstances and in particular regions of 16th- and 17th-centuries England.

402.2 Labour legislation in the Southern Low Countries, c. 1600-c. 1820

Thijs LAMBRECHT, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

This paper analyses labour legislation on farm servants in c. 30 rural parishes and districts in the Southern Low Countries during the 17th and 18th centuries. The results show that the early modern period was characterised by a geographical extension of labour legislation compared to the late middle ages. The introduction of labour legislation was linked to local and regional demographic developments. In many cases labour market regulation accelerated when societies were confronted with upswings in mortality. Whereas demographic developments – and a decrease in the number of servants in particular – largely explain the *timing* of the introduction of labour legislation, there are some marked regional contrasts in the *type* of labour legislation that was introduced. In 'peasant' regions labour legislation was relatively mild and tended to treat servants and their employers on an equal footing. In regions characterized by large farms, on the other hand, labour laws were more disadvantageous to servants. Here, legislation was constructed to undermine the bargaining position of servants and, in some cases, compulsory service was introduced to guarantee the supply of labour.

402.3. Exposed Lives: Compulsory Service and 'Vagrancy' Practices in Sweden in the 1830s

Theresa JOHANSSON, Uppsala University, Sweden

Ubiquitous across Western Europe, compulsory service in conjunction with Master and Servant Acts formed part of a system of interacting legal institutions targeting the labouring poor. In Sweden, compulsory service was practiced with its own varying peculiarities until 1885; failure to comply could lead to being labelled a vagrant. Each year throughout the 1800s thousands of arrests could be made for violation of compulsory service and other interrelated ordinances, but despite the large number of people affected, Swedish historians have shown little interest in the practices of compulsory service and other vagrancy regulations. This paper highlights the crucial relationships between the labouring poor, local elites, and state authorities in relation to compulsory service practices. Drawing from a wide range of sources, I discuss how these practices were shaped and how they affected the everyday lives of the labouring poor in the county of Västmanland in the 1830s. Highlighting restrictions on agency, social inequalities and class-based conflicts, my research provides new knowledge on important aspects of the living conditions of the labouring poor in 19th-century Sweden.

402.4. Peasant estate representatives or employers? How peasant MPs in the Swedish Estate Diet understood servants' labour and labour laws

Carolina UPPENBERG, Lund University, Sweden

The Servant Acts in Sweden regulated labour in order to ensure farmers' supply of workers, to order the landless population, to maintain hierarchical relationships and to organize labour in the servant contract rather than as casual labour. As such, the Acts regulated the behaviour and the scope of action for both servants and their masters. But masters belonging to the peasant farmers' estate also had an influence over legislation by political representation in the Diet of the four estates. How did they use that influence to act upon the Servant Acts, and what could their arguments reveal about their understanding of labour as such? In this paper, peasant politicians' views on the Servant Acts are analyzed as the Acts were debated in the parliament, from the debates about the last Servant Act in 1833 up until the repeal of compulsory service in 1885. The overarching theme is the role of the peasant estate in modernization and the advent of free labour, as well as the institutional perspective of how power relations influence the long-run economic development.



En Périgord, le gavage des oies, vers 1900, carte postale © MUCEM.

Panel 403. Rural Grain Markets in Early Modern Europe (16th-18th centuries) – Part 2

Organisers:

Luca MOCARELLI, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Giulio ONGARO, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Chair: LUCA MOCARELLI, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Discussant: Ulrich PFISTER, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany

In the last years, many researches analysed the functioning of the markets in pre-industrial Europe, and particularly the level of integration of the international markets. More, other authors focused on the relationship between market integration and economic development. These researches were mainly based on quantitative (price series) and qualitative analysis on the grain markets, considering them a functional case study in order to focus on the commercial exchanges in Early Modern Europe. In spite of the relevant results achieved, many elements remain unclear: the most part of the researches relied on small databases. Few markets, exclusively urban markets (while around 60% of the population relied on rural markets), that do not allow to understand the numerous levels of the grain markets. Second, after the outlining of the degree of integration, we have to understand the underlying dynamics: the role played by the institutions, of the commercial networks, of the relationship between production, demand and distribution in the shaping of the markets.

The panel aims to start a discussion on these elements, focusing on the rural grain markets.

European countries in the Early Modern period. Main topics will be:

- The price series of grains in rural markets;*
- The regulation of the grain commerce in the rural areas;*
- The integration and the relationship between rural markets and urban ones;*
- The economic players: merchants, salesmen, and so on;*
- The relationship between rural markets and agricultural production;*
- The relationship between rural markets and the trend of the food demand.*

403.1. Grain loss and grain market: Impact and economic strategies (Northern Italy, 17th-18th century)

Laura PROSPERI, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Surprisingly enough, so far a scant curiosity has emerged for solutions set up to tackle food loss in the past. As a part of a wider study, this paper aims at providing a broad historical overview on the still widely disregarded phenomenon of poor grain preservation in order to prove its crucial role within the food landscape of pre-industrial Europe. Customary and inescapable yearly grain stock reduction will be analyzed along with exceptional events leading to outstanding and rare cereal losses. According to a quantitative and qualitative perspective of the phenomenon and drawing my data from the historical setting of early modern Duchy of Milan combined with the Republic of Venice, I will provide some data useful to grasp supply-loss impact on the grain distribution system.

403.2. Grain Prices, Living Standards and Social Conflict in 18th-century Normandy

Cédric CHAMBRU, Université de Genève, Switzerland

Paul MANEUVRIER-HERVIEU, Normandie Université, France and Université de Genève, Switzerland

This paper uses prices information relating to 5 grains markets and wage data for skilled and unskilled workers to analyse the evolution of living standards in 18th-century Normandy. Recent research suggest that real wage levels, an important factor in Allen's theory of Industrial Revolution, were probably underestimated in France outside Paris. We take up the case of Normandy, a wealthy province northwest of Paris that accounted for 10 per cent of the total French population, to bring new evidence to the debate. In pre-industrial economies, crop shortages could be a factor of economic and demographic stress. Combining these new data with detailed information on food riots and demographic series derived (births and deaths) from parish records, we analyse how the price volatility of urban and rural markets could influence the daily life of commoners. We shed light on the role of provincial administration in the mitigation of these episodes of prices volatility. We also use original municipal archives of markets records to exemplify the functioning of grains rural markets during the French Revolution.

403.3. England and Scotland as grain exporters in the mid-18th century

Richard HOYLE, University of Reading, UK

It may come as a surprise that in the 18th century until about 1775 Britain was a net exporter of grain. That this was so was well known at the time and gross figures for the scale of the trade have been available since the 18th century. After about 1775 the export trade became more and more intermittent and by the end of the Napoleonic wars both England and Scotland were net importers.

If the dimensions of the trade have been well known, what has been less well understood is where the grain went. The port books for the eighteenth century, which recorded the sailing of ships and their cargoes, have been largely destroyed. Instead we can turn to two digests of the port books, one for England covering 1743-4 to 1762-3 and the one for Scotland 1754-5 to 1763-4 which give us the salient information including the port from which the grain was dispatched and, with varying degrees of detail, the port of receipt. This data shows that the two countries had largely separate trading zones, Scotland in the northern North Sea and England over the channel, but both sold into Ireland. A proportion of the market of both countries was footloose. Both sold into the Mediterranean when the price justified it.

The paper continues to consider the most intractable problem, the scale of the trade between England and Scotland and vice versa.



Vincenzo Campi, *Volailleurs*, 1536, Milan (Pinacoteca di Brera).

Panel 404. Social Players and the Diffusion of Agronomic Knowledge and Technical Innovation in the European Countryside (end 18th-early 20th centuries) – Part 2

Organisers:

Laurent BRASSART, Université de Lille, France

Corinne MARACHE, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

Andrea Maria LOCATELLI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

Paolo TEDESCHI, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Chair: Andrea Maria LOCATELLI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

Discussants:

Federico D'ONOFRIO, London School of Economics, UK

Marco MARIGLIANO, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

The most recent historical research has reconstructed, on the basis of the suggestions of the economic theory on the role of social capital in the processes of economic development, the concrete and tangible actualizations of the European knowledge in agronomy and zootechnics from the last decades of the 18th century to the eve of WWI. During the Rural History Congresses 2015 and 2017 papers which were presented in some relevant sessions clearly illustrated the players facilitating the generation, the increase and the diffusion of the intangible capital and of the technical innovation in agriculture. They also showed the different forms of knowledge transmission existing in the European countryside and they took into consideration the modalities, the players and also the social entities involved.

This panel wants to continue the discussion with a particular attention to the actions of some players (landowners and farmers, but also teachers in the agricultural schools or agronomists working in public institutions) who were able to understand the technological changes and to face new particular events arriving during the second half of the 19th century (improvements in transports and consequent enlargement of the markets, arrival of diseases, changes in peasants' attitudes linked to the diffusion of trade unions, etc.).

Papers participating in this panel will focus their attention on cases showing the propulsive role of key players in:

- 1) the modernization processes and in the creation of a new productive model where new knowledge in agronomy and zootechnics as well as new technology dominated and where it was necessary to modify agrarian contracts;*
- 2) the creation and enlargement of international networks of knowledge in agronomics and zootechnics and in the diffusion of innovations in the European countryside;*
- 3) the organization of landowners and/or farmers' associations having the aim of facing the negative economic trend of rural markets (e.g. the wheat and maize ones) or the diseases of relevant high added-value productions (vines/wine, cocoons/silk).*

404.1. A 19th-century military-agricultural farmer

Gaetano MORESE, Associazione per la storia sociale del Mezzogiorno e dell'area mediterranea, Italy

Laval Nugent, Austrian-Irish officer of the Austrian imperial army, was active almost all the 19th century, not only as military but also as administrator of a vast estate. He managed in cereal terms the properties of Montepeloso (Irsina) inherited from his wife Giovanna Riario Sforza, while he undertook a hydraulic reclamation and a land transformation in the former fief of Castel Volturno, granted to him by the sovereign Ferdinando di Borbone. The capital raised by the management of these properties was then invested by Laval Nugent in the purchase and transformation of land and forests in Croatia, from which he obtained new revenue by selling the timber. Through the case of the Nugent, the paper intends to identify three different forms of ownership and exploitation of the rural land in three areas of the European continent, in which there were different relations with local communities and in which knowledge and technical and administrative skills were involved in an international circulation of mechanics and engineers.

404.2. The Napoleonic Agricultural Policy (1799-1815): A good or a bad business for the Landowners Notables?

Laurent BRASSART, Université de Lille, France

From 1799 to 1815, the Napoleonic state enforced a bold agricultural policy throughout the European continent. At the regional and local scale, the main landowners were encouraged by the government to support and implement this top-down agronomic policy.

These rural economic elites nevertheless did not all share the view of the government concerning this policy, whether it be in France or in the annexed territories (Italy, Belgium, Germany, Netherlands).

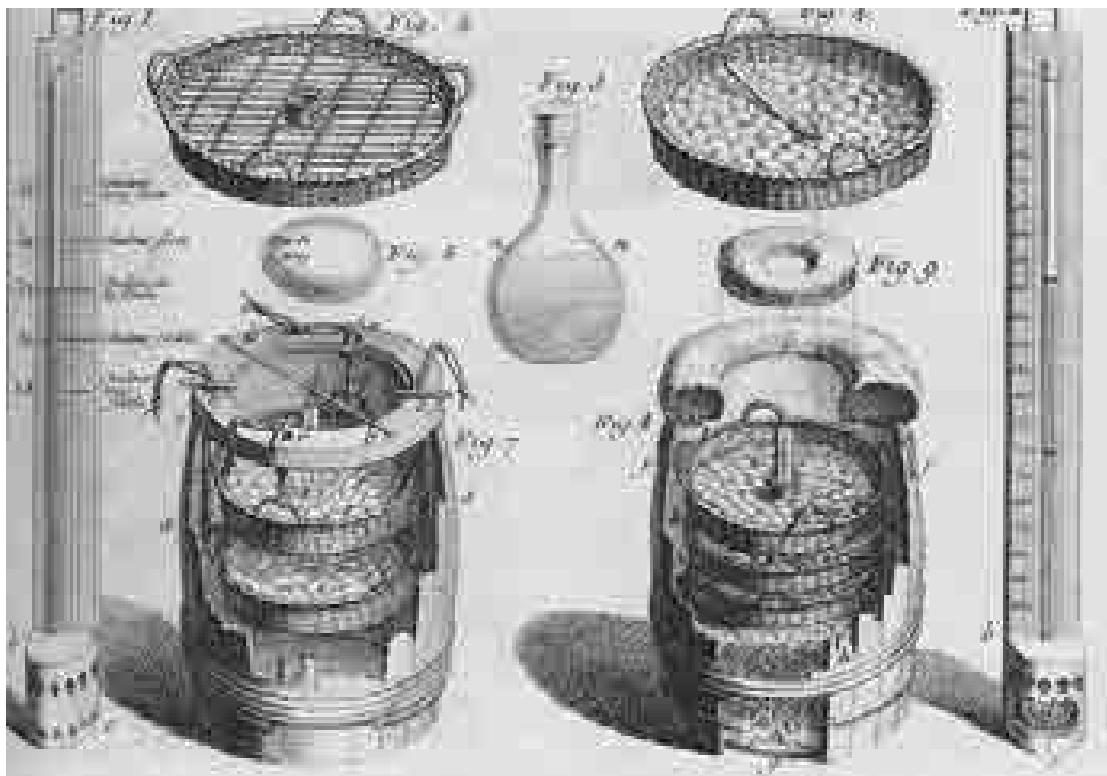
I argue that the various strategies implemented by the landowners toward this agricultural policy, from flat refusal to enthusiasm, including all the intermediate steps, is a major political and economic issue. I will emphasize the reasons of their choices and expectations, and the manifold ways of their economic behaviours in that context. Why did some notables believe in this policy? What did they expected from it? To what extent did they participate in this agricultural project? What benefits did they get? Are geography and closeness from the central government good criteria to understand the differences between imperial elites?

Finally, how can we describe the complex links between the Napoleonic agricultural policy and the economic and political rise of a new group of notables in Europe?

404.3. Actions and structures promoting agricultural progress in Dordogne (France) in the 19th century

Corinne MARACHE, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

From the end of the 18th century and in the course of the 19th century, agricultural societies and comitia appeared, generally led by local notables, helped the agricultural world to adapt to new socio-economic realities, to modernize, to break the spiral of misery that affected a large part of the peasants. At the same time, it was about meeting the needs of a growing urban population and coping with the realities of the large-scale market, which concerned a growing share of agricultural production. Successive governments have largely supported these landowner associations, which played a key role in modernizing and changing agricultural practices. If this trend is well known, the case studies are few to have a clear idea of the real effects of these structures on the agricultural world. It is therefore interesting to study at ground level, through the example of a department, how they mesh the territory, which agriculture they promoted, who made them live and which audience they really touched. This will be the subject of this presentation which will rely on the counting of the archives of the society of agriculture, sciences and arts of the Dordogne and the agricultural shows, very numerous in this particularly dynamic department in the matter.



ouveuse artificielle R. A. Réaumur, *L'Art de faire éclore et d'élever en toute saison des oiseaux domestiques de toutes espèces...*, Paris, 1749 © BnF.

Panel 405. The Nutrition Transition and Beyond: Dietary Change in the World since 1945 – Part 2

Organisers:

Fernando COLLANTES, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

Ernst LANGTHALER, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz and Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Chair: Ernst LANGTHALER, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz and Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Discussant: Yves SEGERS, KU Leuven, Belgium

The panel is organised around three fields of research

(1) Major trends in food consumption in the world since 1945: All across the world, diets have been changing rapidly and profoundly in the period from 1945 to the present. In the global North, the postwar decades witnessed the rise of the „Western diet” and the culmination of the “classical” period of the nutrition transition, while the last few decades have featured a turn towards differentiated products (“food from nowhere” – “food from somewhere”). In the global South, the nutrition transition seems to be unfolding in ways that do not necessarily mimic those of the global North at an earlier stage.

(2) Causes of diet change: Changes in food consumption seem to be partly related to economic factors, such as the evolution of consumer income and food prices. These in turn connect the analysis of diet change to broader issues of economic growth, inequality and food chain dynamics. Yet, few would dispute that these economic variables exert their impact within political, social and cultural contexts (patriotic campaigns, social movements, religious norms etc.), the study of which is essential to our understanding of the causes of diet change.

(3) Consequences of diet change: The most immediate impact of diet change has to do with consumer health. There is now widespread concern about the negative consequences of excessive, unhealthy food consumption styles in the global North, as well as an increasing awareness of the role of food security in human development in the global South. Yet, there are other, indirect consequences of diet change, such as those that impact on the environment or on social cohesion. Diet change since 1945 has probably contributed to intensifying the food system’s impact on the environment, but there are also signs of increasing consumer interest in organic, seasonal and regional foods. The nutrition transition probably contributes in the long run to the making of a middle-class, mass consumer society, but the more recent turn towards differentiated foods and qualitative substitutions may well have started a new cycle of class-based differentiation.

405.1. Let Them Eat Beef? Changes in Global Beef Consumption since World War II

Claire STROM, Rollins College, USA

Global colonization and industrialization led to a dramatic increase in beef consumption by the beginning of the 20th century, with the most prodigious consumption in the so-called First World. During the course of the century, however, especially since World War II, a number of factors have shifted global trends in beef eating. Growing prosperity in Asia, especially China, has resulted in an explosive increase in demand for beef. At the same time, the more traditional markets of Europe and North America have slackened. This reduction reflects human health concerns and a burgeoning awareness of the negative effects of cattle raising on the environment and climate. A similar dichotomy can be seen in beef production. Economies of scale have led some countries, such as the United States, to fully embrace factory production complete with chemical and hormonal additives. In other nations, such as France, interest in animal welfare, combined with a demand for a high-quality product, has generated what could be called artisanal beef production, with butchers often able to source their meat through individual farms. This paper will explore these significant changes and the implications of current directions of beef consumption.

405.2. Food Sovereignty in Western Europe, 1961-2016

Marc RIVAS LÓPEZ, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Food Sovereignty is an increasingly relevant concept, and beyond its initial claims applied in the context of the so-called countries of the economic south, its implications within the developed countries of Western Europe are gaining relevance, both in the social and academic debate. Although there is a large bibliography that studies, as isolated pieces, the different aspects that Food Sovereignty includes, we understand agri-food systems as complex systems with a large number of aspects in continuous interaction (economy, environment, health, culture, etc.). The concept of Food Sovereignty is still under construction, which is why this paper intends to collaborate with its definition through a set of indicators that allow us to evaluate the degree of Food Sovereignty reached by different societies. This paper aims to demonstrate how Western European countries have suffered a progressive process of loss of decision-making capacity in the agri-food chain as a whole, from production to consumption, while we show the implications of this phenomenon in terms of health, environment, inequality and economic dependency.

405.3. A Quality Turn After the Nutrition Transition? The Reorientation of Dairy Consumption in Spain since the 1990s

Fernando COLLANTES, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

This paper uses the case of dairy products in Spain from 1990 to the present to explore the making of a new regime of food consumption in the global North after the completion of the nutrition transition. The conceptual framework used combines elements from political economy and ecological economics. Results are drawn from a newly constructed database coming from official statistical sources. After the massification of milk consumption that took place in the quarter century prior to 1990, Spanish consumers shifted towards newer, more expensive dairy products – refrigerated desserts, in particular. These qualitative substitutions seem to fit the conventional view by mainstream economists and post-Marxist political economists that the current regime of food consumption is driven by a “quality turn”. Our quantitative results do confirm that qualitative substitutions were stronger now than in previous periods. However, the view presented in this paper differs from the conventional wisdom in two important aspects. First, qualitative substitutions were driven not only by objective quality concerns, but also by excessive consumerism. Second, dairy agribusiness was only moderately successful at expanding consumer demand – consumer expenditure in dairy products has been decreasing persistently since 1980, with only a minor interlude in the years prior to 2008. This calls for a less teleological view of the current regime of food consumption in the global North.

405.4. The Impact of the End of Communism on Diet in East-Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union

Daniel BRETT, The Open University, Milton Keynes and University College London, UK

Denes STEFLER, University College London, UK

This paper seeks to explore the impact that the end of Communism had upon diet and health in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Drawing on country- and household-level food availability data collected by the UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation and the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey, it will then use insights from rural history to explore the structural changes in society caused by the triple transition (political, economic and social) after 1989. The assessment will potentially also refer to individual-level associations between specific dietary factors and health outcomes identified in the Health Alcohol and Psychosocial factors in Eastern Europe (HAPIEE) study which is the largest prospective cohort with available dietary data in Eastern Europe. This paper will be broadly comparative exploring cases from across the region and will look at patterns of variation. It will focus upon rural society in particular and structural changes in the countryside. It seeks to explain the structural causes of dietary change and health consequences of those dietary changes.

Panel 406. Rural Epistemologies in Dialogue: The Production of Knowledge in Peripheral Regions in the 19–20th Centuries – Part 2

Organiser:

Dietlind HÜCHTKER, Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Germany

Corinne GEERING, Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Germany

Chair: Joanna ROZMUS, Universität Wien, Austria

Discussant: Tatiana VORONINA, University of Zurich, Switzerland

Modern society has been characterised as knowledge-based. In the 19th and 20th centuries, access to education, the popularisation of science, and mechanical labour have transformed knowledge into a valuable resource. In the case of rural actors, middle class and government-initiated reforms aimed to make knowledge appear unidirectional, as a product of center-periphery relations. Rural people were the subjects of modernization and education, not producers of knowledge. However, recent research has highlighted the role of rural-based producers in knowledge, in particular, the way indigenous and traditional ecological knowledge has contributed to agricultural science and botany. This panel expands such histories, with a focus on rural actors outside of agriculture and husbandry. Instead, the papers in this panel discuss the epistemologies of rural entrepreneurs, craftsmen, physicians, teachers, lawyers and members of various social and political organizations. While knowledge in these is still primarily associated with state centres and urban civil society, this panel instead addresses the formation, adaptation and ruptures of modern rural epistemologies that occurred in interaction with central initiatives.

The individual papers discuss the mutual production of knowledge in the of education, medicine, health and sexuality, craftsmanship and land property among others in Central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the case studies of these papers, knowledge serves as a prism to focus on processes of interaction rather than the passive notion of unidirectional enlightenment. Thus, the panel addresses the following questions: How did rural epistemologies shape political, social and economic structures? How were rural people overshadowed by more resourceful actors from the centres? What caused cleavages and By discussing these and other issues, this panel seeks to deepen the understanding of modern practices of knowledge in the countryside.

406.1. Betwixt and Between: A Schoolteacher in Rural Western Ukraine

Matthias KALTENBRUNNER, Universität Wien, Austria

Based on the autobiographical account of Ivan Fedorak (1890-1954), this paper examines the position of a teacher within a West Ukrainian village which can be described best as “in-between” or “liminal”.

First, the teacher lives a life between the rural and the urban space. He is of peasant origin but has spent several years in towns only to return to a village, albeit not his native one. On the other hand, it is exactly his semi-urban attributes (which include the knowledge of Polish and German) that enable him to act as intermediary between the peasants and the representatives of state institutions in the nearby town. Second, he is - along with the priest and the landlord - a person of respect but lacks the intimidating religious aura of the former as well as the economic power of the latter. Third, he is the vanguard of the nation who defends the Ukrainian language and organizes the cultural life in the village. At the same time, he has to interact with school inspectors who have to implement the changing education policies of different regimes (Habsburg Monarchy, Poland, Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and again Soviet Union).

By posing the person of the teacher himself into the focus of analysis as well as by using the concept of liminality to scrutinize an autobiographical account, the paper intends to shed light on the conditions of knowledge production on the village level in the first half of the 20th century.

406.2. Epistemological dialogue in rural communities of the Po Valley, 19th-20th centuries. Schools, fairs and reinforcement of sanitation

Luciano MAFFI, *Università degli studi di Genova, Italy*

Martino LORENZO FAGNANI, *Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy*

Considering the rural epistemological development in Europe between the 19th and the 20th centuries, Historiography often places the emphasis on the Government and the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie. However, it is important to recognize the role of the population itself. This sometimes harmonized with the initiatives coming 'from above', sometimes clashed with them, offering new solutions.

This paper compares some rural communities of the Po Valley in the Kingdom of Italy. It focuses on three conceptual areas: education in schools, the circuit of agricultural fairs and the reinforcement of sanitation. Here is an example belonging to the first field of investigation. In the Lombard areas of Monza and Voghera there was a network of modern schools and the Comizi Agrari were very interested in the education of the youth. The Comizi used to report workshops, reward the best teachers, circulate information on foreign rural areas. There were also conferences held by specialists and aimed at an adult audience.

However, it was up to the teachers and the farmers the choice to realize or not these guidelines. Certainly, there were brilliant experiences that led to better crops, social organization and health prevention. We can read it in bulletins, books, pamphlets, unpublished reports of didactic experiences, even the manuscript material of lovers of the agricultural subject.

406.3. Science, Folklore, Identity. Rural Physicians as Agents of Modernization in mid 19th-century Bavaria

Manuel TRUMMER, *University of Regensburg, Germany*

The 19th century formed a phase of rapid social change in the German states. Rural areas in particular entered a fundamental modernization process in the transition to an industrial society. This transformation is often understood as a one-sided educational process that uses state and scientific actors to set modernization impulses in rural areas in motion. More recent research paints a more differentiated picture of urban-rural knowledge transfer, in which the importance of rural actors themselves plays a greater role. Starting from this point of view, the paper takes a new exemplary look at the significance of rural physicians in Bavaria around 1860. Contrary to the view of physicians as urban experts acting in the sense of governmental modernization policy, this paper presents the thesis of a more complex circulation of knowledge. Rural physicians play the role of moderating agents, who on the one hand initiate changes in rural areas, but on the other hand, due to their mostly rural biographies and local expertise, also take up rural-agricultural knowledge and circulate it via reports. Especially rural folklore, such as customs and rituals, but also popular medical practices become a field of conflict in which modernization euphoria meets modernization criticism along an imagined urban-rural divide.

406.4. Body knowledge: Youth and the Countryside during the People's Republic of Poland

Dietlind HÜCHTKER, *Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Germany*

Through the lens of the body the presentation will discuss how rural actors – in this case young people from the countryside – participated on the production of knowledge. Examples will be sexuality and sex education. The body is a promising topic for investigating the production of knowledge as a multifold process because it touches not only on a top down process of popularization but also a bottom up process of acquisition. On the one hand, body knowledge comprises non-verbal experiences, habitual learning, body knowledge was part of rural practices. On the other hand, the body was a prominent object for spreading scientific knowledge (medicine, sociology and psychology) and body knowledge came from academic learning. The presentation will analyze how young people on the countryside in the PRL produced and used body knowledge in everyday life, for their ideas of future and worldviews.

Panel 407. Agricultural Estates, Land and Labour in the Ottoman Empire, Eastern Europe and the North Western Mediterranean: A Comparative Approach – Part 2

Organiser: Elias KOLOVOS, University of Crete, Greece

Chair: Yücel TERZİBAŞOĞLU, Boğaziçi University, Turkey

Discussant: Elias KOLOVOS, University of Crete, Greece

*Fernand Braudel in his opus magnum *La Méditerranée* observed, in the Ottoman Balkans, starting from the 17th century, the development of landed estates by conversion of low-lying lands of the plains, marshes and wet river-valleys. Producing initially cereals and then cotton, their conversion “closely resembles what was taking place in the West” and as in the West, cultivation of these estates resulted in social oppression in such a way that the “poor gained nothing”. Devoted to the comparative perspective, Braudel argued further that in case of relation with export trade, these landed estates created also conditions leading to the “new serfdom” as was the case also in the Danube Provinces or in Poland. Although landed estates and labour relations in the early modern and modern European and Mediterranean history are well studied with fresh perspectives for individual geographical units, a comparative framework is totally absent in the contemporary scholarship. Our panel will seek to look comparatively into the social organisation of production and the nature of production activities carried on in the landed estates in early modern and modern Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, as well as the Western Mediterranean. Drawing on earlier empirical and theoretical work on estate management and economy, the papers in the panel will address empirical questions surrounding the logic and actual workings of estate management, and the relationship of agricultural production organised in the estates to the market in agricultural produce. As far as south-eastern Europe under Ottoman rule is concerned the dominant understanding has been based on the primacy of the small peasant households and on a system of agrarian production relations based on such households. One of the implications of this argument is that landed estates which had emerged to prominence around the 18th century were ineffectual in re-organising agrarian relations on land precisely due to the dominance of the small peasant households in the countryside. Whereas, for Eastern Europe, the role of large landed estates in shaping the long-term growth trajectory of the region has been much more emphasised. The aim of the panel therefore is to evaluate the potential contribution of a comparative analysis of eastern and south-eastern European agriculture organised in landed estates and labour relations in dialogue with the European and Mediterranean rural history in general.*

407.1. Search for a Comparative Perspective for the Study of Rural Labour in the Mediterranean: Rural Labour between Mobility and Immobility in the 19th Century Balkans and Western Anatolia

Alp YÜCEL KAYA, Ege University, Turkey

Fernand Braudel observed, in the Ottoman Balkans, starting from the 17th century, a re-enservment process that he called “new serfdom” in large estates called *çiftlik*s. He referred in fact on re-establishment of real serfdom; as personal serfdom builds on bondage to landlord, real serfdom builds on bondage to the estate’s soil. Indeed, serfdom like labor relations attracted rarely interest of Ottoman historiography. In this paper we will be interested in the labor relations in the Balkan and Western Anatolian countryside and revisit the question of real serfdom by a special emphasis on its eventual evolution in the 19th century. We propose that cultivators’ quest to be mobile for subsistence needs and landlords’ quest to bind them to the soil for higher profits constituted one of the essential knots of agrarian labor relations. We will further argue that this tension was not exclusive to the Balkan and Western Anatolian countryside and could be found where large estates operated in the Mediterranean hinterlands (Catalonia, Tuscany, Syria, etc.). Last but not least, this paper will search for a comparative perspective to question labor mobility and immobility in the Mediterranean.

407.2. Unfree Labour in the Peasant and Manorial Economy in Poland during the Age of Growth (15th-1st half of the 17th century)

Piotr Guzowski, University of Bialystok, Poland

Unpaid labour was one of the most important elements of serfdom system in early modern Eastern Europe. In the late Middle Ages its economic significance was minimal. One obligatory corvée day a week was introduced in the Kingdom of Poland in 1520. Over the next hundred years the role of this form of peasants' feudal obligation grew and in some regions of the country the norm was 3-4 days. Thus, the influence of landlords on work organization of peasants increased significantly, but also the ways of calculating income from landed estates changed. The aim of this paper is to present the evolution of unfree labour services over the period of later Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern era. Regional differences in this phenomenon are also explored. The analysis is based on economic inventories of big estates belonging to the King and Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland. By looking at the landed estate management literature on eastern European agrarian history, the paper will pose the question of whether or not a model could be constructed for estate agriculture in the Balkans, and what such modelling could achieve in the explanation and analysis of short and long-term dynamics of the agrarian economy of the region.

407.3. Landlords and Sharecroppers of the Landed Estates in the Hinterland of Salonica in the Late 19th Century

Dilek AKYALÇIN KAYA, Editor, Turkey

Eastern Mediterranean port-cities became privileged centers in the 19th century with the development of commercial agriculture in their hinterlands. As being one of these port-cities, Salonica occupies a dominant place in the secondary literature in terms of analysis of formation, organization and movements of laboring classes in the city. Nonetheless there are limited number of studies on the use of labor in agricultural estates in its hinterland. In fact, agriculture in the 19th century Ottoman Balkans is marked by the struggle between the peasants working in the estates (çiftlik) and the estate-holders who started to produce for the market with the aim of profit maximization. While the estate-holders tried their best to bond labor through various means, the peasants, in their turn, tried their best to escape from this bond by migrating to city, by using common lands such as forest, pastures, etc. or by engaging in animal husbandry instead of agriculture. Emphasizing the simultaneity of this struggle with commercial capitalism is crucial to analyze this struggle as a process and to set forth its historicity. In this presentation I will discuss the changing actors and transformation of the organization of labor at the end of this process through several case studies found in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul and in Thessaloniki.

407.4. Landlords and Sharecroppers in Wine Producing Regions: Beaujolais, Catalonia and Tuscany, 1800-1930

Juan CARMONA, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

The success of small family farms in Europe before 1930 did not prevent the persistence of large landed estates, either like latifundium, such as the large estates of southern Mediterranean countries, or in Eastern Europe, or like tenanted estates with small tenants or sharecroppers. Tenanted estates in principle enjoyed the advantages of the greater incentives of family farmers to maximize their production, and the economies of scale for marketing, credit or technical improvement of large exploitations. A particular case of is the tenanted estates specialized (totally or in part) in the production and marketing of wine. In this case, the dominant contract tends to be sharecropping due to the advantages of this contract for grape production, although it also implies a lower autonomy compared to fixed-rent tenancy. Thus, the contract gives the owner or manager much greater control over the use of inputs, and the adoption of technical change, and although inputs and product share would tend to adapt to market prices, the frequent outbreak of conflicts between owners and tenants during this period suggests the existence of certain inflexibility. In this paper we compare three specific cases, Beaujolais, Catalonia and Tuscany where tenanted wine producing estates were common throughout this period, and the responses of owners and settlers to these changes in the long term.

Panel 408. American Pathways of Agricultural Growth – Part 2

Organisers:

Pablo F. LUNA, Sorbonne Université and EHESS, France

Alejandro TORTOLERO, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Iztapalapa, Mexico

Chair: Alejandro TORTOLERO, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Iztapalapa, Mexico

Discussant: Pablo F. LUNA, Sorbonne Université and EHESS, France

The objective of this session is to propose a comparative focus of what could be called the American pathways of agricultural growth, in its diverse appearance and practical evolution between the end of the 18th century and the 20th century. In this perspective, our axis of observation will be placed precisely in the different virtuous, local, regional (and even national) processes that were produced in North American and South America and in the modalities that shaped them. But we would also like to question ourselves about the unsuccessful experiences and the reasons behind such failures.

Accepted communications are characterized by precisely examining the cases indicated with whichever scale was chosen. Meaning that we will analyze the introduction and effects of new technologies (or new labor techniques), of new products and crops (and their target markets), of the best in the breeding of livestock (with better agricultural articulation), of the transformation in the use of natural resources (with supplementary labor), of the changes in the remuneration systems (with extension of salaried work), of the institutional mutations (property rights laws, regulation of work, recruitment), etc.

*An exchange between specialists of the two Americas like the one proposed will prolong other attempts made in similar spirit. Recall that in 2003, the Spanish review *Historia Agraria* published a set of texts on the routes of capitalist agricultural growth in Latin America. In 2015 and under the initiative of Cricec- International Research Group (Crisis and changes in the European Countryside), an international colloquium on the different historical pathways of agricultural growth was held in Ascona (Switzerland) (<http://crh.ehess.fr/index.php?4401>), from which a book will appear.*

Now, starting from those bases, what we would like to do is effectively compare the cases of the American continent. Which implies in fact, on one hand, having to critically refocus on the historiographical models that explain national and regional successes and failures, and on the other hand, to reevaluate the cases and experiences of agricultural growth in the context of the two Americas.

408.1. New and old modernity in the Andes: Translating Green Revolution for small farmers. Andean crops, a local development icon for development programs

Antonio CHAMORRO CRISTÓBAL, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Ecuador

Agrarian modernization was a global process, which spread through crop programs implemented by Agrarian Research Institutes during the second half of 20th century. The incapacity to understand and translate local languages, and the late understanding of these processes is shown in the analysis of these programs.

This contribution analyzes the Ecuadorian case through two crop programs developed by the Ecuadorian National Research Institute (INIAP). The first, Research Programs in Production (PIPs) took place since mid-1970s in collaboration with agrarian economist's researchers from INIAP, and the Mexican International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center (CYMMIT). The other one was the Andean Crops Program implemented since 1980s in collaboration with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

The first represents an attempt to translate Green Revolution to small farmers, understand their particularities and limitations, and read local particularities. The second shows a bigger immersion in Andean culture, and it connects with a new development paradigm more focus in the environment, ethnicity and local development.

408.2. Household Farming to Agribusiness: The United States from the Colonial Era to the 1850s

Stephen J. MILLER, University of Alabama at Birmingham, USA

North American farmers of the early modern period, like their French counterparts, raised a variety of crops and livestock for food and fiber, marketed surpluses for the money to obtain additional land for offspring, but avoided specialization and the resultant perils of insufficient harvests, inadequate prices, or excessive costs for consumption goods. American farmers lived relatively secure and healthy lives, because they did not face onerous levies, or a governing class able to restrict access to new lands. Yet in both North America and France output grew only as fast as the population with no developmental impetus.

The countries diverged as a result of the revolutionary era. Whereas French peasants secured their grip on the land, American farmers suddenly faced a state equipped to raise taxes, enforce debt repayment, and regulate the frontier. Henceforth, speculators monopolized western lands, and settlers had to take out loans to farm them. These financial obligations compelled farmers to specialize, innovate and accumulate cash in order to match the competitive market prices of other farmers facing the same obligations. The result was an agricultural revolution absent from France which actually fell behind other countries of Europe.

408.3. The mexican path toward agrarian capitalism (19th and 20th centuries)

Alejandro TORTOLERO, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Unidad Iztapalapa, México

My paper discusses the traditional interpretation of Mexican agriculture. The inefficiency of large agricultural estates and their fearful absentee landowners, reduced and captive markets, antiquated technology, and lack of efficient institutions are traditionally considered to account for the failure of rural Mexico to embark on the path toward capital development. It is suggested that while this characterization of hacienda estates was valid for some regions in the last third of the 19th century in regions linked to urban expansion and the railroad system, agricultural estates were rather productive undertakings with advanced technology and efficient management. The article argues that main obstacles to capitalist agricultural development were compulsive forms of labour organization; the lack of high-output agricultural products; an insufficient monetary circulation that prevented the formation of more cohesive agricultural markets; a salary system based on payments in cash; and the scarcity of agricultural credit.

408.4. Transitions towards Agrarian Capitalism in Chile: Central Chile and the Frontier

Claudio ROBLES-ORTIZ, Universidad de Santiago de Chile, Chile

Contrary to interpretations characterizing rural Chile as unaffected by economic modernization until the 1960s, I argue that the agrarian expansion c.1870-1930 was also *the* phase of the development of agrarian capitalism. In Central Chile, it began developing in the late 1860s, in response to the external demand, and proceeded after 1890 linked to the growing domestic market. Facing labor-supply issues, landowners began to mechanize production, and increased the ranks of wage laborers. The system of *inquilinaje* (labor tenancy) underwent a protracted proletarianization; by 1920, a rural working class was emerging out of the former tenant laborers. In the Frontier, agrarian capitalism was the direct consequence of the dispossession of the Mapuche communities via the military invasion the state completed in the late 1880s. A new class of Frontier landowners created a hacienda system adapted to the region's ecological and economic conditions. From the beginning, its workforce included waged laborers, who thus were a constitutive social relationship of the rural estate. In both regions, therefore, agrarian capitalism has a long history; it was not instituted, but completed 'from above' by the state with the agrarian reform (1967-1973) and the counter agrarian reform (1973-1980).



Plus de volailles malades. Remède "Goussard",
affiche (Marseille, MUCEM) © MUCEM.

Panel 409. Global Connections, Rural Translations: Circulations of expertise and technology between the rural and the global in the 19th and 20th centuries – Part 2

Organisers:

Elizabeth WILLIAMS, University of Massachusetts Lowell, USA

James SIMPSON, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

Chair: Juan PAN-MONTOJO, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Discussant: Juan PAN-MONTOJO, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Innovations and developments in the rural sphere often have connections to broader global circulations of technology and expertise. This double panel highlights the multi-faceted and perhaps unexpected connections that come to light when these global intersections that merge in the rural local are explored. Bringing together methodologies from the history of technology, economic history, and environmental history, the papers on this panel examine circulations of expertise and technology as a multi-sited process of exchange and translation. They expose complex networks that challenge uni-directional narratives of progress and complicate notions of transfer. Spanning multiple continents and substantial periods of time, the papers consider the variety of local ecological particularities, social circumstances, or economic conditions that the translation of ideas and theories into local practice. Rejection of concepts or activities deemed “modern” or was not necessarily reactionary, but a measured, rational response based on local knowledge. On the other hand, “modern” or methods often owed more to prior practices than discourses about them were willing to acknowledge. The papers are global and multi-faceted in their scope, examining these connections and intersections from a variety of perspectives. They cover rural development in Tanzania, forestry practices spanning the North Atlantic, Italian wheat experiments in Ethiopia, rural assistance programs in the Balkans and Middle East, cattle breeding in South India, technological change in wine production between Europe and the New World, transatlantic exchanges of ideas about agrarian reform, and circulations of dry farming expertise within the Mediterranean and beyond.

409.1. Expertise from the Translator’s Perspective: The Transatlantic Travels of Agrarian Reformer Carl S. Vrooman (1898-1920s)

Jean-Louis MARIN-LAMELLET, Université Savoie Mont Blanc, France

Carl Vrooman (1872-1966) began his career as a Kansas Populist, specialized in railroad reform while touring Europe, served as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in the Wilson administration, visited Europe to survey Allied food needs in 1918, organized the relief mission set up by the American Farm Bureau Federation to help starving postwar Central Europe in 1921, and pushed for a Farm Relief Plan in the 1920s. This paper will use the transatlantic travels of this American agrarian reformer as a case study to examine circulations of expertise between the rural Midwest and European locales from the 1890s to the 1920s. Vrooman was both a ‘scientific farmer’ and a ‘dirt farmer’. He was also a globetrotter, an intellectual, a politician and a humanitarian. In the context of transatlantic circulation of expert-led reform discourses, he can be seen as a ‘translator’ between different geographical spaces (the American Midwest and European countries) and social actors (farmers, experts and politicians). He acted as an interpreter between Populist concerns about monopolies in agrarian peripheries and transatlantic discourses of efficiency and expert-led reforms. For him, modern methods to rationalize agriculture built upon traditional notions of agrarian justice. The mobilization of farmers to feed Allied armies and Vrooman’s relief mission in war-torn Europe illustrate how local realities in rural Illinois intersected with the global, expert-led organization of a relief operation.

409.2. Rethinking circulations of expertise and the emergence of the discourse and practice of dry farming, 1860-1925

Elizabeth WILLIAMS, *University of Massachusetts at Lowell, USA*

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the concept of dry farming emerged as a 'scientific' method for expanding cultivation in arid, rainfed areas. From French colonial agricultural experiments in north Africa to agricultural colleges in the western United States to model farms and agricultural schools in western Asia, enthusiasts of the method not only drew from each other's work and expertise, but also from existing forms of knowledge in often unacknowledged ways. By examining a number of exchanges both around the Mediterranean and between the western United States and western Asia, the paper suggests how colonial and technocratic narratives of progress tended to obscure this complex history of knowledge production. It then examines the experiments and proposals of a local technocrat in post-WWI Syria who recognized local contributions to this knowledge, while also drawing from emerging technocratic networks. This range of expertise enabled him to shape his recommendations for "reform" so as to take into account local ecological concerns and economic particularities when assessing how to translate and apply the "science" of dry farming. In rejecting the claims of dominant colonial and technocratic discourses that represented the practice as a novel approach, not only did he insist on a vision that undermined the unidirectional narrative of progress, but he was also able to advocate for a more integrated program with regards to implementation.

409.3. Cattle, Science and the Pursuit of Development in urban Mysore along the fringes of British Empire, South India, 1900-1947

Varsha PATEL, *Universität Kassel, Germany*

This paper examines the history of human cattle relations in India that accompanied the twin forces of colonialism and capitalism in India around the turn of the 20th century. I demonstrate that the ideas of productivity, development and improvement underpinned the evolution of the dairy sector and coevolved with transformations in human cattle relations in Bangalore city inside the Princely state of Mysore that was fringed by the British empire. The Princely states, as relatively underexplored regions offer a unique vantage point for understanding both the empire and the wider ambience of the time such as economic development which unfolded differently in terrains where "sovereignties" overlapped. Drawing upon archival records of the former Princely State of Mysore and the British Indian Government, this paper examines the changing configurations of space, material culture and constellations of social groups of humans and cattle between 1900 and 1947. I demonstrate that the colonial encounter that came with the quest for science and comforts promoted specific milk breeds of cattle over the indigenous draught cum milk breeds. The British military dairy farms interacted with the Mysore Palace's much older dairy farm that also aspired to carve a place for itself as a center of cross breeding research. This paper chronicles human cattle relations in the Mysore state and examines the ways in which dairy cows' occupation of city space changed the material space and culture.

409.4. Lessons from the Imperial Highlands. Italian Agrarian Expertise and the 'Battles for Grain' in Ethiopia (1938-1941)

Michele SOLLAI, *Institut de hautes études internationales et du développement, Switzerland*

Though internationally renowned since the early 20th century, Italian agronomy has only recently been acknowledged and studied as an important factor in the agricultural history of modern Italy. This paper provides new insights to this historiography by focusing on the development of Italian wheat research and experimentation in Ethiopia following the extension of the 'Battles for Grain' to the Italian East African Empire in 1938. Contrary to a well-established narrative (Larebo 1994) that reduces the Imperial undertaking to an ill-conceived attempt to transfer "modern" agriculture to Ethiopia, this paper sheds light on how agricultural experimentation sought to inform and adjust Italian programs to a "scientific" understanding of Ethiopian highland environments and agrarian practices. Identified as an important 'center of origin' of wheat varieties, fascist propaganda and colonization schemes initially assumed that Ethiopia would be an ideal environment for large-scale wheat growing. However, Italian agronomists soon realized that the country was also a major epicenter of stem rust. Wheat experimentation in pursuit of high-yielding, rust-resistant varieties became a political, economic and scientific priority. The paper shows how the experimentation and spread of selected local and Kenyan seeds led to a substantial increase in wheat growing for export by Ethiopian small farmers during the British Military Administration and the immediate post-war years (1941-1947).

Panel 410. Bringing back the Agrarian Question. Territories and Sustainability in Latin America from a Global Perspective (1900-2018) – Part 2

Organiser: Elisa BOTELLA RODRÍGUEZ, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain

Chair: Wilson PICADO UMAÑA, Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica, Costa Rica

Discussant: Ángel Luis GONZÁLEZ ESTEBAN, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

The agrarian question is a historical, persistent and structural problem in Latin America, the most unequal region worldwide. Land is even more unequal in the region than income distribution where the Gini for income is 0.48 compared with 0.79 for land (OXFAM, 2016). Since the early 1900s, land inequality has been the root of struggles and revolutions in the subcontinent. Mexico during the Revolution (“La tierra para quien la trabaja”, claimed by Emiliano Zapata), the Cuban Revolution or the MST in Brazil. These tensions also enhanced continuing State-led interventions to redistribute land from large landowners to the peasantry. However, Import Substitution Industrialisation placed agriculture in a secondary role while State-led programmes resulted in a new era of agriculture capitalism. Leaving behind and accelerating the disappearance of old rural oligarchies dominant in the subcontinent until 1945, land was re-concentrated by old or new owners versus the limited role of small farmers in the new process of modernisation and agricultural growth. However, some spaces remained for autonomous indigenous communities, cooperatives and peasant economies. They had an active role in different land reforms processes.

The Global Food Crisis (2007-2008) and the increasing role of transnational peasant movements reopened the debate on land redistribution and the role of small farmers to produce food for national consumption. The rise of forest conservation policies, extractivism based on agribusiness plantations and large scale mining, and international drug nets also shaped the dimensions and features of the new agrarian question in the region. Whereas the land problem was mainly focussed on concentration, land tenancy and agricultural modernisation during the 20th Century, land is currently more attached to environmental services appropriation, communal and ethnical rights, ecological awareness and the expansion of GMOs and agrofuels. This panel offers a multidisciplinary and updated debate on the land question and its new dimensions in Latin America. Accordingly, we call for research on the complexity of agrarian change in the region as well as the study of global and local processes at the territorial level. Finally, long-term historical research and proposals on the new dimensions and characteristics of the agrarian question in Latin America are very welcome.

410.1. Cooperation, collective action and the development of organic coffee growing in Central America: The case of Chiapas (1970-2018)

Albert FOLCH and Jordi PLANAS, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

At the end of the 20th century, Mexico became the world's main producer and exporter of organic coffee, and the state of Chiapas was its largest producer. The expansion of the cultivation of organic coffee was closely related to the processes of peasant mobilization that started in the 1970s, when the agricultural model of the Green Revolution went into crisis. It emerged as an important alternative for small producers that found it increasingly difficult to make a living. Most of this organic coffee was obtained in cooperatives devoted to the production and commercialization of organic coffee. In these cooperatives, an alternative model of production and marketing was established, based on the peasants' traditional knowledge. They were officially certified with seals of guarantee to market their production through the Fair Trade circuits. These cooperatives spread widely in Chiapas during the 1990s and by the first decade of the 21st century numbered more than one hundred, a significantly higher figure than other neighboring coffee-producing regions in Central America. The aim of this paper is to explain the reasons behind this evolution. In our view, the dynamism and the prominent role of the cooperative movement in Chiapas can be attributed to the long tradition of community life based on the social ownership and communal management of land and natural resources, and collective action, which paved the way for the peasant mobilization in the 1970s and later for the spread of cooperatives.

410.2. Return to the land in the Bolivian Southern Altiplano. New “campesinos quinoeros” between countryside’s attractiveness and price volatility.

Francesca ULERI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

In Bolivia, starting from the Spanish colonization until the advent of the neoliberal era, the cultivation and consumption of quinoa were marginalized since it was considered *comida de Indios*, the food of indigenous people. As a consequence, quinoa completely disappeared from the diet of urban residents, where food became a status symbol and the consumption of new products, mainly imported, was one of the elements to manifest social advancement. In the 1980s, the emergence of new markets aimed at the commercialization of organic and fair-trade products, for instance, stimulated the attention of international consumers towards the Andean grain; this attention hugely increased in the early 2000s, when on the wave of the growing market interest for new products rich in natural properties, there was an explosion in the international demand for quinoa. This led to a surge in the price of the grain which went from 545 USD per metric ton – in the period 1976-1989 – to 5667 USD in 2014 for the same amount of product. The rediscovered value of quinoa has resulted in a strong pressure in the territories of origin of production, not only in terms of remodeling of the production system but also in terms of reshaping of the community life. This contribution, through a quali-quantitative research conducted in four communities of the Bolivian Southern highlands, analyzes the return to the land of many urban migrants that, given the high profitability of quinoa, decided to return to their native communities to cultivate quinoa.

410.3. Social dynamics in the Frailesca region of Chiapas: Between ejidatarios and “the others”

Alma Amalia GONZÁLEZ CABAÑAS, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

In this article we'll focus on the social dynamics defined by the coexistence between *ejidatarios* and neighboring residents. It is true that the current agrarian law recognizes the latter ones' rights within the Board of Inhabitants; however, daily life is the reflection of a social exclusive process not easy to approach. The implementation of government projects largely depends on the participation of all the inhabitants. On the other hand, direct economic benefits are assigned to the *ejidatarios*. This situation results in the unwillingness of the inhabitants to the point of triggering major conflicts, and the failure of government programs directed at promoting agricultural production or the conservation of natural resources.

This research is based on fieldwork carried out over the past four years in the Frailesca region, the geographical zone of the Central Depression where agricultural and livestock areas of high productivity converge next to the Sepultura Biosphere Reserve. Our observations and analysis reveal that there is still an unresolved problem regarding land access and public policies that guide rural development.



François Boucher, *Paysanne à la cruche*, estampe, vers 1750 © Bnf.

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>501.</p> <p>Moving pictures and their impact on rural history – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Peter Moser, Marijn Molema, Edouard Lynch, Ulrich Schwarz-Gräber, Yves Segers, Peter Veer Chair: Marijn Molema</p>	<p>501.1.</p> <p>The European Rural History Film Database: Origin, structure, content and potential</p> <p>Peter Moser, Andreas Wigger</p>	<p>501.2.</p> <p>Rural Home Movies/ Amateur Films</p> <p>Brigitte Semanek, Ulrich Schwarz-Gräber</p>	<p>501.3.</p> <p>“Cinema rural”. Moving images of agriculture and rural life in Belgium, 1920s-1980s</p> <p>Sven Lefèvre, Diantha Osseweijer</p>	<p>501.4.</p> <p>Images of Rural-Women in the Documentary Films of the GDR</p> <p>Antje F. Hoffmann</p>		<p>PANEL 501</p> <p>Room AS1_01</p> <p><i>54 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>502.</p> <p>New technology and new public intervention: The birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th-20th Centuries) – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Luciano Maffi, Stéphane Le Bras, Paolo Tedeschi, Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro Chair: Andrea Maria Locatelli</p>	<p>502.1.</p> <p>Léon Millot: A key person who played a key role in the modernization of the winemaking technologies in the late 19th century</p> <p>Sylvie Pierre, Bérengère Stassin</p>	<p>502.2.</p> <p>Cooperation and New Technologies to Change the Winemaking in Lombardy during the 20th Century</p> <p>Luciano Maffi, Paolo Tedeschi</p>	<p>502.3.</p> <p>Export wine in Catalonia. Changes in international trade, changes in vitiviniculture (1830-1900)</p> <p>Llorenç Ferrer-Alos, Josep Colome Ferrer</p>			<p>PANEL 502</p> <p>Room BS1_05</p> <p><i>54 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>503.</p> <p>Dreaming California: Transnational models for innovation in agriculture (1860s-2010s). Part 1: Crossing Borders</p> <p>Organisers: Niccolò Mignemi, Alexia Blin, Vicente Pinilla Chair: Leen Van Molle</p>	<p>503.1.</p> <p>Early California Colleges and the Development of Agriculture in a Transnational Context</p> <p>Michael Weismeyer</p>	<p>503.2.</p> <p>From an oppressive and bleak western Iowa to a socialist utopian California? An investigation on the last experiment of Icarians in Cloverdale California (1880-1886)</p> <p>Damien Rousselière</p>	<p>503.3.</p> <p>The innovation system of irrigation and the global cotton markets: The integration between California and Baja California in early decades of 20th Century</p> <p>Araceli Almaraz</p>	<p>503.4.</p> <p>Regulating the agricultural markets: The Californian origins of the International Institute of Agriculture</p> <p>Niccolò Mignemi</p>		<p>PANEL 503</p> <p>Room 7</p> <p><i>105 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>504.</p> <p>Plants and animal breeding from the second half of the 18th century to the end of the 20th century. Global, comparative and connected perspective – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Christophe Bonneuil, Pierre Cornu Chair: Christophe Bonneuil</p>	<p>504.1.</p> <p>Breeding and biopower in late 18th-century Britain</p> <p>Jens Amborg</p>	<p>504.2.</p> <p>Imperial Rams: The Politics of Semen and Wool in the Napoleonic Wars</p> <p>Pierre Cornu</p>	<p>504.3.</p> <p>Imperial Plants and Trees: The Local and Global Politics of Botany in the Napoleonic Empire.</p> <p>Laurent Brassart</p>	<p>504.4.</p> <p>Napoleon and on “useful plants” in Northern Italy</p> <p>Martino Lorenzo Fagnani</p>		<p>PANEL 504</p> <p>Amphitheatre François Furet</p> <p><i>105 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>505.</p> <p>Between agriculture and the market: The transformation of rural shops and services in Europe, 1600-1900 – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Jonas M. Albrecht, Corinne Marache, Jon Stobart, Wout Vande Sompele, Tim Soens Chair: Tim Soens</p>	<p>505.1.</p> <p>Between “moral“ and “political“ economies of food? Rural and urban bread suppliers in Vienna and Lower Austria, c. 1830-1848</p> <p>Jonas M. Albrecht</p>	<p>505.2.</p> <p>Rural craftsmen in vineyards of Bordeaux: Actors, suppliers and intermediaries of the viti-viniculture in 17th and 18th centuries</p> <p>Stephanie Lachaud</p>	<p>505.3.</p> <p>Small shops and agricultural world. The example of southwestern France, 19th-early 20th centuries</p> <p>Corinne Marache</p>	<p>505.4.</p> <p>Local and global food in English village shops, c.1660-1740</p> <p>Jon Stobart</p>		<p>PANEL 505</p> <p>Room 8</p> <p><i>105 Bd. Raspail</i></p>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
506. Negotiating land reform programs 18th-20th centuries: Local actors and social responses – part 1 Organisers: Eric Vanhaute, Mats Morell, Jose Vicente Serrao, Chair: Jose Vicente Serrao	506.1. Actors of a long-awaited land reform: Talkers, doers, winners and losers. Case study on the 1945 Hungarian land reform Gábor Csikós	506.2. The failure of land reform in the New Forest and the rise of landscape conservation Catherine Glover, Richard Hoyle	506.3. Negotiating enclosures? Local responses to the Swedish enclosure reforms: The case of Västergötland c. 1800-1860 Lars Nyström	506.4. Land consolidation, development and local resistances in rural Galiza during Francoism Alba Diaz-Geada		PANEL 506 Room AS1_9 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
507. State and collective action in rural commons: The water institutions – Part 1 Organiser: Alice Ingold Chair: Angelo Torre	507.1. The construction of Stateless narratives on water commons in 19th century. History at the service of the irrigation communities' customary rights Alice Ingold	507.2. The collective action of irrigation associations in the face of hydraulic works and state policies (Valencia, first half of the 20th century Francesco D'Amaro	507.3. "Folklorizing" local practices: From rights of use to use of rights in water micro-communities of Ligurian Apennines Anna Maria Stagno, Vittorio Tigrino	507.4. Customary management of water in Dombes area (France) and legal pluralism Gaëtan Bailly		PANEL 507 Room AS1_15 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
508. Rural global transition: From agricultural villages to new ruralities – Part 1 Organiser: Luis Camarero Chair: Jesús Oliva	508.1. Old and New Solaklı Valley: Culture, Agriculture and Settlements Esra Ekşil Balci	508.2. Emerging Agrarian Landscape and Rurality in 21st Century India Bhim Reddy	508.3. Mobilization, Resistance, and Adaptation in the Mexican Countryside (1990-2014) Gustavo Gordillo-De Anda, David GreenWood Sanchez	508.4. The new frontiers of capital in the rural spaces in Southern Chile, 1990-2018 Fabián Almonacid		PANEL 508 Room AS1_17 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
509. Between history and archeology: Exploring the sustainable practices in the management of environmental resources (1600-2000) – Part 1 Organisers: Matteo Di Tullio, Anna Maria Stagno, Chair: Rosa Congost	509.1. Sustainability and the management of environmental resources: An introduction starting from a research note Matteo di Tullio	509.2. Mardin Vineyards: A Case of Sustainable Agriculture from Antiquity to the Present Bilen Abdullah	509.3. Climate adaptation and regional agricultural development in Sweden, 1600-1900 Martin Skoglund	509.4. Pasture and open the south-eastern slopes of Gran Sasso (Abruzzo, Italy): An agro-silvo-pastoral system founded on community practices Annalisa Colecchia		PANEL 509 Room AS1_33 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
510. The water management and the market economy Organiser: Futoshi Yamauchi Chair: Beatrice Moring	510.1. The livelihood of the people who have been in the wetlands area in early modern Japan Futoshi Yamauchi, Yoshiyuki Murayama, Hiroshi Hasebe	510.2. Structure and Characteristics of Labor Migration in the 19th Century Japan: Historical analysis of 'Tasho-kasegi' of Kakuda-hama Village in Echigo Area Tingting Zhang	510.3. The communal system, families and the ways people there earned a living in a fen-edged parish, Willingham, Cambs., England Motoyasu Takahashi	510.4. Functional Change of Subak Irrigation Association in Northern Island of Bali and Its Problems: A Case study at Sawan District, Buleleng Regency Kadek Atartika		PANEL 510 Room 9 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
511. The Archives of private enterprises and its potential value for rural history <i>Round table</i> Organisers and Chairs: Laurent Herment, Peter Moser	Crédit Agricole et Maison de Salins Historical Archives of Crédit Agricole SA and the Maison de Salins Foundation	Fédération Nationale d'Agriculture Biologique	Saint-Gobain	Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique Département Sciences sociales, Agriculture et Alimentation, Espace et Environnement (SAE2)		Round table 511 Room 2 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>

Panel 501. Moving pictures and their impact on rural history – Part 1

Organisers:

Peter MOSER, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

Marijn MOLEMA, Fryske Akademy/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts & Sciences, the Netherlands

Edouard LYNCH, Université Lyon 2, France

Ulrich SCHWARZ-GRÄBER, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Yves SEGERS, KU Leuven, Belgium

Peter VEER, University of Amsterdam and Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum, the Netherlands

Chair: Marijn MOLEMA, Fryske Akademy/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts & Sciences, the Netherlands

Discussant: Mícheál O'FATHARTAIGH, National University of Ireland Galway, Ireland

Moving pictures are an increasingly important, though still awkward source for historians. Tens of thousands of dealing with aspects of the rural world have been created since the early 20th century. A remarkable number of this materials has physically survived as well as a great variety of paper sources which were created in the process of these activities. But, for a variety of reasons, for researchers it is still remarkably to identify, preserve and use these sources since only a fraction of the have so far been digitised and provided with the relevant metadata. The same is true for the equally important paper-sources which are documenting the erial.

In order to solve these problems the European Rural History Film Database Association (ERHFDBA) has created a database which provides an opportunity for identifying, cataloguing, describing and making accessible the material as well as guiding researchers to the sources documenting the planning, production and distribution processes of these (www.ruralfilms.eu). The tool to systematise the corpus of material has been developed along the increasing historical research projects bas

The main purpose of the double pane is to illustrate the interlinkage of the activities of identifying, safeguarding, cataloguing, digitising, preserving and analysing as a source by rural historians and institutions all over Europe. In the panel the contributions will focus on the practices of identifying, safeguarding and making accessible the still existing material. The content of the European Rural History Film Database will be discussed as well as its potential for being turned into an Online-Portal by looking closely at projects currently carried out in Austria, Belgium and Switzerland who are using and contributing to the database. In the second panel four research projects in France, the Netherlands and England will be presented as well as their potential for enlarging the content of the European Rural Film Database.

A crucial aspect of this double panel is to discuss the aim of the ERHFDBA to combine, interlink and develop current

501.1. The European Rural History Film Database: Origin, structure, content and potential

Peter MOSER and Andreas WIGGER, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

The European Rural History Film Database (ERHFDB) is a coordinated attempt on a transnational level for assembling information on the rural film production and the production of rural films. It enables institutions all over Europe to systematise their attempts to identify, catalogue and describe the rural film material they have knowledge about. By assembling the information from different countries the ERHFDB is, furthermore, an instrument for guiding researchers to the sources documenting the processes of planning, financing, producing and distributing these films.

Our contribution is focussing on the origins of the European Rural History Film Database, its technical structure and its potential for the setting up of an open access Online Portal. We will also evaluate the so far in the ERHFDB assembled information on ca. 800 films produced in Switzerland. Who initiated these films? When were they produced? Who paid the production costs? What were they intended for? What is shown in the films (and what why not)? Who are the actors? Where were these films performed? And: what impacts did they have on their audiences?

501.2. Rural Home Movies/Amateur Films

Brigitte SEMANEK and Ulrich SCHWARZ-GRÄBER, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Home movies and amateur films of rural origin have either not yet or only partially been recognized by historical research. They present a 'new' and promising source for several aspects of contemporary rural history. In the last five years, there has been an effort in the province of Lower Austria to collect home movies and amateur films and to preserve these documents for future research. The digitised collection by now comprises more than 63,000 reels. Starting with the first steps necessary to make such a large number of documents accessible to the scientific community, our presentation addresses issues of developing a cataloguing system and an index for this collection. As most of the collected material can be labelled as 'orphan films' – detailed information on producers, camera person or proprietors is rare – context information as well as a systematic study of different practices of filming, connected to different sub-genres of films, becomes even more important in order to render these sources accessible. This requires a basic understanding of the rural amateur film culture: who was filming and what was filmed as well as which occasions or environments stimulated filming and who were the intended audiences of these movies. Therefore, we will present tentative beginnings of our analysis of home movies and amateur films in Lower Austria from the 1930s to the 1980s.

501.3. 'Cinema rural'. Moving images of agriculture and rural life in Belgium, 1920s-1980s

Sven LEFÈVRE, Centre for Agrarian History, Belgium

Yves SEGERS, KU Leuven, Belgium

Diantha OSSEWEIJER, Centre for Agrarian History (CAG, Leuven), Belgium

The development of cinema culture has long been regarded as an urban phenomenon. However, from the interwar period onwards, public institutions, farmers' associations and the agribusiness saw film as a powerful medium to communicate, in order to introduce new techniques, products, insights and values to rural society. The project 'Cinema Rural' aims to identify and to describe these moving images, to guarantee their preservation for the future, and to integrate the metadata of the films in a digital environment. This will be facilitated by the creation and further development of a public accessible database. The project is part of the ERHFDBA and will foresee in an exchange of these data with the ERHF-database. By doing so, 'Cinema Rural' wants to promote the use of these images by researchers of various disciplines, heritage workers, museum curators and educators.

In this paper we evaluate the project's approach and methodology. We will address the difficulties, opportunities and research possibilities, and present a first analysis of the collections of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Farmers' League: topics, producers and origins are discussed. Strikingly, the Belgian collections comprise many moving images produced abroad. It illustrates that rural images and the agricultural knowledge that circulated in Belgium in the years 1920-1980 had a clear international character. Popular topics were bovine tuberculosis, mechanization and hygiene on the farm.

501.4. Images of Rural-Women in the Documentary Films of the GDR

Antje F. HOFFMANN, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

The documentary film in the GDR was regarded as a relatively free space outside of regulated guidelines. Women found a role as film makers as well as protagonists and objects. In order to approach the films available for selection, an interdisciplinary group of students from the Humboldt-University used the method of video essay to approach the films and thus the images of women. This essayistic film analysis resulted in short films that trace the working woman as well as the private individual. The roles, relationship structures and multilayered self-descriptions become visible. Documentaries like "Wäscherinnen", Wittstock-Zyklus and "Haus und Hof" were used as sources about the everyday life of women. Work and the possibilities of apprenticeships for young women in rural areas and the women's general support but also demand of balance between proactive action and the private idealism and socialism are themes in the documentaries. Some of the documentaries were not produced within "Deutsche Film AG", the east German publicly owned film company, but at universities or in private productions, some were also subject to censorship, thus depicting a variety of different perspectives. The method of the video essay makes it possible to identify blind spots in post-socialist women's studies and to provide insights into the complexity of the worlds of experience of women in the GDR between 1961 and 1990.

Panel 502. New technology and new public intervention: the birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th-20th Centuries) – Part 1

Organisers:

Luciano MAFFI, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy

Stéphane LE BRAS, Université Clermont-Ferrand Auvergne, France

Paolo TEDESCHI, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Manuel VAQUERO PIÑEIRO, Università di Perugia, Italy

Chair: Andrea Maria LOCATELLI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

Discussant: Martino LORENZO FAGNANI, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy

This panel is addressed to studies concerning European wines and the prosecution of the panel organised in Leuven 2017. The main aims of the panel are:

a) To investigate the role the public institutions (regional, national or the Common Agricultural Policy) in favour of the modernization of the viticulture and winemaking: they in fact favoured the creation of schools with courses concerning the oenology and progressively they arrived at the creation of academic courses; at the same time they and protected the national viticulture and they attempted to improve the diffusion in the international markets; they promoted the European wines in the world and then they faced the competition of the wines produced in California, South America, and, more recently, in South Africa and Australia; they organised the intervention against the diseases which invested European vines in the second half of the 19th century and the successive improvement of the quality of new European vineyards during the 20th century.

b) To show the ways used for the transmission and transfer of knowledge and information regarding the new production system in the oenological sector: schools, lessons, conferences, bulletins/journals etc. These ways are referred to: all the new methods for vine growing, winemaking and conserving the wort and wine; all innovations regarding how to prevent/take care of diseases; all changes concerning the instruments existing in caves and in particular the bottles (the new forms which were created and their function), the barrels (from the great old ones to the barriques in wood oak giving more oxygen during the fermentation), the giant tanks (in stainless steel or conserving the product as well as all about the new concepts of cleaning and aeration of the caves; in the end all the strategies activated to compete with the US technology and with their marketing activities.

Papers participating at this panel will in particular focus their attention on the period including the last decades of the 19th century and the 20th century. They will allow to make some comparisons between the different European oenological areas and to improve the knowledge of the evolution of European rural society during the analysed period.

502.1. Léon Millot: A key person who played a key role in the modernization of the winemaking technologies in the late 19th century

Sylvie PIERRE, Université de Lorraine, France

Bérengère STASSIN, Université de Lorraine, France

This communication deals with the history of vine in eastern France with the work of Léon Millot (1847-1917), the founding father of the vine in the Vosges. This man is a key person in the fight against Phylloxera and in the modernization of the winemaking technologies. Our study is based on recently recovered archives which show his actions in favour of vines and winegrowers. It focuses on the role played by « La Société Vosgienne de viticulture et d'ampélographie » - that he created in 1889 - in the vinification.

Millot's work has brought new methods and innovations for prevention and treatment of diseases such as Phylloxera, mildew and iodine. He actively shared his knowledge in schools and lectures about grafts and hybrids, about the evolution of winemakers' practices. In 1875, he published an article in "Le Bulletin de l'Association de viticulture" in which he suggested using plough in the vineyard cultivation. He had just invented a plough that avoided the use of pesticides and that he provided to the local wine growers. In 1902, he published a practical guide entitled « Viticulture et ampélographie vosgiennes ». It aimed at sharing knowledge with the winemakers and at encouraging them to modernize their practices.

We will also focus on the links that Millot has developed to the research community and on the way the hybrid grape "Léon Millot" was introduced into the United States and other countries at a time when its exploitation had been forbidden in France.

502.2. Cooperation and New Technologies to Change the Winemaking in Lombardy during the 20th Century

Luciano MAFFI, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy

Paolo TEDESCHI, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

This paper shows the relevant changes in the winemaking in Lombardy during the 20th Century. A great part of the Lombard terroirs which traditionally produced low-medium quality wines which were distributed in the local market became a relevant high quality wine-producing area which exported in the international market, outside of Europe too.

The most relevant factor were the creation of cooperatives and the adoption of the new technologies. Regarding the cooperation, the quantitative growth of the phenomenon led to the early founding of a federation of cooperative wineries (cantine sociali) with the task of coordinating and representing the wine producers. In Lombardy a lot of cooperative wineries were created and they had different cultural and social matrices and experiences and result.

Innovations allowed to develop the "oeno-techno era" which started in Lombard terroirs during the 1960s: the quality of the wine was improved and moreover new products were created, in particular the sparkling wine which entered in competition with the best French wine. In the Eastern Lombardy, the Franciacorta sparkling wines in particular had a great international success, both the CDO ones and the versions based on a mix of grapes coming from different European terroirs. In the Oltrepo Pavese, La Versa winery created sparkling wines which were sold in the main international wine markets.

502.3. Export wine in Catalonia. Changes in international trade, changes in vitiviniculture (1830-1900)

Llorenç FERRER-ALOS, and Josep COLOME FERRER, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

In the 18th century, Catalonia specialized in the production of brandy destined for export to Northern Europe. This affected the creation of networks of merchants dedicated to this business. The brandy was easier to export due to the ease of preservation.

In the 19th century, the North European market disappeared for the Catalan liquor and the American market began to grow in an important way, where an important part of the Catalan wines was directed. This trade was used to compensate cotton imports for the Catalan industry. This trade generated basically two changes: one in viticulture, aimed at conserving the quality of the wines that were exported for a long journey and, the second, it transformed the commercial structure with the appearance of large stockists who made cupages of the different wines.

The appearance of phylloxera in France increased prices and a the demand for Catalan wine. The arrival of the railroad to the French border in 1878 opened a way for the massive export of wine. As had happened in the export to America, the wine sector was transformed. The small distribution of wine could not cope with these demands and, around Vilafranca del Penedés and Tarragona, new stockists emerged, concentrated near the railway station or the port. Likewise, this massive export of wine encouraged various changes in viticulture and the reorganization of the wine sector with the emergence of cooperatives, distilleries of alcohol and renewal of oenological practices.



Les vendanges, lithographie coloriée éditée par l'imprimerie Haguenthal, milieu du XIX^e siècle © MUCEM

Panel 503. Dreaming California: transnational models for innovation in agriculture (1860s-2010s) – Part 1: Crossing Borders

Organisers:

Niccolò MIGNEMI, EHESS-CNRS, France

Alexia BLIN, Université Paris 3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle, France

Vicente PINILLA, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

Chair: Leen VAN MOLLE, KU Leuven, Belgium

Discussant: Alexia BLIN, Université Paris 3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle, France

This panel aims to explore the making and remaking of California as a long-term and transnational reference for innovation in the agricultural, agri-food and rural countryside and primary sector between the 1860s and today. Rather, the goal of the panel is to analyze how the myth of the Golden State as a cornucopia has been cyclically reinvented and mobilized in various contexts over the past 150 years as a frontier of (technological, economic, and social) innovation in domains related to agricultural, rural, and food change.

Since the mid-19th century, the myth of California's natural abundance has started to be propagated in the US and the world agricultural markets. After the grain boom of the 1860s-1870s, California shifted dramatically from extensive to intensive agriculture and began to specialize in cash crops (nuts, grapes, citrus, and deciduous fruits), occupying the top position globally starting in the 1890s. This transformation was made possible by natural conditions, but fundamentally it was supported by investments in infrastructure (irrigation and transportation), technology, and biological innovation. The joint action of governmental bodies, economic actors, and civil society encouraged economic and social initiatives to promote growth and respond to potential consequences on market, labor, and environmental equilibria.

Thus, California has established itself as a transnational model of experimentation in the vast domains related to agricultural production, agro-industrial processing, and food consumption but also in recent debates on the agroecological turn and organic farming. At the same time, it has the "factories in the model, exploiting human and natural resources, polluting the environment, and accentuating social and racial inequalities. This panel intends to analyze how the Golden State has become one of the most widely cited references in global discussions about the capitalist development of agriculture, in both positive and negative terms. Firstly, it will look at the use of the Californian model to promote innovations in markets, policies and civil society projects. Secondly, it will explore the economic and political networks connecting the rest of the world to the agribusiness in California.

503.1. Early California Colleges and the Development of Agriculture in a Transnational Context

Michael WEISMAYER, Southern Adventist University, USA

This paper examines the history of agriculture in California in the latter 19th century and how transnational circulations of knowledge were important in its development. It addresses how California looked at agriculture from an academic standpoint in order to provide farmers with a scientific and professional basis.

California's first colleges were established in 1851, one year after statehood. These colleges were interested in science, and agriculture soon became a part of that interest. Santa Clara College was one of the first colleges, and a founder, Michael Accolti, became a proponent of agricultural and farming techniques. Accolti, a Jesuit from Italy, wrote letters and articles (published in the *California Farmer*) in the 1860s concerning agriculture. He advocated for systematic and scientific agricultural methods and promoted a diversification of agricultural crops. Accolti and other professors at Santa Clara College were steeped in the transnational circulation of knowledge and scientific techniques.

Around the same time, plans were underway for founding a state university. The University of California included a College of Agriculture. Instruction in agricultural studies included practical work with plants and various agricultural processes, as California was viewed as being able to grow a wide range of crops. Results of testing new plants and processes were made known to the public, and the University of California would become a world leader in education and research.

**503.2. From an oppressive and bleak western Iowa to a socialist utopian California?
An investigation on the last experiment of Icarians in Cloverdale California (1880-1886)**

Damien ROUSSELIÈRE, Agrocampus Ovest, France and Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), Canada

After Nauvoo (Illinois), Cheltenham (Missouri) and Corning (Iowa), Icaria-Speranza (California) represented the last attempt of the Icarians to establish Etienne Cabet's utopian "community of goods" and find Icaria, the "new earthly Paradise". They thought they found it in Cloverdale, California in 1880. Unfortunately, this last experiment was dismissed by historians as the least impressive of all the Icarian Communities. Based on a unique access to primary sources (Minutes of weekly meetings, complete collection of Icarian reviews and collections of Icarian letters), my perspective is different.

Following Robert Sutton, my argument is that in some aspects Icaria-Speranza was the most successful of the American Icarias. This new community was based on a split of the Icarian communities, between reformers (libertarian communists) and conservatives. In the ideological basis of Icaria-Speranza, several Ideas were explicitly borrowed from Saint-Simonian socialism and from a more tolerant view of individual self-interest. As highlighted by the letters between Californian and Iowan Icarians, Icaria-Speranza was founded on the basis of a dreamed "socialist and utopian" California, in contrast with an "oppressive and bleak" western Iowa. Interestingly Icarianism, as a utopian alternative, had participated to the modernization of California. Icarians (such as A. Dehay) were renowned for their specific contribution to the agricultural development of vineyards.

503.3. The innovation system of irrigation and the global cotton markets: The integration between California and Baja California in early decades of 20th Century

Araceli ALMARAZ, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Mexico

The irrigation system in Mexicali Valley in northwest of Mexico progressed because of the development of Imperial Valley in California. At present both valleys are part of one binational natural area. The modification and introduction of high technology on the Mexican side have started to configure the zone since the last years of 19th century around the dispute over water and land resources. The role of Mexican and American concessionaires and investors was key to the expansion of agribusiness process from California to Baja California. The agreements to define the property titles of land allowed the first building and irrigation system canals. The strategy was to take advantage of the water Colorado River affluent. The Mexican businessman Guillermo Andrade and his partner, the British investor Thomas Blythe, obtained the land titles to colonize and employ people to work the Mexicali Valley area. Mexicali and Imperial valleys have an alluvial origin and were shaped by the hauling of materials through the cause of the Colorado River and its branches that constitute the basin whose extension is 629,098 km². Several projects pretended to exploit the zone in Mexican territory but they were launched with little success because of the poor infrastructure to control the water flows. The modern gravity system of irrigation was planned to Mexicali Valley in addition to another important project: the railway connection between Yuma Arizona and Calexico to connect this town to San Diego Port.

503.4. Regulating the agricultural markets: The Californian origins of the International Institute of Agriculture

Niccolò MIGNEMI, EHESS-CNRS, France

The US citizen David Lubin (1849-1919) is now regarded as a sort of pioneer in international cooperation for his role in the creation of the International Institute of Agriculture (1905-1946). Born in a family of Jewish immigrants from Poland, he arrived in California in the 1870s and he made his fortune thanks to a department store initially based in Sacramento. Then, he was involved in the associations of the fruit growers of the Golden State. This experience undoubtedly influenced his idea of an international chamber of agriculture to fight against trusts in finance, commerce, transports, and labor that the diplomatic initiative of the Italian government in 1905 had to transform into the International Institute of Agriculture. In fact, Lubin seemed to consider the key-issues of the agricultural markets through the lens of California where a model of intensive, commercial and export-oriented farming was developing. Looking at David Lubin's correspondence, the present paper will firstly analyze how this perspective influenced the idea of a world clearing house for agricultural information that Lubin debated with economists, statisticians, traders and agricultural representatives in Europe. Secondly, it will connect the international career of Lubin with that of his associates who remained in California and analyze the transnational circulations of ideas and models on the ways of regulating and organizing the agricultural markets in the first decades of the 20th century.

Panel 504. Plants and animal breeding from the second half of the 18th century to the end of the 20th century. Global, comparative and connected perspective – Part 1

Organisers:

Christophe BONNEUIL, CNRSS, France

Pierre CORNU, Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

Chair: Christophe BONNEUIL, CNRS, France

Discussant: Frank UEKÖTTER, University of Birmingham, UK

Selecting, electing, eliminating: the history of trees, crops, microbes and cattle breeding from the Enlightenment to nowadays, have been recently reappraised at the crossroad of history of science and technology, rural history and environmental history. A growing amount of scholarly work have shed new light on the normativity and the cumulative impact of the different sciences and practices related to breeding, shedding light on biopower, organisms' industrialization, bio-social standardization and impoverishment of rural landscapes, and on unexpected multispecies encounters with a "third nature", both in industrialized and in colonial and postcolonial countries.

A rich set of local or thematic studies has been collected since the turn of the Millennium, enhancing the heuristic interest of a systemic study of selection as a social, technical, and political praxis of nature. But the still lacks comparative and synthetic surveys.

This panel would thus aim at gathering researchers from different backgrounds and studying different objects – biocultural diversity, agrosystems, institutions, political systems and governmentality, dissemination or eliminations mechanisms, market stimuli, conceptions of race, utility or value... –, in order to develop a shared discussion on the global chronology of selection and its effect on productive systems since the 18th century, with a focus on the transnational processes, with global, comparative and connected histories of breeding. Although epistemological diversity is an undeniable advantage in such a complex matter, our proposal is motivated by the need to confront selection practices and theories, processes and impacts, diverging and converging phases, especially between central and peripheral territories in the bioeconomy of late modern history.

504.1. Breeding and biopower in late 18th-century Britain

Jens AMBORG, EHESS, France

In late 18th century Britain, theories and practices of selective breeding in live-stock husbandry were greatly popularized. This new emphasis on breeding among agriculturalists in the second half of the 18th century is best understood in light of the concept of "biopower". Inversely, my claim is likewise that the concept of biopower cannot be properly understood without an examination of its animal origins.

First, I argue that a new 'truth discourse' was established according to which hereditary transmission is the dominating determinant for an offspring's physical characteristics, in contrast to previous more climate centred explanations.

Secondly, I argue that sheep and cattle were not simply conceptually turned into plastic individual bodies, but just as well into a modifiable collective mass whose bodily proportions can be governed and improved on a population scale if just the right interventions are being made. Breeding hence became a national improvement enterprise.

Finally, I examine the social aspects of the practical British breeders' "subjectification". For the breeders, guided by the "spirit of improvement" livestock husbandry was turned into an enlightened national mission of contributing to increased agricultural output and thus the public good. Breeding was presented as a moral imperative and national duty.

504.2. Imperial Rams: The Politics of Semen and Wool in the Napoleonic Wars

Pierre CORNU, Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

Little did Louis XVI take profit from the merinos sheeps he obtained from his cousin the king of Spain in 1786. Nevertheless, the precious stock survived the tumultuous years of the Revolution to fall into the assets of the House of the Emperor during the reign of Napoleon I, when the Napoleonic war led to the weaponising of every possible commodity, wool being one of the most important.

Based on rich archives material, the paper will explore the early biopolitics applied to sheep selection and breeding during the napoleonic wars. A decree promulgated in 1811, aiming at controlling the whole of continental stocks in order to build a wool industry able to match the British one, is the apparent apex of this story. Truly, historians have good reasons to be skeptical about such events: the period is full of political fantasies, sold to legislative bodies, voted with sheer enthusiasm, and altogether forgotten. Nevertheless, the newly available material reveal a complex network of scientists, breeders and members of the social and imperial elite involved in the making of a utopian bureaucracy of semen. Setting this microhistorical object in the broader picture of the process of bioresources rationalization in Europe, this paper aims at enriching the history of the link between selection and rationalization with an early episode whose legacy in biopolitics has to be questioned and compared to other commodified bioresources.

504.3. Imperial Plants and Trees: The Local and Global Politics of Botany in the Napoleonic Empire.

Laurent BRASSART, Université de Lille 3, France

The continental blockade, which began in 1802, and the control of the seas by the Royal Navy after 1805, put an end to the secular trade between the continent and the colonies. The Napoleonic State requested its scientists to find a solution to compensate the loss of colonial commodities. An elite of agronomists within the Board of Agriculture of the Ministry of Interior designed an ambitious agricultural policy for the development of the resources of the recently annexed territories in Europe, based on Parisian centralization and the transnational survey and acclimatization of species. Trees as much as dyeing plants, textile crops and oilseed crops, were acclimatized and transplanted from one imperial territory to another. The Board of Agriculture promoted a dual process of circulation of botanical knowledge and transfer of botanical innovations. In Paris and in départements' chef-lieu, the creation of a system of public nurseries enacted the interlink between Science and Administration. From a survey in the National Archives and in the local archives of French, Italian, Belgian, German and Dutch imperial territories, and from the botanical and agronomic literature, my paper documents this policy aiming at a new botanical geography of the Empire. Which plant species were favoured and why? How was this policy implemented at the local scale throughout the imperial territory? Was it merely a top-down policy? What were its economic and environmental impacts?

504.4. Napoleon and scientific research on "useful plants" in Northern Italy

Martino Lorenzo FAGNANI, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy

Napoleon's regime strengthened agricultural science and its contribution to the State economy. Between the last years of the 18th century and the first fifteen years of the 19th, were promoted experiments of hybridization, acclimatization and practical use of both animal and vegetable species. The results of those experiments affected most of Europe. My paper considers the Northern Italian scientific community, its role in the European network and its research activity on economically useful plants, including oil and sugar plants. As for oil-plants, the scientists of the Italian Republic, the later Kingdom of Italy and the Piedmont departments of France focussed on peanut and horseradish. Plants with sweetening use were the object of even more accentuated interest, most of all when the Continental Blockade affected the importation of cane sugar. The Napoleonic governments thus spurred the research centres to obtain sugar from beet, sorghum, grapes and exotic species such as the Caucasian persimmon and the American persimmon.

These researches were supported by a constant interest in experiments across the Alps -especially in France - and those carried out in the Kingdom of Naples. This was a receptive and constantly updated framework that maintained a transcultural and transnational profile. The fall of the Napoleonic empire closed the policy of massive experimentation with animals and plants but its contribution to European biodiversity has outlived Waterloo.

Panel 505. Between agriculture and the market: the transformation of rural shops and services in Europe, 1600-1900 – Part 1

Organisers:

Jonas M. ALBRECHT, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria

Corinne MARACHE, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

Jon STOBART, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

Wout VANDE SOMPELE, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

Tim SOENS, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

Chair: Tim SOENS, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

Discussant: Wout VANDE SOMPELE, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

Although several studies in the 1980s noted the growing importance of the non-agrarian rural population over the course of the early modern period, village shops and craftsmen have received less attention than their urban counterparts. Towns are seen as distribution and redistribution centres, supplying the needs of their surrounding hinterlands and linking their produce to more distant markets. By contrast, rural economies, settlements and people are cast in a passive role. This picture is remarkably resilient, remaining largely untouched by the recent surge of interest in urban retailing and its role in consumer transformation. The occasional studies that have focused on these trades suggest a long ‘golden’ 18th century, followed by a marked decline from the later 19th century. Yet the universality of this trajectory and the underlying causal mechanisms have yet to be fully explored. Was the growth in rural services occurring in response to evolutions in agriculture or was it linked to consumer transformation that introduced a plethora of new consumables in the countryside? In short, we need to know more about the socio-economic conditions that encouraged rural shops and services to thrive and/or led to their demise. At the same time, we need to explore the capacity of village shops and craftspeople to shape systems of production. To what extent did they local agriculture; what was their role in providing farmers with the machines and fertilizers to follow the agricultural transformations at work in this decisive period? What role did they play in linking rural production to urban and rural demand, especially for food, and how did this bring them into

This double panel seeks to explore rural and small-town shops and services in ways that pay due regard to economic, social and spatial complexities, and to their wider role in food supply, agricultural transformation and consumer change. By including papers from different countries, we offer comparative perspectives which highlight the impact of local, regional and national contexts.

505.1. Between “moral“ and “political“ economies of food? Rural and urban bread suppliers in Vienna and Lower Austria, c. 1830-1848

Jonas M. ALBRECHT, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria

Historians concerned with topics at the intersection of urban, food and political history have long argued that ideals of political regulation decisively influenced and shaped urban food distribution systems and, in turn, the everyday realities of both market customers and market suppliers in European and American cities. Surprisingly similar discussions oscillating between the regulation and liberalisation of, mainly, bread and meat production and distribution systems occurred in cities like e.g. Paris, Mexico City and New York City throughout the late 18th and mid-19th centuries. However, the political regulation, or the lack of, food producers and sellers beyond the city walls has received much less attention, as have the links and conflicts between those perceived as urban and rural actors. This contribution will scrutinise the interplay of “rural” and “urban” bakers in the city of Vienna and its hinterland during the first half of the 19th century. By analysing both the political regulation and the spatial sprawl of these legally and geographically very different trades, it will be argued that competing notions of “moral” and “political” economies of food between several governance institutions led to the emergence of two very distinct, specialised systems of provisioning in the course of the Vormärz period.

505.2. Rural craftsmen in vineyards of Bordeaux: Actors, suppliers and intermediaries of the viti-viniculture in 17th and 18th centuries

Stephanie LACHAUD, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the suburban medieval vineyard of Bordeaux very widely disappeared because of the urban growth. The vineyard is planted from now on in the surroundings countrysides, which remain marked by mixed farming and occupational pluralism. Many wine growers exercise a complement to their activity, as employees at bigger owners or as craftsmen. Conversely, there are many coopers, innkeepers or other jobs in the small villages which possess plots of land of vine and so they diversify their economic activity. At first sight, this traditional pluriactivity can seem to go against a shape of specialization of the vine growing and against the specialization of small business crafts. Yet, it seems that these practices offer an interesting complementarity which can be observed, in the supply of tools, in the capacity selling the wine, in the economic intermediation in a more general way. We shall here try to envisage through the example of several parishes and little rural market towns of the vineyard of Bordeaux, the place of craftsmen in these countrysides and their role in the exercise even the development of the wine-making activity.

505.3. Small shops and agricultural world. The example of southwestern France, 19th-early 20th centuries

Corinne MARACHE, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

The 19th century is marked, in France, as in many other European countries, by a quantitative and qualitative evolution of small shops in rural areas (grocery stores, hardware stores, butchers...). This phenomenon is part of broader economic and social changes in this century of profound mutations, such as the overall improvement of living conditions in the countryside, industrial revolutions and the transport revolution, changing dietary patterns, the modernization of agricultural practices...

This presentation will present first of all the outline of rural retail in the 19th century in southwestern France (type of business, spatial distribution, quantitative evolution) from personal research and second-hand work and will return to the sources available to carry out this work.

This research will be essentially based on the analysis of several farm account and rural shops account books (a grocer, a butcher and a hardware store) in the departments of Landes and Dordogne between 1830 and 1920, allowing to reveal the nature of the commercial exchanges between these two worlds.

505.4. Local and global food in English village shops, c.1660-1740

Jon STOBART, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

Products from overseas have long been accorded a central position in 18th-century consumer revolution, transforming domestic environments, social practices and the construction of identity through goods. These same products are also seen as crucial to the transformation of retailing.

This paper provides empirical evidence for the range of food stocked in village shops during the classic period of transformation for English consumption and domestic material culture: 1660-1740. It begins with a survey of overseas goods in a large sample of village shops from across England, I trace the changing availability of products like tea, coffee and sugar, tobacco and spices, but also cheese, hops, flour and the like. This gives us a much clearer picture of the extent to which the world of goods penetrated rural society and whether this varied from one part of the country to another, perhaps reflecting regional differences in agricultural regimes. In the second half of the paper, I explore a small number of shops in more detail to assess whether colonial foodstuffs formed a sprinkling of exotica in otherwise more mundane, locally sourced goods, in terms of the range and relative value of global and local foods.



Tonneaux de chêne pour les vins des côteaux de Coiffy (Haute-Marne), photo, 2015 © Varaine

Panel 506. Negotiating land reform programs 18th-20th centuries: local actors and social responses – Part 1

Organisers:

Eric VANHAUTE, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Mats MORELL, Uppsala University, Sweden

Jose Vicente SERRAO, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal

Chair: *Jose Vicente SERRAO, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal*

Discussant: *Mats MORELL, Uppsala University, Sweden*

The impact of state induced land reforms in the last few centuries on agriculture, land use and peasant societies cannot be overstated. The central aim of land reform programs is the or replacement of existing institutional arrangements governing the possession and use of land, and to alter land distribution. These reforms can go different ways, ranging from the transfer of land rights from large (individual or collective) land owners to smallholders, to the transfer of land from individual ownership to government controlled collective farms. It also changes, in different ways, the degree of the control over land use by individual farmers, local rural communities, corporations or governmental bodies. Either way, any revision or reform of regional, national or colonial land laws is an intensely political and social process, changing the relationships within and between rural communities, as well as between communities and the state.

In this session we develop a comparative bottom-up perspective on different endeavours of state initiated land reforms in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The central question is how top-down land reform programs have been implemented on the ground, how local actors responded, how the programs were negotiated or resisted.

506.1. Actors of a long-awaited land reform: Talkers, doers, winners and losers. Case study on the 1945 Hungarian land reform

Gábor CSIKÓS, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

Current study focuses on the 1945 land reform in Jász – Nagykun Szolnok county located in Central Hungary. The county was characterized by agriculture and was created with the unification of territories with different historical backgrounds including former free-peasant societies (Jászság, Nagykunság) and large estates of the nobility (right side of river Tisza).

The main aim of this paper is to reveal the execution of the 1945 land reform through the lens of local actors. A purely positive picture of land reform depicted by the Marxist historiography was challenged by the researches of recent decades. Focusing on individual stories or regional differences show variety of opinions and experiences.

Were land reform committees more radical when they confiscated large estates? Did they follow the spirit of law or the influence of Red Army was more important? How could they collect lands for purposes of the reform in those villages that lacked big differences in social status? Who were the winners and the losers of these events? And finally, were there any regulations of the local decisions (cities, villages) on county level?

506.2. The failure of land reform in the New Forest and the rise of landscape conservation

Catherine GLOVER, British Agricultural History Society, UK

Richard HOYLE, University of Reading, UK

Land reform in England took the form of private initiatives to enclose and reorganise landscapes which might be, according to the difficulty of the task or legal taste, authorised by private act of parliament. The present proposal looks at a rather unusual case where the landowner was the Crown, but even so, the complexity of the task meant that it still needed to proceed with parliamentary sanction.

The New Forest is the largest unenclosed heathland in southern England. The soil belongs to the Crown (now the state-owned Forestry Commission) but there are well-established commoners' rights including that of grazing. Today the New Forest is chiefly appreciated for its recreational value as open space. In this paper we look at the history of the forest as one of successive failed attempts at enclosure.

506.3. *Negotiating enclosures? Local responses to the Swedish enclosure reforms: The case of Västergötland c. 1800-1860*

Lars NYSTRÖM, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

One of the contradictions of the enclosure process is their simultaneous promotion of and threat to property rights. The aim of the reforms was to establish modern, uncontested land ownership. In order to realise this ambition, however, existing property rights had to be demolished. Legislators in Europe tackled this dilemma in different ways. At one extreme is the situation in pre-parliamentary England or in 19th century France, where unanimity among landowners was required for a reform. At the other extreme is the Swedish Laga skifte legislation, where it only took a petition from one stakeholder to enclose a village.

This paper studies local responses to the strong legal imperatives of Swedish enclosures. It is set in the freeholder-dominated plains area in western Sweden. Enclosures in this region started in 1804. Results show how formal institutions were contested by different counter institutions. These included the signing of contracts between villagers in order to override the one-man rule of initiative; peer pressure; and, occasionally, even violence or threats of violence directed at the land surveyor or the fellow villager applying for a reform.

506.4. *Land consolidation, development and local resistances in rural Galiza during Francoism*

Alba DIAZ-GEADA, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Along with colonization, land consolidation was the other great instrument of Francoist socio-structural policy, and a clear example of its mainly technical nature. Land consolidation policy began with the 1952 legislation. Land consolidation law was a technical measure that addressed land fragmentation into small properties. In contrast to the Second Republic (1931-1936) agrarian reform, it avoided the matter of large-scale land ownership and its necessary redistribution. Land consolidation is a restructuring of territory into fewer and larger plots that allow roads or paths between them. This re-design sought to technically rationalize farms in areas with highly fragmented ownership of land in order to create ideal conditions for introducing machinery, reducing production costs and ultimately increasing family income levels. Through a micro-historical approach, this paper aims to investigate changes in the developmental model of the dictatorship, by incorporating the local actors and their resistances in the historical interpretation.



La Cueillette des olives au Domaine de Pilon-Parat, début du xx^e siècle, carte postale © MUCEM.

Panel 507. State and collective action in rural commons: The water institutions – Part 1

Organiser: Alice INGOLD, EHESS, France

Chair: Angelo TORRE, Università del Piemonte Orientale, Italy

Discussant: Elly Dezateux ROBSON, University of Cambridge, UK

This panel aims to grasp the complex relationships between the water commons institutions and the local, regional and national powers and their changes over the longue durée. Studies on commons in the wake of Elinor Ostrom have tended to favor a scale of analysis leading to an internalist approach, focused on “commons governance”. Forms of commons governance are therefore interpreted as responses, in a sort of face à face between a resource and a community. However, thinking of commons in terms of a faceoff between resource and community does not make it possible to grasp the functioning of logics of exclusion and inclusion which form the very basis of the life of commons.

The aim of this panel is not simply to acknowledge that commons lived under (less or more) “tolerant states”, to quote Tine De Moor who, in the wake of Ostrom, stressed the need for a legal recognition of commons on the part of authorities. What was the role of states, or of regional powers, in the history of commons? Far from being isolates, water institutions were inscribed in plural institutional and political environments: commons institutions and regional powers were not exogenous entities, but rather were linked by reciprocal needs.

The regulation of the use of water went through a profound transformation during the 19th century. The water institutions (consorzi di utenti in Italy, association syndicale d’arrosage in France, instituciones de riego in the huertas of Spain, wateringues...) were also profoundly affected by the transformation of the State during the liberal era. What were the consequences of the separation (and separate of authorities – administration and the judiciary – for ways of thinking over the collective management of environmental resources? How have con- over water access led to questions of jurisdiction between civil law and administrative law? How have water evolved after the separation of administrative and judiciary authorities? How did the autonomization of state public administration, which itself as a separate space from jurisdiction, radically transform the political and legal conditions in which water institutions existed?

Theses water institutions often left us exceptional archival records that could be exploited in order to explore the complex relationship between commons institutions and state.

507.1. The construction of Stateless narratives on water commons in 19th century. History at the service of the irrigation communities’ customary rights

Alice INGOLD, EHESS, France

This paper aims to deconstruct mythical narratives of stateless commons. In contrast with all the other rural commons, which were condemned as inefficient by political economy and the private owner exclusivity system, irrigation commons were valued from the beginning of the 19th century. This positive development translated into fascinating inquiries, undertaken from the 1820s to the 1880s in several places across Europe. Their authors, who were linked with the water institutions (as members of the water boards, legal experts), initiated archival gathering, ancient document translations, inquiries in which history played a crucial role.

This ‘discovery’ of the water commons presented them as a pertinent response to the danger of keeping resources available to the State, presented as ill-suited in managing scarce natural resources. It was in the context of very acute conflicts over access to the resource that this use of history became enshrined. The historical longevity of irrigation communities was highlighted in order to defend their customary rights against the public administration’s will to regulate all water courses, which was more favorable to ‘new users’. Commoners succeeded in defending their rights. Part of the resource appeared to be *unavailable* to administration regulation: the customary part allowed to the water institutions and protected by the courts. *Scarcity* emerged as the *threshold* below which the public administration did not have the legitimacy to intervene.

507.2. The collective action of irrigation associations in the face of hydraulic works and state policies (Valencia, first half of the 20th century)

Francesco D'AMARO, Universitat de València, Spain

In the 20th century the regulation of the rivers of Spain aimed the creation of new irrigation lands and the increase of energy production, as pointed out by Swyngedouw or Camprubí. However, water policies and the projects of agrarian development are commonly considered as top-down processes. The participation of rural communities remains almost unexplored.

In my speech, I will talk about the collective re-action of users of Júcar (Valencia) in the face of national policies. The analysis of primaries sources – produced by these irrigation associations of eastern Spain (Cf. Glick, Maass or Ostrom) – shows that farmers promoted a more effective collective action. During Primo dictatorship and II Republic, they tried to control the new hydrographic confederation, i.e. a river basin assembly that would give voice to the interests of traditional users. Moreover, they cooperated with hydroelectric companies to build a dam and limit the interference of state engineers. After Spanish Civil War, a formal Júcar Union became a tool of dialogue on a regional level for water users and Franco's governments.

This case study demonstrates that farmers were able to submit their ideas in public opinion and, sometime, to impose their needs on state policies. Moreover, the lobbying activity of its leaders achieved the control of river regulation: they used their negotiating abilities to defend the traditional agricultural interests from incoming users or excessive centralization.

507.3. “Folklorizing” local practices: From rights of use to use of rights in water micro-communities of Ligurian Apennines

Anna Maria STAGNO, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy
Vittorio TIGRINO, Università del Piemonte Orientale, Italy

Starting from the analysis of the transformations of the access rights to water used in rural aqueducts in Ligurian Apennines, between the 18th and the 21th c., our paper aims to reflect on how water institutions adapted themselves in the frame of new administrative States and on how and if water conflicts changed after the separation of administrative and judiciary authorities.

Through a constant dialogue between archaeological and documentary sources, we aim to investigate the close relationship between the changes in the way to regulate and qualify collective resources and the definition of formal/legal micro-institution which locally regulate the management of water resources, evaluating how and in which way this definition introduced a change. We consider these changes part of wider reconfiguration of the relationship between public institutions and the local society, derived by the tentative (not completely resolved) exercised by central governments of the “modern” state, to obliterate the jurisdictional value of practices, separating actions and rights. A process implemented by promoting widespread administrative control over environmental resources, and limiting the sphere of action of local actors within legislation of the state (promoting rural and special codes), which highly contributed to transform local communities, from active custodians of even negotiable rights to protagonists of a cultural peculiarity, which then was catalogued as folklore.

507.4. Customary management of water in Dombes area (France) and identification of local legal pluralism

Gaëtan BAILLY, Université Jean-Moulin Lyon 3, France

This presentation aims to show how water uses had recently evolve in the Dombes area (France), causing a slow change of juridical organization in water sharing. This local “water society” contains complex relationships between the resource users. That's why local customary right, which have been consolidated over the centuries (since the 12th century), form a kind of parallel legal system whose purpose is to manage and organize the uses of water.

Generally referred to as customs, these spontaneous rules strengthen the legal solidarity around the collective management of a natural common: water. Despite the unification of the French legal system since the Dombes area still applies spontaneous and customary rules for the exploitation of water resources for fish farming purposes. Customary law and common law that applies to water seem to be opposed. For these reasons, and the lack of knowledge from jurisdictions, the implementation of local law and its recognition by common law has been compromised. Nevertheless, the spontaneous right contributes to the achievement of the objectives of environmental law insofar as it contributes to a balanced and sustainable management of the water resource. The renewal of the legal forms of the traditional rules makes it possible to foresee the coexistence of a legal pluralism in a contemporary legal context.

Finally, our presentation proposes to demonstrate how complex the juridical apprehension of local uses of natural resources can be.

Panel 508. Rural global transition: From agricultural villages to new ruralities – Part 1

Organiser: Luis CAMARERO, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

Chair: Jesús OLIVA, Universidad Pública de Navarra, Spain

Discussant: Hélène DUCROS, Council for European Studies, Columbia University, USA

Rural localities have adapted to global context. In general, rural places have reorganized their subsistence forms and they have their activities – multifunctionality-. Also they have incorporated new economic ways putting in value their diversity and non-tangible resources – post-productive economies –. The conjunction of multifunctionality and postproductivism it is the new rurality. The effects over social structure, population movements and also the change related to the connection of rural areas with the whole society are open questions to understand the new character of rurality.

Population mobility of any type – migration, commuter, displacements – has been increasing in all directions. Population are wider and more intense and these trends has transformed the demographic potentiality and social composition of rural societies, as well as the local economies and labour markets.

In the context of the Food Regulation Regime, deagrarianization and socio-productive transformation changed the relationship between local communities and their territories. Technology, agriculture and the extension of global value chains to non-food productions associated to land-energy, fuel, environmental – have relocated the capital and undermined the local communities and producers capacity of by they own land uses. The traditional local class relationships have been eroded.

This set of changes produced new political arenas, where local and global actors interact with unequal opportunities and asymmetric conditions. The rural political dependency increased and the ability of public policies to “thinking rurally” reduced. New of social have arisen specially associated with the appropriation of environmental resources, but also motivated by the environmental effects of new land use over local populations.

The new productive frame associated with mobility and communication density also bring forth a new hybrid “rural face”. The traditional urban-rural differentiation is dissolving while the postmodern cultural turn the rurality as social imaginary. The of rurality is supporting new activities and it is attracting new residents. Most rural villages are far from agrarian communities and many of them are close to cosmopolitanism way of life.

508.1. Old and New Solaklı Valley: Culture, Agriculture and Settlements

Esra EKŞİ BALCI, Yildiz Technical University, Turkey

Today's modernity and the last point of the industrialization period weakens the rural production and lifestyles, and makes the rural turn into urban form not only in physical ways but also in economic and social ways. The aim of this paper is to look in detail to Trabzon Solaklı Valley, to bring out the differences between the old rural life and new rurality.

Global economic system increases the scale of production, and due to the developing technology, communication and transportation modes, global companies shares the market in very small pieces with local producers.. In order to keep the production and the market wide, system leads to the deterioration of the order of nature and the irreversible results such as climate change and water cycle differentiation.

Solaklı Valley Basin is a special place with it's Pontic-Greek speaking Muslum population. In and on the basin as it is in the region there was a triple life, village in winter, highlands in summer and hamlets in spring and fall. This was an organisation done due to the resources of the nature. Animal breeding was the main economic activity besides the agriculture of nuts, tea, bean and zucchini. Family made the yearly plan according to this agricultural and animal breeding activities. Today this cycle has a lot of broken points on. The presentation will tell about this points and reflections of this points on the new rural life.

508.2. Emerging Agrarian Landscape and Rurality in 21st Century India

Bhim REDDY, Institute for Human Development, Delhi, India

Rural-agrarian changes in India mostly defied anticipated trends; a few of them are: fragmentation of agricultural land, resulting in a small farm economy without dispossession of 'peasants'; circulation rather than permanent migrations from rural to urban areas, characterised by 'footloose' labour; while less than half of the India's workforce is engaged in agriculture, still more than two thirds of its population still lives in the countryside; while most of them have shifted to non-farm activity, majority still hold on to agricultural land.

This paper, first, critically reviews recent evidence and describes the emerging agrarian structure, the recent trends in forms of labour, agrarian change including new technologies, patterns of rural-urban labour circulation and employment. Here, it would also critically engage with the notion of 'classes of labour'.

Secondly, I will highlight the growing size and significance of the higher educated youth shaping rurality in India- what I call 'educated rurality' - a feature yet to be recognised. Rural India now has more than half of the students attending higher education in India. Educated and attending ones, together. Exploring the sociological and cultural dimensions of aspirations of rural populations, particularly the youth, education and employment, I will elaborate on an emerging dichotomy in migration of rural youth, wherein, higher education for a majority is, paradoxically, immobilising.

508.3. Mobilization, Resistance, and Adaptation in the Mexican Countryside (1990-2014)

Gustavo GORDILLO-DE ANDA, Centro Latinoamericano de estudios para el desarrollo, Mexico

David GREENWOOD-SANCHEZ, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA

This paper will examine these questions using as evidence peasant responses to two events in Mexico: (1) the 1991-92 agrarian reforms, and (2) the passage of the 2005 Biosecurity Law. The agrarian reform is notable for ending the reparto agrario, liberalizing the sector, and expanding the property rights of ejiditarios, particularly the option of privatizing individual plots. The 2005 Biosecurity law, colloquially known as the Ley Monsanto, established a regulatory framework for the production and commercialization of biotechnologies, particularly genetically modified crops.

Our evidence will consist of two components. The first draws from a series of household-level surveys: a survey of ejidos in 1990 and 1994, the decennial Agricultural Census, and the biannual Expenditures and Income Household Survey. The second component is an assessment of peasant regarding their efforts to challenge state regulatory policy. We will focus on the connection between peasant resistance and political mobilization, particularly peasant involvement in two nationwide movements to protect maize from genetic modification – Red en Defensa del Maíz and Sin Maíz No Hay País.

508.4. The new frontiers of capital in the rural spaces in Southern Chile, 1990-2018

Fabián ALMONACID, Universidad Austral de Chile, Chile

In Southern Chile. After the crisis of traditional agriculture and peasant (crops and livestock), specially produced by an increasing globalisation. This has generated an expansion of the frontiers of capital in the rural spaces, opening new business, as non-conventional energy resources, principally bioenergy, land-grabbing for conservation, different kinds of tourism, globalized production of fresh foods and other crops, like flowers and bulbs, etcetera. That it resumes in the bioeconomy concept.

The new frontiers of capital in the rural world opens a conflict by land tenure and water, between enterprises and capitalists versus local communities who lives in or beside the rural spaces disputed for the new business. This is, capitalists versus workers. In addition, confront some new business to commercial agriculture and forestry industry. This is, capitalists versus capitalists.

This paper will analyze the fundamental aspects of the new business, from perspective of the capitalist accumulation, and particularly, the relations that they create with communities and other capitalists. It proposes that those business are profitables, but also they must to be understand inside the accumulation capitalist process, and like elements for to legitimate the globalized capitalism.

Likewise, out the disagreements and conflicts, the new business have links with traditional rural activities and local communities, that generate mutual profit.

Panel 509. Between history and archeology: Exploring the sustainable practices in the management of environmental resources (1600-2000) – Part 1

Organisers:

Matteo Di TULLIO, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy

Anna Maria STAGNO, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy

Chair: Rosa CONGOST, Universitat de Girona, Spain

Discussant: Maïka DE KEYZER, KU Leuven, Belgium

The aims of this panel are (I) to promote the dialogue between history and archaeology around a common topic (II) to reconstruct the local practices implemented to promote a “sustainable” use of environmental resources.

The investigations on how and with which results the environmental resources were managed is one of the main current topic in the rural history and the archaeology. However, a common dialogue around this subject is far to be consolidated. Our goal is to favour new and comparisons between grammars, concepts and research practices from these different in order to promote an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the environment, going beyond the simple collection of different experience.

In other words, this panel will be an occasion to develop a dialogue between these sister disciplines with the goal to confront perspectives and methodologies for the analysis of a current issue, with pivotal consequences in the past as today. In addition to this interdisciplinary objective, our purpose is to provide an European comparison of the different practices of environmental resources management, exploring in particular the actions promoted to cope with the sustainability problems. The goals are (I) to going beyond the traditional perception of the rural societies as simply promoter of the reproduction of the same practices, (II) to explore the role of sharing practices, mainly those related to commons, and their changes in the construction of the past and present landscape, (III) to underline the necessity to reconstruct the everyday management of natural resources, with the objective to understand which kind of sustainable practices were promoted at local level, although in a continuous dialog with others actors and institutions.

509.1. Sustainability and the management of environmental resources: An introduction starting from a research note

Matteo Di TULLIO, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy

This paper aims to introduce the different objectives proposed by this panel, starting from my own research experience and the interdisciplinary papers presented by the other participants to this panel. I will introduce some reflections around the grammars, the concepts and the different research practices proposed up until now by archaeologists and historians in order to reconstruct the practices in the management of environmental resources. More than just a list, the idea is to provide some suggestions to develop an interdisciplinary dialog, both in the follow presentations and during the general discussion.

To this end, I will relate the suggestions provided by the literature with the provisional results obtained by some researches that I conducted on the management of natural resources in early modern northern Italy. Particularly, I will focus on the conflicts over water use involving some “social” institutions and large landowners in the Po valley, here consider as the main way to reconstruct the practices in the management of natural resources and the emergence of sustainability problems.

509.2. Mardin Vineyards: A Case of Sustainable Agriculture from Antiquity to the Present

Bilen ABDULLAH, Ege University, Turkey

Mardin is located in the southeastern Turkey, is a vivid ancient city with urban architecture remaining from the Medieval Ages. Many different ethnic groups live here together. Mardin has been inhabited uninterruptedly from the Neolithic until today and regions around was at the center of the first agricultural essays and practices. We know from the historical records that the cities of Mesopotamia were imported wine from this region in the 2nd millennium BC and carbonized grape seeds found in the Upper Tigris Valley prove it recently. Similarly, Çelbira Antique Grape Workshop, which was discovered as a result of excavations carried out by Mardin Museum in 2011, is the world's oldest known mass production grape workshop dated to the 5th-6th century AD, Eastern Roman Emperor period. All this evidence documents the long history of grape cultivation in the surrounding region.

Nowadays the city, famous for Syriac Wines, is in the Turkey's top grape-producing region. Grape is an important element of the regional economy with dozens of different types. Vineyards covers hectares throughout narrow and long valleys. The paper examines the traditional viticulture activities and production patterns of vineyards starting from the historical background of Vineyards. The article will examine a sustainable traditional production practice in rural areas which is mostly rely on traditional production techniques.

509.3. Climate adaptation and regional agricultural development in Sweden, 1600-1900

Martin SKOGLUND, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Diversity in agricultural systems in Sweden during the Early Modern period has been explained in terms of adaptations to variance in natural conditions, including climate. In contrast, transformation of these agricultural systems during the agricultural revolution have been explained by market demand, technological and institutional development, resulting in a homogenous system less dependent on natural conditions. This narrative implies static natural conditions and leaves out when and how supposed adaptations to natural conditions took place. However, the period was engulfed in a period of climatic change known as the 'Little Ice Age', bringing about reduced average temperatures and greater variability in climate. This raises the question of how and to what extent agricultural systems still dependent on variance in natural conditions was able to adapt to these changes. This paper aims to study agricultural change and climate adaption in Sweden during the period 1600-1900 CE by using data on land use and farming systems from cameral archives, cadastral maps and probate inventories. In addition, meteorological and climate science data from the 20th and 21st centuries will be used to reconstruct the past context climate change and climatic variance between agricultural regions. Finally, recent historical and archaeobotanical research on the characteristics of local varieties of grain will be used to construct hypothesis on crop selection as climate adaptation.

509.4. Pasture and open field landscapes on the south-eastern slopes of Gran Sasso (Abruzzo, Italy): An agro-silvo-pastoral system founded on community practices

Annalisa COLECCHIA, Società dei Territoralisti, Italy

Pasture and open field landscapes can be found on the south-eastern slopes of Gran Sasso. The open field system originates from medieval community practices and balances the needs of agriculture and sedentary grazing. This study focuses on the Barony of Carapelle (Gran Sasso National Park). The open fields in the Viano and Buto plateaus are still surrounded by extensive pastures and woods. According to community practices, the land was divided into ribbon-shaped fields with the long side perpendicular to the slope, to provide each plot with the same quantity of humus. The crop rotation (barley and potatoes) had a regular schedule, with a long free-grazing period after the harvest. With the disappearance of these practices and the primary sector crisis, the open field landscape has suffered from land closure, abandonment of crops and land consumption, although in the Barony of Carapelle the open field system has survived. Its permanence contrasts with the widespread degradation of neighbouring areas, and contributes to the reinterpretation of territorial values. Currently, this trend is still weak, but positive signals are generated by reticular relationships and by the Park's function. By connecting historical and archaeological research results, environmental and agronomic data and socio-economic processes, this paper aims to illustrate the sustainability of the traditional open field system and the development perspectives related to its reactivation and promotion.



Moulin à huile d'olive , Nyons, XVIII^e siècle © INRA, Jean Weber.

Panel 510. The water management and the market economy

Organiser: Futoshi YAMAUCHI, Kyoto Sangyo University, Japan

Chair: Beatrice MORING, Helsinki University, Finland and Essex University, UK

Discussant: Craig MULDREW, University of Cambridge, UK

Throughout history, how our relationship with water has always been an issue of universal importance in the daily lives of people in every part of the world. Each region of the world varies enormously in terms of its environment and its access to fresh water. Each region has its own ways of accessing and managing its water resources. Some environments require irrigation systems to deal with the problem of the lack of water and to avert the danger of shortages. Others need well-developed drainage systems due to the frequency of . . . Therefore, the water management methods adopted in different places vary considerably. It was the history which the people have developed natural environments and have been . . . by the natural environments. This panel approaches the Environmental History research through water management.

This panel aims to compare and analyse the historical changes in the management of water resources by societies in different regions across the world, with particular reference to the changes of people's livelihoods brought about by the development of the market economy. The areas which will be compared are Japan, England and Bali, Indonesia. The cases we will examine are a marsh village in Japan whose residents were engaged in the managing the cultivation of rice paddies, the unique water environment of the . . . villages along the coast of Japan, a village on the edge of a fen involved with the cultivation of crops as well as cattle and dairy farming in England, and a community involved in rice-paddy farming on the rice terrace village on the island of Bali.

The areas of Japan and England were under the special structure of rule. They were under the intricate system of the rule. Those areas were not subject to overall domination. On the other hand, the example of the island of Bali was the change under the strong policies and globalism. In this respect, both are very different.

Through the comparison of the above cases, the panel examines how each village responded to the rapid progress of the market economy, in particular focusing on the alteration of the way people there earned a living, accompanied by the changes to the water management systems. Because the livelihood of the people have change, while the water management methods and market structure change.

510.1. The livelihood of the people who have been in the wetlands area in early modern Japan

Futoshi YAMAUCHI, Kyoto Sangyo University, Japan

Yoshiyuki MURAYAMA, Yamagata University, Japan

Hiroshi HASEBE, Tohoku University, Japan

This paper considers the Nishi-minamikanbara district, Niigata Prefecture, in 19th-century Japan, which became a representative rice-producing district for modern flood control technology in Japan. However, in the 19th century, the lagoon and marsh throughout this area frequently flooded. additionally, it was more difficult to manage the water because the rule of the feudal lord was intricate in this area. We want to investigate the water management and market economy by examining a community which conflicted and collaborated because of water management and the various lived vocations in the region. This report mainly takes a global view of the structure of lived vocations. This area was not suitable for rice farming because of its natural environment. Rice farming work was extremely difficult, and its productivity was very low. So, a piece of land that was in a relatively good condition had been used for farming, and the people grew beans, fruit, and vegetables and sold them in the 19th century. Furthermore, cotton textiles were made from cotton and indigo which was grown in this area. Besides, locals were engaged in fishing in the lagoons, rivers, paddy fields, and waterways. The people in the Nishi-minamikanbara district in the 19th century were thought to have been very poor because of the low productivity of rice farming and the natural environment, but they had various lived vocations besides rice farming.

510.2. Structure and Characteristics of Labor Migration in the 19th Century Japan: Historical analysis of 'Tasho-kasegi' of Kakuda-hama Village in Echigo Area

Tingting ZHANG, Tohoku University, China

This paper clarifies characteristics of labor migration, so-called 'tasho-kasegi', and its background, including demographic movements, family structure, social and economic structure of the village, based on a case study of a fishing village named Kakuda-hama in Echigo Area. The materials referred to this study included the 'Shumon-Aratame-Chō' and the 'Iesū Ninbetsuchō' (religious faith surveys), from the Tokugawa era to the beginning of the Meiji era, and historical records related to the migrant labors of the village. This village witnessed a steady increase in population from 1740s to 1860s, even though population stagnation occurred in other parts of Japan during the same period. The continuous population growth of the village is thought to be related to its specific multi-trading, mainly based on agriculture, salt making, fishing and also the labor migration known as 'tasho-kasegi', developed in response to the onset of market economy. By the first half of the 19th century, 'tasho-kasegi' became fixed in the occupational style of the village male residents, who travelled to the northern Kanto region to work as carpenters and timbermen. It is conceivable that they were doing carpentry in addition to farming, fishing, salt-making and other occupational activities practiced in the village.

510.3. The communal system, families and the ways people there earned a living in a fen-edged parish, Willingham, Cambs., England

Motoyasu TAKAHASHI, Ehime University, Japan

This paper aims to shed light on the multiple aspects of the way people earned a living in a fen-edged parish, Willingham, Cambs., England. The usage of commons of Willingham tells us a great deal about the community and how it was influenced by the fact that it was situated in a fenland area that was often flooded. The social and economic system in this area on the edge of the fens hardly changed at all between the medieval period and the time of the enclosure carried out in 1842. The rational management of water resources by the community of Willingham shows clearly how major changes in people's livelihoods were brought about by the development of the market economy. The probate wills left by the substantial Willingham families who illuminate the fact that even those who had more choice were liable to suffer just as much as anyone else from floods as well as from the natural and economic environments, and so established a strong sense of community to enable their families to prosper in the long term. The bequests in wills reflect the family's attitudes rather than being mere property provisions. The resources from the commons provided the hidden richness to these fen-edged families and enabled them to choose how they ensured the survival of the family. As an example, we have the Bowls who had two branches namely farming and fishery. Also, the case of the Biddalls reveals how they were able to support a disabled child by engaging in shoe-making and money lending.

510.4. Functional Change of Subak Irrigation Association in Northern Island of Bali and Its Problems: A Case study at Sawan District, Buleleng Regency

Kadek ANTARTIKA, Ganeshha University of Education, Indonesia

Subak irrigation system has existed in Bali from earlier than nine century and recognized as world cultural heritage by UNESCO since 2012. Currently, however, the future sustainability of Subak is a big concern. The problems that occur in managing Subak in Sawan district is various enough. The first thing that can be pointed out is water conflicts and water thief incidents that are occurred due to natural environmental factor and water problem related to social factor. Secondly, it is a decrease in paddy fields by changing land use phenomena and cropping transformation which is shaking the Subak existence. Furthermore, thirdly, weakening of the Subak itself that shakes the essence of Subak is raised. It is said that the number of young generations who are away from agriculture is increasing considerably, while the occupation of Subak members gradually diversified. As a result, mutual aid practice among Subak members as a traditional organization is beginning to shake greatly. Maintaining the philosophical "cosmic view" of Bali Hindu's "Tri Hita Karana" that happiness is gained by respecting the harmony among God, human and nature are being in danger. How to overcome these problems is becoming a big problem for Bali rural communities in the age of globalization?

Panel 511. The Archives of private enterprises and its potential value for rural history

Organisers:

Laurent HERMENT, CNRS, France

Peter MOSER, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

Chairs:

Laurent HERMENT, CNRS, France

Peter MOSER, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

Discussant: Bruno WITZEL, University of Göttingen, Germany

The source material used by rural and agrarian historians so far is vast and numerous. In France, for example, they have so far used primarily administrative sources accessible in the National Archives and in regional and local archival institutions. Despite the richness of the source material in these archives, rural and agrarian historians interested in the period of the 19th and the 20th centuries are more and more eager to consult other sources as well. Exceptionally relevant is the source material of cooperatives, manufacturing and banks since they all played a crucial role in the attempts to modernise the French countryside along the lines of industry and science. The purpose of this session is to provide insights into the richness of the archival material of cooperatives, private enterprises and banks. The and organisation involved in this panel are Saint-Gobain, the worldwide main producer of superphosphates before World War I, Crédit Agricole, the main bank devoted to rural areas, assisted by the Maison de Salins Foundation, committed to promoting the cooperative model, the Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations, the main public credit organisation, and Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique, the main promoter of agriculture sciences in France. They will present the content and structure of their archives related to icultural modernisation.

This session is of high relevance to senior scholars as well as innovative students who seek new archival material in order to develop new answers to new (and old) questions.

Crédit Agricole et Maison de Salins

Historical Archives of Crédit Agricole SA and the Maison de Salins Foundation

Created in 1920 as a public establishment, the *Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole* is the top of *Crédit Agricole*'s "pyramid" made up of local and regional mutuals. It was privatized in 1987 and then traded in 2001 under the name of *Crédit Agricole SA*. The Historical Archives of this company allow to trace the history of mutualism in the agricultural and rural world from the end of the 19th century to the present day. The most interesting series of archives for ruralist historians are the annual reports, the minutes of the boards of directors of the different ancestors of *Crédit Agricole SA*, an important series of more than 4,000 loan files granted to cooperatives and records to trace the creation of the regional mutuals.

The Maison de Salins Foundation, created in 2017, is a place for meetings and reflections that promote the cooperative model and highlight its history. It is based in Salins-les-Bains (Jura), in the house that hosted the headquarters of the first local *Crédit Agricole*. The Foundation and the Historical Archives of *Crédit Agricole SA* are partners for projects to promote archives of cooperative enterprises.

Fédération Nationale d'Agriculture Biologique

The French Federation of Organic Farmers (FNAB) is a professional organisation which represents organic farmers. It brings together 13 regional and 70 local groups. 10 000 organic farmers are members of the network.

The organisation has 3 core missions:

- (1) a development structure: providing expertise, supporting public authorities, institutions and professionals in developing organic agriculture everywhere and for everyone (incl. helping with conversions to organic farming).
- (2) a professional organisation: representing organic producers in France and at international level and facilitating a field-based network.
- (3) a civic movement which contributes to inform, raise awareness and mobilise civil society on organic agriculture and its benefits for health and the environment.

Website: www.fnab.org

Saint-Gobain

Saint-Gobain is present in 67 countries with more than 180 000 employees. The Group designs, manufactures and distributes materials. It celebrated his 350 years of history in 2015.

However, the company we know today has little to do with that which accompanied the modernization of the French countryside for over one hundred years. At the beginning of the 20th century, Saint-Gobain was much more known in the rural world for chemical fertilizers than for glassmaking materials. This story began in 1822 with the creation of a chemical factory in Chauny (Oise) to produce a raw material necessary for glassmaking. The production of superphosphates in the second half of the 19th century is the result of an industrial diversification strategy. This story ended in 1970 with the divestiture of chemical activities and the merger with Pont-à-Mousson.

This is not Saint-Gobain's only contribution to the French countryside development. In the 20th century, the Group manufactured construction products specifically designed for farm buildings.

Our communication aims to present the rich archives available to write this history. They are kept at the Saint-Gobain archives center in Blois. The archival records are open to interested researchers. They include series of board decisions and reports, detailed production and marketing statistics, advertising documents and various records of industrial activities.

Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique

Département Sciences sociales, Agriculture et Alimentation, Espace et Environnement (SAE2)

The sphere of activities of the Social Science, Agriculture and Food, Rural Development and Environment Division (SAE2) is Economics and Social Sciences applied to food, agriculture, environment and dynamics of regions. Its research aims on the one hand, to understand the functioning and social and economic developments of agriculture, food processing industries, agribusinesses, food with close links to local and global environmental stakes, and on the other hand, to shed light on public debates and public and private decisions.

The division includes 200 researchers and engineers (80% economists and 20% sociologists) in 19 research units located in 11 of the 22 French regions.

The SAE2 division missions are:

- to describe and understand the organization and operation modes of the economic and social world,
- to contribute to analysing and clarifying public and private actors' decisions by working out and implementing conceptual and operational tools,
- to shed light on debates on the elaboration and assessment of public policies, on preparation and follow-up of European and international negotiations, as well on science/society relationships.

LE CHAMP DE FOIRE.

VIII



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>601.</p> <p>Moving pictures and their impact on rural history – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Peter Moser, Marijn Molema, Edouard Lynch, Ulrich Schwarz-Gräber, Yves Segers, Peter Vee</p> <p>Chair: Yves Segers</p>	<p>601.1.</p> <p>The EBU series International Agrarian News, invitation</p> <p>Peter Veer</p>	<p>601.2.</p> <p>A regional point of view of French countryside transformation: The example of “Télé Promotion Rural” movies (1970-1990)</p> <p>Edouard Lynch</p>	<p>601.3.</p> <p>V historical experience of rural modernity</p> <p>Marijn Molema, Syds Wiersma</p>	<p>601.4.</p> <p>Energy Films, Transitions in the English countryside</p> <p>Karen Sayer</p>		<p>PANEL 601</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_01</p> <p><i>54 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>602.</p> <p>New technology and new public intervention: The birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th-20th Centuries) – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Luciano Maffi, Stéphane Le Bras, Paolo Tedeschi, Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro</p> <p>Chair: Luciano Maffi</p>	<p>602.1.</p> <p>The European Commission and the French Ministry of Agriculture: A Case of shared Empowerment on the Wine Sector</p> <p>Romain Blancaneaux</p>	<p>602.2</p> <p>The slow modernization: The wine industry in Italy (1945-1963)</p> <p>Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, Francesca Giommi</p>	<p>602.3.</p> <p>The brand as production value. From the trademark to the designation of origin of wines from the Douro Demarcated Region</p> <p>Carla Sequeira, Paula Montes Leal</p>	<p>602.4.</p> <p>The wine production in the Italian North-Eastern Regions (1954-1984)</p> <p>Ilaria Suffia</p>		<p>PANEL 602</p> <p>Room</p> <p>BS1_05</p> <p><i>54 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>603.</p> <p>Dreaming California: transnational models for innovation in agriculture (1860s-2010s). Part 2: Looking at the “comucopia”</p> <p>Organisers: Niccolò Mignemi, Alexia Blin, Vicente Pinilla</p> <p>Chair: Deborah Fitzgerald</p>	<p>603.1.</p> <p>Agricultural exports and economic development in Spain of Globalization: The anticalifornian model</p> <p>María Isabel Ayuda, Vicente Pinilla</p>	<p>603.2.</p> <p>Monitoring pesticides and human health: How California agriculture became a and epidemiological experiment (from the 1950s to Today)</p> <p>Sylvain Brunier,- Jean-Noël Jouzel</p>	<p>603.3.</p> <p>Conservation banking: From a Californian institutional innovation to its national diffusion</p> <p>Stephanie Barral, Ritwick Ghosh</p>	<p>603.4.</p> <p>Unpacking the Californian Dream in North Africa: Insights from Morocco and Tunisia</p> <p>Mathilde Fautras, Sarah Ruth Sippel</p>		<p>PANEL 603</p> <p>Room 7</p> <p><i>105 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>604.</p> <p>Plants and animal breeding from the second half of the 18th century to the end of the 20th century. Global, comparative and connected perspective – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers : Christophe Bonneuil, Pierre Cornu</p> <p>Chair: Pierre Cornu</p>	<p>604.1.</p> <p>Seed systems, biopower and legibility. On some German origins of the French seed System, from 1934 (Nazi Seed Law) to 1942 (French Seed Order)</p> <p>Christophe Bonneuil</p>	<p>604.2.</p> <p>Making Coffee Resistant: Plant Agency, World Surveys and Global Political History</p> <p>Maria Do Mar Gago</p>	<p>604.3.</p> <p>Wheat varietal replacement as a driver of the degradation of Spanish rainfed agroecosystems throughout the second half of the 20th Century</p> <p>Gloria Guzmán, Guiomar Carranza, Eduardo Aguilera, David Soto, Juan Infante-Amate, Inmaculada Villa, Antonio Herrera, Manuel González de Molina</p>	<p>604.4.</p> <p>The Rockefeller Foundation and the Agricultural Elites: Agronomists and Varieties</p> <p>Marianna Fenzi</p>		<p>PANEL 604</p> <p>Amphitheatre</p> <p>François Furet</p> <p><i>105 Bd. Raspail</i></p>
<p>605.</p> <p>Between agriculture and the market: the transformation of rural shops and services in Europe, 1600-1900 – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Jonas M. Albrecht, Corinne Marache, Jon Stobart, Wout Vande Sompele, Tim Soens</p> <p>Chair: Tim Soens</p>	<p>605.1.</p> <p>Crafts, services and trades in the countryside. Northwestern Germany in 18th and early 19th-centuries</p> <p>Christine Fertig</p>	<p>605.2.</p> <p>Rural artisans: specialization of non-agricultural tasks in a capitalistic and a more traditional economy in the Netherlands until 1900</p> <p>Richard Paping</p>	<p>605.3.</p> <p>A regional perspective on Swedish rural retailing 1850-1910</p> <p>Fredrik Sandgren</p>	<p>605.4.</p> <p>Rural artisans in the early modern Finland</p> <p>Merja Uotila</p>	<p>605.5.</p> <p>In support of the Polder capitalism: 19th-century rural service providers in the Flemish village of Doel</p> <p>Wout Vande Sompele</p>	<p>PANEL 605</p> <p>Room 8</p> <p><i>105 Bd. Raspail</i></p>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>606.</p> <p>Negotiating land reform programs 18th-20th centuries: Local actors and social responses – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Eric Vanhaute, Mats Morell, Jose Vicente Serrao Chair: Eric Vanhaute</p>	<p>606.1.</p> <p>Land Reform in the Algarve at the end of the 18th century: impact and resistance</p> <p>Andreia Fidalgo</p>	<p>606.2.</p> <p>“La Liga Agraria divide al campesino para bien de los ricos”: Competing visions of peasant mobilisation in Peru’s agrarian reform</p> <p>Anna Cant</p>	<p>606.3.</p> <p>Challenging the State’s Agrarian Reform in Southern Chile under the Popular Unity Government (1970-1973)</p> <p>Claudio Robles-Ortiz</p>	<p>606.4.</p> <p>Programs of agrarian reform in democracy and dictatorship: a comparative perspective of Spain and Italy in the interwar period (1918-1945)</p> <p>Sergio Riesco</p>	<p>606.5.</p> <p>Law and Land Reforms in Angola and Brazil (19th-century)</p> <p>Mariana Dias Paes</p>	<p>PANEL 606</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_9</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>607.</p> <p>State and collective action in rural commons: The water institutions – Part 2</p> <p>Organiser: Alice Ingold Chair: Piet van Cruyningen</p>	<p>607.1.</p> <p>Voracious States and Obstructing Water boards? Local Water Management and the Tolerance of the State in Coastal Flanders, 16th-19th centuries</p> <p>Tim Soens</p>	<p>607.2.</p> <p>Canali demaniali e canali patrimoniali dello Stato: Between public and private management of the Cuneo Province water supply (Piedmont, Italy, 18th-20th century)</p> <p>Giulia Beltrametti</p>	<p>607.3.</p> <p>The queen’s waters: Scales, rights and property in 19th century Portugal</p> <p>Anna Márcia Motta</p>	<p>607.4.</p> <p>Manufactures measures of water saving and decline of communities of irrigators in the Cevennes. Case Study in the Cèze Valley from the 1950s to the present day</p> <p>Anne Honegger, Anne-Laure Collard, François Molle</p>		<p>PANEL 607</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_15</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>608.</p> <p>Rural global transition: From agricultural villages to new ruralities – Part 2</p> <p>Organiser: Luis Camarero Chair: Fabián Almonacid</p>	<p>608.1.</p> <p>Hemp production and rural changes. Addressing the new characteristics of rurality from a contemporary case study</p> <p>Davide Cacchioni</p>	<p>608. 2.</p> <p>Rural heritage tourism and the post-agricultural “glocal village”</p> <p>Hélène Ducros</p>	<p>608.3.</p> <p>The renewed role of small-towns in an urbanized countryside. Socio-demographic dynamics at Pays de Caux, France (1968-2014)</p> <p>Anton Paumelle</p>	<p>608.4.</p> <p>Spanish Rural Transition: From new to hybrid ruralities</p> <p>Jesús Oliva, Luis Camarero</p>		<p>PANEL 608</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_17</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>609.</p> <p>Between history and archeology: Exploring the sustainable practices in the management of environmental resources (1600-2000) – Part 2</p> <p>Organisers: Matteo Di Tullio, Anna Maria Stagno, Chair : Tommy Lennartsson</p>	<p>609.1.</p> <p>Once upon a time happend several times. A long-run perspective on deforestation vs. sustainability in the Karst</p> <p>Aleksander Panjek</p>	<p>609.2.</p> <p>Water management in pre-industrial period: Sustainable or unsustainable practices? The Lombardy and Friuli cases, 1750-1850 ca.</p> <p>Claudio Lorenzini, Maurizio Romano</p>	<p>609.3.</p> <p>An archaeological perspective on the sustainability of past agro-silvo-pastoral practices: Commons and sharing practices</p> <p>Anna Maria Stagno</p>	<p>609.4.</p> <p>Impact of regional rural history on grassland diversity and ecosystem services</p> <p>Monika Janišová, Katarina Devanova, Vasyil Budzhak, Ilya Chomey, Alla Tokaryuk, Daria Shyriaeva, Denys Vynokurov, Anna Kuzemko, Lubov Borsukiewicz, Roman Kish, Martin Magnes, Harald Rötzer, Iwona Dembicz, Lukasz Kozub, Anamaria Iuga, Cosmin Ivascu, Salza Palpurina</p>		<p>PANEL 609</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_33</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>610.</p> <p>The role of agricultural cooperatives in innovation and knowledge systems since the late 19th century</p> <p>Organiser: Harm Zwarts Chair: Piet van Cruyningen</p>	<p>610.1.</p> <p>Cooperative Organization and Agricultural Innovation: The Dutch Sugar Industry, c. 1890-1970</p> <p>Harm Zwarts</p>	<p>610.2.</p> <p>Frisian Dairy Cooperatives as innovation intermediaries in improving milk quality, productivity and sustainability: A regional perspective, c. 1960-2010</p> <p>Ronald Plantinga</p>	<p>610.3.</p> <p>Agricultural Syndicates and Danger of pesticides and fertilizers during late 19th century France</p> <p>Laurent Herment</p>			<p>PANEL 610</p> <p>Room 2</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel 601. Moving pictures and their impact on rural history – Part 2

Organisers:

Peter MOSER, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

Marijn MOLEMA, Fryske Akademy /Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts & Sciences, the Netherlands

Edouard LYNCH, Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

Ulrich SCHWARZ-GRÄBER, Institute of Rural History, Austria

Yves SEGERS, KU Leuven, Belgium

Peter VEER, University of Amsterdam and Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum, the Netherlands

Chair: Yves SEGERS, KU Leuven, Belgium

Discussant: Gilles LAFERTÉ, Institut national de la recherche agronomique Dijon, France

Moving pictures are an increasingly important, though still awkward source for historians. Tens of thousands of dealing with aspects of the rural world have been created since the early 20th century. A remarkable number of this materials has physically survived as well as a great variety of paper sources which were created in the process of these activities. But, for a variety of reasons, for researchers it is still remarkably to identify, preserve and use these sources since only a fraction of the have so far been digitised and provided with the relevant metadata. The same is true for the equally important paper-sources which are documenting the planning,

In order to solve these problems the European Rural History Film Database Association (ERHFDBA) has created a database which provides an opportunity for identifying, cataloguing, describing and making accessible the material as well as guiding researchers to the sources documenting the planning, production and distribution processes of these (www). The tool to systematise the corpus of material has been developed photographic and sound material.

The main purpose of the double pane is to illustrate the interlinkage of the activities of identifying, safeguarding, cataloguing, digitising, preserving and analysing as a source by rural historians and institutions all over Europe. In the panel the contributions will focus on the practices of identifying, safeguarding and making accessible the still existing material. The content of the European Rural History Film Database will be discussed as well as its potential for being turned into an Online-Portal by looking closely at projects currently carried out in Austria, Belgium and Switzerland who are using and contributing to the database. In the second panel four research projects in France, the Netherlands and England will be presented as well as their potential for enlarging the content of the European Rural Film Database. A crucial aspect of this double panel is to discuss the aim of the ERHFDBA to combine, interlink and develop current archival and research ac

601.1. The EBU series 'International Agrarian News', a first scan and an invitation

Peter VEER, University of Amsterdam and Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum, the Netherlands

In the film collection of the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) series International Agrarian News (IAN) is mentioned. One of the aims of the EBU was to exchange television programmes between the members. A first scan in the archives revealed that Italy initiated the Agriculture Study Group (ASG) and the IAN. Later Australia, Canada and USA were also included. An experimental broadcast in the Netherlands was probably on 2. October 1951.

The Dutch regular monthly transmissions of 10-20 minutes started on 11. April 1958. First items were: Belgium (chicory), Italy (flowers), Canada (syrup), Netherlands (bulbs). Three items were not broadcasted. Every member would produce six items and broadcast between 30 and 50 each year. In 1971 the ASG was liquidated. The last international episode found was on 17. October 1982 with a duration of 26'03 and three items about the Dutch Betuwe region, fishing in the Danube river and farmers in Wisconsin USA. So at least about 720 items were produced. In the archives of Sound and Vision not only broadcasts are kept. Also items that were no part of an episode are in the archive. Most used index words are: cows, chickens, agriculture and machines.

Systematic research in different European countries on the IAN can provide new insights in the historic agriculture diffusion (1950-1982) of ideas, knowledge and technology on farmers working practices in Western Europe and the world.

601.2. A regional point of view of French countryside transformation: The example of “Télé Promotion Rural” movies (1970-1990)

Edouard LYNCH, Université Lyon 2, France

Immediately after the invention of cinema the utilization of moving images for disseminating knowledge and science became regarded as an opportunity for educating children and adults. After 1914 several ministries established structures for producing and broadcasting educational films. The “cinemathèque du Ministère de l’Agriculture”, founded in 1923, for example, produced several hundred movies. But other actors were emerging as well, largely based the initiatives of on farmer’s unions. The first lead was launched in Britany in 1966 called “Télé Promotion rural”. The model quickly spread to other regions, especially in Rhone Alpes and Auvergne, where a regional group of “TPR” was launched in 1972. In forty years 200 movies were produced. They were broadcasted directly to the peasants and operated as a support for discussing agricultural issues.

The paper deals with the question of classifying these movies, which include fiction and documentary, mixing technical dimensions with more controversial topics. They constitute a large and riche source of information for historians. These movies, realized over a crucial period of transformation of the agricultural model, supported on the one hand the emerging types of specialization and underlined on the other hand the first doubts about the productivist paradigm by simultaneously illustrating its social and environmental consequences.

601.3. Village films and the historical experience of rural modernity

Marijn MOLEMA, Fryske Akademy and Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts & Sciences, the Netherlands
Syds WIERSMA, Friesian Film Archive, the Netherlands

Recent studies emphasize the independent, innovative and dynamic character of rural atmospheres. Films opens relatively new possibilities in order to strengthen the view on the rural life from ‘within’. They can set the past in motion and help us to experience the (ordinary) days that preceded the present. Nevertheless, the intermediary view of the historical researcher is still necessary – his or her analytical techniques are needed in order to bridge the gap between the past and the present. Our presentation intervenes in two ways with this. On the one hand, our contribution is an exploration of which historian’s crafts are needed if films are used in historical research. On the other hand, we will present a case-study on rural modernization with the help of village films. We selected a corpus of fifteen films that were recorded in villages of Het Bildt, a municipality in the upper North of the Netherlands. We will analyze these films with regard to the dynamics and innovation in it, especially where the films are connected to the agricultural and economic life. Because the films were recorded in to a more or less standard format, and because they were recorded over a period of twenty years between 1950 and 1970, we can make diachronic as well as synchronic comparisons.

601.4. Energy Films, Transitions in the English countryside

Karen SAYER, Leeds Trinity University, UK

Using examples from UK archives, focusing on the adoption of electricity, the paper will address the ways in which films can provide the rural historian with evidence in the period 1945-1965 that compliments other more familiar sources such as policy, commentary and advisory literature, and seems to have been especially powerful when linked to the emerging ‘modernity’ or new sources of energy on the farm and in rural communities. In its prescriptive film *Electricity – Power for Good* (1961) the North Eastern Electricity Board for instance emphasised the ease of accessing information about new electrical goods via its mobile showroom taken to regional events such as the Yorkshire Show, which reveals the challenges to rural electrification, when poor access to electricity (as mains power) was bemoaned. Alternatively, we have films of accidents that reveal the ways in which mains power was installed into a complex everyday material culture and built environment through habits of tinkering and fixing. By using film, we get a sense of the interplay of energy and power than we might otherwise be able to access.



Caféier, D. Bois (dir.), *Dictionnaire d'horticulture*, Paris, 1893 © BnF.

Panel 602. New technology and new public intervention: the birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th-20th Centuries) – Part 2

Organisers:

Luciano MAFFI, Università degli studi di Genova, Italy

Stéphane LE BRAS, Université Clermont-Ferrand Auvergne, France

Paolo TEDESCHI, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Manuel VAQUERO Piñeiro, Università di Perugia, Italy

Chair: Luciano MAFFI, Università degli studi di Genova, Italy

Discussant: Paolo TEDESCHI, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

This panel is addressed to studies concerning European wines and the prosecution of the panel organised in Leuven 2017. The main aims of the panel are:

a) To investigate the role the public institutions (regional, national or the Common Agricultural Policy) in favour of the modernization of the viticulture and winemaking: they in fact favoured the creation of schools with courses concerning the oenology and progressively they arrived at the creation of academic courses; at the same time they and protected the national viticulture and they attempted to improve the diffusion in the international markets; they promoted the European wines in the world and then they faced the competition of the wines produced in California, South America, and, more recently, in South Africa and Australia; they organised the intervention against the diseases which invested European vines in the second half of the 19th century and the successive improvement of the quality of new European vineyards during the 20th century.

b) To show the ways used for the transmission and transfer of knowledge and information regarding the new production system in the oenological sector: schools, lessons, conferences, bulletins/journals etc. These ways are referred to: all the new methods for vine growing, winemaking and conserving the wort and wine; all innovations regarding how to prevent/take care of diseases; all changes concerning the instruments existing in caves and in particular the bottles (the new forms which were created and their function), the barrels (from the great old ones to the barriques in wood oak giving more oxygen during the fermentation), the giant tanks (in stainless steel or for conserving the product as well as all about the new concepts of cleaning and aeration of the caves; in the end all the strategies activated to compete with the US technology and with their marketing activities.

Papers participating at this panel will in particular focus their attention on the period including the last decades of the 19th century and the 20th century. They will allow to make some comparisons between the different European oenological areas and to improve the knowledge of the evolution of European rural society during the analysed period.

602.1. The European Commission and the French Ministry of Agriculture: A Case of shared Empowerment on the Wine Sector

Romain BLANCANEUX, Sciences Po Bordeaux, France

Since the first half of the 20th century, the regulations for Denomination of Origin (DO) wines had been directly set by professional representatives sitting in the National Council of Designations of Origin (CNAO), entitled to set the conditions of production by decree, without the ministry of Agriculture – or the government – being able to modify them. However, in the wake of a European reform of quality food-stuff products as of the 2000's, the ministry of Agriculture put an end to this.

How have changes of EU regulations given the opportunity for agents of the French ministry of Agriculture to take control on a very autonomized agricultural subsector? One can go beyond classical grids of analysis, and cease to oppose the national level to Europe, or the European level to the national one. The European space mainly prolongs national struggles, and can offers more opportunities than constraints, allowing some national actors to seize them, and reverse power struggles or consolidate them.

We draw two conclusions. First, over the long period, a process of empowerment of Brussels' bureaucracy is at work to unify the standards of markets. Second, this process of empowerment of Brussels' bureaucracy (or certain sectors of this bureaucracy) is less accompanied by a weakening of the national administrations than by a reorganization of the power struggles in their centre, allowing the French ministry of Agriculture to take control on DO wines which, before, escaped to its grip.

602.2. The slow modernization: The wine industry in Italy (1945-1963)

Manuel VAQUERO PIÑEIRO and Francesca GIOMMI, Università di Perugia, Italy

The wine industry in Italy arrived in the mid-20th century, dragging a huge technological and productive backwardness. Without a powerful modernization action, Italy seemed doomed to continue producing large quantities of wine of low value, without commercial outlet. Faced with such a negative picture in this work will analyze the circumstances, strategies and actors that helped to change between 1945 and 1963. A change that fueled tensions every time the cultivation and the production of wine were a fundamental part of the country's rural economy. For this reason the frost of 1956, which is placed at a time of rural exodus, allows us to observe the role played by institutions to promote renewal and to analyze the strategies followed to implement business techniques and behaviors more advanced. It was essential, after the crisis, to organize in a rational way the specialized vineyards, choose the most productive grapes, invest in the production of modern wine-cellars and favor the diffusion of a favorable climate for the employment of qualified technical personnel. This work present the factors that allowed training in Italy between the '50s and '60s a favorable environment for the growth of wine companies able to integrate the factors and make wine production a profitable activity. In 1963 the law introduced the denominations of controlled origin. Even if the period of time chosen in this study is reduced, it is essential to understand the evolution that matured later.

602.3. The brand as production value. From the trademark to the designation of origin of wines from the Douro Demarcated Region

Carla SEQUEIRA, Universidade do Porto, Portugal

Paula MONTES LEAL, Transdisciplinary Research Centre "Culture, Space and Memory", Portugal

At the end of the 19th century, modern commercial brands emerged after the creation of the legal framework for their protection and the birth of large commercial companies.

In the wine sector in Portugal, there was a strong adhesion of companies to the registration of trademarks as a defense against practices of "unfair competition and abusive use of false or misleading indications of provenance", in a context of post-phylloxera reconversion, market instability and the proliferation of imitations and counterfeits. On the other hand, the commercial sector would eventually take ownership of the *brand*, namely in its identification with the designation of origin, leading to the emergence at the beginning of the 20th century of a movement led by prominent landowners and personalities from the Douro Region (wine-growing region created by royal charter in 1756) in the sense of recognition and creation of legal mechanisms to defend the regional brand of *Porto* or *Portwine* brand.

In this communication, we will analyze three historical quintas – Senhora da Ribeira, Bomfim and Zimbro. From its archives, we will try to understand, in a conjunctural way, the history of the company.

In counterpoint with the commercial sector, and considering the *brand* as a production of value, we will try to understand the evolution of the movement that, after the Paris Convention and the Madrid Agreement in the late 19th century, led to the creation of the regional brand of Douro wines.

602.4. The wine production in the Italian North-Eastern Regions (1954-1984)

Ilaria SUFFIA, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milan, Italy

The Italian wine sector has recently attracted more and more relevance in economic history researches. Italy can boast of a variety of wines, thanks to its many *terroirs*. Moreover, there are many high quality vines, CDO (Controlled Designation of Origin) certified.

The analysis concerns the wine production by crop types and wine areas, varieties and destination. The goal is to investigate the quantitative features of this production and the main aspects of the sector's growth after WWII until the first years of the 1980s. This period was characterised by very important changes: the introduction of the CAP, the modernisation of the caves and tools and the introduction new procedures for the winemaking. The renovation of the wine sector was pushed by the need to improve the quality of the product, due to the increasing competition both in the national market and at international level.

The paper considers the cases of four regions with different *terroirs* (Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, Friuli Venezia Giulia and Trentino Alto Adige) and it wants to establish a 'model' to use for other regions and, moreover, to realize some comparisons with other national and international cases. The main source is the 'Annuario di Statistica Agraria' edited by the Istat, (Italian National Institute of Statistics): however, other documents provided by others institutions, as well as wine associations, will be used to confirm the data.

**Panel 603. Dreaming California: transnational models for innovation in agriculture (1860s-2010s)
Part 2: Looking at the “cornucopia” – Part 2**

Organisers:

Niccolò MIGNEMI, EHESS-CNRS, France

Alexia BLIN, Université Paris 3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle, France

Vicente PINILLA, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

Chair: Deborah FITZGERALD, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

Discussant: Alexia BLIN, Université Paris 3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle, France

This panel aims to explore the making and remaking of California as a long-term and transnational reference for innovation in the agricultural, agri-food and rural countryside and primary sector between the 1860s and today. Rather, the goal of the panel is to analyze how the myth of the Golden State as a cornucopia has been cyclically reinvented and mobilized in various contexts over the past 150 years as a frontier of (technological, economic, and social) innovation in domains related to agricultural, rural, and food change.

Since the mid-19th century, the myth of California’s natural abundance has started to be propagated in the US and the world agricultural markets. After the grain boom of the 1860s-1870s, California shifted dramatically from extensive to intensive agriculture and began to specialize in cash crops (nuts, grapes, citrus, and deciduous fruits), occupying the top position globally starting in the 1890s. This transformation was made possible by natural conditions, but fundamentally it was supported by investments in infrastructure (irrigation and transportation), technology, and biological innovation. The joint action of governmental bodies, economic actors, and civil society encouraged economic and social initiatives to promote growth and respond to potential consequences on market, labor, and environmental equilibria.

Thus, California has established itself as a transnational model of experimentation in the vast domains related to agricultural production, agro-industrial processing, and food consumption but also in recent debates on the agroecological turn and organic farming. At the same time, it has exploited human and natural resources, polluting the environment, and accentuating social and racial inequalities. This panel intends to analyze how the Golden State has become one of the most widely cited references in global discussions about the capitalist development of agriculture, in both positive and negative terms. Firstly, it will look at the use of the Californian model to promote innovations in markets, policies and civil society projects. Secondly, it will explore the economic and political networks connecting the rest of the world to the agribusiness in California.

603.1. Agricultural exports and economic development in Spain during the first wave of Globalization: The anticalifornian model

María Isabel AYUDA, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

Vicente PINILLA, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

Between 1850 and 1935, Spanish exports of agricultural and food products increased dramatically. Following the phylloxera plague that ravaged French vineyards, Spain became the world’s largest exporter of wine by volume. Alongside the export of fruits and vegetables, it grew at a remarkable pace until the late 19th century.

However, from 1891 onwards wine exports faced tariff barriers, which had a strong impact on Spanish exports. The growth in demand for fruits and vegetables also opened new opportunities in other areas however, with California agriculture taking center stage on a world scale in this type of products. Thus, Spain was forced to face a dynamic competitor. The damage caused by Californian agriculture had its greater effect on the loss of the North-American market and its impact on international prices than on the loss of very significant market shares in the northern European markets.

The principal objective of the paper is to analyse the effects of both export booms on Spain as a whole, and on the areas most involved in them. To do this, we will first consider the evolution of exports of agricultural products and food and their composition, as well as the major determinants of this evolution. Secondly, we will attempt to estimate its main economic impacts.

603.2. Monitoring pesticides and human health: How California agriculture became a field of toxicological and epidemiological experiment (from the 1950s to Today)

Sylvain BRUNIER, CNRS, France

Jean-Noël JOUZEL, CNRS, France

Pesticides are by definition toxic substances, which, over the past decades, have been put under scrutiny in order to identify and control their potential dangers for exposed human populations: farmers and residents living nearby. For this reason, they have become objects of public policies aiming at protecting these populations. In many respects, California has been one of the birthplaces of these public policies and of fields of knowledge supporting them. In the 1950s and the 1960s California agronomic stations have been experimental places where entomologists and toxicologists specialized in the study of the effects of pesticides have tried to measure exposure of human populations to these substances. Since the 1980s California has also been a place for pioneering epidemiological studies using geographical information systems to better quantify environmental and occupational exposure to pesticides.

In this paper, we will explore social and political factors explaining the particular role California has played in the development of knowledge and policy instruments in order to make pesticides controllable and measure their dangers for exposed populations. At the same time, we will analyze the way controversies about pesticides in California have contributed to shape innovations in the biomedical fields of knowledge related to health problems induced by environmental risk factors. We will finally show how these innovations have spread from California to Europe, and particularly France.

603.3. Conservation banking: From a Californian institutional innovation to its national diffusion

Stephanie BARRAL, Institut national de la recherche agronomique, France

Ritwick GHOSH, New York University, USA

The USA has historically pioneered market-based instruments for environmental policies; California has been and remains a leading state in the development of such approaches. Such is the case for “conservation banking”, a growing economic solution for protecting biodiversity. Essentially, under conservation banking, biodiversity lost in one site is offset by biodiversity protected in another. The innovation lies in using market pricing to manage these exchanges. There are currently approximately 150 conservation banks spread across a dozen of States, two-thirds of which are located in California. In contrast to the extensive research on Californian conservation banking, little has been said about the development of this institutional innovation in other states. How is the diffusion of conservation banking carried out across US states? What are the key institutional and organizational channels explaining diffusion? By studying conservation banking in other states, what can we learn about Californian specificities? The paper explores these questions through empirical study cases of conservation banks outside California as well as grey literature analysis of Federal policy documents. The paper argues that a favorable regulatory environment in other states constitutes only a partial explanation for diffusion. Instead, we argue that Californian and federal environmental officers act as critical knowledge brokers and entrepreneurs.



Arrosage d'un champ de tournesols en Charente, photo, 2013 © JLPC

Panel 604. Plants and animal breeding from the second half of the 18th century to the end of the 20th century. Global, comparative and connected perspective – Part 2

Organisers:

Christophe BONNEUIL, CNRS, France

Pierre CORNU, Université Lyon 2, France

Chair: Pierre CORNU, Université Lyon 2, France

Discussant: Frank UEKÖTTER, University of Birmingham, UK

Selecting, electing, eliminating: the history of trees, crops, microbes and cattle breeding from the Enlightenment to nowadays, have been recently reappraised at the crossroad of history of science and technology, rural history and environmental history. A growing amount of scholarly work have shed new light on the normativity and the cumulative impact of the different sciences and practices related to breeding, shedding light on biopower, organisms' industrialization, bio-social standardization and impoverishment of rural landscapes, and on unexpected multispecies encounters with a "third nature", both in industrialized and in colonial and postcolonial countries.

A rich set of local or thematic studies has been collected since the turn of the Millennium, enhancing the heuristic interest of a systemic study of selection as a social, technical, and political praxis of nature. But the still lacks comparative and synthetic surveys.

This panel would thus aim at gathering researchers from different backgrounds and studying different objects – biocultural diversity, agrosystems, institutions, political systems and governmentality, dissemination or eliminations mechanisms, market stimuli, conceptions of race, utility or value... –, in order to develop a shared discussion on the global chronology of selection and its effect on productive systems since the 18th century, with a focus on the transnational processes, with global, comparative and connected histories of breeding. Although epistemological diversity is an undeniable advantage in such a complex matter, our proposal is motivated by the need to confront selection practices and theories, processes and impacts, diverging and converging phases, especially between central and peripheral territories in the bioeconomy of late modern history.

604.1. Seed systems, biopower and legibility. On some German origins of the French seed System, from 1934 (Nazi Seed Law) to 1942 (French Seed Order)

Christophe BONNEUIL, CNRS, France

The idea that the state, not farmers, ought to decide which plant varieties merit to be grown and which not, is neither self-evident nor a-historical. Although many earlier examples can be found – concerning specific crops and places – it only became implemented for a large array of crops and at large scale only in the second third of the 20th century, as a tool for state-led agricultural modernization. While the US Plant Patent Act (1930) left farmers free to choose the cultivars they wanted to grow, the German Seed Law (1934) established a register by which the state specified the limitative list of cultivars that were allowed to be sold/circulated as seeds, all other varieties (considered as not productive, not resistant, not modern enough) being written off. A "varietal cleansing" (Sortenbereinigung) follows and in a few years 87% of previously grown wheat varieties, 66% of maize varieties and 93% of potato varieties were outlawed (Wieland 2004, 196-197; Harwood, 2010, 581). Several countries did put in place similar seed systems in the interwar years (Italy, USSR, Argentina, Canada, etc.). France did so in 1941-1942 (1941: establishment of the Groupement National Interprofessionnel des Semences; 1942: Comité Technique Permanent de la Sélection des plantes cultivées and limitative list of registered cultivars). The paper will explore the many connections that relate the 1934 Nazi Seed Law and the 1942 Vichy Seed Decree.

604.2. Making Coffee Resistant: Plant Agency, World Surveys and Global Political History

Maria Do MAR GAGO, Instituto de Ciencias Sociais (ICS), Portugal

This paper explores the interactions between coffee, scientists and global political history. It examines the trajectory of scientists who made coffee into a global scientific object while creating new international scientific institutions. I will focus on: 1) the World coffee Mission, aimed at collecting germ-plasm around the world and designed by the American F. L. Wellman in the cold war years of plant pathology when pests were dealt with as a communist threat; and 2) the emergence of the first global database of the fungus *Hemileia vastatrix* aimed at making coffee resistant to this disease and created in 1952 in Lisbon with American funds and in a decolonization context. This paper analyses the cultures of collecting and discusses the ways coffee and scientists contributed to imagine new political relations at the global scale. Scholars interested in understanding how plants shaped human societies have been mainly focused on the practices of breeding. Recently, however, other practices have been in the spotlight, namely those of collecting upon which breeding experiments, global databases, biodiversity surveys and crop diversity conservation strongly relied. Illuminating the interconnections woven through scientific practices between European imperialism, American hegemony and international institutions, the paper puts emphasis on science and plant agency in order to rethink narratives of global circulation and governance.

604.3. Wheat varietal replacement as a driver of the degradation of Spanish rainfed agroecosystems throughout the second half of the 20th century

Gloria GUZMÁN, Guiomar CARRANZA, Eduardo AGUILERA, David SOTO, Juan INFANTE-AMATE, Inmaculada VILLA, Antonio HERRERA, Manuel GONZÁLEZ DE MOLINA, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla, Spain

The idea that wheat modern varieties (MV) are more productive than old varieties (OV) is based on a double bias. The first is produced by considering a part (grain) as the whole (NPP), thus neglecting the functions of residues in maintaining the productive capacity of agroecosystems. The second is produced by generalizing the reach of results mostly obtained under industrialized management to other contexts. However, our trials have shown that, under Mediterranean rainfed conditions and traditional organic management, biomass production of OV is significantly higher than that of MV. This is due to a higher straw and root biomass production, higher weed biomass and higher C: N ratio in the straw of the old varieties.

We have reconstructed the NPP of Spanish wheat fields throughout the 20th century. Results show a strong decline of NPP and unharvested biomass (Uhb) during wars in the 1940s-1950s, which lasted over time and was exacerbated by the progressive replacement of OV from the 1960s, a process that accelerated in the 1970-1980s by the rapid introduction of "Rht" varieties from CIMMYT. The fall of Uhb has meant less biomass available to maintain the levels of organic matter in the soil and to sustaining food chains of heterotrophic species, leading to the degradation of rainfed cereal agroecosystems. The lower C: N ratio in the straw of modern varieties also contributes to reduce organic carbon inputs in the soil of this crop at the end of the century.

604.4. The Rockefeller Foundation and the Agricultural Elites: Agronomists and Varieties

Marianna FENZI, University of California, Berkeley, USA

Many scholars have investigated the aspirations of the various Rockefeller Foundation (RF) development projects in the Global South. The objective of this study is rather to analyze the definition of problems and objectives as well as the epistemic plurality in breeding programs during the Mexican Agricultural Program (MAP), established in 1943 by the RF. I analyze the Mexican agricultural modernization as a controversial, unachieved and sometimes precarious process. Questioning the image of North American scientists as "missionaries" of modern science, I intend to demonstrate that most of them were aware of the non-reproducibility of some innovations, especially with regard to the hybrid maize methodology, as it was designed in the United States. Simultaneously, I will show how the wheat program led by N. Borlaug, which the RF deemed as its least important at first, developed instead into a success story. This breeding program helped construct the Green Revolution imaginary, even though, at the national level, it benefited only a few farmers, who were already practising industrial agriculture. I then explore the construction of categories such as "modern/improved varieties" and "primitive/farmers seeds", and the process that led to favor "elite", genetically homogeneous varieties. Finally, I will discuss the contrasting effects of this modernization program on agro-ecosystems and the adjustments that farmers have made to deal with these changes.

Panel 605. Between agriculture and the market: The transformation of rural shops and services in Europe, 1600-1900 – Part 2

Organisers:

Jonas M. ALBRECHT, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria

Corinne MARACHE, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

Jon STOBART, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

Wout VANDE SOMPELE, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

Tim SOENS, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

Chair: Tim SOENS, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

Discussant: Jonas M. ALBRECHT, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria

Although several studies in the 1980s noted the growing importance of the non-agrarian rural population over the course of the early modern period, village shops and craftsmen have received less attention than their urban counterparts. Towns are seen as distribution and redistribution centres, supplying the needs of their surrounding hinterlands and linking their produce to more distant markets. By contrast, rural economies, settlements and people are cast in a passive role. This picture is remarkably resilient, remaining largely untouched by the recent surge of interest in urban retailing and its role in consumer transformation. The occasional studies that have focused on these trades suggest a long 'golden' 18th century, followed by a marked decline from the later 19th century. . . et the universality of this trajectory and the underlying causal mechanisms have yet to be fully explored. Was the growth in rural services occurring in response to evolutions in agriculture or was it linked to consumer transformation that introduced a plethora of new consumables in the countryside? In short, we need to know more about the socio-economic conditions that encouraged rural shops and services to thrive and/or led to their demise. At the same time, we need to explore the capacity of village shops and craftspeople to shape systems of production. To what extent did they influence local agriculture; what was their role in providing farmers with the machines and fertilizers to follow the agricultural transformations at work in this decisive period? What role did they play in linking rural production to urban and rural demand, especially for food, and how did this bring them into contact or conflict with urban retailers and service producers?

This double panel seeks to explore rural and small-town shops and services in ways that pay due regard to economic, social and spatial complexities, and to their wider role in food supply, agricultural transformation and consumer change. By including papers from different countries, we offer comparative perspectives which highlight the impact of local, regional and national contexts.

605.1. Crafts, services and trades in the countryside. Northwestern Germany in 18th and early 19th-centuries

Christine FERTIG, Universität Münster, Germany

Rural history in Northwestern Germany has been the history of agriculture and proto-industry so far. However, research concerning the development of commercial production for local or regional markets is largely absent. The paper aims to address this research gap. The main goal is to evaluate the importance of services, crafts and trading in various local settings, and is part of a larger project on the onset of consumer revolution in Northwestern Germany. During the 18th century colonial goods gained considerable importance and slowly penetrated the countryside via itinerary traders, often offered as payment for protoindustrial products. Division of labour and specialisation of artisans intensified, leading to a broad range of non-agrarian activities in the countryside and to competition of rural and urban providers. The paper will use soul registers from the prince-bishopric of Münster, mainly from 1749/50, and compare the state of economic development to available statistical data around 1800. The study will compare different regions, with varying distance to the economically advanced Netherlands, and analyse the development between early 18th and early 19th centuries.

605.2. Rural artisans: Specialization of non-agricultural tasks in a capitalistic and a more traditional economy in the Netherlands until 1900

Richard PAPING, University of Groningen, the Netherlands

In this paper I compare the developments in the relative number of artisans in two quite distinct rural regions in the Netherlands in the long run from 1600 to 1900, especially concentrating on the 19th century. It will look at the more traditional province of Drenthe, where rural households usually had some land at disposal and some livestock, while agriculture was largely focused on self-provision. On the other hand, it will study the Groningen clay region with a very capitalistic market-oriented agriculture and numerous landless laborers. In both regions considerable numbers of artisans providing services to the local inhabitants were active. What was their relative importance in the local society, distinguishing between different occupations using both information from statistical inquiries and the occupations in the completely digitalized civil registration? What was the influence of the large handicraft sector in the nearby large city? What were the consequences of mechanization and industrialization on the different professions? Probably the answers to these questions will strongly differ between the capitalistic and more traditional region.

605.3. A regional perspective on Swedish rural retailing 1850-1910

Fredrik SANDGREN, Uppsala University, Sweden

This paper discusses regional differences in the structure of Swedish rural retailing 1850-1910. Rural retailing, at least in fixed locations, was prohibited until 1846. There were several exceptions, but since the country was relatively poor, a surge in the development of fixed shop rural retailers did not appear until the 1850s.

The paper will present data on county level for rural retailing for 1846-1910 derived from Swedish official statistics including the number of retailers, employees divided by gender, and tax. Using data on rural population, it will be possible to compute the number of rural retailers per capita as an indicator of the density of rural retailing. For the later part of the century, regional development of the consumer cooperatives as well as the development of limited companies within retailing will be tracked. The regional structure will be discussed in relation to what we know about regional and local income levels and consumption patterns. The concept of what is "rural" about rural retailing will also be discussed since the rapid economic change in Sweden transferred areas with a rural agrarian character into more or less urban industrial areas.

605.4. Rural artisans in the early modern Finland

Merja UOTILA, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

There was a wide range of artisans in rural Finland, but membership of a craft guild did not determine who was artisan, as the guilds did not operate in rural areas. Contrary to many other European countries, rural artisans were organized in formal parish artisan institutions which enabled the control of rural craftsmanship. There were also village artisans and other craftsmen working in rural areas. The state managed to restrict crafts and prevent rural commercial activities by prohibiting shops; many necessary items had to be purchased from the few small towns. Hence rural artisans were sole providers of services in the Finnish countryside. Rural artisans faced growing demand for their services and their numbers increased from the 18th century. I examine one rural parish in southern Finland and the quality and quantity of artisans' services available. Using a prosopographic method – biographical profiles of artisans – I examine their number, trades and development of crafts over time. I elucidate the meaning of formal and informal craft services for village life and investigate how self-sufficient landholding farmers in a highly agrarian country became consumers.

605.5. In support of the Polder capitalism: 19th-century rural service providers in the Flemish village of Doel

Wout VANDE SOMPELE, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

The commercialisation of the early modern countryside has been studied from the perspective of the agrarian producers, who increased their income through product specialisation or by income pooling with additional activities in the secondary or tertiary sector. Far less attention has been paid to non-agrarian rural population, who did not possess large land properties and had to rely on service provision as their primary source of income.

The aim of this paper is to contribute to our understanding of the economics of village service by looking at the growth and decline of the Flemish village of Doel during the 19th century. By introducing a method that combines traditional methods on occupational structures and material possessions with a spatial component, an analysis of the service providers on three spatial levels can be made: intra-village, village-polder, and village-urban markets. On each of these spatial levels attention will be paid to the economic functioning and relations, the landed properties and house ownership, and movable goods of the service providers in Doel.

Panel 606. Negotiating land reform programs 18th-20th centuries: Local actors and social responses – Part 2

Organisers:

Eric VANHAUTE, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Mats MORELL, Uppsala University, Sweden

Jose Vicente SERRAO, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal

Chair: *Eric VANHAUTE, Universiteit Gent, Belgium*

Discussant: *Eric VANHAUTE, Universiteit Gent, Belgium*

The impact of state induced land reforms in the last few centuries on agriculture, land use and peasant societies cannot be overstated. The central aim of land reform programs is the modification or replacement of existing institutional arrangements governing the possession and use of land, and to alter land distribution. These reforms can go different ways, ranging from the transfer of land rights from large (individual or collective) land owners to smallholders, to the transfer of land from individual ownership to government controlled collective farms. It also changes, in different ways, the degree of the control over land use by individual farmers, local rural communities, corporations or governmental bodies. Either way, any revision or reform of regional, national or colonial land laws is an intensely political and social process, changing the relationships within and between rural communities, as well as between communities and the state.

In this session we develop a comparative bottom-up perspective on different endeavours of state initiated land reforms in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The central question is how top-down land reform programs have been implemented on the ground, how local actors responded, how the programs were negotiated or resisted.

606.1. Land Reform in the Algarve at the end of the 18th century: Impact and resistance

Andreia FIDALGO, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal

In the 1760s and 1770s, the Algarve – Portugal's most southern region –, was experiencing a period of severe economic decadence due to more than two hundred years of chronic underusing of its plentiful natural resources. The economic situation of this region has gradually aroused the attention of Marquis of Pombal, the powerful Secretary of State of king José I, who would then develop an enlightened reform plan that sought the recovery of the primary sector, to integrate the region within the national market and to reorganize it at an administrative level. This enlightened reformist policy was mainly reflected in the implementation of various legal measures, an important part of them aiming to improve conditions regarding agrarian property and contracts for the access to and the exploitation of land. The land reform then undertaken sought to alleviate the burden on farmers and to reduce the influence of large landowners. Based on new documentary sources, this paper will seek to analyse the impact of land reform on the economic growth of the Algarve's region at the end of the 18th century, and to analyse the ways in which the local actors' interests and resistance prevented an efficient application of the pombaline enlightened measures.

606.2. “La Liga Agraria divide al campesino para bien de los ricos”: Competing visions of peasant mobilisation in Peru's agrarian reform

Anna CANT, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK

Announcing the 1969 agrarian reform, General Juan Velasco Alvarado declared that the Peruvian campesino would become 'truly a free citizen', whose right to the land would finally be recognised. The campesino would 'no longer be, as until now, a diminished citizen, a man to be exploited by another man'. Yet the form of emancipation offered by the military government differed substantially from the vision of left-wing activists, who increasingly saw Peru's peasants as potential revolutionaries and attacked the government for being insufficiently radical. In many cases it also sidelined the communal structures and organisational practices that peasants saw as central to their own political participation.

Focusing on the northern region of Piura, this paper will show how the agrarian reform ignited political debates on models of land reform, the pace of social change, and the role of peasant organisations. While criticised by the Left as corporatist and designed to contain peasant politics, the agrarian leagues and cooperatives established by the agrarian reform also granted a new prominence to peasant organisations at both regional and national levels. The paper will draw on extensive fieldwork, including oral history interviews, newspapers and archival documents.

606.3. Challenging the State's Agrarian Reform in Southern Chile under the Popular Unity Government (1970-1973)

Claudio ROBLES-ORTIZ, Universidad de Santiago de Chile, Chile

This paper examines rural workers' challenges to the agrarian reform that the Popular Unity (UP) government implemented from 1970 to 1973, to further its political project, the 'Chilean road to socialism in Chile'. Instead of understanding rural workers' mobilization as an homogeneous process, I discuss the contradictory political stances that different sectors of the 'peasant movement' adopted towards the UP's agrarian reform. Using a case-study, from below, and local-level approach, I focus on the contrasting responses from Mapuche communities, forestry workers, and large-estate resident workers, in Cautín, Valdivia, and Llanquihue provinces, respectively. I argue that the agrarian reform was not only an unprecedented experience of mobilization and politicization for rural workers, but also an arena of dispute where they contested the state's agrarian project according to their alignments with the different political parties that confronted each other at the national level over the UP's 'Chilean road to socialism'.

606.4. Programs of agrarian reform in democracy and dictatorship: A comparative perspective of Spain and Italy in the interwar period (1918-1945)

Sergio RIESCO, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

The existing historiography tends to frame agrarian reform programs in two great historical moments: the post-World War I period and during the 1960s within the parameters of the "Green Revolution". In this case we propose to draw a comparative route between two cases of Mediterranean Europe whose agrarian reform programs were born in democracy but were executed, in a very different way than they were designed, during a dictatorship.

These are the cases of Italy and Spain, whose agrarian structures were relatively similar, between a north where the ownership of the land was more distributed and there was greater industrialization and a south where the predominance of large property somehow forced the political regimes to respond to social demands. In both cases, it seems visible that these agrarian policies carried out by the governments of Mussolini and Franco for the first time, adapting their reform program ¿or agrarian counter-reform? to the new authoritarian reality, believed that it was possible to count on the support of private property for the achievement of its objectives. However, both regimes encountered resistance that forced them to take other types of measures.

606.5. Law and Land Reforms in Angola and Brazil (19th-century)

Mariana DIAS PAES, Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Germany

During the 19th-century, lusophone Atlantic territories underwent an intense state induced reform on land use and land ownership. This paper aims to analyze the land reforms that took place in Brazil and Angola during the 19th-century through the perspective of legal history. The circulation of legal texts and, notably, of people practicing law and issuing legal procedures in the Atlantic jurisdictions, gave way to shared legal knowledge and techniques. Regional and local variations on both sides of the Atlantic leave open the question of how shared normativities, theories, legal texts and procedures, were understood, applied and reappraised in different territories during periods of intense land reform processes. During the 19th-century, jurists and politicians on both sides of the Atlantic were seeking to substitute land use and ownership based on possession to systems of land registration. The land reform programs that target possession and aimed to implement a comprehensive system of land registration and titling suffered different kinds of resistance, negotiation and resignification on the ground. In order to shed some light on this issue, this paper will analyzed how these reform projects were discussed in legal procedures by local actors on the ground.

Panel 607. State and collective action in rural commons: The water institutions – Part 2

Organiser: Alice INGOLD, EHESS, France

Chair: Piet VAN CRUYNINGEN, Wageningen University, the Netherlands

Discussant: Matteo TACCA, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

This panel aims to grasp the complex relationships between the water commons institutions and the local, regional and national powers and their changes over the longue durée. Studies on commons in the wake of Elinor Ostrom have tended to favor a scale of analysis leading to an internalist approach, focused on 'commons governance'. Forms of commons governance are therefore interpreted as responses, in a sort of face à face between a resource and a community. However, thinking of commons in terms of a faceoff between resource and community does not make it possible to grasp the functioning of logics of exclusion and inclusion which form the very basis of the life of commons.

The aim of this panel is not simply to acknowledge that commons lived under (less or more) 'tolerant States', to quote Tine De Moor who, in the wake of Ostrom, stressed the need for a legal recognition of commons on the part of authorities. What was the role of states, or of regional powers, in the history of commons? Far from being isolates, water institutions were inscribed in plural institutional and political environments: commons institutions and regional powers were not exogenous entities, but rather were linked by reciprocal needs.

The regulation of the use of water went through a profound transformation during the 19th century. The water institutions (consorzi di utenti in Italy, association syndicale d'arrosage in France, instituciones de riego in the huertas of Spain, wateringues...) were also profoundly affected by the transformation of the State during the liberal era. What were the consequences of the separation (and separate definition) of authorities – administration and the judiciary – for ways of thinking over the collective management of environmental resources? How have conflicts over water access led to questions of jurisdiction between civil law and administrative law? How have water conflicts evolved after the separation of administrative and judiciary authorities? How did the autonomization of state public administration, which defined itself as a separate space from jurisdiction, radically transform the political and legal conditions in which water institutions existed?

These water institutions often left us exceptional archival records that could be exploited in order to explore the complex relationship between commons institutions and state.

607.1. Voracious States and Obstructing Water boards? Local Water Management and the Tolerance of the State in Coastal Flanders, 16th-19th centuries

Tim SOENS, University of Antwerpen, Belgium

Since the later Middle Ages, the organisation of flood protection and drainage in the coastal wetlands of the North Sea area was predominantly local. Water Boards, often organized as (forced) associations of landowners, were responsible for the proper maintenance of the infrastructure and its repair after flood episodes. However, Water Boards never functioned completely independent from the 'State'. They often were conceived as just another level of local government. From the 1500s onwards however, tensions between water boards and 'State' authorities seemed to intensify. The expanding bureaucracy of the State was often at uneasy with the capacity of Water Boards to levy taxes and Water Boards were often blamed for 'particularism'. It could be tempting to frame these increasing tensions in terms of 'Voracious States and Obstructing Water Boards', hence reproducing a well-known framework derived from the study of City and State-relationships (W. Blockmans). However, based on an in-depth analysis of conflicts between Water Boards and the State in Flanders between 1500 and 1850, we will argue that the evolution was less linear than often presumed, with periods of increasing State pressure in the 16th and the late 18th/early 19th centuries, alternating with periods of collaboration. Looking for explanations, we will investigate the respective role of shifting legal conceptions of 'state', 'authority' and 'property' as well as changes in the political economy of the State.

607.2. Canali demaniali e canali patrimoniali dello Stato: *Between public and private management of the Cuneo Province water supply (Piedmont, Italy, 18th-20th century)*

Giulia BELTRAMETTI, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

The paper analyzes the rich documentary and cartographic sources, dating from the 18th century, concerning the water supply channel system in the Cuneo province (North-Western Italy). The records were produced by the Financial technical office administrating the public property (“demanio dello stato”) and the state property (“patrimonio dello stato”) of the irrigation water channels. I would like to understand if the ambiguous juridical dissimilarity between what is public (“demaniale”) – and therefore inalienable, according to the Italian law – and what is a state property (“patrimoniale”) – and can be eventually sold – did make a tangible difference in the water supply management. Moreover, a number of “consorzi” (irrigation consortium) participated in the management duties, acting as intermediary between the water resource and the communities of the province. This fact will bring into focus the question about the complex relationships between the water institutions and the local, regional and national powers. The 19th century deeply changed rules, uses and roles of the water supply institutions, giving to the central administration more management tasks. How was this change perceived at a local level? Did the resource use and exploitation modify, also in relation to the agronomic changes in the land policies? And finally, could the confront with other kind of financial and juridical sources enliven and deepen the analysis?

607.3. *The queen’s waters: Scales, rights and property in 19th century Portugal*

Anna Márcia MOTA, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil

Between 1801 and 1806, during a particularly complex situation for the Portuguese Empire, Carlota Joaquina decided to open a Tombo book to mark her estate in Ançã, a small village that, in 1801, had a total of 4,272 people. In a long mapping report of the land her mother-in-law, queen D. Maria I, donated to her in 1799, Carlota Joaquina and her legal representatives aimed to define who where her tenants, the amount of their rent due, and the size of each plot of rented land.

Whatever was her reason to open the process of archiving, the fact is that it aims to make known the real rights of Carlota on lands she had received. Reading this vast documentation, a theme becomes emblematic of disputes over the scales of property rights: access to water. By summing up efforts to understand the collective and private management of water resources access, this study uses the emblematic story of Carlota Joaquina as a starting point to investigate which were the legal and political conditions that allowed or not the rights of Carlota Joaquina to such resources. To be up to the task, the study also analyzes the law about the river control, water ownership and public fountains, and uses as base the work of the main jurisconsult of the period, Manoel de Almeida e Sousa de Lobão, author of, among other works, *Tratado Prático e Compendiario das Águas*, a decisive work to understand the rights on waters in the Portuguese Empire in the 19th century.

607.4. *Manufactures measures of water saving and decline of communities of irrigators in the Cévennes. Case Study in the Cèze Valley from the 1950s to the present day*

Anne HONEGGER, CNRS, France

Anne-Laure COLLARD, Université de Montpellier, France

François MOLLE, Université de Montpellier, France

Beals are gravity irrigation canals found in the Cévennes region (France). Their community management has been documented since the 19th century. This study is based on documentary work and qualitative surveys carried out in the foothills of the Cèze Valley among their users and water managers at regional and local levels. In 2010, this territory meshed by old hydraulic structures was classified as a Zone de Répartition des Eaux (ZRE) by the public authorities. Following an official declaration of a quantitative deficit of the resource, users are asked to participate in the common effort to save water. To this end, the regulations recommend a “modernization” of béals, both material (work on structures to reduce water leaks, monitoring of withdrawals) and social (formalizing user communities, strengthening Authorized Syndicate Associations (ASAs)). Does this State policy to control local withdrawals through the supervision of village water systems help to enhance the recognition of these communities of irrigators? Or does it further, because of the economic and organizational efforts required, their demise already underway?

Panel 608. Rural global transition: From agricultural villages to new ruralities – Part 2

Organiser: Luis CAMARERO, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

Chair: Fabián ALMONACID, Universidad Austral de Chile, Chile

Discussant: Gustavo GORDILLO-DE ANDA, Centro Latinoamericano de estudios para el desarrollo, Mexico

Rural localities have adapted to global context. In general, rural places have reorganized their subsistence forms and they have diversified their activities – multifunctionality –. Also they have incorporated new economic ways putting in value their diversity and non-tangible resources – post-productive economies –. The conjunction of multifunctionality and postproductivism it is the new rurality. The effects over social structure, population movements and also the change related to the connection of rural areas with the whole society are open questions to understand the new character of rurality.

Population mobility of any type -migration, commuter, displacements- has been increasing in all directions. Population flows are wider and more intense and these trends has significantly transformed the demographic potentiality and social composition of rural societies, as well as the local economies and labour markets.

In the context of the Food Regulation Regime, deagrarianization and socio-productive transformation changed the relationship between local communities and their territories. Technology, agriculture commodification and the extension of global value chains to non-food productions associated to land – energy, fuel, environmental – have relocated the capital flows and undermined the local communities and producers capacity of to define by they own land uses. The traditional local class relationships have been eroded.

This set of changes produced new political arenas, where local and global actors interact with unequal opportunities and asymmetric conditions. The rural political dependency increased and the ability of public policies to “thinking rurally” reduced. New fields of social conflict have arisen specially associated with the appropriation of environmental resources, but also motivated by the environmental effects of new land use over local populations.

The new productive frame associated with mobility and communication density also bring forth a new hybrid “rural face”. The traditional urban-rural differentiation is dissolving while the postmodern cultural turn redefine the rurality as social imaginary. The resignification of rurality is supporting new activities and it is attracting new residents. Most rural villages are far from agrarian communities and many of them are close to cosmopolitanism way of life.

608.1. Hemp production and rural changes. Addressing the new characteristics of rurality from a contemporary case stud

Davide CACCHIONI, EHESS, France

The revival of interest in the hemp production is a new contemporary phenomenon reshaping, once more, the rural world, in the Piedmont region and the whole country, after the radical interruption in the centuries-old tradition of hemp cultivation in Italy during the 1950s-60s. New supply chains are emerging from this regain of attention to the hemp, such as “the cannabis light” market – that is to say the hemp flowers with a fable content of psychotropic substances on sale in smoke shops –, the hemp foods, the therapeutic cannabis, the textile industries. The proposed ethnographic case study focuses on a little association, created a few years ago in order to promote and bring back the hemp cultivation in an Alpine valley near Turin. This experimentation, bringing together new farmers, people interested in agriculture without being full-time peasants, little artisans and diversified groups of people, is particularly significant since it questions the sharp distinction between rural and urban, and promotes hybridizations in farmers’ and non-farmers’ ranges of activity. The proposed case study interrogates new characteristics rural spaces are taking in the 21st century Italy and Alpes, thus contributing to revisiting the historical economic heritage of industrialisation and post-industrialisation of former rural spaces from the point of view of the new ruralities.

608.2. Rural heritage tourism and the post-agricultural “glocal village”

Hélène DUCROS, Council for European Studies (CES), Columbia University, USA

This paper examines the global diffusion of a French model of rural heritage preservation in the context of growing rural tourism. Rooted in the concept of the village as embodiment of a new rurality no longer sustained by agriculture, the model enables an exploration into the formation of a cross-border network of rural places. Trifurcated around economic development, cultural resilience and patrimonial pedagogy, the model has been adapted to different heritage landscapes where local actors have implemented it despite diverse historical, institutional, architectural and agricultural realities. Based on ethnographic research, the paper explains the emergence of this international network and the building of a translocal cultural capital in response to common challenges. Effectively constructing a new rural that transcends national boundaries, the network has repositioned the village at the heart of rural revitalization initiatives, expanding its scale of relevance from local to global and giving it new meanings, functions and means of subsistence. Drawing on the notion of glocalization, the paper considers the motivations behind federating across borders, the potential normative influences on different aestheticizations and appropriations of the countryside, the effects on sense of place, conflicts that may arise, and the tension between standardizing the rural and making places distinct for touristic appeal.

608.3. The renewed role of small-towns in an urbanized countryside. Socio-demographic dynamics at Pays de Caux, France (1968-2014)

Anton PAUMELLE, EHESS, France

In the 1960's, our research shows that centrality and rural elites still stayed closely linked. Moreover, by extending the analysis to the buildings, small-towns appear to be also distinguished in this way. Aerial photographs (1965) reveal a substantial difference between villages and small-towns. The nature of resident population and the concentration of high places like the market square, the church or the numerous cafés formed an original small-town's space. Small-towns were easily recognisable on the rural landscape and could be considered as a center of local sociabilities. Yet, our research shows that, since 1968, there is a high rate of residential mobility in Pays de Caux. Cities of all sizes have been facing shrinkage or decline while countryside have benefited from a strong growth. Suburbanization seems to have contributed a rural revitalization. Therefore, rural social structures have been deeply transformed. Our research suggests that urban decline have led to a spreading of a part of the upper class (CSP+) in small-towns and villages. By comparing population and spatial dynamics through historical census and aerial photographs, our purpose is to question the evolution of the small-town differentiation since 1968. The demographic and spatial approach will contribute to question the rural structures legacy in an urban sprawl context. This paper aims to increase our understanding of the current role of small-towns in a renewed socio-spatial organisation.

608.4. Spanish Rural Transition: From new to hybrid ruralities

Jesús OLIVA, Universidad Pública de Navarra, Spain

Luis CAMARERO, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain

New rurality is a label to refer to the current rurality that it differentiates rural life from the previous agrarian situations. The characterization of the new rurality is still an open debate today. In the late 1970s, seminal explanations had tried to explain the transition from degazianization as a result of a process of socio-economic restructuring consisting in the adaptation of rural economies to new urban settlement structures and services economies. The explanation of rural restructuring put its emphasis on the change of regional economies. The perspective of rural restructuring had avoided analyzing the cultural change of postmodern societies and also the change patterns of consumption that had forth been shaping the rurality as commodity. At the start of 21st century to understand the “new scenario” a second worry was included: the effect of economic globalization and the territorial division of labor, that modify the position of local economies in their hinterlands and highlight the social diversification produce by the transnational immigration towards many inner rural areas. A third issue has been added recently to the debate: the mobility system that blurs the rural-urban limits. The conjoint action of productive transformations, cultural turn and increasing spatial mobilities has been called by some authors as Woods: the rural hybridization. The paper analyses the process of transformation from “new ruralities” towards hybrid ruralities in the Spanish case.

Panel 609. Between history and archeology: Exploring the sustainable practices in the management of environmental resources (1600-2000) – Part 2

Organisers:

Matteo Di TULLIO, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy

Anna Maria STAGNO, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy

Chair: Tommy LENNARTSSON, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Discussant: Matteo Di TULLIO, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy

The aims of this panel are (I) to promote the dialogue between history and archaeology around a common topic, (II) to reconstruct the local practices implemented to promote a “sustainable” use of environmental resources.

The investigations on how and with which results the environmental resources were managed is one of the main current topic in the rural history and the archaeology. However, a common dialogue around this subject is far to be consolidated. Our goal is to favour new reflections and comparisons between grammars, concepts and research practices from these different fields, in order to promote an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the environment, going beyond the simple collection of different experience.

In other words, this panel will be an occasion to develop a dialogue between these sister disciplines with the goal to confront perspectives and methodologies for the analysis of a current issue, with pivotal consequences in the past as today.

In addition to this interdisciplinary objective, our purpose is to provide an European comparison of the different practices of environmental resources management, exploring in particular the actions promoted to cope with the sustainability problems.

The goals are (I) to going beyond the traditional perception of the rural societies as simply promoter of the reproduction of the same practices, (II) to explore the role of sharing practices, mainly those related to commons, and their changes in the construction of the past and present landscape, (III) to underline the necessity to reconstruct the everyday management of natural resources, with the objective to understand which kind of sustainable practices were promoted at local level, although in a continuous dialog with others actors and institutions.

609.1. Once upon a time happened several times. A long-run perspective on deforestation vs. sustainability in the Karst

Aleksander PANJEK, University of Primorska, Slovenia

The mainstream interpretation tells that “once upon a time” there were forests in the Classical Karst. The age-old question of the Karst woodlands’ history corresponds to the question of the denudation (and later artificial reforestation) of the common lands. The traditional interpretation uses a degradationist narrative rooting in 18th and 19th century policies and forestry science, keeping it alive. The aim is to put it into question by applying an alternative reading. The central question is, whether the bare and stony Karst with scattered bushy trees we know especially from the 19th century was the result of unsustainable exploitation of natural resources, for example through deforestation and overgrazing, or is it possible to see a rationality in the forms of use by the local peasant population. To this end, a long-run historical parable of the Karst forests is reconstructed, ranging from proto-historical times to the 19th c. and connecting research results in archaeology and historiography, showing how the wood-covering diminished and increased several times in the last millennia. Moreover, the paper argues that the early-modern landscape of the Karst commons was the result of a rational use of natural assets, based on environmental potentials and ecological knowledge put into service of the local population’s economic and social system, values and goals.

609.2. Water management in pre-industrial period: Sustainable or unsustainable practices? The Lombardy and Friuli cases, 1750-1850 ca

Claudio LORENZINI, *Università di Udine, Italy*

Maurizio ROMANO, *Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milan, Italy*

The water use in industrial production is a current problem, due to the increasing consumption particularly after the industrial revolution. Contemporary, water has become a common good to preserve, so that its use can be guaranteed and the related conflicts can be limited. This scenario has some historiographical implications, particularly because some scholars consider this as an “industrial” problem, but also pre-industrial societies cope with the necessity to preserve these resources, both for a low demographic pressure and for a limited use of the energetic sources. Our paper aims to analyse the conflicts over the management of the water in the pre-industrial manufacturing sector, exploring in particular the long phase of transition from the agrarian to an industrial economy that involves the Northern Italy from the second half of the 18th century to the first half of the 19th century. The water as an energy source became the material support of this change. We will provide a comparison of two regions, Lombardy and Friuli, characterized by water’s abundance, which was the preconditions for the manufacturing activities. We will focus on the causes, the characters and the effects of the water management and the conflict caused by the manufacturing uses and, analysing the landscape changes, we will contribute in an industrial archaeology perspective.

609.3. An archaeological perspective on the sustainability of past agro-silvo-pastoral practices: Commons and sharing practices

Anna Maria STAGNO, *Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy*

The aim of this paper is to show how the dialogue between archaeology, environmental archaeology and archival research could provide new insights for the sustainability in the past. The multidisciplinary analysis allows to decipher the historical local agro-silvi-pastoral practices and their long cycles, to consider their meaning of technical acts to control and activate resources and of possession acts to claim and define possession and jurisdiction on those resources; to show that they were aimed to obtain multiple products from the same plot through an alternation of individual, collective and shared practices. Multiple uses had also important ecological effects: historical processes of biodiversification strongly contributed to create a variegated landscape pattern. In this context the close relationship between husbandry and agriculture with the role played by short and long transhumance systems in the transfer of fertility to cultivated areas, is of particular interest. The co-sharing of resources involved co-responsibility in their maintenance, as well as a constant negotiations for the claiming of access rights to resources. The “capitalistic” idea of profit and productivity led to the dissociation of those elements, with social and ecological consequences that can be analytically reconstructed and which played, and still play, a no secondary role in the abandonment of rural areas and in their present consideration of marginal areas.

609.4. Impact of regional rural history on grassland diversity and ecosystem services

Monika JANIŠOVÁ, *Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia*

Katarina DEVANOVA, *Správa Chránenej krajiny oblasti Biele Karpaty, Slovakia*

Vasyl BUDZHAK, Ilya CHORNEY and Alla TOKARYUK, *Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine*

Dariia SHYRIAeva, Denys VYNOKUROV and Anna KUZEMKO, *National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine*

Lubov BORSUKIEWICZ, *Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine*

Roman KISH, *Uzhhorod National University, Ukraine*

Martin MAGNES, *Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria*

Harald RÖTZER, *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Vegetationsökologie und Landschaftsplanung, Austria*

Iwona DEMBICZ, *Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland*

Lukasz KOZUB, *University of Warsaw, Poland*

Anamaria IUGA, *Muzeul National al Tăranului Român, Romania*

Cosmin Marius IVASCU, *BABEȘ-Bolyai University, Romania*

Salza PALPURINA, *Bulgarian Academy of Science, Bulgaria.*

It is well-known that biological diversity of the rural landscapes is formed by multiple interacting factors and processes. Among the most relevant are the geographic and environmental context, and the type and intensity of human agricultural activities. In our contribution, we focus on the impact of various types of land-use (including traditional and collective farming) on grassland plant diversity in the Carpathian Mountains. We present examples from rural settlements in six countries (Austria, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine and Romania), each representing a unique set of local land-use practices and traditions well adapted to the natural conditions. The driving forces behind the most profound land-use changes in Central- and East-European rural regions during the last century were the socioeconomical and political developments. We ask how these developments have turned out to changes in traditional rural landscape and grassland diversity. We use a combination of historical data and traditional ecological knowledge obtained from the interviews with local farmers to explain the recent landscape and diversity patterns. The small-scale biodiversity data were collected during the growing season 2018 under the financial support of National Geographic Society Grant NGS-288R-18. The participation of M.J. in the conference was supported by the project VEGA 02/0095/19.

Panel 610. The role of agricultural cooperatives in innovation and knowledge systems since the late 19th century

Organisers: Harm ZWARTS, Wageningen University Fryska Akademy and University of Groningen, the Netherlands

Chair: Piet VAN CRUYNINGEN, Wageningen University, the Netherlands

This session explores the role of agricultural cooperatives in developing and diffusing agricultural innovation and in establishing knowledge systems since the late nineteenth century. In their efforts to understand agricultural innovation in the past, scholars have studied a wide range of organizations, such as agricultural colleges, research institutes, and agricultural extension services. The functions of these organizations was to develop and disseminate knowledge and innovations. Together, these different agents comprise what might be labelled 'knowledge systems' (or 'innovation systems'), which can be roughly defined as networks of public and private agents who launch, modify, and diffuse agricultural innovations. Because most historical studies focus on the role of the state, the impact of agricultural cooperatives on knowledge systems is underexplored. A large and growing body of literature has studied agricultural cooperatives, but highlights their function of enhancing farmers' income, offering fair prices and granting market access, especially to small farmers. The function of cooperatives in developing and disseminating knowledge and innovations, however, has received less consideration and deserves closer attention. Recent research shows that cooperatives built extensive knowledge systems stimulating farmers' income by improving productivity. This implies that the function of cooperatives was broader than previously thought. It also suggests that cooperatives were deeply involved in reshaping farming practices. Finally, it suggests a close relationship between farmers and the processing industry, as cooperatives were often involved in processing agricultural products. These new directions generate interesting questions to be addressed during our session: What was the role of cooperatives in improvement of production and productivity? To what extent, and how, did cooperatives stimulate innovations in the agricultural sector? And how were insights from the industrial domain (processing industries) applied in the agricultural domain?

610.1. Cooperative Organization and Agricultural Innovation: The Dutch Sugar Industry, c. 1890-1970

Harm ZWARTS, Wageningen University, the Netherlands

Studying six Dutch sugar beet cooperatives from 1890 to 1970, this paper explains to what extent – and how – agricultural cooperatives in the Netherlands contributed to agricultural innovation. Dutch sugar beet cooperatives were not established, as the literature on agricultural cooperatives often argues, first and foremost to pool resources to have access to technology. Rather, the Dutch sugar beet cooperatives were established to solve market failures, to cut off ties to the private sugar industry, and to help farmers (re)gain power over inputs and innovation, mainly seeds. The internal organisation of the cooperatives provided networks to diffuse innovations, while the cooperatives jointly facilitated R&D to benefit the individual Dutch sugar beet farmer.

610.2. Frisian Dairy Cooperatives as innovation intermediaries in improving milk quality, productivity and sustainability: A regional perspective, c. 1960-2010

Ronald PLANTINGA, Fryska Akademy and University of Groningen, the Netherlands

From the late 19th century onwards the Dutch region of Fryslân harboured a strong dairy sector: a concentration of dairy farms, factories (producing butter, cheese, milk powder and condensed milk), and supporting organizations. From the 1960s onwards, the Frisian Dairy sector witnessed rapid change. Under the impact of external shocks such as rising wages and increasing competition from European and global markets, the cluster had to adapt in order to remain competitive. Moreover, from the 1990s onwards there were pressures on the sector to become more sustainable. The Frisian dairy sector reacted by means of different forms of innovation, mainly in the technological and organizational domain. Dairy cooperatives – factories owned by dairy farmers – were of major importance to adaptation processes at the farm level. They helped to translate knowledge about modern production methods into the daily practice of dairy farms, thereby stimulating milk quality, farm productivity and sustainability. This paper analyses these innovation processes from the perspective of dairy cooperatives, and assesses the changing role of cooperatives as an innovation-inducing institution throughout the post-war period.

610.3. Agricultural Syndicates and Danger of pesticides and fertilizers during late 19th century France

Laurent HERMENT, CNRS, France

From the beginning of the 1880s onward agricultural syndicates played a major role in the popularization of fertilizers and pesticides in French countryside. During 30 years it is not possible to distinguish syndicates and cooperative. During this period the main aim of syndicates was to promote fertilizers.

Very quickly it appeared that some fertilizers and some pesticide are dangerous, sometimes lethal for plants, animals and men. The agricultural newspapers, scientific newspapers and the publication of the industrial mentioned periodically the dangers of fertilisers and pesticide. But it is striking that such dangers were often minimized. I want in this paper to identify the different way to describe these dangers and the attitude of syndicates. Most of the time, it is said that these were the misuses of fertilizers and pesticides which caused accidents. Usually, poor peoples, women, and inattentive farmers were responsible of such accident. But beyond this distinctive figures, scientists were able to identify new kinds of dangers. Not only in the use of the new materials that could be dangerous, but also that materials could be dangerous by themselves. Several materials could be identify that caused anxiety. Sometimes effects of such products are debated at length. But finally it is proved that they had a great value from an agronomic point of view. Conversely, in some cases, it was considered that a material did not pose any dangers.



Le hameau de la Reine à Trianon (Versailles), le moulin, 1784 © Nadine Vivier.

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>701.</p> <p>Measuring agricultural productivity before and during the Agricultural Revolution: Methods and sources</p> <p>Organiser: Jeremy Hayhoe Chair: Timothy Le Goff</p>	<p>701.1.</p> <p>The transition from land-augmenting to labour-augmenting technological progress in German agriculture, 17th to 19th centuries</p> <p>Ulrich Pfister</p>	<p>701.2.</p> <p>Agricultural productivity in mid-18th-century Spain</p> <p>Miguel Angel Bringas</p>	<p>701.3.</p> <p>Estimating yields from probate auctions of standing grain in 18th-century France: Challenges and preliminary results</p> <p>Jeremy Hayhoe</p>	<p>701.4.</p> <p>Finally getting a grip on Sweden's agricultural revolution?</p> <p>Lars Nyström, Erik Hallberg, Lotta Leijonhufvud</p>		<p>PANEL 701</p> <p>Room AS1_15</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>702.</p> <p>Rural work and commensurability issues in colonial situation: Contracts, social rights, standards of living (first half of the 20th century)</p> <p>Organiser: Laurent Heyberger Chair: Niccolò Mignemi</p>	<p>702.1.</p> <p>Digging Canal, Filling Swamps: The story of Human-Land Relationships in Everglades</p> <p>Bina Sengar, Babasaheb Ambedkar</p>	<p>702.2</p> <p>The Rationale of Sharecropping: Immigrant Bonded Laborers and the Transition from Slavery in Brazil (1830-1890)</p> <p>Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza</p>	<p>702.3.</p> <p>A Great Divergence of the biological standards of living? The secular trend of stature among indigenous and settlers in Algeria, 1880-1940</p> <p>Laurent Heyberger</p>			<p>PANEL 702</p> <p>Room AS1_17</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>703.</p> <p>Equality and commons? The redistributive character of historical common pool institutions Explored</p> <p>Organisers: Maïka De Keyzer, Esther Beeckaert Chair: Maïka De Keyzer</p>	<p>703.1.</p> <p>Equality among unequal people. Networks, hierarchies and egalitarian culture in the stewardship of natural resources (Navarre, Spain, 14th to 20th centuries)</p> <p>José Miguel Lana</p>	<p>703.2.</p> <p>The distribution of land rights and wealth inequality in the Belgian Ardennes in the second half of the 18th century</p> <p>Esther Beeckaert</p>	<p>703.3.</p> <p>Keeping it simple? Resilience in the light of decision-making and time-budgeting in an early modern peasant society</p> <p>Paul Warde</p>	<p>703.4.</p> <p>The Different Patterns of Common Lands</p> <p>Andrea Locatelli, Paolo Tedeschi</p>		<p>PANEL 703</p> <p>Room BS1_05</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>704.</p> <p>Peasant studies in Global perspective, 1940s-1980s</p> <p>Organisers: Steffi Marung, Alessandro Stanziani Chair: Eric Vanhaute</p>	<p>704.1.</p> <p>Connecting post-colonial peasant zones: African scholars in the Soviet academy</p> <p>Steffi Marung</p>	<p>704.2.</p> <p>The uneven development of rural history in Latin America. Some hypotheses</p> <p>Pablo Luna</p>	<p>704.3.</p> <p>Rural History and Economic History (1945-1970)</p> <p>Maurice Aymard</p>	<p>704.4.</p> <p>Peasant Studies in Global perspective: Chayanov in the cold war and beyond</p> <p>Alessandro Stanziani</p>		<p>PANEL 704</p> <p>Room AS1_01</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>705.</p> <p>Regional examples of spatial organization and cooperation in</p> <p>Organiser: Olof Karsvall Chair: Anders Wästfelt</p>	<p>705.1.</p> <p>Open fields since 1500: The survival of an outdated system?</p> <p>Hans Renes,</p>	<p>705.2.</p> <p>Open Fields as a Potential Source of</p> <p>Petri Talvitie</p>	<p>705.3.</p> <p>Enclosed Open Fields: Spatial Organization of Farming and the Use of Fences in the 17th Century Sweden</p> <p>Olof Karsvall Kristofer Jupiter, Anders Wästfelt</p>			<p>PANEL 705</p> <p>Room AS1_33</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
706. Roaming the Rural: Shepherds and Pastoralists as Cross-Cultural Agents in the Mediterranean Basin (15th–16th centuries) Organisers: Fabian Kümmeler, Dana-Silvia Caciuc Chair: Mária Pakucs	706.1 Making a living as a shepherd in Medieval Valencia Frederic Aparisi	706.2 Cattlement privileges in conflict A 16th century concord between the Comunidad de aldeas de Daroca and the Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza (Aragon, Spain) Lidia C. Allué Andrés	706.3 The Morlachs of Dalmatia: A Glimpse on Damages caused by Morlachs in the Agricultural Lands of Dalmatia during the 15th and 16th Centuries Dana-Silvia Caciuc	706.4 Vlach colonization in Croatia and Polish southeastern borderland in 16th century: A comparative analysis Wojciech Sajkowski		PANEL 706 Room 7 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
707. CORN (1994-2019): Past, Present and Future of Comparative Rural History Organiser and Chair: Thijs Lambrecht	707.1. About parents and their offspring: CORN on the dissection table Leen Van Molle	707.2. An English perspective on the CORN network Jane Whittle	707.3. French historiography and the CORN network Gérard Béaur	707.4. Insight by comparison: A CORN paradigm and possible ways to develop it Mats Morell	707.5. Rural history from regional to global, and back Eric Vanhaute 707.6. Is there a future for rural history? Erik Thoen	PANEL 707 Room AS1_9 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
708. Mobile Land. Contexts of Changes in Ownership Organisers: Margareth Lanzinger, Janine Maegraith, Regina Schäfer Chair: Emmanuel Huertas	708.1. Life tenants? Mobility of Land in the Middle Rhine valley (15th century) Regina Schäfer	708.2. Inheritance, Marriage, Sales. Land Transactions among the Rural Society in the Aflenz Region (Upper Styria), c. 1494-1550 Birgit Heinzle	708.3. he Influence of inheritance practice on land transfers in early modern Tyrol: Expectations and Reality Janine Maegraith, Johannes Kaska	708.4. The tangible and the intangible: Peasant land market in the Slovene countryside (Karst, 17th-18th century) Aleksander Panjek		PANEL 708 Room 8 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
709. Rachel Carson's heritage. Almost 50 years after the Silent Spring Organiser and Chair: Thomas Le Roux	709.1. The Other Silence in Silent Spring: Pesticides, Farm Workers, and Environmentalism Chad Montrie	709.2. Insecti-, pesti-, homi- cides?: Public health and agricultural pesticides in France in the 1950s and 1960s Nathalie Jas	709.3. Planes spraying glyphosate over the Miramichi river: A Silent Spring that lasts Charlotte Glinel			PANEL 709 Amphitheatre François Furet <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
710. The restructuring of the rural territory through the foundation of new villages, as an engine of urban economic development (Middle Ages-Early Modern Period) Organisers: Roberto Leggero, Marta Villa Chair: Roberto Leggero	710.1. Royal city of Cluj/ Kolozsvár/Klausenburg and the foundation of the Feleac village (1367). The development of an urban centre and its effects on the surrounding rural areas Tudor Salagean	710.2. Foundation of new villages on the Eastern Alps. The arrival of new farmer colonists in the Prince-Bishopric of Trent in middle Ages Marta Villa	710.3. The incidence of the boroughs on rural spaces in Normandy: Exemples of castral boroughs on the Norman border between the rivers Avre and Iton (11th-12th centuries) Astrid Descourtieux	710.4. Ways of urban economic development in Venetian dominion. The territorial organisation of Treviso's countryside (15-18th centuries): A case study Arianna Lorenzon		PANEL 710 Room 2 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>

Panel 701. Measuring agricultural productivity before and during the Agricultural Revolution: Methods and sources

Organiser: Jeremy HAYHOE, University of Moncton, Canada

Chair: Timothy LE GOFF, York University, Canada

Discussant: Timothy LE GOFF, York University, Canada

This panel seeks to present various ways historians of the early modern period and the 19th century are currently attempting to measure agricultural productivity and evaluate the ways crop yields, farmer's profits or the productivity of agricultural labour changed over time. The last decade or so has seen a lot of work on agricultural productivity. In the face of a lack of systematic macro-level data, historians have shown a great deal of creativity in their search for sources and the methods they have applied to their study. With the development of new methods to analyse these sources, earlier estimates of yield ratios and output per acre or hectare have been complemented with estimates of average labour productivity and total factor productivity.

These trends have led historians to challenge many of the conclusions of an earlier generation of historians who had done work at a national scale based substantially on contemporary estimates. There is growing awareness of the importance of local context and the fact that the timing of growth could vary by region within the same country and even locally within the same region. There has also been a sustained challenge to the dominance of the English model of growth and increasing awareness of the many different paths that countries, regions and even individual farms could take toward increasing production before chemical fertilizers became available. More work remains to be done, however, especially on regions that were further from large urban markets and where the land may have been less fertile, and where the growth take-off may have begun later than in privileged areas like southern England and the Low Countries.

The availability of a wider array of productivity also renders it possible to analyse with greater detail both the proximate sources of agricultural growth and the nature of technological progress in this sector. This includes tests of the Ricardian theory of rent, which implies that technological progress is land-augmenting and identifying the transition from a Ricardian type of technological progress to labour-augmenting technological progress is a major topic in the history of agricultural growth.

701.1. The transition from land-augmenting to labour-augmenting technological progress in German agriculture, 17th to 19th centuries

Ulrich PFISTER, Universität Münster, Germany

According to Uzawa's theorem, modern economic growth must be labour-augmenting to reconcile stable income shares of labour and capital with rapid capital accumulation and slow population growth. By contrast, the Ricardian theory of land rent implies that pre-modern agricultural growth was land-augmenting: the fruits of technological progress in agriculture accrued to land-owners rather than to those that worked the land. If all this holds, the transition from land-augmenting to labour-augmenting using a cost function and to track the evolution of the rent-wage ratio. These two series suggest that the transition from (Ricardian) land-augmenting to (Kaldorian) labour-augmenting growth took place at the beginning of the 19th century. Evidence for England and Spain suggest a similar pattern. The simultaneous transition from land-augmenting to labour-augmenting growth in the agricultural sectors of several European countries present a major new conundrum in the history of economic development.

701.2. Agricultural productivity in mid-18th-century Spain

Miguel Angel BRINGAS, *Universidad de Catabria, Spain*

The general objective of this research is to analyze the land productivity in the Crown of Castile (meaning 2/3 of the current Spanish territory) in the middle of the 18th century. In order to write this work we resorted to the Questionings of the Catastro of Ensenada, conducted in all of the villages (14.672) belonging to the Crown of Castile from 1749 to 1756. This national-level cadastral source of fiscal nature has seen very little use by historiography. We sampled 217 towns from a similar number of agrarian regions distributed throughout 33 present-day provinces. Agricultural yields analyzed so far make a total of 1,47% of the carried out Questionings, comprising 997.425 inhabitants – 15% of the total population of Castile- and over 5 million hectares, of which 1.661.079 were allotted to dryland cereals.

This paper will allow for:

1. Quantifying the productivities of the main produce in the Crown of Castile during the period from 1749 to 1756: cereal (wheat, rye, barley, oat and maize), wine and oil.
2. Analyzing regional differences (Atlantic, Inner, Southern) of the agricultural yields.
3. Giving an answer to the question: why did Castilian agriculture fall behind the agriculture of Northern Europe before the end of 18th century.

701.3. Estimating yields from probate auctions of standing grain in 18th-century France: Challenges and preliminary results

Jeremy HAYHOE, *University of Moncton, Canada*

This paper presents preliminary results from a corpus of approximately 750 probate auctions of standing grain (*vente de fruits pendant par racine*) from villages in the Burgundian region along the Saône river for the period 1700 to 1839. In some villages, as part of the probate process, local courts frequently auctioned off the right to harvest all of a deceased farmer's land, with the auctions being done at the peak of ripeness. The records list the area planted in each crop and therefore allow us to estimate crop yields with greater certainty than do probate inventories. There are, however, several challenges that need to be overcome before a time-series of yields can be elaborated, most of them related to the multiple ways of bidding, to the calculation or estimation of additional expenses not included in the stated amount (always the tithe, usually the rent, sometimes legal fees and paper tax, occasionally the obligation to return the straw to the landlord or estate), or to metrological issues involving the size of a journal of land and a bushel of grain in each community. This paper presents the methodology used to disaggregate the data in order to estimate the total value of a hectare of each type of crop grown in a given year and then, uses price lists (*mercuriales*) from Dijon, Nuits and St Jean-de-Losne to evaluate changes in crop yields both over time and from village to village.

701.4. Finally getting a grip on Sweden's agricultural revolution?

Lars NYSTRÖM, Erik HALLBERG and Lotta LEIJONHUFVUD, *University of Gothenburg, Sweden*

One of the problems in the study of the agricultural revolution in Sweden is the lack of uniform, trustworthy and easily available data on agricultural production. Official agricultural statistics from before 1900 are considered unreliable by modern researchers. The collection of data was dependent on information from farmers, who regularly underestimated their yields out of a fear of increased taxes. For the early 19th century, it has been estimated that actual land under cultivation could have been as much as 2-3 times higher than according to the statistics. Our project aims to reconstruct statistics of acreage of arable land and meadows at the level of the hundred, covering the whole country for 1810 and 1870. These calculations will be based on approximately 7,000 cadastral maps. Many of these maps were produced as a consequence of the large land reforms in Sweden during the period in question, the "storskifte", "enskifte", and "laga skifte". In general, they provide easily accessible and highly reliable information on the acreage of different types of land. By combining the "mantal" (the official tax unit for farms) of a village or a farm and the acreage of the same village or farm, it is possible to calculate the acreage under cultivation in each hundred. The next step is to combine these calculations with other data in order to reconstruct the actual size of cereal production in 1810 and 1870.

Panel 702. Rural work and commensurability issues in colonial situation: Contracts, social rights, standards of living (first half of the 20th century)

Organiser: Laurent HEYBERGER, Université de Technologie de Belfort-Montbéliard, France

Chair: Niccolò MIGNEMI, EHESS-CNRS, France

Discussant: Ruben CASTRO REDONDO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

According to the historian Frederick Cooper, the experience of colonial work can be summed up in the “African worker” formula, which represents an oxymoron. It contains two incompatible concepts: the codified work activity according to the criteria forged in Europe (or America) around the employment contract and the condition that is specific to the “native worker”, defined by conventions and local specificities that are irreducible to a universal framework. Thus, the regulatory effort deployed during the inter-war period by international bodies such as the ILO faces the plurality of working systems and the conditions for their implementation. Indeed, in the rural economies characterizing the colonial territories in the first half of the 20th century pluriactivity prevails, as well as the tendency to transform subordination into constraint or the fact that the work itself is not always a matter of exchange. If “free labour” becomes the parameter of a civilization to be exported on a global scale, the “colonial situation” poses many challenges to this categorization operation governed by Western values. This session therefore wants to explore the multiple issues of commensurability (value of work, social standards, living standards, etc.) that are played out in the colonial empires around the putting to work of the “natives”. Finally, the study of the tensions engendered by this work of categorization makes it possible to better understand how colonial domination is conceived, implemented and possibly reconfigured by the institutional and social actors concerned.

702.1. Digging Canal, Filling Swamps: The story of Human-Land Relationships in Everglades

Bina SENGAR, Florida International University-Miami, USA

Babasaheb AMBEDKAR, Marathwada University, India

In the late 19th century, the race to urbanize the uninhabited lands in American continent became a phenomenon. The new lands getting inhabited as new towns were the lands which once were under possessions of the native American societies. With the changes in the political structure and power relations among so called ‘Indians’ and United States of America the distribution and allotment of land also became matters of concern among new settlers. The stories of settlements were close knit combination of settlers’ contracts and displacements of land owners. The State of Florida which was known for its Everglades swamp, by the 19th century got subjected to new settlements contracts bringing in various ecological and colonial pressures on the Indian communities living in the region since ages. The research will investigate the colonial land contracts which consequentially fractured the existing rural ecology and society of the Everglades?

702.2. The Rationale of Sharecropping: Immigrant Bonded Laborers and the Transition from Slavery in Brazil (1830-1890)

Bruno Gabriel WITZEL DE SOUZA, Universität Göttingen, Germany

This paper studies the history of bonded labor in the plantations of São Paulo. Brazilian farmers proposed various contracts to bond immigrant households with a credit-labor interlinkage. The paper discusses why different labor-rental arrangements were adopted. In particular, vis-à-vis the alternatives of fixed rents and wage systems, it asks why sharecropping contracts were offered to European laborers during the transition from slavery in Brazil. Building on some new historical evidence and a formal model, the chapter makes two propositions about the rationale of bonded labor and sharecropping. First, the credit dimension was more important to landowners than specific labor-rental regimes. The credit supplied by landowners allowed for the tying of immigrants via indebtedness. This mechanism guaranteed a secure and stable supply of labor to the agricultural elites and permitted the immigration of poor and credit-constrained Europeans. This prepared the insertion of Brazil into the global circuit of the Age of Mass Migration without promoting institutional reforms to attract non-bonded immigrants. Second, sharecropping became the most prevalent contract in the first phase of the transition from slavery not because of an economically rational decision taken by landowners, but more as an emulation of other historical and international experiences with this labor-rental arrangement.

702.3. A Great Divergence of the biological standards of living? The secular trend of stature among indigenous and settlers in Algeria, 1880-1940

Laurent HEYBERGER, Université de Technologie de Belfort-Montbéliard, France

The demographic pressure among the indigenous population of Algeria during the first half of the 20th century is very well-known since the pioneering works of the « Gernut Commission » during the Front Populaire and the papers by Albert Camus or Germaine Tillion on the « clochardisation » of Algeria. This demographic phenomenon could have result in a decrease of the biological standard of living (BSL, or mean height) among the Algerian population, whereas at the same time the population of European settlers could have experienced an increase in height, just like all other Western populations, thanks to urbanization, better health care, sanitation and a richer nutrition in terms of animal protein. This paper will analyze the secular trend in height of both population for birth cohorts 1880-1940 (random sample, N = 10 640 individual observations) in order to test this hypothesis of a Great Divergence in the BSL.



Coulage du lait, mise en présure et remplissage des moules dans une fromagerie de Camembert, gravure de Victor Rose, Annuaire normand, 1878 © BnF.

Panel 703. Equality and commons? The redistributive character of historical common pool institutions explored

Organisers:

Maïka DE KEYZER, KU Leuven, Belgium

Esther BEECKAERT, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Chair: Maïka DE KEYZER, KU Leuven, Belgium

Discussant: Henri FRENCH, University of Exeter, UK

Today, the commons enjoy renewed societal and academic attention as they are put forward as vehicles to facilitate more equal distributions of resources. Commons, referring to both collective property and collective use rights, are conceived as the solution to redefine the boundaries of wealth distribution and reduce social inequality. References to Premodern commons are often used to prove the existence and success of such redistributive societies. The central ambition of this panel is to question, historicize and contextualize the societal role of communal land systems with regards to the distribution of wealth and power. Previous historical research has already indicated that commons did not automatically improve equality. Rather, their functioning depended on particular socioeconomic, political and ecological settings and according to changes in these circumstances the social role of common land rights could be changed. Although distribution is slowly taking central stage next to productivity and sustainability when explaining the historical development of communal land systems, more in-depth research is necessary to identify in which social conditions communal property rights reproduced existing inequalities and under which circumstances they enabled to mitigate and transform such inequalities. What factors shaped the access to communal properties and use rights and which social groups were served by the commons with regard to their income and power positions? Therefore, this panel brings together a group of junior and senior scholars that address these questions for different geographic and time-frameworks in order to facilitate regional and long-term comparison. A debate will be facilitated between research on various communal land systems that operated between the middle ages and the twentieth century in order to avoid uniform or linear conclusions.

703.1. Equality among unequal people. Networks, hierarchies and egalitarian culture in the stewardship of natural resources (Navarre, Spain, 14th to 20th centuries)

José Miguel LANA, Universidad Pública de Navarra, Spain

For a long time, there has been a double approach to the question of access to the commons. Traditionally, common lands have been understood as a space open to the use of the whole community, being particularly important for the poor. More recently, scholars have highlighted the ability to define group boundaries and to exclude non-members as one of the most important characteristics of commons. It has been defended that the use of the commons does not necessarily reduce inequality, because those members who are better placed to benefit from the commons (because of their farm size, number of livestock, market connections, political influence) largely withdrew more units of resources. However, inequality in economic and political terms are not necessarily the same. Following Schlager & Ostrom for property rights, rules concerning inequality do not necessarily operate the same at an operational level (access, withdrawal) and at a collective choice level (management, exclusion, alienation). There could be some cases in which an unequal use of common resources is compatible with an equal legal status of the members. On the contrary, a community defined by wealth and status distinctions could obtain some social balance through mechanisms that ensure a certain degree of inclusion and redistribution. The paper proposed will examine these questions through the study of the historical evolution of a sample of local communities in the Western Pyrenees between the 14th to 20th centuries.

703.2. The distribution of land rights and wealth inequality in the Belgian Ardennes in the second half of the 18th century

Esther BEECKAERT, *Universiteit Gent, Belgium*

This research paper questions the impact of communal land systems on to the distribution of wealth. Socioeconomic studies of land inequality often remain primarily focussed on private property rights. However, most premodern rural societies functioned upon a broad series of complex and overlapping land rights. Therefore, in this paper the redistributive character of premodern common use rights will be questioned and contextualized. The Ardennes, located in the south of present-day Belgium, serve as an excellent case given the unique combination of small peasant ownership and various sets of common use rights. The focus will be on wood chopping and pasturing rights to common heath and forest land during the 18th century. The main focus is on the *Terre de Neufchâteau*, encompassing 26 small village communities and the town of Neufchâteau in the heart of the Ardennes, for which the 1766 *Cadastre Thérésien* and a series of tax registers are preserved. Local land inequalities are assessed in a dual manner: 1) the relative importance of the commons for the land access of individual households and 2) structural imbalances in access to land between the city of Neufchâteau and its surrounding countryside. The inclusion of a broad series of use rights enables me to reconstruct the social fabric of rural communities in the Ardennes fully in accordance with their complex land systems, as opposed to a mere focus on private property.

703.3. Keeping it simple? Resilience in the light of decision-making and time-budgeting in an early modern peasant society

Paul WARDE, *University of Cambridge, UK*

This paper examines collective strategies used by peasants to reduce risk and minimise costs, and their impact on resilience. It argues that a major concern of peasants was the costs and risks associated with *social friction* of having to frequently negotiate the allocation of work and access to space. Thus much of both formal and informal regulation of resource use arose not from a direct concern with the state of the resources themselves or a conscious interest in ecological 'sustainability', but out of the desire to minimize social friction and costs, and the risk of individual and household effort being dissipated in constant processes of negotiation and demarcation. These issues are addressed in a study of peasant communities in early modern south-west Germany (16th-18th centuries). The paper focuses on three main issues: legally-recognised claims to subsistence rights; by-laws regulating the ordering of fields and animals; and the effects of the scattering of farm plots throughout commonly-managed field systems. All of these strategies can be understood as risk minimizing, but the risk-minimizing *effects* should not be confused with those effects being *intentional*. It is argued that a 'collective guarantee' to access to resources to measure subsistence provided an ideological underpinning to measures regulate and ensure access, without aiming to provide any guarantee of subsistence itself.

703.4. The Different Patterns of Common Lands

Andrea LOCATELLI, *Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy*

Paolo TEDESCHI, *Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy*

The paper discusses the role of common lands in the economic system and in the society of Lombardy between the 18th and the 19th century. The paper identifies the management methods and the processes of privatization or of change in use. In the 19th century the change in the availability and destination of the commons involved significant effects on the type of production and on the market flows. The common lands had a decisive role in the social structure of the territories and their transformation induced processes of redistribution of income but also of reshaping of the social structure with the emergence of new groups and with the increase in the migratory choice for those who lost the use of common lands.

In the case of Lombardy, the common land represented a system of management of local common resources, both for the protection of poorest inhabitants and the redistribution of wealth within the community. The access to fruits of the common land allowed to maintain the economic equilibrium and the social peace in the communities. During the 19th century, new laws modified the availability and destination of these fruits and provoked significant effects on the rural production (it decreased or remained low), on the social structure of the communities (the migration flows toward other areas increased) and on the environment (the over-exploitation of privatized land provoked some landslides in the Alpine valleys).

Panel 704. Peasant studies in Global perspective, 1940s-1980s

Organisers:

Steffi MARUNG, Universität Leipzig, Germany

Alessandro STANZIANI, CNRS and EHESS, France

Chair: Eric VANHAUTE, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Discussant: Gilles LAFERTÉ, Institut national de la recherche agronomique Dijon, France

Between the late 1940s and the end of the 1980s, peasant studies were at the core of research in many fields and all around the world: development studies, anthropology, sociology, but also rural history, in Europe, as well as in Russia, Asia (China, India, South-East Asia), Africa and Latin America. Meanwhile, in historical studies of peasantries in Eastern Europe and Asia, mostly India, China, Japan and part of South-East Asia, similar concerns took place in the wake of colonial and post-colonial studies, communist movements and socialist interpretations of history. Peasant studies had a huge impact on economic policies in India, China, Thailand, most of African studies, not to forget Brazil, Argentine, Peru. They informed reforms in the USSR and its satellite countries. Yet this trend declined in the 1980s and disappeared in the following decade when it eventually transmuted into altermondialist studies.

This panel aims at assessing the global and local although connected histories of these studies in order to understand the circulation of ideas, people, practices, beyond and despite the iron curtain and the divide of the world. It also leads to a broader discussion on the decline of the peasant studies and the transformation of economic history, economics and economic anthropology.

704.1. Connecting post-colonial peasant zones: African scholars in the Soviet academy

Steffi MARUNG, Universität Leipzig, Germany

The paper approaches the history of peasant studies from a transregional perspective, specifically situated in a Soviet-African geography during the Cold War. This connection was particularly productive in the field of peasant studies at least from three angles. Firstly, Soviet scholars had to reconcile their understanding of socialist transformations and the agrarian question in post-colonial societies as they were increasingly confronted with African perspectives in the course of their research. Meeting African colleagues at conferences or during field work, Soviet scholars did not find undivided support from their African counterparts. Secondly, outside of the Soviet Union the comparison of post-colonial agrarian development in the Soviet Union and African societies led to animated debates about different paths out of backwardness and empire. And thirdly, a number of African scholars began their academic careers in the Soviet Union with a PhD on questions of rural development.

The paper zooms in on these African contributions to Soviet expertise on Africa, by focusing on PhD students from African countries graduating at institutions of Higher Education in the Soviet Union. They often used the lens of Soviet historical transformations to make sense of the dynamics in their countries of origin. Thereby, they brought into conversation different understandings of post-colonial modernities, which included the role of peasants in social and political transformations.

704.2. The uneven development of rural history in Latin America. Some hypotheses

Pablo LUNA, Sorbonne Université and EHESS, France

The 1970s saw in Latin America the culmination of documented research and reflection on the history of haciendas and long-term rural developments; it has produced important publications and has resulted in the creation of a historiographic current involving several generations of specialists. It is possible to say that this general process has characterized, with a few rare exceptions, the entire Latin-American continent and has left lasting traces. The political context and the dynamism of the intellectual confrontations played a major role; this is also undeniable. Then, in the mid-1980s, the decline was sometimes slow, sometimes brutal, motivated by internal and external factors, but also by the importance of other historiographical trends, as well as by the priority given to others objects of reflection and research of historians. But on this issue as well, and already at the beginning of the 21st century, the global context and the place reserved for Latin America in global developments have probably marked the historiographical preferences - as the inequality of development which has followed.

Upset, competing, withdrawn (or even abandoned) research in the history of haciendas and campaigns has faced the challenge of renewing itself and adapting to new circumstances. It has not always succeeded, and this has accentuated the inequality of historiographic evolution within Latin American spaces. But it is equally certain that the opening up of issues and research subjects, as well as their more or less de-provincialization, played a leading role in such a regional differentiation.

704.3. Rural History and Economic History (1945-1970)

Maurice AYMARD, EHESS, Paris

Debates about the peasant economies take their move in the years after WWII from the discussions about the economic and demographic growth in medieval and modern Europe and the origin of its world hegemony. Economic historians thus sought to identify the origin of the European expansion in pre-modern times and in the role some city and city states played. In this perspective, peasant economies were still presented as hostile to the market and with low innovation, productivity and Malthusian cycles along Le Roy Ladurie's scheme. Carus Wilson was among the first who advanced a labor intensive growth of Dutch peasant economy. In this context, first translations of Chayanov's and Kula's works were published. Both were strongly criticized by Marxist authors such as Vilar. Despite these criticisms, the economic history of the peasantry strongly developed, much often in tight dialogue with anthropology. It is not by chance if the journal *Etudes Rurales* was founded by an historian of Middle Ages (Duby), an anthropologist (Chiva) and a geographer (Faucher). It expressed two eventually conflicting tendencies: one looking at the peasantries as "the world we lost", and another seeking to identify the dynamics of rural societies out of conventional schemes. These two tendencies persisted over years in much of the peasant studies.

704.4. Peasant Studies in Global perspective: Chayanov in the cold war and beyond

Alessandro STANZIANI, CNRS and EHESS, France

This paper will begin by presenting the intellectual context in which the rediscovery of Chayanov took place in the early 1960s. The two primary sources for this will be the historiography surrounding the agrarian question in Russia, along with the general debate on decolonization and development.

I will then discuss the fortunes of Chayanov's rediscovery from the 1960s up until *perestroika*. I will analyze, in particular, his role in the debate over peasant farming and the renewal of economic history, beginning with the "Annales" school and the theory of proto-industrialization, up through Witold Kula's analysis of serfdom in Poland and the agrarian history of Danilov and other Soviet historians.

The following section will discuss Chayanov's rehabilitation in 1987 and the new blossoming of research focusing on him. Particular attention will be devoted to the opening of the archives as well as their reclassification and use. I will conclude with an assessment of the research on Chayanov in Russia and "the West" from the 1990s to the present, in a context strongly marked by the success of neo-liberal positions.



1920 — Brignoles — Troupeau de moutons sur les bords du Caramy

Brignoles, Troupeau de moutons sur les bords du Caramy, début xx^e siècle, carte postale, © MUCHEM.

Panel 705. Regional examples of spatial organization and cooperation in open field farming

Organiser: Olof KARSVALL, The Swedish National Archives, Sweden

Chair: Anders WÄSTFELT, Stockholm University, Sweden

Discussant: Kristofer JUPITER, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

The organization of open fields in agriculture that emerged during the Middle Ages and the early modern period was a complex system that combined individual ownership and communal practice of arable, meadow and pasture. It was adapted for small and mid-size family-based farming, and another way to organize agriculture than the medieval estates (demesnes), parliamentary enclosures and the larger coherent fields of the 18th century and onwards.

The last decade research in historical geography and economic history has highlighted the origin of this system, often referred as the open field; not only visually open, but also open in the sense it promoted communal farming of the land. Another term, common field, is also associated with this. However, the theoretical approach has to be followed up with data analysis to better understand regional variations.

We argue that the open field system cannot be fully understood without regard to an in-depth analysis of the institutions holding the complex collaboration together. The most important source material are historical maps, especially the large-scale maps showing the landscape and the farming organisation in a detailed scale. Analysis of these maps – as well as other written sources – allows for reconstructions of farms and settlements and their interlinked fields.

Questions that arose from such analysis are for example: What are the characteristics of various open fields? What can be said about the spatial distribution and communal arrangements between settlements and villagers sharing the same fields?

The aim of this panel is to highlight and discuss the use of open fields in relation to regional examples using source material and empirical evidence. Based on different case studies/examples, is it possible to identify and define spatial and functional areas or institutions that constitute one or more open fields?

The contributions to this discussion can come from countries worldwide. Since open fields were widely spread during the Middle Ages up to about the 1800s, the discussion here will mostly concern this period. Perspectives from today's agriculture and organization is also welcomed.

705.1. Open fields since 1500: The survival of an outdated system?

Hans RENES, Utrecht University, the Netherlands

The heydays of the open field system were the High Middle Ages, a period with population pressure and high prices for foodstuffs, in particular for cereals. During this period, grain production on open fields was the most efficient way to feed the European population. The changes in agriculture during the late-medieval crisis and the Early-Modern Period generally led to a move towards a wider spectre of crops and towards enclosed fields. However, in many parts of Europe, open fields remained in use, with ever more complex rotations. The small-scale field-pattern was retained by some 19th century field reorganisations and in some cases even survived within the 20th-century mechanisation age. The scientific literature on open fields as always focused on the origins of this landscape and on the disappearance in a number of regions. The survival of the system has received little attention. The present paper looks at the survival and the modern use of open fields.

705.2. Open Fields as a Potential Source of Conflict

Petri TALVITIE, University of Helsinki, Finland

The paper seeks to analyse the land disputes related to open field farming. What were the most common causes of conflicts (boundaries, fences, grazing, intercommoning, rotation systems etc.)? What was the relationship between conflicting parties and open field system? Was it typical to have several hamlets involved in the disputes? How often the villagers argued about open field farming within a single hamlet? Annually or a couple of times in a century?

Open field system was a very peculiar way to organise farming activities, and there were several potential sources of disputes such as the fragmented land holding pattern, common duties and timetables as well as enforced crop rotations. The proper functioning of the system required that everyone did its tasks, but free-rider problems must have been relatively usual. A typical example is the neglect of fencing duties allowing the animals to trample the harvest. The paper will discuss how the farmers tried to overcome these challenges on a village level. By doing this, the presentation contributes to the debate on the rationality of open field agriculture. What do the disputes tell us about the institutions holding the whole system together?

The paper is based on a comparison between two Finnish parishes located on the western part of Finland (the province of Satakunta). The source material consists of court records and large-scale cadastral maps from the 17th century.

705.3. Enclosed Open Fields: Spatial Organization of Farming and the Use of Fences in the 17th Century Sweden

Olof KARSVALL, The Swedish National Archives, Sweden

Kristofer JUPITER, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Anders WÄSTFELT, Stockholm University, Sweden

The last decade research in historical geography and economic history has highlighted the origin of this system, often referred as, the open field; open in the sense it promoted communal farming of primarily the arable land. This pre-modern farming system was, however, in fact in many areas a closed landscape – a landscape where fences stood out as significant elements.

This article investigates the use of fences in a part of western early modern Sweden. Using historical maps and an empirical approach, it focuses on the collaboration and interaction between farms and settlements. We argue that the open field system can not be fully understood without regard to an in-depth analysis of the fences and the institutions holding the complex collaboration together. The occurrence or absence of fences in relation to open fields involves several question: What can be said about the spatial distribution and interconnections between settlements sharing the same open fields? Could an agrarian landscape where fences were prominent elements be considered open fields? The empirical base is a reconstruction of fields and fences (fence-system) drawn from detailed large-scale maps, dating from mid-17th century western Sweden.



Moules à beurre en bois © Hörmed.

Panel 706. Roaming the Rural: Shepherds and Pastoralists as Cross-Cultural Agents in the Mediterranean Basin (15th-16th centuries)

Organisers:

Fabian KÜMMELER, Universität Wien and Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe, Austria

Dana-Silvia CACIUR, Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, Bucharest, Romania

Chair: Mária PAKUCS, New Europe College, Bucharest, Romania

Discussant: Fabian KÜMMELER, Universität Wien and Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe, Austria

Although pastoral transhumance was “one of the most distinctive characteristics of the Mediterranean world” (Braudel), notably the herding practices and the sociocultural life of shepherds and pastoralists and their role as cross-cultural agents in the late medieval Mediterranean are still largely unexplored. When addressing shepherd communities in 15th- and 16th-century Southeast Europe, for example, it's first and foremost the transhumant herding communities of Vlachs and Morlachs that inspire the idea of Balkan pastoralism to this day. Apart from transhumant communities, however, also sedentary local forms of animal husbandry existed along the coast and on the islands of Venetian Dalmatia. While historiography often instrumentalised the former for narratives of ethnic and national origins, the latter, until most recently, have been studied only rather secondarily either by legal historians analysing communal statutes or by economic historians quantifying the economic impact of animal husbandry.

This panel aims at overcoming the boundaries of national historiographies and disciplinary traditions by comprehensively studying and discussing new insights into both transhumant and sedentary shepherd communities in the late medieval Mediterranean Basin. Its focus centres on scrutinizing different forms of pastoral communities, defined by socio-cultural practices and legal status, and the herders' interaction with and perception by state administration and rural society. Whereas shepherds, based upon their seminomadic lifestyle, were usually understood as marginal communities, this panel emphasizes their significant role in interconnecting rural communities from different regions and cultural and political contexts. As economic agents, even if perceived as rather closed communities, shepherds had to be acquainted not only with local laws, markets rules, prices and herding customs, but – particularly in the case of transhumant pastoralism – often also with varying political systems, borders and tax regimes as well as with different cultural contexts and environmental conditions. The mobility of flocks, the permanent need for fresh grass and water, the need for protection and settlement during winter and the need for markets for ovine products transformed the shepherds' world into a fascinating but yet understudied field of cross-cultural interaction.

706.1. Making a living as a shepherd in Medieval Valencia

Frederic A PARISI, Universitat de Lleida, Spain

Due to their mobility, it is difficult to bump into shepherds in written sources. Despite the scarcity of evidence, it seems clear that there was not one type of shepherds in Medieval Valencia only. On the contrary, we should differentiate between the professional shepherds, that tended considerable flocks in long distances, and local shepherds, who managed smaller herds in the surrounding area of the community. The size of the flocks and the covered distance are just two criteria to classify shepherds. But in the medieval kingdom of Valencia there were also Muslim shepherds taking care of flocks of Christian owners and, the contrary, Christian shepherds dealing with herds of Muslim stockbreeders, although this was more uncommon. On the contrary, conflicts between shepherds and peasants were quite frequent, particularly in the areas of irrigated agriculture.

This paper analyses the features of the shepherds in Medieval Valencia from both an economic and social perspectives. It focuses also on the interaction between shepherds and local communities and the conflicts that derived from those contacts. For carrying out this research, I will use notarial records and registries of the court of justice to depict the work and life of medieval shepherds.

706.2. Cattlement privileges in conflict: A 16th century concord between the Comunidad de aldeas de Daroca and the Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza (Aragon, Spain).

Lidia C. ALLUÉ ANDRÉS, Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès, France and Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

On September 19, 1559, the representatives of the *Comunidad de aldeas de Daroca* and those of the *Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza* met in the burgh of Huesa (Aragon, Spain). They intended to put an end to the disputes between the cattlemen of these powerful institutions concerning the use of the pastures and waters owned by the inhabitants of that *Comunidad*. The origin of those conflicts were some privileges granted by different Aragonese kings to both parts, for those concessions became contradictory between them since the 13th century. As the problems continued and worsened, the cattlemen of Zaragoza decided to raise their grievances to the monarch, expecting him to mediate and resolve this situation.

The agreements reached in this concord were not observed, since the conflicts continued until the 20th century. However, the importance of this unpublished manuscript goes beyond these pacts. In this document an enumeration of the pastures of each one of the villages of the *Comunidad* can be found, as well as the uses and rights that their inhabitants had on them, with all the socioeconomic implications that this entails. Moreover, since the pastures were delimited, their boundaries are described. This may allow their spatial reconstruction, as well as the location of some villages that were abandoned at the end of the Middle Ages, whose terms were partly transformed into pastures once they were deserted.

706.3. The Morlachs of Dalmatia: A Glimpse on Damages caused by Morlachs in the Agricultural Lands of Dalmatia during the 15th and 16th Centuries

Dana-Silvia CACIUR, Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, Bucharest, Romania

The Morlachs of Dalmatia, as referred to in Venetian documents from the 15th century onwards, were a heterogeneous and extremely mobile population of Vlach origin. Even if they were to be found also as merchants, soldiers, thieves, criminals, immigrants, etc., the principal occupation of the late medieval Dalmatian Morlachs remained the traditional sheep breeding. When analysing this latter aspect of Morlach life, we have to be keep in mind that the life-style of the Morlach shepherds from Dalmatia was strongly connected with that of other Vlachs communities from the Balkans. Together with this, the Morlachs' commercial practices and the ubiquitous presence of Morlach sheep flocks in the agricultural space of the Dalmatian hinterlands in the 15th and 16th century, contributes equally to the larger topic of the life in border areas.

Against this background, this paper exams the crop damages caused by the Morlach shepherds in Dalmatia's fields and vineyards. These damages reveal information about the legal status of Morlach shepherds in Dalmatian communes, about privileges, concessions, agreements, rental contracts, and also about diplomatic negotiations. Moreover, representative examples of crop damages will be used to study the relation and (partially) cross-cultural interaction of Morlachs shepherds with the great regional powers, particularly Venice's reaction to the disruptive Morlachs and its consequences at the diplomatic level with the authorities of the Ottoman Empire.

706.4. Vlach colonization in Croatia and Polish southeastern borderland in 16th century. A comparative analysis

Wojciech SAJKOWSKI, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland

Since 15th century the Vlachs, as the people who often lived in the borderland regions were used by different political powers to populate the militarized border zones. Military borders created in the 15th-19th century by Hungarians, Habsburgs, Venetians and Turks contributed greatly to the strengthening of the Vlach-Slavic ethnic relations. Also in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the Vlach settlers were used to colonize and protect the most dangerous territories of the southeast borderland of the country. The military duties and the necessity to protect the borderlands were rewarded with special prerogatives, which provided far-reaching autonomy. The "Vlach law", which was the basis of the military colonization, and wasn't codified until 1630, could be practiced in different ways.

The paper proposes a comparison of the colonization, which occurred in Croatia and Polish southeastern borderland (Rus Halicka, Podole) in 16th century. The comparison will include many levels, including the military aspect of the colonization and the differences in the specificity of the transhumance economy. The choice of this large chronological scope was dictated firstly by the difference between Polish and Hungarian (since 1526 specifically Habsburg) relations with Ottoman Turkey, and secondly by the intensity of the Vlach colonization in 16th century (more than 800 Vlach settlements functioning in Polish borderland of that time).

Panel 707. CORN (1994-2019): Past, Present and Future of Comparative Rural History

Organiser: Thijs LAMBRECHT, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Chair: Thijs LAMBRECHT, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Discussant: Tim SOENS, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

Exactly 25 years ago, the Eleventh International Economic History Congress in Milan was the stage for the first contacts and plans to set up an international network for rural history. Until that date, agricultural, agrarian and rural history networks and societies had a predominantly national character and lacked a specialized and international forum to present, discuss and disseminate their research. One year later, in 1995, the network Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area – known as CORN - was born. Ten years later the European COST action network Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies (PROGRESSORE) followed in its wake. In 2010 these two networks laid the base for the foundation for the first Rural History Conference in Brighton. During the 25 years separating the first contacts in Milan (1994) and the fourth Rural History Conference in Paris (2019) the field of rural history has changed considerably. Rural history has been transformed from a discipline at the margins of academic research to a self-conscious and mature field of research. The international success of rural history is not only reflected in the growing number of participants at the EURHO conferences, but also in the constant influx of new young researchers, specialized book series and academic chairs in rural history. The 25th birthday of the founding network for comparative rural history in Europe and the 65th birthday of its Belgian founding father and mother – Erik Thoen (Ghent) and Leen Van Molle (Leuven) – offer an ideal occasion to reflect on the past, present and future of our discipline and field of research. In particular this round table discussion will focus on the academic and scientific impact and resonance of the CORN network. This will be achieved through a series of testimonials of rural historians that have been active in these networks from the onset. The discussants will reflect upon the impact of this network from a national perspective. Rather than presenting and evaluating the past activities and output of CORN, they will assess the impact on their national rural historiographies.

707.1. About parents and their offspring: CORN on the dissection table

Leen VAN MOLLE, KU Leuven, Belgium

If CORN has fueled research in the field of agricultural history (in the more traditional economical and technical sense) and rural history (in the larger social and cultural sense) during the last 25 years, one has to ask who profited from its dynamics? Its 'invention' came from Ghent, its elaboration from Ghent and Leuven, its focus was at first the North Sea Area, followed by the opening to Europe as a whole, and its goal was to encourage comparative history. Although often perceived as 'Belgian', CORN has never been a national endeavour. All research is subject to the law of unbalanced growth: it evolves according to dialectics of progress and alienation or regression, and to processes of inclusion and exclusion. The paper aims at questioning the (trans-)national identity (identities) of CORN and of its offspring.

707.2. An English perspective on the CORN network

Jane WHITTLE, University of Exeter, UK

I joined the CORN network in 1996, a year after finishing my PhD and the same academic year I began work at Exeter University. My PhD was on the development of Agrarian Capitalism in England, and what involvement in CORN revealed to me is that much of the agrarian capitalism debate was overly Anglo-centric, and in my case, overly concerned with the obscurities of the English system of land tenure. CORN taught me to present research in a way that was accessible to a wider audience, and caused me to rethink many of my arguments in a comparative perspective. With this came a new conception of comparative history – not the kind of comparative history I had encountered as a student, which perhaps reached its peak with the work of Robert Brenner – where one scholar attempts to master the history of a whole range of countries; but comparative history created by bringing together experts from different countries to consider a common issue. This approach spans the intellectual gap between local histories and international trends: it is at the heart of CORN and explains its importance as a network. Rural history thrives on local studies, and I am a strong proponent of the local history approach, but we need the wider perspective to draw out the full implications of our research. In my contribution to the round-table I hope to expand on this by talking about the development of the comparative history of women's work and its intersection with CORN, and about how CORN stands in relation to the British Agricultural History Society and the Economic History Society.

707.3. French historiography and the CORN network

G rard B AUR, CNRS and EHESS, France

From a French point of view, the creation of Corn should have been a minor and marginal event. Federating the researchers working on the rural societies of the countries of the North Sea area was theoretically out of concern for them, except for the researchers of Lille and more generally the academic circles of what are now called the Hauts de France. Yet, by a combination of circumstances and by the very logic of this creation, the consequences were considerable for French historiography. For a number of causes some of the French researchers were welcomed into this network and participated intensively with Corn. Another part (the majority) remained on the sideline. I will explain the reasons for these opposite choices and I will come back to the involvement of a small group in this unifying program. I will show how the project corresponded to some French researchers' expectations, insofar Corn showed them the path they had to follow although they may not be fully satisfied by the restricted geographical scope of the network. I will then remind that from this pattern, another network, with a European dimension, was born around the European Cost program, which gave birth to the Eurho. Finally, I will insist on the numerous connections, the multiple collaborations, the constant interferences between the two networks, accentuated by the continuous widening of the study area of the Corn and on the enormous progress realized thanks to the scientific impulses born from CORN.

707.4. Insight by comparison: A CORN paradigm and possible ways to develop it

Mats MORELL, Uppsala University, Sweden

If there is a CORN-paradigm, it is well represented in the very acronym, because it is a comparative method that has been at the core of most CORN activities. It has successfully served to bring new understanding of national historiographies-. Participants have become able to view the historiographies they have represented in new light. Common paths and different routes has been visualized. Most volumes in the regular CORN publication have, however, consisted of national contributions to a chosen general theme, mostly authored by the respective national specialists, presented with a comparative introduction and a comparative conclusion composed by chosen editors. This has worked well, but a next step might be to encourage more direct collaborative comparative writing were several authors in joint efforts compare a number of cases around a chosen theme. Such efforts have not been absent but not dominating. This paper will elaborate on that proposition.

707.5. Rural history from regional to global, and back

Eric VANHAUTE, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

My intervention will discuss the dialectical relationship between a regional and a global perspective in rural history, and how this has changed the discipline in the last twenty years.

707.6. Is there a future for rural history?

Erik THOEN, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

In the last 10 to 20 years some important steps forward have been made in the field of rural history such as (1) an increased international collaboration between researchers especially in Europe, (2) some important themes on the social and economic aspects of rural history are well developed, (3) some new synthesis works - crossing artificial/national borders- have been published and (4) discussions/debates have been encouraged. In the future, interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches should be encouraged. International collaborative projects should be encouraged in a fundamental way. Research structures should accept and fund more so called 'joint-PhDs' made by students from different backgrounds, on topics related to rural history. Comparative approaches, comparing different test areas and following similar research schemes should be developed. We know that these types of approaches are slowly emerging but funding systems are still too much focused on 'individual' approaches. Research should be linked much more to current socio-economic topics such as environmental problems (pollution, erosion, health and welfare) and inequality. Finally, rural history should focus more on popularizing research.

Panel 708. Mobile Land - Contexts of Changes in Ownership

Organisers:

Margareth LANZINGER, Universität Wien, Austria

Janine MAEGRAITH, Universität Wien, Austria and University of Cambridge, UK

Regina SCHÄFER, Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, Germany

Chair: Emmanuel HUERTAS, Université de Toulouse Jean Jaurès, France

Discussant: Margareth LANZINGER, Universität Wien, Austria

This panel aims at identifying and discussing different contexts of changes in ownership in rural areas from the late middle ages to the 18th century. Recent empirical studies have shown the existence of active land markets in German speaking areas already since the middle ages – not only in wine-growing areas or in regions with partible inheritance, but also in agricultural areas with impartible inheritance. With regard to changes in land ownership, the research focus has mainly been on intergenerational property transfers, on inheritance rights, practices, patterns and their implications. One objective of the planned panel is to broaden the perspective: land has not only been inherited, purchased and sold but also swapped, shared, leased, burdened with mortgage and used as collateral. Furthermore, the sources and especially interrelated documents frequently do not just refer to simple property transfers; but they can reveal interwoven transactions. Selling land, for example, could result from an inheritance procedure, bridge financial constraints, be combined with pre-emptive rights or it could aim at debt rescheduling as well as swapping land. Thus, another objective of the panel is to trace and analyse such circumstances in order to get a broader understanding as well as a more precise and comprehensive picture of changes in ownership. The topics of the papers are situated in different rural areas of present day Austria, Germany and Italy; they cover several centuries, and different legal and economic spaces.

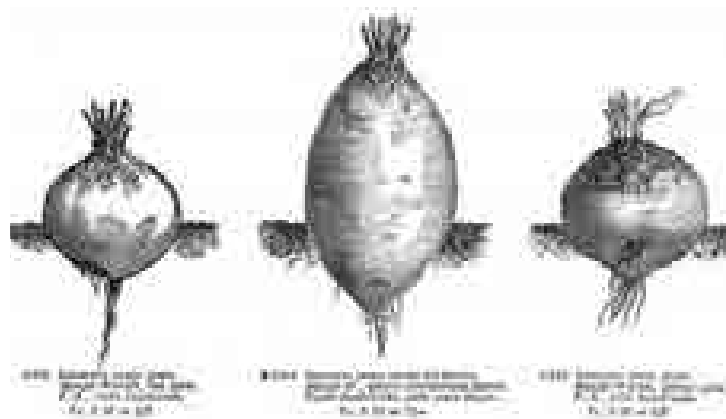
708.1. Life tenants? Mobility of Land in the Middle Rhine valley (15th century)

Regina SCHÄFER, Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, Germany

The transfer of property in rural areas in pre-modern times has been the topic of several international conferences in recent years. The results are ambiguous – examples from Northern Italy show that tenants were strongly dependent on their landlords; in contradiction examples from Austrian regions show that people were highly mobile and land changed hands frequently.

The Middle Rhine Valley was a wine-growing region as well with excellent soils, a good transportation system due to the river Rhine and it was densely populated. Court documents and lease agreements prove a quite dynamic land market, at least for the villages close to the river. Serfdom was not of importance in the Middle Rhine Valley. The land was often leasehold. Even the aristocratic families, who lived among the peasants, farmed (mostly) leased land. Hereditary lease was common. So, one would expect that the right to farm the soil was inherited for generations, if the land was fertile. However, this assumption does not always hold true and we find evidence of a frequent change among tenants.

This raises multiple questions: Which influence did the “owners” have on the land? Is this mobility of land an indicator of a crisis in the Late Middle Ages, caused by impoverishment? Did the tenants change because of inheritance patterns? Was there a real, practical division of land or was it more a nominal one? The paper tries to approach these questions using mainly land registration notes and protocols of the local court.



Betteraves, Vilmorin-Andrieux et cie, *Album de clichés*, Paris, 1888 © BnF.

708.2. Inheritance, Marriage, Sales. Land Transactions among the Rural Society in the Aflenz Region (Upper Styria), c. 1494-1550

Birgit HEINZLE, Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen/Archives of the Abbey of St. Gall, Switzerland

In times of economic insecurity, the owning and acquisition of land was of utmost importance, especially in the rural society, where land guaranteed subsistence and income. In the 15th and 16th centuries, a new system of tenancy – the so-called *Kaufrecht* (purchase right) – offered the Styrian tenants several options to receive or transfer landed property: They could inherit land, marry into a good family, purchase or barter land.

This paper focuses on all these types of land transactions among tenants in the Aflenz Region, which was part of the estate of the St. Lambrecht Monastery in Upper Styria. The easiest way to gain land was through either inheritance or marriage: The system of inheritance was dominated by impartible inheritance, which means that only one of the descendants took over the family holdings. The other heirs received their share of inheritance in cash or mobile property. These compensations mostly had to be provided by the new owner of the parental holding, who usually had to marry to acquire enough asset to do so. Marriage contracts in Aflenz reveal a large variety of marital property arrangements, containing joint property, separation of property as well as combinations between these two systems. Tenants also had the possibility to sale land to receive cash. Although most of the land was transferred within the family, the Aflenz region had a vivid land market. The paper will show how tenants in the Aflenz region used the new legal rights to transfer land.

708.3. The Influence of inheritance practice on land transfers in early modern Tyrol: Expectations and Reality

Janine MAEGRAITH, Universität Wien, Austria and University of Cambridge, UK
Johannes KASKA, Universität Wien, Austria

The influence of institutional factors on land transfers has been one of the main topics in this area of research for a long time. Within this discussion, inheritance practice is regarded as one of the most influential factors with the power to shape transfer patterns and property structures of whole regions. In our paper we will take a closer look at this influence, especially regarding the (assumed) significant differences between regions with partible and impartible inheritance. Based on the two south Tyrolean regions Schlanders and Sonnenburg, it will be shown that transfers and their arrangements could be more complex than previous notions regarding inheritance practice let us believe. Our paper focusses on two main aspects: first, how partible and impartible inheritance were implemented in these regions and what options the heirs had regarding the character of their inheritance portion or compensation; second, how these inheritance practices could trigger subsequent transactions of land or other assets, and how additional factors influenced or actually instigated such transactions. Both aspects will be further analysed regarding possible differences based on gender, social status, forms of kinship, and property structure.

708.4. The tangible and the intangible: Peasant land market in the Slovene countryside (Karst, 17th-18th centuries)

Aleksander PANJEK, University of Primorska, Slovenia

Basing on a relatively rich set of archival sources, the paper upgrades the existing knowledge on the peasant land-market in the Slovene regions (S. Vilfan) belonging to the Austrian Habsburg hereditary lands, focusing with the Karst area on the Adriatic coast, nowadays across the Slovene-Italian border. The sources consist in records of the Devin/Duino/Tybein manorial administration and are of two kinds: lawsuits from the first half of the 17th century and a set of nearly 700 records of real-estate transactions from 1747-1759.

The paper reconstructs the institutional, economic and social-cultural context of the real-estate transactions (including plots of arable land, meadow, wooded meadow, vineyards and olive groves, residential and economic buildings), focusing on the following aspects: Legal: official land ownership status and transaction rules; quality and quantity of traded real-estate, value of land and of single transactions, typology of transactions (purchases, sells, inheritances, endowments etc.); peasant transaction rationality, intra-family transactions, gender aspects, peasant perception of ownership and transaction rules. The paper shows, among others, the existence of an oral ritual for real estate transactions; the existence of a parallel peasants' legal understanding, differing from official law; a transition from oral practices to written records of transactions; a relatively lively land market and the role of women and of family networks in the land market.

Panel 709. Rachel Carson's heritage. Almost 50 years after the Silent Spring

Organiser: Thomas LE ROUX, CNRS, France

Chair: Thomas LE ROUX, CNRS, France

Discussant: Laurent HERMENT, CNRS, France

Since the publication of Rachel Carson's book, the idealized picture of agriculture has disappeared. From a rural and traditional world, agriculture moved towards a major industrial activity spreading pollution and destabilising rural and urban areas. Face to this process, *Silent Spring* is supposed to have played a major role, especially in America. In the recent republication of her book in France, both authors of the preface and postscript glorify the role of Rachel Carlson in the claim of contesting the use of chemical pesticide and industrial agriculture. This session aims at reassessing the role of Rachel Carson's book on historiography of environmental history and agricultural history. It also aims to allow PhD students, and junior and senior researchers to present their works in which they examine some of major issues of the Carson's work and the means to surpass the methodological and historical limits of it. Several issues could be considered like the introduction of chemical pesticide in Europe and America, the role of state organisations, trade-unions, firms, etc., to promote chemical pesticides, but also people resistance against pesticide (neighbours or several stakeholder of the rural world as beekeepers, day labourers, etc. Beyond chemical pesticides, it is also worthy to examine other materials massively used in agriculture: plastics, chemical fertilisers, antibiotics, GMO, etc.

709.1. The Other Silence in Silent Spring: Pesticides, Farm Workers, and Environmentalism

Chad MONTRIE, University of Massachusetts, Lowell, USA

Oddly, for a book focused primarily on the environmental and health dangers of synthetic pesticides, Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* said very little about farm workers, a group of people that had some of the most harmful contact with agricultural chemicals. With the exception of a few lines – one in the chapter “Elixirs of Death”, and another in the chapter “The Human Price” –, the book failed to make a specific accounting of their exposure. It neglected to investigate how it was that growers could subject their employees to routine chemical poisoning with impunity. The problem was not only the manufacture of dangerous pesticides and their use-which Carson described at length-but also the power wielded by corporate farmers to make field and orchard hands do their bidding without complaint or resistance-which Carson skirted. The reason is that class and race simply did not figure in her explanation of “man's war against nature”, and so she overlooked the ways in which that battle was linked to “man's war against man”. Most of the agricultural labor force in places like southern California, for example, were Filipino- and Mexican-American migrants, poorly paid, inadequately housed, and lacking health and safety protections. This paper will attempt to tease out the implications of *Silent Spring*'s silence on these social features of environmental problems as well as the long-standing view that it started the American (and some say global) environmental movement.

709.2. Insecti-, pesti-, homi- cides?: Public health and agricultural pesticides in France in the 1950s and 1960s

Nathalie JAS, Institut national de la recherche agronomique, France

In 1963, the translation of the best-seller *Silent Spring* launched a highly visible controversy on the detrimental health effects of agricultural pesticides which compelled the French government to revise the pesticides registration system. This paper will explore this transformation showing how it sedimented a series of separated controversies which deployed in different public arena with various temporalities. Controversies on the detrimental health effects of synthetic agricultural pesticides actually started in France in the late 1940s, and were limited to specific scientific, medical, agricultural and industrial spheres. Following the translation of *Silent Spring*, concern about pesticides' health effects were discussed more broadly. Linked to issues such as hormones and antibiotics used in meat production, they then nourished a growing public concern on the health hazards posed by industrial agriculture and food. By the 1970s, new actors took part in the controversy, bringing in new issues and debates (organic agriculture, activists movements...). While analyzing these different, but interconnected controversies, I will highlight the very limited effects of the deployment of a multifaceted critique of pesticides in France between the 1950s and the mid-1970s. I will stress how the different actors in charge of the so-called modernization of the French agriculture managed to control the potential detrimental effects of the “pesticides controversy” on their own endeavor.

709.3. Planes spraying glyphosate over the Miramichi river: A Silent Spring that lasts

Charlotte GLINEL, Sciences-Po Paris, France

While reading carefully *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson, one can actually notice in the chapter “Rivers of death” that her first focus is on the Miramichi river. She does not deal with agriculture but with the aerial use of pesticides on forests. Indeed, in 1952, the government of New Brunswick launched a DDT spraying program over forests to kill spruce budworms, insects that would threaten local forests every 35 years. Hence, Carson denounces the effect of spraying on the declining salmon population and develops an ecological argument. Fifty years later, the same forests have been clear-cut, conifers have been planted and the area has been sprayed, but with glyphosate to kill competing hardwood. New Brunswick’s wood plantations remain silent. Since 2015, the use of the herbicide is contested by local people especially because of its effects on health and on the decline of deer population. Within the specific framing of the controversy on forests, a labour division occurs among activists, and echoes Carson’s work: the rural wood users “see” forests changes, the urban conservationist naturalists “do the paper”. Following current environmental history perspectives, I aim to tell this story along with the memory that actors have of DDT planes and Carson’s work. It would add to her view of Miramichi disaster a depiction of the people in their wood-use diversity, while accounting for chemicals meaningfulness when related to relationships between body and environment.



Au pays Creusois, ferrage d'un bœuf, début xx^e siècle, carte postale © MUCEM..

Panel 710. The restructuring of the rural territory through the foundation of new villages, as an engine of urban economic development (Middle Ages-Early Modern Period)

Organisers:

Roberto LEGGERO, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

Marta VILLA, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

Chair: Roberto LEGGERO, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

Discussant: Mirella MONTANARI, Università di Torino, Italy

The aim of the panel is to examine the phenomenon of the foundation of rural settlements between the Medieval Ages and Early Modern Period (with a peak in 11th-12th centuries) as an important engine of urban economic development organization and a pillar of development. It has further been noted that a city could found and own “an entire and populous village, endowed with its own poderium [district]”, especially “in an area disputed and bordered by the dominion of others; it was a refined but expensive and completely experimental territorial policy operation, which was not always successful”. Therefore, according to this perspective, the organization of the countryside was closely linked to the needs of the cities of regulating the countryside and rationalizing its productions in the effort of meeting the requirements of urban markets. Founding new settlements was a suitable tool, which produced a positive effect on both urban economy and urban political aspirations. Within this horizon, the countryside would become the place for the manifestation of the power and ambitions of the cities but it was not just a passive playfield. The cities themselves could not underestimate the possibility of rural population rejecting their projects of founding new settlements. Therefore, focusing on the initial stages of setting up a rural settlement project will be of interest especially for the failing initiatives or those that could not reach a development. In fact, as well as successful cases, it seems promising to analyse the causes of the failures that appear to be loaded with valuable information on the rural world and its relationship with the urban world.

710.1. Royal city of Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg and the foundation of the Feleac village (1367). The development of an urban centre and its effects on the surrounding rural areas

Tudor SALAGEAN, Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei din Cluj, Romania

In 28 January 1367, Louis the Great, king of Hungary, granted to the city of Cluj the right of foundation a „village on the top of the hill in the forest called Felek”, where for a long time had been committed lootings, robberies and murders. Ten years later the same Louis the Great confirmed the donation, specifying that twenty Wallachians were appointed as guardians of the road, having also the duty to pay a specific tax owed by Wallachians from ancient times. We must point out that this seemingly peripheral movement had in fact a very important stake: it actually brought about a major reconfiguration of the commercial routes in the area. The new founded village opened a new road, controlled by the citizens of Cluj, which replaced the old roads that crossed monastic and nobiliary domains. Born under such auspices, the relationship between Cluj and Feleac became very close. The village, endowed with its own court seat, became the 12th tenth of the city, its inhabitants being thus included in the organizational system derived from the old military structures of the city. Taking advantage of the religious freedom guaranteed by the free royal city, Feleac became also a metropolitan headquarters of the Greek orthodox church and an important religious center of the Transylvanian Romanians. At the beginning of the modern age, Feleac was not only a privileged village of the city of Cluj, but also the locality with the largest Romanian population in all Transylvania.

710.2. Foundation of new villages on the Eastern Alps. The arrival of new farmer colonists in the Prince-Bishopric of Trent in middle Ages

Marta VILLA, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

The Prince-Bishopric of Trent became a formally recognized institution in 1027. Since then the prince-bishops exercised spiritual as well as temporal power assisted by auxiliary government bodies until the end of the 18th century. In 13th and 14th centuries in the territories of the Bishopric of Trent, new village communities grew up at a medium altitude (over 1000 meters of altitude), both in the West and East corners of bishop's district. Local authorities called and hosted some colonists to plough the soil or to clear forest areas. These workers formed the founding core of the new villages. The paper will present two significant cases of the period: the first one was the foundation of Luserna village by colonists that were coming from South Germany (Cimbri). The bishop invited them as experts on forestry work. The second case is the building of Andalo village. Here, the Pieve del Banale (Parish of Banale, Giudicarie Esteriori) in order to prepare and make further away territories productive (in high-altitude areas over the Adige Valley) hosted some local settlers. The paper will present the common characteristics of the two villages and the differences between Luserna, Andalo, and some other alpine cases of villages founded by municipal authorities.

710.3. The incidence of the boroughs on rural spaces in Normandy: Exemples of castral boroughs on the Norman border between the rivers Avre and Iton (11th-12th centuries)

Astrid DESCOURTIEUX, Université de Normandie, France

The development of the southern part of Normandy is known between the late 10th and the early 13th centuries. If, as overall in Europe, the population and the economy of this territory increased importantly, its settlement seems to have been submitted to the defense of the borders of the Norman Duchy. After an overview around 1000, we propose to study a small part of this frontier by showing the very local context of its development. Then, in this part of Normandy, dominated by the feudal order and conflicts of the Norman borders, we propose to explore urban foundations on the model of the « dyade » fortress and borough and figure how it deeply transformed the rural spaces around. We will end by trying to find ways to measure the success of these foundations, on both demographic and economic aspects.

710.4. Ways of urban economic development in Venetian dominion. The territorial organisation of Treviso's countryside (15th-18th centuries): A case study

Arianna LORENZON, Università di Ca' Foscari, Italy

From 15th to 18th century, in Treviso's eastern countryside a peculiar territorial organization had developed. The Venetian conquest has given the countryside a new urban shape: spreading from the city, villages were created nearby the most important routes. This process worked as an engine of urban economic development: both these foundations and the new agricultural practices modified the countryside's organization. Additionally, the Venetian upper class primarily conquered the Mainland through the *ville venete*, expropriating private and communal properties: indeed, both Venice and Treviso had a co-dependent relationship with the countryside.

The suburbs' territorial organization may be read by analysing road networks, places of worship and social, economic and productive realities. It is worth mentioning that early industrialization had contributed to the territorial change that Venice carried here. This still evident legacy had connected the urban and rural dimensions and had enriched the gentry that owned those factories and were involved in economic activities. The lands' legal partition was required for the fees' imposition: this is the reason why the Venetian maps show a rationalization in the territory's representation. Every parcel was measured and data about the owners were included in the corresponding records. In its relation with past rurality, a diachronic stratigraphy of this area's continuity would give the possibility to recover its economic development.



Fromages de ferme, affiche de Jules Chéret, 1876 (Paris, BnF) © BnF.

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FONDÉE
en
1665



Engrais Chimiques

12 USINES

Production Annuelle **450** Millions de K^g.

S'ADRESSER

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805. Interdisciplinary approaches to understanding the bio-cultural heritage of forests in Europe Organisers: Cosmin Marius Ivascu, Seth Murray Chair: Seth Murray	805.1. The importance of grazing resources in a low-productive Swedish forest during 18th and 19th centuries: A study combining historical and biological sources Anna Westin, Tommy Lennartsson	805.2. Grazing the forests in the Northern Romanian Carpathians Cosmin Marius Ivascu, Anamaria Iuga	805.3. Mediterranean woodlands heritage: The Environmental Resource Archaeology (ERA) approach Roberta Cevalco, Nicola Gabellieri, Diego Moreno, Valentina Pescini,	805.4. Reading the Forest History of Burgundy, France through Interdisciplinary Lenses: The role of bio-cultural heritage in understanding woodlands over time Seth Murray, Elizabeth Jones, Scott Madry		PANEL 805 Room AS1_33 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>

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807. Grading and the food grain chain: Assessing the end- use qualities of wheat and other Cereals Organisers: Arnaud Page, Jonas M. Albrecht Chair: Christophe Bonneuil	807.1. From “useful knowledge” to “good bread”. Austrian millers and Hungarian hard redwheat, 1800-1850 Jonas M. Albrecht	807.2. Measurement standards and the grain trade: Prescriptions and practices in Flanders’ grain markets, 19-century Wouter Ronsijn	807.3. Gluten and the quality of wheat in France and Britain, 1840s-1900s. Arnaud Page, Maxime Guesnon			PANEL 807 Room AS1_01 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
808. A new comparative perspective on rural society: The Integrated Peasant Economy concept goes East Organisers: Aleksander Panjek, Jesper Larsson Chair: Aleksander Panjek	808.1. The economy of peasant families in early modern Finland Merja Uotila, Miikka Voutilainen	808.2. The autarky of peasantry in the late Ottoman western Balkans between myth and reality Philippe Gelez	808.3. The combination of agrarian and non-agrarian income of peasants in Croatia at the end of the 16th and 17th centuries Hrvoje Petrić	808.4. 19th-century Serbian rural communities between autarchy and market-oriented practices Gordana Garić Petrović	808.5. Aspects of integrated peasant economy in Lefkada, Greece (end 17th–early 18th century) Efi Argyrou, Sevasti Lazari	PANEL 808 Room 8 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>
809. Forest clearing and land reclamation: Between ownership rights and resource management in European mountains, 13th to 20th century Organiser and Chair: Luigi Lorenzetti	809.1. The forests of the Bishops of Brixen. Disputed elements of medieval political power? Hannes Obermair	809.2. Saltus from use rights to commons (South France, 12th – 14th centuries) Fabrice Mouthon	809.3. Self-management and Globalisation – Early Modern Forestry in Northern Scandinavia Jakob Starlander	809.4. From the liberation of soil to forest cleaning: construction and deconstruction of territory in Savoy (18th-19th centuries) Matteo Tacca	809.5. Deforestation by planting vines in Catalonia. Masos, emphyteusis and dead rabassa Llorenç Ferrer-Alos	PANEL 809 Room AS1_9 <i>54 Bd. Raspail</i>
810. In search of a New Utopia? The Influence of Denmark on rural thought and practice in Europe and beyond 1800 to the present Organiser and Chair: Daniel Brett	810.1. ‘We ... had not the wit or the ability to establish here the type of organisation that exists in Denmark’: A popular Irish perception of failure challenged the Irish nationalist movement and its Danish dream before and after Irish independence, 1899–1939 Micheal O Fathartaigh	810.2. A successful case in adapting Danish model: Finland Riitta Mäkinen	810.3. The effects of Danish agriculture and cooperatives on thinking of agrarian experts and on the Hungarian agrarian policy in the 20th century Dániel Luka			PANEL 810 Room 2 <i>105 Bd. Raspail</i>

Panel 801. Agricultural modernizations in the 19th and 20th centuries

Organiser:

Margot LYAUTEY, EHESS, France and Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany

Chair: Pierre CORNU, Université Lyon 2, France

Discussant: Marc ELIE, CNRS, France

This session aims to look at the current renewals about the modernization(s) of agriculture in the 19th and 20th centuries in a broad perspective, in order to better understand the transformations that occurred in a context where social history and environmental history of agricultural modernizations are highly dynamic – as are also the numerous actions that question nowadays the former modernizing model.

“Modernization” here is understood as a set of neither inexorable nor necessary choices, but as a set of choices that were carried by situated actors, by specific imageries of future, of the good, of fairness, of productivity or of “progress”, supported by governing tools and performance indicators, that were historically constructed. Analyzing agricultural modernization can of course emerge from different scopes: looking at agricultural policies and political actors, whether defined as “modernizing” or not; looking at how modern, bureaucratized states have monitored and assessed agricultural production, (where experts and technicians play a strong role); looking at scientific research, research questions and policies, agricultural engineers and technicians, both in the public or private sectors; analyzing new “technologies” and innovations in agriculture (from improved varieties to pesticides, from tractors and new machinery to synthetic fertilizers, from feeding rations to improved stables, etc.) and thus questioning the underlying technologization of agriculture; looking at agricultural techniques and practices “in the field”, how those practices evolved and under which circumstances, to reveal changes in the economic and social structures of agricultural production, but also to reveal modernizations that never came to be carried out by farmers.

We think this session might be an opportunity to better understand how some topics of conflict that are nowadays intensely debated about “modernized” agriculture, were discussed already at the dawn of modernization: such as the impact of land regrouping and monoculture on the landscape, biodiversity, nutritional quality and soil, or replacement of peasant agriculture by “chemical” agricultural practices in the integrated systems of agro-business.

801.1. America’s Agricultural Modernization Efforts in the Philippines: An Analysis of the United States’ Views and Policies on the Modernization of the ‘Primitive’ Philippine Agriculture, 1901-1914

Arleigh Ross DELA CRUZ, De La Salle University Manila, Philippines

American colonial officials studied Philippine agriculture when the United States annexed the archipelago in 1898. In their work as colonial bureaucrats in the Philippines, they observed the agricultural conditions of the Philippines. Some governmental publications written explain the perspective of the early American colonial officials regarding the backward and undeveloped agricultural condition of the Philippines. The state and condition of agriculture were reflected in the *Philippine Commission’s Report of the Philippine Commission to US President William McKinley*, Charles Burke Elliott’s *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government: A Study of Tropical Democracy*, and in Dean Worcester’s *The Philippine Islands and Their People and The Philippines: Past and Present*. In these books, Elliott, Worcester and the Philippine Commission at the same time described and criticized the nature of Philippine agriculture and its primitive farming methods. They explained how Philippine agriculture could be modernized. My paper examines the American colonizers’ perspective on the nature and condition of Philippine agriculture. I will discuss how the United States proposed to modernize agricultural conditions and methods by introducing new farming technologies and equipment that were not yet available in the Philippines. The paper will also investigate the social, cultural, and environmental challenges faced by the American agricultural modernization efforts in the Philippines.

801.2. Vichy France agricultural policy and its German origins

Margot LYAUTEY, EHESS, France and Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany

This paper aims at looking at Vichy France agricultural policy in a new perspective and to challenge the understanding of Vichy France as a traditionalist regime by showing that it promoted modernizing reforms for French agriculture: seed selection and catalogue, growing use of synthetic pesticides and fertilizers, promotion of motorization and agricultural machines, etc. The potential German origins of this modernization policy will be analysed. German agricultural experts were convinced of the superiority of their agriculture and agricultural science. During the Occupation, experts stationed in Paris felt responsible for boosting French agricultural production via the “modernization” of French agriculture: it was key for German and even for European food supplies. This required enhancing land and crops management (monitoring production, driving production towards specific needs, crop planning, mapping land, seeing what happens in the field), but also a strong propaganda, as well as new administrations to structure those new “modern” activities (the Service de Protection des Végétaux for instance). This paper is a study at the crossroad between history of science and technology, agricultural history and environmental history, which is why we centered our approach around experts. Most of them are agronomists or agricultural scientists and a significant share of them navigate within bureaucratic spheres, being officials themselves at some point or working for the government.

801.3. Fertilising and the Project of Modernity. German Practise

Christine STROTMANN, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

One of the most telling cases about agricultural modernization is the shift from farm-based manure to external sources of fertilisers, going from traditional forms of agrarian circular economies to a close interconnection with trade and industrialised economy.

Whilst the usage of “external” fertilisers was not new in the 20th century, it was sped up by effects related to the First World War, most notably the entanglement of state and economic actors in this first industrialised war. This ultimately led to a form of dirigisme in the production/usage of fertilisers on nitrogenous, phosphoric and potash fertilisers, including the cartelisation, and cooperation in R&D.

The proposed paper will follow this shift and the strategies underlying the political implementations of changes in agricultural practise in Germany during the First World War and in the Weimar Republic.

801.4. Of Pigs and Men: Modernizing Breeding Operations, Autarky, and the Politicization of the Countryside in Nazi Germany

Mark B. COLE, Cleveland State University, USA

Germany's nearly 26 million pigs ate twice as many potatoes as its 67 million citizens: these *mitfresser* (co-eaters) were a formidable competitor for this important part of the German diet. But lessening the herd was not an option as Germany had never been able to produce enough meat and fats to feed its own, consequently relying on imports. Remembering World War I, many within the Nazi regime understood Germany's food production system to be a crippling weakness, and finding a solution to the so-called *Ernährungsfrage* (food question) was a necessity. Inside the Four-Year Plan (Nazi rearmament campaign), Hermann Goering announced a new initiative in 1936 designed to eliminate food shortages in the event of war: the *Ernährungshilfswerk* (EHW) or Nutrition Relief Campaign. This program was tasked with the collection and utilization of kitchen and food waste as animal fodder, but also with the creation of ever more and efficient fattening operations. Not only would it help in plugging the “fat gap” by bringing more hogs to market, it would also free up land to grow more foods for human consumption. This paper will demonstrate the Nazi regime's sophisticated understanding of the connections between consumer desires and production realities, the linkages between urban and rural resources and people, and its willingness to harness the power of cutting-edge nutritional and agricultural science as well as technology, all the while undergirded by a backward, exclusionary, and hateful ideology.

Panel 802. Global expertise and agricultural markets: Between national sovereignty and international cooperation (1889-1949)

Organisers:

Federico D'ONOFRIO, London School of Economics, UK

Niccolò MIGNEMI, EHESS-CNRS, France

Juan PAN-MONTOJO, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Chair: Juan PAN-MONTOJO, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Discussant: Federico D'ONOFRIO, London School of Economics, UK

The widespread discontent that the first globalization caused among European agricultural elites stimulated not just a wave of protectionist measures but also attempts at regulating international markets, marked by the development of national and international networks of agriculturalists since the 1880s. The birth of the Congrès International d'Agriculture and of the International Institute of Agriculture (IIA) are testimonies to the rising agrarian internationalism. Expertise regarding international agricultural problems was an essential component of the discourse of the agricultural interest groups. Communities of interests were underpinned by epistemic communities that provided knowledge of markets and their uncertainties: economists, statisticians, legal experts, meteorologists, experts in the physiology of plants and animals.

Our panel intends to expand the literature on international agrarianism in order to understand the mobilization of heterogeneous agrarian actors – experts, associations, interest groups – to create new knowledge about international markets for agricultural commodities in order to benefit from competition and/or overcome it. The panel proposes to explore how national concerns with disruptions of international competition and uncertainty led to the development of new forms of transnational expertise. We plan to observe this phenomenon until the end of the 1940s when a new food regime emerged with the bipolar order of the Cold War and new concerns with the Global South, while the FAO took the place of the IIA as the world specialized central organism.

While the emergence of technoscientific governance and the rise of expert knowledge – expertise of national markets, health, plant and animal physiology – are traditional topics in agricultural history, the contributions to this panel will focus on efforts to understand global markets especially in relations with efforts to regulate international markets and overcome disruptive competition. This includes national centers watching international trends (such as Gustav Ruhland's initiatives on wheat prices), transnational fora (such as the IIA or the World Wheat Conferences, the conferences organized by the Canadian Wheat Pool) and the networks issued from the agrarian internationalism.

802.1. “The Greatest Cotton Crop Estimate Expert in the World”: Agricultural Statistics, Meteorology, and Transatlantic Market Knowledge in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

Jamie L. PIETRUSKA, Rutgers University-New Brunswick, USA

This paper examines the transatlantic circulation of cotton yield forecasts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the resulting economic and epistemic contests over objectivity and expertise in agricultural statistics and meteorology. It focuses on the competing cotton forecasts of the British firm Neill Bros., the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and a growers' association in the American South, all of whom claimed predictive authority during a period of historically high yields and low prices for the American cotton crop. The USDA could not achieve its aim of rationalizing commodity markets in the volatile cotton economy of the 1890s, when Neill Bros., based in Liverpool and New Orleans, emerged as a singular authority. The transatlantic circulation of the Neills' bearish yield forecasts undermined the USDA's cotton statistics and led growers to establish local cotton bureaus across the American South as an act of statistical resistance.

These contests for authority in cotton forecasting yielded volatility in cotton markets and revealed instability in the epistemic communities of agricultural statistics and meteorology. Agricultural statistics and weather forecasting emerged as key late 19th-century tools for governing agricultural production and commodity markets, and their significance as new forms of scientific knowledge and new forms of risk management highlights the role of the state in producing and policing expert market knowledge.

802.2. Agricultural ecology and crop yields: Rethinking agricultural productivity in relation to soil and climate

Giuditta PAROLINI, Technische Universität Berlin, Germany

Agricultural ecology deserves a place of its own among the forms of scientific expertise that contributed to national and transnational debates on agricultural productivity in the first half of the 20th century. By addressing agricultural problems in relation to environmental factors, such as soil and climate, agricultural ecology posed the basis for a deeper understanding of the influence of the environment on yields and created opportunities for improved farm management practices. International scientific initiatives, such as the Commission for Agricultural Meteorology and Ecology instituted by the International Institute of Agriculture in the 1920s, developed around agricultural ecology and promoted circulation and sharing of knowledge on crop varieties and their suitability to different climates. The paper will examine the monograph, *Le Climat du blé dans le monde*, written by the Italian agronomist Girolamo Azzi and published by the International Institute of Agriculture. The monograph, which was prepared for the *Conférence internationale du blé* held in Rome in 1927, is a manifesto of Azzi's ideas on an agricultural ecology and the value of this discipline for improving farming practices and productivity. By using wheat cultivation as a case study, the paper will discuss the international ambitions Azzi had for agricultural ecology and at the same time it will address how Azzi's scientific research fit the Italian political agenda of the time.

802.3. How to Measure the Unmeasurable? Intractable Nature, Continental Wood Balances and the Emergence of the 'Roundwood Equivalent' in the Early 20th Century

Martin BEMMANN, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany

Due to an especially intractable nature of wood, efforts to internationally standardise methods for measuring the production of and the trade with wood products were in vain for a long time. Only when in the early 1930s timber exporters in Europe agreed that market controls were necessary, a certain degree of international methodological standard became mandatory. This resulted in a bargaining of conversion factors in order to comparing supply and demand on the international market. In the mid-1930s, a cartel was established which was informed by statistics of a newly formed institution, but which was concerned only with sawn timber.

Experts therefore strived for a standard measure in which every amount of raw and processed wood could be expressed and compared in order to establish international 'wood balances'. Only such a measure would have enabled the governance of 'the timber market' of Europe or the world. Many attempts were made – especially by Germany during WWII – but the results were vague. FAO continued the work and used such calculations to forecast future wood consumption trends.

In the paper I sketch out the problems wood presented to statisticians, address the attempts to cope with them and investigate the economic motives behind these efforts. I aim to demonstrate how fruitful it is to combine approaches of environmental and economic history and the history of knowledge in order to better understand the shaping of efforts to govern European natural resources.

802.4. From a Populist Atlantic to Humanitarian Internationalism: The Transatlantic Travels of Agrarian Reformer Carl S. Vrooman (1898-1946)

Jean-Louis MARIN-LAMELLET, Université Savoie Mont Blanc, France

Carl Vrooman (1872-1966) was a Kansas Populist and transatlantic reformer who served as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in the Wilson administration, organized the relief mission set up by the American Farm Bureau Federation to help starving postwar Europe and pushed for a Farm Relief Plan in the 1920s. This paper will use this American agrarian reformer and globetrotter as a case study to examine the varieties of international agrarianism from the 1890s to the 1940s.

In the 1890s, Vrooman personified the link between American agrarian peripheries and European reform movements. Within this Populist Atlantic, reformers campaigned for cooperatives, free trade and government regulation of markets to ensure a level-playing field for farmers.

As Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in 1916, Vrooman prophesied an "agricultural revolution": farmers should use expert knowledge to reduce market uncertainties and promote the "business side of farming", i.e. cooperative purchasing and marketing.

Disruptions caused by the Great War then led him to advocate forms of humanitarian agricultural internationalism. Examining the mobilization of farmers to feed Allied armies and his relief mission in Europe in 1921 will help understand how agrarianism could both promote national American self-interests and international cooperation. This realization formed the basis of Vrooman's postwar farm relief bill which pushed for a system that regulated international markets for American farmers.

Panel 803. Enclosure, agricultural progress and landscape change: Regional studies

Organiser: Mats MORELL, Uppsala University, Sweden

Chair: Mats MORELL, Uppsala University, Sweden

Discussant: Lars NYSTRÖM, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

This panel aims at discussing the role of enclosures in the “agricultural revolution”.

Enclosures, signifying privatization of land use, privatization of ownership of commons and consolidation of shattered arable open field strips have been discussed for a couple of centuries and its importance for raised agricultural production and productivity as well as for clearance of cultivated land, changes of settlement structures, landscape outlook and social-structural developments, have on and off been lively debated. A reason for why there has been no reconciliation – either in the classical British case, where ‘revisionists’ have challenged the close to identification of parliamentary enclosures with agricultural progress or on the continent, where enclosures and institutional reforms in general has been attributed great significance in Denmark and southernmost Sweden but largely not in other places – seems to be that the outcome and importance for various reasons differed between regions. In some cases, it is not even made clear why enclosures occurred at the time they did. Ultimately this leads to questioning whether it is the institutional change per se, or the contexts it appears in which matters most. More intensive studies from more regional contexts are needed. The enormous growth in many countries of free digitalized access to enclosure acts and maps, increases the possibility to perform large and comprehensive regional studies of enclosure processes, their consequences and importance but also to use the material for analysing the change of the cultivated land area in regions. In the panel different regional examples of relations between enclosures and agricultural progress and/or landscape changes are compared.

803.1. Enclosure and growth in Denmark. Miracle or tragedy

Carsten PORSKROG RASMUSSEN, Museum Sønderjylland, Denmark

Denmark experienced a very radical and thorough separation and enclosure of village fields in the late 18th century. In most of Danish historical tradition this has been seen as the root of a long-lasting success for Danish agriculture, but the view has been challenged by the historian Thorikild Kjærgaard who is critical both towards the benefits of enclosure and the positive story of Danish rural growth. The paper will try reassess Danish enclosure and its possible effects, based upon some general estimates of Danish rural growth, both in cultivated acreage and production, and more local observations of agricultural change.

803.2. Parliamentary enclosure and the estimates of the cultivated area in England before 1860

Richard HOYLE, Reading University, UK

Broadberry et al's *British Economic Growth* shows how weak our estimates of the cultivated area of England are even in the early 19th century. Before census data of the 1860s we have estimates based on tithe files of the 1830s and on crop returns of 1801, none of which covers the whole of the country. And we have enclosure to consider. This paper revisits some questions in the context of Broadberry et al's work.

Thanks to Turner, we have estimates of the area enclosed by parliamentary enclosure. This is not the total area enclosed, as parliamentary sanction was not needed where owners agreed amongst themselves. The estimates do not tell how land enclosed was used before enclosure. Land that had been common may have remained pasture after enclosure, or may have been added to the stock of arable. Thus, the total area enclosed is no simple addition to the cultivated area. The enclosure award tells nothing about future use of the land. Often, in the enclosure process, tithes were converted into allotments for the tithe owners. In those cases, there was no need for tithe surveys and maps making it impossible to use tithe data to see what happened to the land allocated by enclosure awards.

803.3. Enclosures and agrarian change. An analysis of the difference in timing of enclosures in East central Sweden 1827-1880

Marja ERIKSON, Uppsala University, Sweden

The enclosure movement has been regarded as one of the most significant elements of the agricultural revolution in Sweden. Radical enclosure acts as *Laga skifte* from 1827, meant a final dissolution of the open-field system, which was replaced by unrestricted private ownership of the land. The regulations allowed a single landowner to apply for a whole village to be redistributed. However, the implementation of the enclosure varied in time, even in the same area. In the county of Västmanland *Laga skifte* was carried out between 1827 and c. 1890, clearly a long process. In 1853, half of the villages in the county had been redistributed.

This paper investigates the timing of *Laga skifte* and includes an examination of more than 1000 enclosures in villages with over 5000 landowners. Who applied for enclosure (freeholders, nobility, the Crown or institutions) and did the pattern of appliers change over time? Of what significance for the timing was the size of the villages, the number of landowners and topographic and soil conditions etc.? The time of the enclosures in different villages should help us to understand the driving forces and the process as such.

803.4. Enclosure and Land Clearance in East Central Sweden, 1750-1900

Maja LUNDQVIST, Uppsala University, Sweden

The enclosure movement is often considered to have been a central aspect of the agricultural revolution. In the Swedish case, it is commonly held that the transformation of the country from a net importer to a net exporter of grain, while population doubled 1750-1860, was conditioned or at least eased, by the change of the open field system, implying privatization of land use and new possibilities to raise output through land clearance. This hypothesis has, however, not been tested with the use of any larger amounts of data.

Land clearance implied the transformation of extensively used pastures and meadows into arable. This meant an intensification of land use and more energy (or monetary value) could be produced on a given area, causing overall land productivity to increase.

Using a large dataset based on enclosure acts, economic mapping and early official statistics covering the growth of arable land at village level in several parishes throughout East Central Sweden, this paper examines land clearance in relation to the radical enclosures and various village characteristics in the first half of the 19th century.

803.5. Enclosure as a climate adaptation strategy

Martin SKOGLUND, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Enclosures in Sweden has been seen as instrumental in transforming a diverse agricultural system shaped by variations in local natural conditions to a more a homogeneous system in the late 19th century. Closer scrutiny of this narrative reveals that decreased dependence on natural conditions was only the end result. How adaptation to natural conditions shaped the transformation process and how these adaptations and natural conditions evolved over time have been largely absent in the narrative. Enclosures are situated within a period that experienced significant climate change, namely the 'Little Ice Age'.

To the extent there was adaptation to spatial and temporal variance in natural conditions it can be expected that this had implications for the sequencing of enclosures. This paper explores the relationship between climatic adaptation in agriculture in Southern Sweden c. 1600-1800 and enclosures in the 18th and 19th centuries. Data on land use and farming systems from cameral archives, cadastral maps and probate inventories is analysed in relation to spatial climatic models based on 20th century meteorological observations and recent research on climate change during the period.



Petits pois, photo, 2006 © sophie & cie.

Panel 804. Kinship, Law and Succession on Family Farms in the Nordic Countries

Organiser: Beatrice MORING, University of Helsinki, Finland and University of Cambridge, UK

Chair: Motoyasu TAKAHASHI, Ehime University, Japan

Discussant: Motoyasu TAKAHASHI, Ehime University, Japan

The aim of this session is to study the succession patterns on family farms in 17th, 18th and 19th century northern Europe. To what extent was the system of primogeniture practiced and to what extent did younger children, including daughters, succeed to the headship. To what extent was the farm transferred horizontally to siblings or their children. What can be said about the position of widows? Is there any evidence that a transfer to a younger son or daughter was purely the result of demographic factors or can anything be deduced about personal preference or economic pressure? Is it possible to detect national or regional differences in the effects of law and custom on land transfer. Did family strategies exist?

804.1. Land Transmission in Pre- Industrial Finland. Gender, Family and Kin

Beatrice MORING, University of Helsinki, Finland and University of Cambridge, UK

The focus of this paper is a study of the succession patterns on family farms in 17th to 19th century Finland. The aim is to analyze to what extent the eldest male had a favourable position and the possibilities of younger children, including daughters, to succeed to headship. What was the role of female family members, for example widows to act as temporary or permanent heads of the family? Are there any indications that exception from favouring primogeniture was purely the result of demographic factors or can anything be deduced about personal preference and or qualifications?

Did regional differences affect the interpretation of law and custom in transfers or was the legal nature of the land itself, i.e. freehold or Crown domain, the decisive factor?

The main sources for the study are taxation records, communion books and court records.

804.2. Women's rights to land in early modern Norway

Hilde SANDVIK, University of Oslo, Norway

Early modern Norway had a mix of rural inheritance practises due to natural conditions and landownership: In the high north among the Sami the youngest son would inherit the parents' remaining reindeers. On the very small farms in coastal south many older siblings immigrated to Holland, and left the farm to younger siblings. In the eastern part a transition to self- ownership favoured allodial rights and oldest sons' right to the farm, but no inheritance primogeniture. In western part the tenant system prevailed under the crown as landowner and more opportunities for younger siblings. A growing class of rural proletariat, mainly in the eastern regions, had no inheritance rights to land to transferee.

About 25 per cent of farms were transferred through women; as daughters or widows.

This paper will analyse attitudes concerning women's right to land based on a court records and petitions from different regions.

804.3. The land-family bond in parliamentary debate in Norway and Sweden 1810-1860

Martin DACKLING, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Inspired by Code Civil (1804), both Sweden and Norway initiated a review of civil legislation in the early 1800s. The focus on the work had similar starting points and, in several respects, dealt with a liberalization of older legislation. The purpose was to give individuals greater freedom and scope for action at the expense of, among other things, collective rights of family and family members. This was especially true for the most important resource, land. However, the efforts to reform civil legislation took a very long time in both countries and also ended up in different solutions. This is particularly striking in the 1850s, when the right for family members to redeem land sold outside the family were heavily debated in both parliaments. While this right was abolished in Sweden in 1863, it survived in Norway, almost strengthen from the crises. In this paper, answers to the divergence is sought through a comparative study of the parliamentary and national debate from around 1810 up to the 1860s.

804.4. Changing Succession Patterns in Danish Rural Society 1750-1850

Asbjorn RANVIG THOMSEN, *The National Archives, Denmark*

The Danish rural society saw huge changes in the hundred years from the mid-18th to the mid-19th centuries. In 1750 generally the farmers were tenants under noble or bourgeois land owners, they were bound to their birth locality and the land they were cultivating was divided into a high number of small strips in every field of the village. A century later most farmers had bought their land from the land owner, they were free to move and the land division had been reorganized so that every farmer had his farmland geographically concentrated into one piece (or few). At the same time the rural population doubled in number, and farmland became a more scarce resource. These changes had a tremendous impact on the lives of the farmers. At least in two aspects the transition from tenancy to freeholding changed the conditions for the intergenerational succession patterns: the freeholder could accumulate capital through the rising equity in the farm, and he had the power of disposal when the successor on the farm was to be selected. In this presentation I will investigate succession patterns in a local context in three neighbouring parishes in Jutland 1700-1850.



Phylloxera, Submersion des Vignes, 50 pompes et machines à vapeur..., affiche de Jules Chéret, 1880 (Paris, BnF) © BnF.

Panel 805. Interdisciplinary approaches to understanding the bio-cultural heritage of forests in Europe

Organisers:

Cosmin Marius IVASCU, Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania

Seth MURRAY, North Carolina State University, USA

Chair: Seth MURRAY, North Carolina State University, USA

Forests have played an integral role in agrarian systems of Europe. Understanding the complex bio-cultural heritage of forests requires an interdisciplinary examination of the different ways forests have been used. A comprehensive history of forests must assess the various demands and needs that people have of forests over time, the broader economic and cultural functions that forests play, and the influence that political decisions and human activities have on forests. The bio-cultural heritage of forests may include the legacy of hunting, mining, livestock grazing, as well as various activities related to charcoal production, construction lumber, or firewood. Examining pre-industrial activities and the dependence of agrarian systems on forest resources, which may be overlooked by contemporary ecologists and agricultural historians, helps understand the persistence of traditional land uses, such as grazed forests, and the way these uses have shaped patterns in today's forests. There are also important components of bio-cultural heritage to investigate in the relationships between technology and traditional ecological knowledge. The bio-cultural heritage of the forest helps ascertain why forests were cleared for cultivation, grazing, or settlements, and how this process has sometimes been reversed. Interdisciplinary approaches to the bio-cultural heritage of forests in Europe shed light on the increasing demand by forest owners for access to markets and income from activities beside forestry.

The bio-cultural heritage of forests helps us understand the historical trajectory of forest ecology, and determining how multifunctional forests and woodlands fit into agrarian systems. This conceptual challenge calls for an interdisciplinary approach since, for ecologists, forests are not always seen in terms of their integration to the broader political economy, nor examined for a history of human activities. For historians, conversely, forests are not always seen for their regenerative potential, nor for the diversity of altered habitats therein, and forests are often poorly described in historical documents. Because forests oscillate between protection and production, the cases presented in this panel trace the history of forests in Europe by interpreting both biodiversity and ecology, as well as the legacies of human activities and anthropogenic landscape changes.

805.1. The importance of grazing resources in a low-productive Swedish forest during 18th and 19th centuries: A study combining historical and biological sources

Anna WESTIN and Tommy LENNARTSSON, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Forest ecosystems have been important in the agrarian economy, especially in areas with a small proportion of arable land. Forest products (timber, firewood, fencing material, pasture) are mentioned in the earliest Swedish cadastral maps, but their relative significance are rarely provided directly by historical sources. Ecosystem information in terms of species composition and openness are also rare. We study a forested area on the island of Gotland to explore 1) the historical (18th & 19th centuries) significance of low-productive forests for livestock husbandry and 2) the influence of land use on the pasture resource.

These questions require interdisciplinary methods and approaches. We used historical sources combined with interpretations of current biodiversity in currently non-grazed and grazed forest. The forests have been used in wood-consuming activities such as limestone burning and sawing. Forests were low productive yet a vital grazing resource in the 18th and 19th centuries. Grazing itself have created and maintained pasture vegetation. As grazing ceased during the 20th century, a succession towards forest vegetation was initiated. The non-grazed forest still contains the same vascular species but sparse and overgrown by mosses and lichens. An important conclusion is to look behind the current state of ecosystems in order to understand their historical significance as a resource. The study provides evidence for the use of biodiversity as historical source.

805.2. Grazing the forests in the Northern Romanian Carpathians

Cosmin Marius IVASCU, Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania

Anamaria IUGA, National Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Romania

Considered to be a controversial practice, the grazing of animals in the forests and the use of tree leaves as fodder are old practices that were used in the Carpathian mountains (the areas of study are: Maramures, and Bucovina regions in northern Romania) by the shepherds and the village communities for many centuries. Starting with the middle of May, the pastoral pendulation starts, thus, the sheep are going in the higher pastures, in the mountains. The shepherds usually have a whole system of regulations of their own, how to use the pastures, but also how and why to graze the forests (depending on several ecological factors: type of forest, type of understorey, period of the year etc.). Nowadays these practices are outlawed due to recent regulations imposed by the Forest Administration and the current subsidies regulations from EU. There are also several trees that are used as fodder for the animals, thus the people do prepare stacks of leaves for winter, but also use fresh leaves to feed the animals. The presentation will focus on the way grazing of the forest is considered a bio-cultural heritage, and the way it is influencing biodiversity. It will also focus on the reasons why it is considered controversial practice, condemned by foresters, botanists and some other Romanian biologists starting with the interwar period (there are no other previous documents that condemn or regulate this practice), and looking at its transformation.

805.3. Mediterranean woodlands heritage: The Environmental Resource Archaeology (ERA) approach

Roberta CEVASCO, Università di Scienze Gastronomiche di Pollenzo, Italy

Nicola GABELLIERI, Università di Trento, Italy

Diego MORENO, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy

Valentina PESCINI, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy

An historical approach in studying the ecology of woodland is proposed in order to identify the past local management practices that have shaped and activated woodlands and woodland resources in Mediterranean areas through time. According to historical ecology, the vegetation canopy of a given site is a particular kind of artefact. Environmental resources are considered as "social products", historically defined by activation and production's practices, conditioned by forms of control, access and local environmental knowledge.

Such a perspective reveals the historical content and complexity hiding in the bio-cultural heritage concept. Historical and archaeological analysis bring out the localised production/consumption systems and related social practices that have shaped the characteristics of the vegetation cover and its ecology over historical time. This approach named "Environmental Resource Archaeology" (ERA) has been developed in the last 30 years by the LASA team (Laboratory of Archaeology and Environmental History) of the University of Genoa in different studies in Liguria (Italy).

ERA links historical ecology, archaeology, archaeobotany and the study of documentary sources, providing a more realistic picture of the past use of woodland resources and of the historical dynamics that produced the present landscape. Case studies of multidisciplinary researches held in Liguria and Tuscany (Italy) will be presented together with suggestions on woodlands management policies.

805.4. Reading the Forest History of Burgundy, France through Interdisciplinary Lenses: The role of bio-cultural heritage in understanding woodlands over time

Seth MURRAY, North Carolina State University, USA

Elizabeth JONES, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA

Scott MADRY, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA

Biocultural heritage is an interdisciplinary concept that combines historical and ecological knowledge: it posits nature as shaped by cultural practices, and thus views nature itself as a historical source. Since forests can change slowly, they may reflect land-use practices that have since vanished. Although forests in Burgundy could be read as a land use type that is distinct from pastoralism or crop production, forests have historically been an essential and integrated part of the agrarian system here, as elsewhere in Europe. Even so, the role of forests in agriculture goes beyond just wood or lumber production. Forests or woodlands in Burgundy were multifunctional in that that farming communities also historically grazed cattle in forests during the summer while they harvested hay, and they fed their pigs on acorns and beechmast in the mixed oak and beech woods. These types of past practices are easy to forget when confronted with the monoculture pine plantations that have dominated replanting since 1945, and which now need to be harvested and/or replaced. Understanding the current composition and structure of forests requires knowledge of why and when certain tree species were privileged over others in past. We suggest that our collective understanding of the region's current landscape and its future possibilities is significantly enhanced when we privilege the concept of bio-cultural heritage.

Panel 806. Famines and politics. The political implications of harvest failures and food scarcity

Organisers:

Lars NYSTRÖM, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Martin LINDE, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Chairs: Lars NYSTRÖM and Martin LINDE, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Discussant: alternates between the authors

The panel's aim is to discuss the political implications of harvest failures and mortality crises in Europe and the world throughout the early modern and modern eras.

One starting point is that famine is often dangerous for those in power since food shortages might threaten the legitimacy of rulers as the protectors of the people. This is a classic theme going back to scholars like E.P. Thompson. Thompson interpreted the bread riots of the 1700s in England as a response to a situation in which an old patriarchal order was challenged by a rising market society's free pricing of grain. The crowd demanded that the authorities would provide food supplies in exchange for obedience; this was the essence of the "moral economy". But there are other ideological aspects to food shortages that Thompson did not consider. In Early Modern Europe, failed harvests and hunger crises also had a religious meaning, since such occurrences were commonly interpreted as God's punishment to sinners. Quite naturally, the question then arose of whom it was who had sinned. One interpretation implied that the populace was sinful and, thus, deserving of God's wrath. But this line of logic could be extended: the bad decisions of rulers could be the object of God's anger.

*Departing from Early Modern Europe, the panel also intends to examine great famines of the 20th century in other parts of the world. The gap between people's expectations of those in power and their own experience of poverty has been explained by Amartya Sen in his pioneering work *Poverty and Famines* as an "entitlement failure". Sen points out a central and fundamental problem: starvation was often not primarily the result of a shortage of food but of political shortcomings. Our standpoint is that comparisons with famines and hunger protests in the world during the 20th century can reveal new questions and perspectives about mortality crises in early modern Europe – and vice versa.*

The panel will discuss questions about different ideological interpretation of mortality crises and the relationship between social groups in that context. It will address the worldview and actions of common people. What kind of political expectations did people actually have in times of crisis? Also the practical aspects of crisis management will be discussed.

806.1. Famine and politics in Sweden in the 1690s

Martin LINDE, Daniel LARSSON, Lars Nyström, and Erik HALLBERG, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

According to the patriarchal power relations in Early Modern Europe, the king would protect his people, who, in return, offered taxes and obedience. Protection included military defence, law and order, and reliable food supplies.

Scholars have not yet sufficiently examined how this defence was concretized and understood in Sweden, especially with regards to food supplies. Our project sheds light on this question, beginning with the famine of the 1690s, one of the deadliest periods in Europe in the last 800 years. The Swedish realm, especially Finland, was gravely affected, with a regional mortality rate up to 30 percent. The political implications of this catastrophe are interesting because of the state's failure in supplying food.

Preliminary results show a low rate of political unrest. The peasantry seems to have expected the Crown to show flexibility with regards to taxes rather than guaranteed food supplies. Though tax collection was far from lenient, the state did demonstrate flexibility. In areas where tax collection was farmed out to middlemen, the risk for unrest was higher. Kexholms County, which experienced a small revolt in 1696, is one example. Popular discontent was more often directed at middlemen, rather than the king. The government's failed attempts to alleviate famine seem to have been driven more by a fear of deserted farmsteads (and lost taxes) than revolt.

806.2. The Great Famine of 1696-1697 in the Baltic provinces as a prelude to the Great Northern War

Martin SEPPEL, University of Tartu, Estonia

At the end of March 1697, a Muscovite delegation led by Tsar Peter I travelled through Livonia and Riga to Europe. At same time, in March and April, the Great Famine of 1696–1697 had reached its apogee in Livonia: over 15 percent of the province's population had died of hunger. Although the Governor-General of Livonia had repeatedly warned Russians before their arrival in Livonia that the land was suffering from great lack of food and forage, the delegation and the Tsar still felt insulted by inhospitality and the high prices they encountered in Livonia. This became one of the pretexts for Moscow for declaring war on Sweden in 1700. The paper looks at the mortality level and food crisis in Livonia in during 1696-1697, presenting new calculations of mortality and its regional variation. The circumstances that the Muscovite delegation had to face in Livonia were indeed rather extreme. However, this event was not the only incident that determined the fate of the later Great Northern War (1700-1721). The famine had devastated the fertile Baltic provinces (not to speak of Finland), resulting in their inability to back up Sweden in the war.

806.3. Food crises and supply dynamics of the city of Rome and the Roman territory

Donatella STRANGIO, Sapienza Università di Roma, Italy

18th-century Rome still operated with a system of wheat procurement, distribution, price control and consumption that had its origins in the late Middle Ages. The system maintained a secure food supply and granted stability to public finances and prices. The “goddess” Annona was the divine personification of the grain supply in Rome. The fear of sudden shortages and the attendant risk of having to import wheat from abroad meant that ecclesiastical bodies had been involved in controlling cereal production since the 16th century. Famines during the 18th century were generally localized and of limited duration. Famine in Rome was a clear economic indicator of the obsolescence and inefficiency of the system in place. The response to shortages was to introduce short-term rationing rather than to reimagine agricultural policy for the long-term. Food crises, and grain-growing problems in particular, occurred with some frequency in the Papal States during the 1700s. The sources employed here cover the period 1560-1800 and are both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative material concerns prices, mainly of wheat imports and exports, and demographic trends, while the qualitative material centres on public bidding and matters surrounding the quality of cereal production, prohibitions, ordinances, official and institutional correspondence and, finally, relations between governing bodies and non-state actors.

806.4. Scarcity and Semiotics of Rice in Famine Survival: Tribes and Rural Migrants in Bengal Presidency 1866 to 1945

Sanjukta GHOSH, University of London, UK

Sanjukta DAS GUPTA, Sapienza Università di Roma, Italy

This paper divided into two parts addresses interrelated issues concerning processes of famine survival in Eastern India in the context of British colonial stereotypes and popular response to shifting definitions of scarcity and survival mechanisms.

The first part addresses the specifics of a ‘tribal’ zone in Bengal Presidency, where late 19th century Forest Acts created conditions of restricted access to resources, diverting to settled rice cultivation, and resulting in local food shortages. Arguing against an axiomatic assumption of crop failure, pre-existing conflicts and entitlement issues are studied in terms of emergency indices. The tribal conflict establishes the asymmetrical relief policy of colonial bureaucracy where ‘local distress’ and ‘scarcity’ were unspecific categories susceptible to official belief in tribal sustenance.

The second part of the paper turns to the last great man-made Bengal Famine of 1943 coinciding with the Second World War and decolonisation; moving away from a marginal tribal zone to impact on settled agriculture and rural migrants to Calcutta city. The focus is on the production and consumption of rice constituting the core element of peasant's subsistence intimately linked with their socio-religious duties. A study on the semiotics of rice dislocates the semantics of survival from a literature of distress and anxiety to understanding decisions within the economic unit of a household and elite responsibilities in the public realm.

Panel 807. Grading and the food grain chain: Assessing the end- use qualities of wheat and other cereals

Organisers:

Arnaud PAGE, Sorbonne Université, France

Jonas M. ALBRECHT, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria

Chair: Ernst LANGTHALER, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz and Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Discussant: Christophe BONNEUIL, CNRS, France

Over the last few years, there has been a lot of work on the « improvement » of grains, and of wheat in particular, and this work has focused mostly on the questions of breeding and on agricultural qualities, characteristics and productivity. This session would like to approach the questions of the heterogeneity, evolution and materiality of grains but rather to focus on the competing claims and contested ways of assessing and formalizing quality for end-uses: i.e. milling, baking and feeding qualities.

One of the purposes of this panel is to provide case studies of the institutionalisation, centralisation, formalisation and standardisation of the ways of assessing these end-use qualities. It could show how attempts at defining numerical and other standards was often at the expense of « tacit knowledge » (of farmers, millers or bakers, for example) and, in particular of organoleptic or sensory forms of evaluation (touching, smelling, tasting, etc.). One could thus study attempts at replacing criteria deemed unstable or untrustworthy with new, more reliable and standardized procedures of grading (through chemical analysis or other ways of measuring flour quality for example).

But Velkar and other historians have also shown that the setting up of metrological codes and systems remained very context-dependent, and transforming quality attributes into explicit, portable and numerical standards remained difficult and problematic. Different actors and different markets might thus have different ways of assessing quality, and the devising and imposition of standards was very often contested and occurred in power-laden contexts.

The panel thus seeks to propose examples of how the construction of quality standards was often accompanied by competing claims between different actors, different markets in different countries. This panel means to study the various and heterogeneous ways of rendering the materiality of grains legible but also the difficulties and contestations that these attempts faced. Finally, it aims at drawing links between agricultural history and related fields and questions throughout food chain grains (the development of milling techniques, the evolution of consumer preferences, etc.).

807.1. From “useful knowledge” to “good bread”. Austrian millers and Hungarian hard redwheat, 1800-1850

Jonas M. ALBRECHT, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria

From the late 18th century, ever-growing amounts of wheat from the Great Hungarian Plain were transported towards the Austrian lands of the Habsburg Empire. By the late 1830s, Pannonian wheat from the Banat crown colony was central to the provision of Austrian urbanisation, especially in the capital, Vienna, as Hungarian and Austrian historians have noted. However, Hungarian wheat was not only important to actually feed Austria's urban dwellers, it was also crucial to feed the industrialisation of milling and improvement of bread production in Vienna's hinterland. In the context of a craft-based trials and error environment, after 1800 Viennese millers slowly discovered and recognised Hungarian hard red steppe wheat and its superior qualities, and started to adapt their production sites and technologies to the “new” raw material, culminating in the first large-scale industrial milling enterprises and Europe-wide acknowledged quality products by mid-century. This paper aims at telling the story of how the early 19th century artisanal discovery of hard red wheat, decades before scientists formulated ideas about Gluten or Protein, produced useful knowledge about wheat and wheat-processing techniques that would become the basis of industrialisation booms in Austria, Hungary, and later the United States and would lay the foundation to produce “good bread”.

807.2. Measurement standards and the grain trade: Prescriptions and practices in Flanders' grain markets, 18th-century

Wouter RONSJIN, Università Bocconi, Italy and Universiteit Gent, Belgium

As Douglas North (2003) reminded us, one of the essential conditions for well-functioning property rights and market trade is the ability to “measure the dimensions of the good or service being exchanged”. In the grain trade, standardisation of the weights and measures used is probably an underestimated contributor to grain market integration in the 19th century (Velkar 2012). This contribution reconstructs the painstaking process of introducing the metric system in the grain trade in public weekly markets in Flanders. It looks at how grain was transported to the market and sold, the role and methods of the official grain measurers at the public markets, and the attempt to switch to selling grain by weight rather than by volume. In the paper, the experience of two market towns will be followed in detail: Oudenaarde and Sint-Niklaas. Changing long-standing customs by imposing the metric system proved very difficult, but also depended on the rural social structure and the importance of the grain trade. It was rather in the rapidly growing grain trade outside the public markets that the new, standardised practices were more swiftly introduced.

807.3. Gluten and the quality of wheat in France and Britain, 1840s-1900s.

Arnaud PAGE, Sorbonne Université, France

Maxime GUESNON, EHESS, France

Even if the processes differed widely in different countries, the second half of the 19th century was characterized, especially in Europe, by large-scale transformations in agriculture, in trading, in shipping and a gradual opening of the grain markets, which resulted in a widening of the types of wheat available to millers and bakers. This created new challenges for the assessment of quality attributes, which required to modify or set up new abstract quality grades.

This paper wishes to discuss how chemists, both in France and Great Britain, discussed the question of gluten as an indicator which could be used to grade and rank different types of wheat or flour. If the nutritional and baking qualities of gluten were already discussed in the 18th century, it was especially after the 1840s, that it became widely used as a way to render the materiality and heterogeneity of wheat legible and quantifiable. This presentation will thus discuss the rise of chemistry in the process of market integration and globalization, but also highlight the difficulties and limited success of chemists in their attempts to formalize wheat quality through the quantification of gluten.



*Soldats aidant aux travaux de la ferme, La grange des Noyers (poste du DCA), à Étampes, photo, septembre 1915
(Albums Valois, Bibliothèque de Documentation internationale contemporaine) © BDIC.*

Panel 808. A new comparative perspective on rural society: The Integrated Peasant Economy concept goes East

Organiser: Aleksander PANJEK, University of Primorska, Slovenia

Jesper LARSSON, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Sweden

Chair: Aleksander PANJEK, University of Primorska, Slovenia

Discussants:

Žarko LAZAREVIĆ, Institute of Contemporary History-Ljubljana, Slovenia

Jesper LARSSON, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Sweden

Despite the evidence from recent research, peasants are still predominantly seen as passive actors in history who only respond to impulses from the outside. Although the engagement of peasants in non-agrarian sectors is one of the most prominent features in the history of European countryside, we perceive as a central historiographical problem the prevailing thesis about the passivity of the peasant social and economic position, which mostly emphasizes their survival tendency, while at the same time listing a multitude of activities outside the narrow scope of farm management. This is a contradiction at a conceptual level, since such interpretation doesn't connect the agrarian and non-agrarian spheres, and it doesn't recognize the ability of self-initiative to the peasants.

This contradiction may only be overcome by a new concept that addresses the peasant economy as a whole, considering it as a comprehensive system combining agrarian and non-agrarian activities. Such renewed perspective reveals a system we defined "Integrated Peasant Economy" (IPE), which comprises all three economic sectors as equivalent components of the whole. The IPE questions the prevailing assumption that peasants strove exclusively for survival and that activities beyond subsistence agriculture were an expression of bare necessity. On the contrary, it is apparent that peasants demonstrate agency and the ability to participate in shaping history and economy even beyond the countryside, whilst European rural history reveals a more complex and interesting image. We designed a specific tool to enable comparisons: a checklist of activities that bring an increase and differentiation of income. We grounded the IPE concept on empirical evidence from case-studies on Slovenia, Italy, Sweden and Japan, demonstrating that it's applicable in different regions and periods. Comparing literature showed that IPE can be applied to France and Russia (Chayanov), too. A comparison with other concepts (i.e. proto-industry, pluriactivity) has also been accomplished.

The aim of this panel is to test its applicability on different social-economic and agrarian environments by expanding the comparison towards the North-East and South-East of Europe through case studies dealing with the question of peasant income integration practices from these regions.

808.1. The economy of peasant families in early modern Finland

Merja UOTILA and Miikka VOUTILAINEN, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

In early modern Finland, landholding peasants relied on agriculture, but there was room for other sources of earnings too. The growth in consumption had its own role in this diversification of livelihoods. No longer was everything produced within the peasant household e.g. the number of craftsmen was increasing in rural areas. Peasants from various parts of Finland developed local combinations of activities that made up their total household economy. We are interested in this regional mixture of income and ask what the local variations were, and what affected them in Finland during the 1830s. The term pluriactivity is known in Finnish research, but what new and different would the application of the concept Integrated Peasant Economy contribute to research on the Finnish case? Our paper is based on one rich but underused source, namely the inquiries made by the secretary of Finnish Economic Society, Carl Cristian Böcker (1786-1841). The results of this inquiry reveal great regional variation; some areas were more dependent on selling cereals, certain livestock products or flax. There were also regions where providing horse transportation, sailing or seasonal labour migration were important sources of income. Selling forest products was significant in some areas. With cartographic methods we are able to reveal a great variety in the Finnish economy. Various sources of income increased consumption, raised the standard of living and reduced dependence on agriculture.

808.2. The autarky of peasantry in the late Ottoman western Balkans between myth and reality

Philippe GELEZ, Sorbonne Université, France

The organization of peasantry in the Pachaliks of Bosnia and Serbia is generally described through two concepts: *çiftlik* and *zadruga*, which supposedly developed in a logic of self-sufficiency. In either case, taxation by the state is supposed to prevent the realization of this autarky and to keep the agricol unit in the global economic pattern from which it tends to escape. The confrontation between this restrictive taxation and domestic freedom, between the state and the family, is constitutive of Ottoman rural studies in the Western Balkans. However, the concrete situations that we know can also be interpreted as an intertwining of the fiscal and domestic, rather than as their competition. In this perspective, one must take into account the complexity of this peasant world where property does not exist so to speak. In my paper the reflection is led on the basis of the Ottoman corps of sipahi and their historical heirs in the late 19th Century, a non-negligible part of whom was deeply involved in tilling the soil, by intertwining their demography and their economic activities in the frame of local grain markets.

808.3. The combination of agrarian and non-agrarian income of peasants in Croatia at the end of the 16th and 17th centuries

Hrvoje PETRIĆ, University of Zagreb, Croatia

This paper addresses problems of the combination of agrarian and non-agrarian income by the peasantry in a part of Croatian areas under civilian administration at the end of the 16th and 17th centuries. Part of the income came from rural crafts (secondary sector) or from smuggling and trade (tertiary sector). In the civilian part of Croatia the position of peasants in the 16th century became worse. In the 17th century there was a noticeable decrease in the income of the peasantry from trade. Restricting peasant commerce played an important role in worsening the position of peasants. Although numerous restrictions were introduced, in the 17th century there was no complete destruction of peasant trade. There were also regional differences. In some parts of Croatia peasants specialized in producing livestock for sale or in wine production. The peasants who lived alongside the Adriatic Sea (*Vinodol*) realized their income by selling salt and other goods they transported to the inland. From the interior, they brought grain and cattle. The peasants in the libertarian or freelance status (*libertinus*) participated in trade more widely. They inhabited areas in the immediate vicinity of the Military border. In some villages completely populated by peasants in the status of freelancers (*libertinus*), they participated in military attacks to the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Part of the non-agrarian income came from such military prey.

808.4. 19th-century Serbian rural communities between autarchy and market-oriented practices

Gordana GARIĆ PETROVIĆ, Institute of History, Belgrade, Serbia

The aim of this paper is to show distinguishing characteristics of villages and rural population in different areas of Serbia during the 19th century. Serbia was a rural country with the population engaged predominantly in agriculture. Although small family farms were dominant, households were able to produce enough food to survive. Furthermore, these small producers were the main source of agricultural surpluses that Serbia exported, mainly to Austro-Hungary. Serbian peasants were deeply interested in selling of their products and were prepared to adjust to market demands. They were also engaged in crafts and some other activities, so we can speak of integrated peasant economy in Serbia during 19th century. The most illustrative examples of market-oriented practices are the spread of plum culture, shift from corn to wheat production or boom of poultry and egg production that took place in the second half of the 19th century. It is also important to mention some extra activities of rural population, especially in less developed mountainous regions, such as transport of goods and production of tar and lime.

808.5. Aspects of integrated peasant economy in Lefkada, Greece (end 17th-early 18th centuries)

Efi ARGYROU, Open University of Greece, Greece

Sevasti LAZARI, Ministry of Education of Greece, Greece

The aim of this case study is to highlight the image of the complex rural economy of Lefkada, a mountainous island under Venetian order, at the turning point of the 17th to the third decade of the 18th century. A large variety of peasants' activities is detected in the rich notarial archives of the island. Notarial acts, such as testaments, marriage contracts, loan's contracts, partnership agreements, apprenticeship's ones etc. testify active peasants engaged in a wide range of activities. Apart from various types of agrarian ones and of husbandry contracted in different ways (permanent or temporary leases, sharecropping farming), the peasants of the island participated into craft but also into commerce. In this context, we intend to focus on questions, such as: to what extent the osmosis between these sectors extends, how peasants reinforce their agency and negotiable power, how servants' service supplements family income and ensures dowries, how market activities trigger social realignments among peasants.

Panel 809. Forest clearing and land reclamation: Between ownership rights and resource management in European mountains, 13th to 20th century

Organiser: Luigi LORENZETTI, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

Chair: Luigi LORENZETTI, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

Discussant: Angelo TORRE, Università del Piemonte Orientale, Italy

Forest clearing and land reclamation have been a constant in the history of farming, and have contributed to the transformation of Europe's countryside. These interventions have often called into question the existing forms of land appropriation and ownership systems. In the Alps, for instance, the colonisation of the highlands, which began in the 13th century, was achieved by means of land-clearing works based on tenancy agreements in perpetuity (Erblehen). With these, monasteries granted peasants useful possession of these lands and the right to exploit them in exchange for dues in kind or in money. Concurrently, at a time when usage created rights, as productive activities changed, so did the definition of ownership relations within the peasant communities. The partial reconversion of upland farming economies, where cereal cultivation was gradually phased out to make room for cattle raising, brought about a new definition of forms of land appropriation. As a result, individually-run property was partly ceded and partly replaced by a system of joint property for collective use. Subsequently, the development and improvement of low-yield land – marshland being an example – often coincided with the stages of privatisation of collective land and of the abolition of usage rights. It also coincided with the strengthening of the legal framework, whereby States and public authorities acquired the instruments to increase their power of intervention on regional management.

The panel will seek to analyse the relations between the transformation processes affecting different types of land use and ownership rights. In particular, the panel wants to focus on the following questions:

- What is the impact of forest-clearing and land-reclamation on ownership regimes and on the land tenure structure of the areas affected by these works?*
- To what extent can ownership regimes slow down or speed up change in the forms of land use and enhancement/improvement/exploitation by expanding the surface of agricultural land?*
- What role does conflict play in (re)defining ownership regimes applied to new agricultural land?*
- To what degree do collective (or public) property regimes hinder or stunt the creation of speculative logics?*
- To what extent do forest clearing and land draining contribute to enhancing the role of the State as the holder of eminent domain over the new lands?*

809.1. The forests of the Bishops of Brixen . Disputed elements of medieval political power?

Hannes OBERMAIR, Universität Innsbruck, Austria

Forests were originally royal domains, the use of which belonged to the head of the empire or to those privileged by him. Among the prerogatives of such ownership of the original production were exclusive hunting rights, fishing rights and timber rights. The medieval bishops' churches, especially in the Alpine region, played an important role in stabilizing the royal rule. Since the late Carolingian times, officials close to the rulers had also been deployed in the diocese of Brixen (Bressanone) to secure the transalpine Brenner route. Comprehensive forest rights were transferred to them. The article examines to what extent these exclusive rights were constitutive for the high medieval formation of the Brixen bishopric as a political spatial unit, and which conflicts of use were linked to it.

809.2. Saltus from use rights to commons (South France, 12th-14th centuries)

Fabrice MOUTHON, Université Savoie Mont Blanc, France

In the 13th and 14th centuries, new legal instruments change the rules of property and exploitation of uncultivated lands: charters of liberties, charters of settlements, albergements, hébergements... So, it goes from lordly property of wasteland with customary uses rights for inhabitants, to shared property between lords and peasants. Next to monasteries, communities of inhabitants and farmers unions called consortages or pareries were the first beneficiaries of these lordly concessions. Sometimes these opened new fronts of colonization.

Sometimes these constituted a change of wasteland status and sometimes these renegotiated the exercise of use rights. We can consider this as the birth of the commons. The purpose of this paper is to show how these new legal relationships have changed land uses, and wastelands management. As wasteland, I shall focus the analysis on mountains, woodlands, moors and swamps, mainly in the southern part of France. Examples are taken from my own works and from recent and less recent academic literature.

809.3. Self-management and Globalisation. Early Modern Forestry in Northern Scandinavia

Jakob STARLANDER, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Notwithstanding harsh conditions such as war, a very cold climate, and state control, the 17th century was a time of great economic transformation with direct consequences for people's everyday life. Despite this, we know relatively little about how basic uses of the landscape affected cooperation between parts of the population. The paper focus on one aspect of these processes: how peasants of Northern Ostrobothnia in Finland (then a part of the Swedish realm) planned and carried out resource extractions from forests during the 18th century in northern Scandinavia. As peasant's livelihood became increasingly dependent on what the forests provided as well as on a global market for their production, peasant-economy became more integrated and complex. The ownership structure was organized in such a manner that the taxpaying peasants owned their own forests and controlled the resource extraction themselves, with varying monitoring and regulation by the state. Using court records, different ways of how peasants organized their work and how they protected the forests against overexploitation will be presented, both within the parish and village community and from outside intruders.

809.4. From the liberation of soil to forest cleaning: Construction and deconstruction of territory in Savoy (18th-19th century)

Matteo TACCA, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

In the historical documentation about Savoy the term *défricher* had a negative meaning until the late 18th century. In the juridical documents, the tillage was considered a usurpation of common woodlands. These usurpations were related to a forestry asset that was exposed to inalienability and therefore placed outside of the land market. The *défrichement* ultimately represented a juridical offence; the tillage was a possessory act through which an individual violated the collective juridical statute of territory. However, from the 19th century the selling, tilling and cultivation of land became a trend strengthened by a State administration that encourage individualistic and capitalistic intensive monocultures. Forest cleanings became tied to the concept of soil liberation from the feudal and common rights. Through the study of the Combe de Savoie valley floor this paper analyses the environmental, social and economic consequences of the innovation of 18th century rationale. The comparative study of land registration and documentation produced by different social actors will lead to a re-enactment of the various meanings enclosed in the symbolic actions of forest cleaning.

809.5. Deforestation by planting vines in Catalonia. Masos, emphyteusis and dead rabassa

Llorenç FERRER-ALOS, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Since the Middle Ages, the most used contract to access the land was the emphyteusis contract. In 15th century the useful domain became hereditary, the censuses to pay were significantly reduced and it extended the farm, known as "mas". The farms ("masos") owned large pieces of land but had little capital. This is why putting new farmland was done through indirect management. On the one hand the "masoveria" contract allowed to create small farms in the main house, where the masover lived. On the other hand, the growing demand for wine led to the appearance of a medieval coplantatio contract. This contract became a sub-emphyteusis known as "rabassa morta" (a contract that regulated the vineyard plantation and lasted while the vines lived).

In the 19th century, just after the Liberal Revolution, emphyteusis began to be questioned. The solution came when the phylloxera ended and vineyards and lands returned to the farm owners. The replanting contracts for 20th century vineyards had nothing to do with the emphyteusis contracts that had been used massively since the end of the 17th century. This paper is going to focus on the changes that took place in this type of contracts.



Les travaux de la vigne. *Mois de septembre*, estampe de Jacques Callot, 1607-1609 (Paris, BnF) © BnF.

Panel 810. In search of a New Utopia? The Influence of Denmark on rural thought and practice in Europe and beyond 1800 to the present

Organiser: Daniel BRETT, University College London, UK

Chair: Daniel BRETT, University College London, UK

Danish agricultural practices (technical and organizational), rural education initiatives and political movements were and are frequently looked on admiringly by rural activists and thinkers in other countries. This panel seeks to critically assess the influence of Denmark upon rural society in Europe and beyond. We are interested in issues of knowledge transfer and the attempt to implement Danish-style agriculture outside of Denmark. The panel poses the following questions:

i) Why was Denmark seen as the 'ideal type'?

ii) How did thinkers and activists in states across Europe learn of Danish rural life?

iii) Were schemes to replicate Danish agricultural life unsuccessful and if so why?

This panel look across different periods of time and locations. It is interested not only in the macro abstract level of rural thought but also in the micro level of application of Danish rural practices in other states and societies. This panel brings together examples from Ireland, Finland and Hungary reflecting the spread of Danish ideas across Europe.

810.1. 'We ... had not the wit or the ability to establish here the type of organisation that exists in Denmark': a popular Irish perception of failure challenged. The Irish nationalist movement and its Danish dream before and after Irish independence, 1899–1939

Micheal O' FATHARTAIGH, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland

The Irish nationalist movement in the first part of the 20th century was amorphous and heterogeneous. However, as with other, contemporaneous nationalist movements, the Irish nationalist movement did maintain consensus on the need to save and to develop rural life. It was one thing to want to save and develop rural Ireland, though, and quite another thing to determine how this could be achieved. For Irish nationalists Denmark's successful approach to rural development provided them with a tangible model for rural development. In addition, by pointing to Denmark's successful approach to rural development many clientelist Irish nationalist politicians were able to imbue their lofty aspirations for rural Ireland with conspicuous credibility.

Irish nationalists in early 20th century Ireland learned of Danish rural life both through first-hand experience and, moreover, through second-hand sources. This paper correlates how their different means of exposure influenced how they portrayed and pursued the Danish narrative.

The paper shows that from 1899 the Irish Department of Agriculture adopted a framework for rural education, based around instruction, which, although it did not seem to replicate Danish rural education initiatives, did actually emulate the Danish approach to knowledge transfer. It also shows that from 1922 to 1939 Irish ministers for agriculture adopted a blueprint for agricultural organisation that mirrored substantially the Danish approach.

810.2. A successful case in adapting Danish model: Finland

Riitta MÄKINEN, Independent Scholar, Finland

Even critics cannot claim that "schemes to replicate Danish agricultural life" was "unsuccessful" or utopian in Finland.

Observing the four features in the Danish model: 1) emphasis on small farms, 2) animal husbandry for export, 3) agricultural co-operatives and 4) high educational, cultural and societal level among rural people. Comparing with Finland 1) great farms never dominated but two land reforms were implemented (1918, 1945). 2) Animal husbandry became important because of the natural circumstances. 3) In 21st C. Finland is estimated being the most co-operative country in the world. 4) Educational levels have received high ratings.

An exception to the enthusiasm for Denmark was the "father" of Finnish cooperatives, Hannes Gebhard. He considered the Irish co-operative model more suitable for Finland. However, Denmark was easier to reach and one could manage there with familiar Swedish. Despite of certain differences, Denmark was culturally nearer to Finns than Irish society. Even Gebhard returned to the Scandinavian models.

A case study will be presented a young country boy who in 1902 received a grant for an apprenticeship who had learnt to admire Denmark. Back home he soon took the initiative for a cooperative dairy and became an "enlightened Nordic peasant".

810.3. The effects of Danish agriculture and cooperatives on thinking of agrarian experts and on the Hungarian agrarian policy in the 20th century

Dániel LUKA, University of Pécs, Hungary

Danish agriculture and cooperatives were the ideal model for many agrarian politicians and experts in Hungary. This paper provides an overview about their thoughts on Denmark in the first half of the 20th century. They mediated the ideas and practices of Danish rural life, therefore influencing Hungarian agrarian policy and agricultural methods. Could we consider their efforts as a search for modernization and not just for a New Utopia? Dutch agriculture sat alongside the Danish model for researchers seeking to learn about foreign agricultural practices.

Continuity can be found after 1945. The Communists began collectivization based on Soviet model; from 1953 Western methods some cases came to the foreground. Archival sources indicate that after 1956 more delegates were sent to Western countries to establish trade relations. The Ministry of Agriculture organized such trips and study tours which aimed to gain experience on agricultural matters, like crop production, cooperatives and technique. Sending experts abroad was a common practice to make interaction first of all in economic sense. I would like to present these foreign links and connections regarding Denmark to 1970. What kind of impact these trips and experiences had on Hungarian agriculture and on Hungarian agrarian policy? Sources of the central state organs like the Ministry of Agriculture, various agricultural research institutes and books, memoires of agrarian experts make possible to evaluate this topic in detail.

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Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>901.</p> <p>Build and maintain a ministerial specificit . Ministries of agriculture in the 19th and 20th centuries</p> <p>Organisers and Chairs: Jean-Baptiste Paranthoën, Antoine Roger</p>	<p>901.1.</p> <p>The Department for the Elimination of Farming and Rural Activity: The consequences of Defra replacing MAFF</p> <p>Wyn Grant</p>	<p>901.2.</p> <p>When the mad cow found its field back. Discrete and unexpected victory of the French veterinary officers in the food safety field</p> <p>Thomas Alam</p>	<p>901.3.</p> <p>The agricultural survey of 1866-1870: a mirror of the French Ministry of Agricultural in the 19th century</p> <p>Anthony Hamon</p>	<p>901.4.</p> <p>Protecting plants to secure agriculture: An insight of the French ministry of agriculture through a sociohistory of its plant protection department</p> <p>Fanny Pellissier</p>		<p>PANEL 901</p> <p>Room AS1_15</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>902.</p> <p>Agriculture Meets Ecology in the 20th Century</p> <p>Organiser: Giuditta Parolini Chair: Paul Brassley</p>	<p>902.1.</p> <p>“The More or Less Practical Applications of Botany”: Ecology and American Agriculture in the Early Twentieth Century</p> <p>Mark Hersey</p>	<p>902.2</p> <p>The Paddy-field Laboratory. Agricultural Research and Rice Ecology in Colonial Indonesia</p> <p>Harro Maat</p>	<p>902.3.</p> <p>Girolamo Azzi and the IIA Commission for Agricultural Meteorology</p> <p>Giuditta Parolini</p>	<p>902.4.</p> <p>Ecological Thinking and Agricultural Development in Colonial Africa</p> <p>Corey Ross</p>		<p>PANEL 902</p> <p>Room AS1_17</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>903.</p> <p>Landscape evolution and new farming system in the Western part of Europe (Celtic areas) from the 15th to the early 20th century</p> <p>Organiser: Brice Rabot Chair: Ruben Castro Redondo</p>	<p>903.1.</p> <p>Acquisition of covenant tenures in the Southern Brittany at the end of the Middle Ages: Financial and agrarian stakes</p> <p>Brice Rabot</p>	<p>903.2.</p> <p>Land deal and rural loan in Brittany in the 18th century</p> <p>Isabelle Guégan</p>	<p>903.3.</p> <p>Unverifiable properties: Common mounts in Galicia country (16th-20th centuries)</p> <p>Pegerto Saavedra Fernandez</p>	<p>903.4.</p> <p>The Torenó's House Estate in Asturias and León during the “Ancien Régime”</p> <p>Juan Díaz Álvarez</p>	<p>903.5.</p> <p>Surface measurement units in Early Modern Galicia: The seigneurial jurisdictions against the chaos theory of this apparent Babel Tower</p> <p>Ruben Castro Redondo</p>	<p>PANEL 903</p> <p>Room BS1_05</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>904.</p> <p>Peasant household production before the modern era</p> <p>Organisers: Alexandra Sapoznik, Janken Myrdal Chair: Richard Hoyle</p>	<p>904.1.</p> <p>Beekeeping and the peasant economy</p> <p>Alexandra Sapoznik</p>	<p>904.2.</p> <p>Tending small livestock in the middle ages</p> <p>Janken Myrdal</p>	<p>904.3.</p> <p>Peasants' economic activities and wealth in 17th-century Western Siberia</p> <p>Viktor Borisov</p>	<p>904.4.</p> <p>If not corn than what? Sources of sustenance in peasant farms in southern Poland at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries</p> <p>Piotr Miodunka</p>		<p>PANEL 904</p> <p>Room AS1_33</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>905.</p> <p>Agrarian Markets in Rural Europe, 16th-19th century</p> <p>Organisers: Ulrich Pfister, Friederike Scholten Chair: Ulrich Pfister</p>	<p>905.1.</p> <p>Manorial grain sales and their stabilizing effect on rural households in Westphalia and Rhineland, 1650-1850</p> <p>Friederike Scholten</p>	<p>905.2.</p> <p>The Organization of the grain market during the agricultural revolution. A study of large estates, ordinary farmers, and grain merchants in southern Sweden 1750 to 1810</p> <p>Patrick Svensson</p>	<p>905.3.</p> <p>Military border, agricultural markets and rural estates in Croatia and Slavonia, 16th to 18th centuries</p> <p>Branimir Brgles</p>	<p>905.4.</p> <p>Valuing Land and its Produce in Early Modern Scotland</p> <p>Julian Goodare</p>		<p>PANEL 905</p> <p>Room AS1_9</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>906.</p> <p>Transtemporal Imperial Structures of Rural Areas in the Habsburg Monarchy</p> <p>Organiser: Filip Šimetin Šegvić Chair: Željko Holjevac</p>	<p>906.1</p> <p>Regulation of the Drava River and the transformation of rural area in the Croatian-Slavonian Military Border</p> <p>Hrvoje Petrić</p>	<p>906.2</p> <p>The implementation of reforms in rural areas in the Austrian and Bohemian lands of the Habsburg monarchy (18th century)</p> <p>Josef Löffler</p>	<p>906.3</p> <p>The Integration of a Migrant Ethnic Group from the Mountains of Southern Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina into the Society of Lowland Areas in Southern Hungary. The Bunjevci Ethnic Group in Bács-Bodrog County in Hungary from 17th to 19th Century</p> <p>Dénes Sokcsevits</p>	<p>906.4</p> <p>Croatian Rural Highland in the Habsburg Monarchy: Case Study of Lika</p> <p>Željko Holjevac</p>		<p>PANEL 906</p> <p>Room 7</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>907.</p> <p>Rural Social, Political, and Economic Reform in Global Perspective</p> <p>Organiser and Chair: Katherine Jellison</p>	<p>907.1.</p> <p>Indigenous Collards and Corporate Iceberg Lettuce: Production at Henry Ford's Richmond Hill Plantation, Inc., 1930s-1940s</p> <p>Debra Reid</p>	<p>907.2.</p> <p>The War on Poverty in a Rural and International Context</p> <p>Brian Q. Cannon</p>	<p>907.3.</p> <p>Land Reform in Global Perspective</p> <p>Frank Uekötter</p>	<p>907.4.</p> <p>The Agrarian Reform Policies of Scandinavia, ca. 1750-1820</p> <p>Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen</p>		<p>PANEL 907</p> <p>Amphitheatre</p> <p>François Furet</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>908.</p> <p>Rural pluri-activity: How long did it last? Local dynamics in global perspectives, 18th-20th centuries</p> <p>Organisers: Gilles Postel-Vinay, Alessandro Stanziani Chair: Eric Vanhaute</p>	<p>908.1.</p> <p>The effect of proto-industrialisation on industrialisation. Evidence from 19th century Flanders and Eastern Netherlands</p> <p>Robin Philips, Wouter Ronsijn</p>	<p>908.2.</p> <p>Seasonality again: Agricultural labour supply between labour hoarding and migrations in the early- modern and modern period</p> <p>Gilles Postel-Vinay</p>	<p>908.3.</p> <p>Labour-intensity and Rural Nonfarm work in South Asia: Evidence and Historiography</p> <p>Tirthankar Roy</p>	<p>908.4.</p> <p>Subleasing and by-employment in rural England, 1700-1850</p> <p>Joshua Rhodes</p>	<p>908.5.</p> <p>Labor intensification and pluriactivity. An Eurasian View</p> <p>Alessandro Stanziani</p>	<p>PANEL 908</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_01</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>909.</p> <p>Transmitting land property and reframing kinship boundaries in wetlands across time</p> <p>Organiser: Emilie Stoll Chair: Luly Fischer</p>	<p>909.1.</p> <p>Land grants and rivers in the colonial Amazon region</p> <p>Rafael Chamboleyron</p>	<p>909.2.</p> <p>Transmission of land rights in wetlands in Buganda kingdom, Uganda</p> <p>Claire Médard, Valérie Golaz</p>	<p>909.3.</p> <p>Who were landowners ("votchinnik") on lamal in the first-third of the 20th century?</p> <p>Elena Volzhanina</p>	<p>909.4.</p> <p>The Brière marsh (marais de la Brière)</p> <p>Norbert Foulquier, Frédéric Rolin</p>		<p>PANEL 909</p> <p>Room 8</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>910.</p> <p>Reputation, Long-Term Care, and Animal Wellbeing: Health in Rural Europe, 1300-1800</p> <p>Organiser: Wendy J. Turner Chair: Aleksandra Pfau</p>	<p>910.1.</p> <p>Living with Long-Term Pain in Rural Communities</p> <p>Bianca Frohne</p>	<p>910.2.</p> <p>"Removed from Office": Ill 14th-Century Rural Servants of the English Crown</p> <p>Wendy J. Turner</p>	<p>910.3.</p> <p>Regulating human and animal health in rural Normandy, 1400-1550</p> <p>Elma Brenner</p>	<p>910.4.</p> <p>"Strong in Zeal but Impotent in Head": British responses to the Cattle Plague of 1746</p> <p>Chris Mounsey</p>	<p>910.5.</p> <p>"Be damn'd or go to the Devil": Marriage, Incarceration and the Illness of Ann Wainhouse</p> <p>Carolyn Day</p>	<p>PANEL 910</p> <p>Room 2</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel 901. Build and maintain a ministerial specificity. Ministries of agriculture in the 19th and 20th centuries

Organisers:

Jean-Baptiste PARANTHOËN, EHESS, France

Antoine ROGER, Sciences Po Bordeaux, France

Chairs: Jean-Baptiste PARANTHOËN, EHESS, France

Antoine ROGER, Sciences Po Bordeaux, France

Discussant: Alain CHATRIOT, Science Po Paris, France

In the western and developed countries, exceptionalism of agriculture and rural areas justified the creation of specialized administrative apparatus, technical bodies and national satellite institutions. The authority of agricultural ministries was improved at the beginning of the 20th century with protectionist arrangements in agriculture trade and later agricultural modernization policies in order to maintain farm incomes and raise productivity. The establishment of particular policies was based on a closed policy communities involving specific civil servants and well organized farm-groups. This compartmentalized set of domestic institutions seems to be contested under the pressure of several transformations. Firstly, with overlapping institutions. Though CAP since 1960's, rise of international institutions like GAAT and WTO and more recently infra-state level, ministries' jurisdictions are entangled in multi-institutional policy processes. Secondly, the contemporary decrease of farmer population, complexification of boundaries between rural and urban areas, the emergence of new groups against consequences of agriculture policies, the liberalization and deregulation policies since 1980's and the advent of a green state challenge distinctive institutional space.

In this context, whereas scholars have provided interesting insights into the agricultural policy research, states and national institutions are understudied area. If post-exceptionalism thesis emphasizes how « old » groups and institutions, like interest groups and political parties, maintain their position, very few studies are about ministries of agriculture. This panel focus on this actor of agri-food policy know how its agents bring back in agricultural policy process. On one hand, examine agricultural ministries allows to complexify studies which explain agricultural policy by a consensus over values and ideas between government and group of interests. In this way, one aim of the panel is to better understand the variety of occupied positions and struggles inside agricultural departments to explore agricultural policy making process. On the other hand, genesis and crisis times are relevant to study institutions struggles in empowerment process of bureaucracies.

901.1. The Department for the Elimination of Farming and Rural Activity: The consequences of Defra replacing MAF

Wyn GRANT, University of Warwick, UK

The 1947 Agriculture Act placed the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food at the heart of the agricultural policy-making process in Britain. It was responsible for the conduct of the annual price review which allocated subsidies to farmers. MAFF was seen as a client ministry, the spokesperson of farmers within government. The development of environmental and conservation groups brought new players into the agricultural 'policy community' and started to challenge the productionist consensus. It found difficulty in coping with organisations that questioned the fundamental assumptions of agricultural policy. The BSE crisis and the handling of the foot and mouth outbreak called into question the effectiveness of MAFF and in 2001 it was merged by the Blair Government with the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions to form the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra). Farmers saw this as a body blow to their traditional relationship with government. The department has often seemed to lack a sense of strategic direction. This has not been helped by a rapid turnover of ministers who have either gone on to more important posts or saw their careers brought to an end. Brexit has seen the department required to develop a new domestic agricultural policy, but it is very different from that of 1947.

901.2. When the mad cow found its field back. Discrete and unexpected victory of the French veterinary officers in the food safety field

Thomas ALAM, Université de Lille, France

30 years ago, BSE was very high on the media and political agendas as it turns out to be a food, political and diplomatic crisis. Instrumental in the sectorisation of the weak and fuzzy policy subfield of food safety, I will address its institutional consequences regarding the French and British ministries of Agriculture. At the time, BSE crisis was mostly interpreted in Britain and on the European continent as the consequence of a « conflict of interest » and a « policy capture » which the ministries of Agriculture were allegedly suffering from. In Britain, where local authorities remain in charge of part of this policy domain, it led to the creation of the MHS and of the FSA in 1995 and 1997. In France, where this narrative also prevailed, the creation of a food safety agency was celebrated in the media as the victory of the Ministry of Health on its Agriculture counterpart. I will not challenge the relevance of power struggle analyses, but will claim that the dominant narrative is itself the product of symbolic power struggles and fails to take into account the institutional struggles that existed within the Ministry of Agriculture. Compared to Britain where the ministry was further dismantled, I will emphasise that the French veterinarian officers, as a collective body, have largely benefited – in terms of administrative power and prestige – from the various post-BSE reforms since the ministry promoted their expertise in a bid to maintain its domination on the policy sector.

901.3. The agricultural survey of 1866-1870: A mirror of the French Ministry of Agriculture in the 19th century

Anthony HAMON, Université Rennes 2, France

Before 1881, the French agricultural administration did not constitute an autonomous ministry. This “official agriculture”, as the farmers call it, is only a small, centralized service with only a limited local presence. Since 1841, the service has a small body of general inspectors thanks to whom it coordinates and supervises the actions of all its collaborators. However, the work of this small ministry has left few traces, moreover through dispersed sources. This makes the study of its operation difficult and the identification of its specificities delicate. This is why it seems appropriate to analyze its workings in the context of the agricultural survey, conducted between 1866 and 1870 by this administration. This vast survey has indeed generated a considerable mass of official and unofficial documents. In the first place, it makes it possible to apprehend the strengths and weaknesses of the administration. Apart from this internal analysis, the survey provides society with the opportunity to judge this institution, to criticize its policy, forms and members. The expression of these wishes, and the discussions to which they give rise, offer the possibility of making a first statement on the view that common people have of the Ministry of Agriculture. There is even an interest in measuring the gap that exists between this idealized vision of the “farmers’ ministry” and the state in which it is at the end of the reign of Napoleon III.

901.4. Protecting plants to secure agriculture: An insight of the French ministry of agriculture through a sociohistory of its plant protection department

Fanny PELLISSIER, Institut national de la recherche agronomique, France

The organization of the French ministry of agriculture has changed and its position is regularly challenged. It has to increasingly share its traditional fields of competence with other bureaucratic organizations. Nevertheless it remains a specialized administrative apparatus with its own representation in the government. Besides, some patterns have remained surprisingly stable in its general organization. The French ministry of agriculture is organized in a few general directorates that are divided in a succession of smaller interlocked components, until the smaller one: the unit. Among them, the plant protection department has a specific trajectory that is mostly unknown. It was created at the beginning of the 20th century as a multi-site organization located in Paris and each region. Its position is never completely secured but it has been strengthened step by step, through administrative decisions that contributed to make the management of plant protection a need to secure national food production. We would like to propose an insight in the history of the French ministry of agriculture by presenting a sociohistory of one of its component: the plant protection department. For that, we will go back to before the department was set up, at the end of the 19th century, when managing plant protection became an obligation for states through international conventions. We will describe how the plant protection department was created in France in this context.

Panel 902. Agriculture Meets Ecology in the 20th Century

Organiser: Giuditta PAROLINI, Technische Universität Berlin, Germany

Chair: Paul BRASSLEY, University of Exeter, UK

The 20th century marked the beginning of a long-term alliance between agriculture and ecology. Since the early years of the century, the discipline of agricultural ecology found an autonomous place in institutions devoted to the teaching of agronomy and in the work of international organisations concerned with agriculture. Ecological issues were increasingly recognised as a key element in the success or failure of farming work and ecologists became actively involved in crop cultivation and in the management of natural resources. The panel aims to reconstruct the history of ecological work in agriculture by investigating 20th-century encounters between agriculture and ecology in the East and in the West, in academic and institutional settings, but also in farm and fields. The panel themes will include the people and institutions that took charge of agricultural ecology, the opportunities opened by ecological thinking in terms of improved farming methods and increased yields, but also the frictions that arose when environmental conservation stood in the way of exploiting natural resources. The institutional developments of agricultural ecology will be investigated by examining the work of the International Institute of Agriculture, based in Rome, and in particular of its long-term collaborator, Girolamo Azzi, who is considered a founding father of agricultural ecology. As part of this institutional perspective, the panel will also consider the issues that emerged in American land-grant institutions during the Progressive Era, when ecologists had to reconcile their scientific research with an increasingly concerted pressure to produce knowledge useful for farmers. The institutional perspective will be complemented by an investigation of how the principles of agricultural ecology were practically used in the field. Shifting the perspective from the West to the European colonies in Africa and Asia, the panel will consider examples of how ecological work transformed crop cultivation and land management. The case studies considered will range from early 20th-century research into soil fertility and pest control for paddy rice on Java to the colonial investigations of agricultural systems in sub-Saharan Africa in the inter-war period and into the 1940s.

902.1. “The More or Less Practical Applications of Botany”: Ecology and American Agriculture in the Early 20th Century

Mark HERSEY, Mississippi State University, USA

At the dawn of the 20th century, most American ecologists considered agriculture rather than conservation to be the primary application of the science. Over the course of the century's first two decades, however, the relationship between agriculture and ecology grew increasingly fraught. By the second decade of the century, in fact, the proper connection between agriculture and ecology had emerged as an especially contentious issue, one that spilled over into public debate. Thus, while the pioneering ecologist Charles Bessey worried that his peers were getting bogged down in “the more or less practical applications of botany,” USDA scientist Charles Piper lamented the fact that his fellow botanists “had shrunk from what should be the major application of their science.” No group had more at stake in the debate than ecologists at land-grant universities. Pressured to produce knowledge that would prove useful to farmers at a time when usefulness was measured almost exclusively in terms of agricultural productivity, land-grant ecologists sought to steer a course through the fraught intersection of their discipline with agriculture in ways that would both satisfy their institutions and validate their research. The ways in which they navigated that predicament entailed longstanding consequences for American agriculture and for our understanding of the relationship between ecology and agriculture.

902.2. The Paddy-field Laboratory. Agricultural Research and Rice Ecology in Colonial Indonesia

Harro MAAT, Wageningen University, the Netherlands

The Green Revolution was a concerted effort by the USA and other Western nations to boost food production in developing countries. It took off in the 1960s but its model of industrialized agriculture is considered to originate in the colonial period. This paper puts that assumption to the test by focusing on efforts by the Dutch to increase agricultural production in colonial Indonesia. Agricultural research and extension were the combined instruments to achieve this goal. These instruments were first employed in the plantations, owned by European companies, producing commercial crops for international markets. From the beginning of the 20th century research on food crops, most prominently rice, was set up to support smallholder farmers in the archipelago. The use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides was hardly an option in smallholder farms, partly for lack of financial means and distribution channels, partly for lack of technical solutions from agricultural research to make such inputs attractive options. The colonial research and extension activities for smallholder food crops, this paper argues, had an agro-ecological orientation. The paper will provide examples of this research approach as well as evidence that this orientation was openly discussed as a strategy. The paper concludes that the Green Revolution selectively continued with one trajectory of colonial research and obstructed continuation of an alternative trajectory that colonial research also offered.

902.3. Girolamo Azzi and the IIA Commission for Agricultural Meteorology

Giuditta PAROLINI, Technische Universität Berlin, Germany

In the early 1920s the International Institute of Agriculture (IIA) set up a Commission for Agricultural Meteorology. This commission oriented its agenda towards agricultural ecology and worked in parallel with the Commission for Agricultural Meteorology, set up by the International Meteorological Organization, to study the influence of the weather on the growth of crops. The involvement of the IIA in agricultural meteorology and ecology started in the early 1910s, when IIA's vice-president, the French rural economist Louis Dop, identified knowledge of plant development in all climates as a key element towards the scientific management of agriculture and the improvement of farming output. The work of the Italian agronomist Girolamo Azzi is crucial to understanding the initiatives in agricultural ecology supported by the IIA. Azzi, who is considered a founding father of agricultural ecology, worked as a technical writer for the IIA for many years and maintained a collaboration with the institute also when he moved to the city of Perugia. Azzi was an active member of the IIA Commission for Agricultural Meteorology and was able to disseminate his ideas on agricultural ecology and his methods through the work of this international body. By following Azzi's work and his international ambitions, the paper will examine the work done by the IIA in agricultural meteorology and ecology, the agenda that supported it and the collaborative network of which the IIA commission was part.

902.4. Ecological Thinking and Agricultural Development in Colonial Africa

Corey Ross, University of Birmingham, UK

The 'development' of African economies was a central aim of colonial rule, and throughout the colonial era the key focal point for achieving it was agriculture. Agricultural research thus played an important role in the colonial enterprise, though approaches and methods shifted markedly over the course of the early 20th century. Whereas the initial emphasis was on export crops and the questions of where and how they could best be grown, by the inter-war period the insights of ecological research began to transform research agendas and policy perspectives. This paper examines how ecological modes of thinking influenced colonial agronomy in Africa and how these ideas were related to shifting perspectives in the metropolises. It considers the ways in which ecological principles were applied in the field, how they led to critiques of previous colonial agricultural policies and practices, and how they eventually promoted a far-reaching reassessment of 'native' agricultural methods. Through a handful of examples in East and West Africa, it shows how ecologically-minded field researchers acquired a new appreciation of indigenous farming skill that led them to try to build on rather than replace existing agricultural systems. By the 1940s, the rise of ecologically-oriented research had substantially altered understandings not only of African farming methods but also the biophysical environments they cultivated.

Panel 903. Landscape evolution and new farming system in the Western part of Europe (Celtic areas) from the 15th to the early 20th century

Organiser: Brice RABOT, Université de Nantes and Université de Poitiers, France

Chair: Ruben CASTRO REDONDO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

At the end of the Middle Ages (14th and 15th centuries), in Southern Brittany, new farming systems were grown with the “convenants” (French term which refers to this farming system). Last researches stress on rhythms, modalities or balances between seigniorial structures and rural communities. Last researches stress also on procedures, such as modalities of tenancy agreements, giving notice to tenant farmers (called “congément” in French medieval or modern documents).

This panel will focus more widely on modalities, social structures by comparing Land tenure systems in Brittany and in other Celtic countries, especially Northern Spain (or, with other contributors from Ireland, Wales or England), in order to draw new perspectives especially for the Atlantic countries (both in Brittany and in Galicia, more especially, where many comparisons could be led for the end of the Middle Ages or during all the Modern Ages).

The submitted call will deal with these thematics, presenting reflexions about financial systems from the end of the Middle Ages to the French Revolution (how did farmers pay their farm? How did they put specific strategies in place to fund their purchases? How did they enlist families, solidarity chains to fund and to farm new estates?).

The panel will focus precisely on rural communities, in order to analyze farmers’ strategies (with the procedure of “congément”, more well-known for the Modern period rather than the end of the Middle Ages). Few source texts provide from the end of the Middle Ages. Most of our documents provide for the Modern period, especially the 18th century. Calls of this panel should broaden our horizons with local studies of the Western part of Ireland, or the Northern part of Spain, where long lease landing were studied both in Middle Ages and in Modern Ages.

By comparing approaches between France, Spain, Ireland or Wales, for instance, this panel will aim to focus on specificities and common features through Atlantic areas. It will also be an astounding opportunity to lead new researches crossing approaches, results and ways of seeing local and territorial realities. Finally, it will be an astounding opportunity to study aspects which are quite unknown, because of lack of comparative studies between Britton territories and other Celtic areas.

903.1. Acquisition of covenant tenures in the Southern Brittany at the end of the Middle Ages: Financial and agrarian stakes

Brice RABOT, Université de Nantes and Université de Poitiers, France

First mentions of convenants in the Vannetais’ country occurred about the 1370’s. Indications for this period and area are, nevertheless, limited: conditions for accessing or paying for covenant tenures are still unknown. We need to study other sources to understand more precisely those aspects: land statement (also called minus in Brittany) or rental lists allow us to lead such studies. Covenant tenures never cease to extend until the French Revolution, as Jean Gallet explained it in his main study dealing with the landlords of Vannetais’ country from the second part of the 15th century to the 17th.

This paper aims to focus on agrarian and economic context in order to understand the main mechanisms, stakes and attempts of rural communities face to the covenant system. For instance, payment of high fees, obligations imposed by landlords and set up by tenancy agreements (for nine years in general) are one of the most important stakes studied by historians recently.

Studies during the 1960-1970’s did not focus on these themes because sources were not easy to read, to analyze (researchers have to build themselves wide data base for understanding mechanisms and they also have to settle on specific areas, with similar features). Historians tried to enlarge focal lengths by comparing with other lands, such as Poitou or Anjou country, where serious studies were led in the 19th century or, more currently, for the Anjou landscapes at the end of the Middle Ages.

903.2. Land deal and rural loan in Brittany in the 18th century

Isabelle GUÉGAN, *Université de Bretagne Occidentale, France*

The 'domaine congéable' system is a specific land renting from Western part of Brittany, based upon the separation between the land on one hand and édifices and *superfices* (houses, stables, barns, embankments and so on) on the other. If the land belongs to a landlord, the édifice and *superficie* are most often owned by a tenant, called *convenancier* or *domanier*. In Cornouaille, the landlord let his land for a rent at least for nine years. If he wishes to part with his tenant, the landlord can dismiss him after having evaluating the édifice and *superficie*, and in a second time, paid back to the tenant. Therefore, peasants who want to work land need to buy some édifices and *superficie*, but not the land itself. During the 18th century, édifice and *superficie*'s prices became heavier (several thousands of livres for a whole *convenant*). That is why some domaniers need to borrow money to pay their *convenant* (*domaine congéable*). Borrow money next to family or neighbours is usually used. The most frequent way to borrow money is to create a rent with the money coming from a *congément* (expulsion). The rent is then guaranteed by a mortgage on the édifice and *superficie* and takes no risk for the moneylender. It's often the case when minors are expelled from their *convenant*, because more than the rent itself, their borrowed money produces interests which make some savings could be used when they will be at age. Dowry is another way to get money to pay édifices and *superfices*.

903.3. Unverifiable properties: Common mounts in Galicia country (16th-20th centuries)

Pegerto SAAVEDRA FERNANDEZ, *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain*

About 1800, cultivated lands in Galicia represent less than 20% of the global landscape. In 1900, it was closer to 30%. 75% of Galician landscapes were common properties ("montes"). Those landscapes were appropriated by rural communities, with pasture lands, wooden furniture or fertilizer (in order to increase temporary cultivation, linked with the "estive system"). Indeed, in mountains, landscapes were deserted, but they were integrated in small farmer system. Small mountains were, as Abel Bouhier said, propping up the farm system. Furthermore, several conflicts appeared in relationships between rural communities and landlords or the State in the 20th century.

Land rights of each farmer were more and less clear. The fora and unfinished emphyteusis led to confused positions, especially in property matter. For instance, forestry properties are still difficult, nowadays, to analyze: kings, landlords or rural communities could, as far they were concerned, claimed different rights, especially in judicial estate. Data sources of Modern Ages are quite confused. Thus, land common rights are still unknown, both for collective or personal cases. Estate control was decisive. Human increase, financial needs or farmer intensification are some of the most important issues studied by historians today. Historians stress also on management progresses led between the 16th to the 20th centuries. New uses, both external and internal into rural communities, are nowadays studied by historians.

903.4. The Toreno's House Estate in Asturias and León during the "Ancien Régime"

Juan DÍAZ ÁLVAREZ, *Professor, Universidad de Oviedo, Spain*

Being lord of vassals was not specific step in the noble hierarchy in Spain, but it was decisive for the social promotion of the hidalguía. In the other hand, from an economic and political point of view, the lordly fees allowed for participating of the lords in the administration of their local estates, which escaped to the Crown's control. In this proposition, two main perspectives would be chosen to explain the issues. Firstly, I will study the training process of the estates from the 14th to the 15th centuries, linked with an important noble family in Asturias and León: the Quinones, counts of Luna, who transmitted them through several ways until their reach to the Counts of Toreno (from the middle of the 17th century and after). On many occasions, the creation of these manors was due to forced appropriation, favouring conflicts with the peasantry and other local communities. Secondly, I will take interest for the Toreno's House power exerted, though the designated officers in those places, located in strategic areas in the Northwest part of Spain: Toreno and Tombrío de Abajo, in El Bierzo; Tejedo, in the Occidental mountains of León; Cerredo and Degaña in the South-western countryside of Asturias.

The investigation is interesting because the study of the manors in Asturias is still limited. For a better understanding of the phenomenon, comparison with works of the same nature focused on other spaces of the Spanish Cantabrian Regions will be fundamental.

903.5. Surface measurement units in Early Modern Galicia: The seigneurial jurisdictions against the chaos theory of this apparent Babel Tower

Ruben CASTRO REDONDO, *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain*

Galicia, located in the northwestern corner of the Iberian Peninsula, was a peripheral kingdom of Castille. Besides, the insignificant presence of the monarchy in the local administration of this territory - 92% was seigneurial - became that kingdom a bad recipient of the reforms that monarchy ordered from the Court. As a result, instead the metrological standardization that the kings yearned for since the 13th century, there were many different units of measurement throughout the kingdom. The aim of this paper is to present the specific case of the superficial units of measurement. Despite the well-known relationship between extension and productivity of the farmlands, the specific distribution of the values shows that the role of the seigneurial units was the key for the complex heterogeneity and distribution of the "ferrado" in Galicia at the *Ancien Régime*. For this purpose, it was necessary to carry out at the same time two cartographies: that from the seigneurial administration and that from the distribution of the values of the superficial measurements.

Panel 904. Peasant household production before the modern era

Organisers:

Alexandra SAPOZNIK, King's College London, UK

Janken MYRDAL, University of Stockholm, Sweden

Chair: Richard HOYLE, University of Reading, UK

Discussant: Patrick SVENSSON, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

The basic unit of the pre-modern economy was the household, within which the vast majority of agricultural production took place. Beyond the production of raw grain and livestock, the household was the site of numerous processing activities which created desirable value-added products for sale and consumption. In this panel, we aim to examine the plethora of skills and tasks from which peasants sought to earn a living. We particularly welcome papers which consider the work of all members of the household-including women, children and the elderly. Married women with children had to fit their other tasks to child-care needs and household chores such as cooking and washing. Yet northern Europe was characterized by a marriage pattern in which marriage was relatively late and non-universal. Therefore, societies of northern Europe were also characterized by comparatively high levels of unmarried women, who contributed to the economic productivity of the peasant household in numerous ways. Women tended small livestock, worked with textiles and often sold beer or ale on a small scale. Despite their low social status, the goods women produced were very important. Young women and men, including children, were a significant part of the peripatetic work force used for herding and other errands. Elderly people took on less demanding tasks, while poor and landless adult men performed a variety of tasks. A medieval proverb says 'rich people never understand how poor people survive'. This panel seeks answers to this riddle.

904.1. Beekeeping and the peasant economy

Alexandra SAPOZNIK, King's College London, UK

Believed to originate in Paradise and set apart in their chastity, bees were potent religious symbols in medieval Christianity and Islam. This was of great economic consequence: only beeswax candles could be used for the Mass, and honey was a highly sought after Muslim commodity. This paper explores how these beliefs drove trans-European trade in wax and honey, which offered peasants the opportunity to ameliorate their household incomes through the production of these lucrative and sought-after products. A study of peasant beekeeping, a hitherto unexplored aspect of the medieval economy and environment, can shed light not only on medieval technology, but also the impact of commercialization on peasant production.

904.2. Tending small livestock in the middle ages

Janken MYRDAL, University of Stockholm, Sweden

The intensification of agriculture in the high Middle Ages led to technical changes in how peasants used their resources within the household economy. Small livestock, which normally belonged to women's sphere of the household, while the shepherd was typically a man, are an important example of this. English manorial accounts contain information about the cost of hiring shepherds, sizes of flocks, information on folding sheep and medicine for them. But to get more detailed information we must use other sources, such as agricultural literature, proverbs and art. For example, Jean de Brie's *Le Bon Berger* ('The Good Shepherd'), written 1379 by a former shepherd, contains detailed information about the role of children as herders. The shepherds pictured in the nativity form one of the most common agrarian motif in medieval art. By mapping this evidence we can identify regional differences in important details, such as the type of staff used and shepherds' clothing. By building a more detailed and nuanced picture of the management of small livestock we can begin to understand how the male shepherd worked together with others in the family.

904.3. Peasants' economic activities and wealth in 17th-century Western Siberia

Viktor BORISOV, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia

In the 17th century Western Siberia was a newly colonized territory, where peasants had plenty of arable land and mowing at their disposal. At the same time, there was significant demand for grain, since in Eastern Siberia, the furthest part of Russia, the opportunities of grain cultivation were very limited. Thus, the case of Siberian peasantry of the 17th century seems a good test of the “peasant mode of production” idea.

I address the question whether Alexander Chayanov's consumption-labour-balance principle works for Western Siberian peasantry of the 17th century. I calculated peasants' budgets, including grain stocks, taxes and payments for the commune needs, revenues from cattle production and fish trade. Then I dig deeper into the productivity of different groups of peasant households, measuring in grain, livestock and, where possible, money per capita. According to my calculations big households were significantly more productive than small ones and – at least sometimes – demonstrated considerable wealth far beyond subsistence level. For example the cost of the buildings and movable property was sometimes comparable with the cost of the ones which belonged to medium-level craftsmen in Moscow.

The sources of this research are census books, cadastral books, lists of tax-payers, governmental receipts and expenditure books, customs books and especially the lists of losses after Tatar attack in 1662 documented for more than 300 households of Verkhotur'e district.

904.4. If not corn than what? Sources of sustenance in peasant farms in southern Poland at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries

Piotr MIODUNKA, Cracow University of Economics, Poland

This paper sets out the key problem in determining peasant activities and revenues in pre-modern Poland (prior to the mid-19th century). While we are able to identify, albeit not without difficulty, the area cultivated by peasants or even the exact sizes of individual farms and the crops distribution, the other production types remain much more difficult to capture. The sources available make it easier to prove the negative: to determine what proportion of peasant farms was able to live off corn production, and from that to conclude that the other farms must have engaged in other, agricultural or non-agricultural trades. The former includes breeding, the latter mostly weaving. From this perspective, southern Poland (known as Małopolska or Lesser Poland until 1772, and Western Galicia under the Habsburg monarchy) is an interesting research area, with its variety of soils and topographies.

This paper seeks firstly to establish what proportion of the rural population (by region) could live off grain cultivation, depending on the size of farm and crops structure. Secondly, it will attempt to determine what additional moneymaking trades could be the main alternative. It will look at sheep breeding and weaving flax and wool. It has been pointed out that notably the manufacture of flax (and hempen) canvas was an important industry throughout the region (not only small towns). Yet there has been no broad-based analysis of this issue with respect to the peasant population.



Bûcherons dans le bois, Aulnay sous bois, 1913, carte postale © MUCEM.

Panel 905. Agrarian Markets in Rural Europe, 16th-19th century

Organisers: Ulrich PFISTER and Friederike SCHOLTEN, Universität Münster, Germany

Chair: Ulrich PFISTER, Universität Münster, Germany

Discussant: Guilio ONGARO, Università degli Studi di Milano - Bicocca, Italy

Existing historical research on markets for agricultural products focuses on formal urban markets, mainly for grain. This panel focuses on informal markets in rural areas centred on important suppliers in the form of rural estates. In many European regions, landed estates were more than just the external representation of wealth and influence of their owners. Besides from constituting a base of the social status of the nobility, estates were key sellers of own surpluses, often grain, and thus heavily involved in agricultural markets. Selling agricultural products, such as grain, but also wine, wood or cattle, could take place via two avenues, namely, by bringing these products to formalized markets in agro-towns or cities, or by selling them at castle-gate, so to say. Markets of the latter type were distinguished from urban and semi-urban markets by their informal character (absence of regulation), weaker physical security and possibly lower liquidity. Looking at the markets for agricultural products through the lens of the behaviour of major sellers allows addressing a number of research issues. These include, first, the relationship of informal rural markets with nearby urban markets with respect to price gaps, price volatility, and liquidity. Second, we are interested in the interaction of estates both with regional traders and the local population. The quantitative magnitude and institutional forms of contracts with local lower class households in particular offer a possibility to study the operation of interlocking markets (Bardhan 1970) and of the paternalist behaviour of premodern elites (Thompson 1971). Finally, given the informal nature of rural markets, physical insecurity and protection, respectively, should play an important role in the development both in quantitative and institutional respects. The panel aims to contribute to a comparative analysis of these research issues.

905.1. Manorial grain sales and their stabilizing effect on rural households in Westphalia and Rhineland, 1650-1850

Friederike SCHOLTEN, Universität Münster, Germany

In the frame of the so called "Grundherrschaft" in north-western Germany (Rhineland and Westphalia), manorial estates were key sellers of grain. These informal sales had a multitude of effects on the structure of the manors as well as on the surrounding parishes: On the one hand, they lead to several operational and economic modifications in the estate's management, e.g. agricultural production. On the other hand, they shaped the relation to the community: the local markets developed to be the spot for key networks of the rural society as well as the nobility. Here the rural population and the lordship met directly – firstly on the level of commodity exchanges. Secondly, these exchanges also always comprised the complex social relation between ruler and subjects in which manorial control was constantly negotiated via processes of conflict and acceptance. It turns out that grain sales therefore stabilized the social fabric of the rural countryside.

905.2. The Organization of the grain market during the agricultural revolution. A study of large estates, ordinary farmers, and grain merchants in southern Sweden 1750 to 1810

Patrick SVENSSON, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

The agricultural revolution led to a massive increase in grain production and although trade in grain had existed for a long time this formed a new organization of the grain trade. New actors emerged both on the producer side and on the market side. The interaction between these actors also changed, involving not only purchases but also wider transport networks and an emerging credit market. This paper focuses on the organization of the grain trade in southern Sweden during the agricultural revolution and uses micro data on production from both peasant-farmers and manorial estates, data on transports of grain to the markets in the towns as well as data on transports out of the towns to distant markets. Preliminary findings indicate that ordinary farmers used grain merchants in the towns to sell most of their produce while large-scale producers often arranged the grain sales themselves, both in the local and regional setting and through arranging sales and transports themselves within the distant trade.

905.3. Military border, agricultural markets and rural estates in Croatia and Slavonia, 16th to 18th centuries

Branimir BRGLES, Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, Croatia

The author deals with the disrupting impact of the so-called “Military Border” on regional agricultural markets as well as on the social structure of manorial estates in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

905.4. Valuing Land and its Produce in Early Modern Scotland

Julian GOODARE, University of Edinburgh, Scotland

This paper constructs a framework for how values were attached to all types of agricultural produce and other use-values from agricultural land in Scotland in the period c.1500-1750.

It first outlines the different types of people involved: farmer, farm worker, landlord, merchant, miller, tax collector, etc. It then takes each product-type in turn, and asks: what was its valuation process, and how far was this commercial? Agricultural products were valued at different stages: standing crops, grain after harvesting and after milling, dairy products, animal carcasses, etc. Other types of product and use-value from land are discussed, as are valuations of farmers’ capital – livestock, tools, etc – and landlords’ capital – buildings, dykes, etc. Rents are disaggregated into their incommensurable components – mainly money, produce and unpaid labour services. Teinds (tithes) resembled a second take of rent, but were formally a tax. Many of these values, especially earlier in the period, were set by custom or regulatory bodies, not markets. And many items were consumed directly, or shared or bartered, rather than being formally valued.

The resulting framework should be important for understanding and contextualising agricultural productivity. It also makes a small contribution to some big debates on the nature of market systems.



Comice agricole de Ribeaupville, illustrée par G. Bossert, 1860 (Paris, BnF) © BnF.

Panel 906. Transtemporal Imperial Structures of Rural Areas in the Habsburg Monarchy

Organiser: Filip ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ, University of Zagreb, Croatia

Chair: Željko HOLJEVAČ, Ivo Pilar of Institute of Social Sciences, Zagreb, Croatia

Discussant: Filip ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ, University of Zagreb, Croatia

The panel aims to delve into the regional and transregional structures of rural areas which shed light on the ways in which the multinational Habsburg Monarchy functioned as a Central European empire from the Early Modern period up to 1918. The panel shall present comparative results of research into the transformation of rural areas with concern given to the functioning of the state from “above” as well as the “bottom up”, taking into consideration various approaches to rural history, from demography, to environmental, social and cultural history. The panel should put forward answers to questions such as the relationship of the Habsburg Monarchy to the environment in rural areas, the politics of population and depopulation of rural areas with regard to the economic factors (taxation policies, state reforms etc.), the relationship of royal/imperial scientists (geographers, geologists, historians, archaeologists, etc.) towards rural areas, etc. Despite the development of urban and various local centres from the 18th century onwards, the Habsburg Monarchy was predominantly a rural country during the whole of its history, most flagrantly in its periphery – the Croatian lands, great parts of Hungary, Galicia, etc. A comparative analysis of the implementation of various policies towards different rural areas of the Monarchy, such as the rural areas in the Austrian and Bohemian lands, Southern Hungary, the Croatian Military Border area, etc. should give a greater insight into the agrarian, cultural and economic state of affairs in Central Europe within a time span of several centuries. By researching the implementation of various state policies in the rural areas of the Habsburg Monarchy, we shall give information on the social state, livelihood, practices, fates and horizons of the populace and the changes which occurred in these structures in a long-term perspective. The panel will seek to address several levels of comparative study of the Habsburg state complex.

906.1. Regulation of the Drava River and the transformation of rural area in the Croatian-Slavonian Military Border

Hrvoje PETRIĆ, University of Zagreb, Croatia

The main emphases are placed on regulations and floods. Regulations were necessary to keep the local rural population safe from relatively frequent flooding, which represented a significant threat, but they had negative consequences because the flood risk increased. During the 18th and 19th centuries, rural people tried to defend themselves from the river that threatened their settlements, roads, cattle or plow fields by building dikes and embankments, and digging up channels for drainage of excess water. People created a “vicious circle” of regulation and flood. Disturbance of the river returned as a boomerang. One question remains: what were the actual effects of the Drava river regulation and did they bring safety and happiness? In time of the Croatian-Slavonian Military frontier, people’s lives were deeply impregnated with both damage and benefits that the river caused. Even though a river regulation is, at first glance, a proper way to eliminate damage from the floods, it is clear that rural people lose the advantages associated with living in harmony with the river and the nature in general.

906.2. The implementation of reforms in rural areas in the Austrian and Bohemian lands of the Habsburg monarchy (18th century)

Josef LÖFFLER, Universität Wien, Austria

After the defeats in the two Silesian Wars and the War of Austrian Succession, the Habsburg Monarchy was in a fundamental crisis. In response, Empress Maria Theresa intended a comprehensive state reform whose primary goal was to increase tax revenue to finance a powerful army. The basic principles of the reform, enforced against the vehement opposition of the elites of the estates, were a centralization of the composite Monarchy and a restriction of the intermediate powers on the regional and local levels. So far, the focus of research on the Theresian reforms has been on central authorities and legal norms, while the concrete implementation of reform measures in the local context has hardly been explored. The purpose of this paper is to examine the enforcement of state rule at the local level in the second half of the 18th century. In concrete terms, the implementation of various reform measures and their effects on rural areas will be investigated using the example of several manors in the Austrian and Bohemian lands. Different, functionally related aspects will be addressed: local practices in the systematic gathering of information by the state, the cooperation and competition of local elites and state authorities in the implementation of the legislation on peasant subjects or the increasing involvement of local administrative units such as manors and parishes into the state administrative apparatus.

906.3. The Integration of a Migrant Ethnic Group from the Mountains of Southern Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina into the Society of Lowland Areas in Southern Hungary. The Bunjevci Ethnic Group in Bács-Bodrog County in Hungary from 17th to 19th Century

Dénes SOKCSEVITS, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

The Bunjevci Ethnic Group from the mountainous parts of Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Southwestern Bosnia settled in lowland areas of Southern Hungary in 17th Century. The original homeland of this South Slavic, catholic ethnic group is the Area of the Dinara and Svilaja Mountains. Some parts of this ethnic group migrated at the beginning of the Ottoman expansion to the vicinity of Zadar, later to Lika, and Gorski Kotar and maritime part of Velebit Mountains. A greater part of this ethnic group in 16th century remained at the area of their original settlement occupied by Ottomans. The first group of Bunjevci was relocated from here to Northern Bácska area of Southern Hungary (also under Ottoman rule) in 1608 by local Ottoman authorities, after a riot against Ottoman rule. It was a punishment in the framework of forced resettlement so called "sürgün". The last migration of the Bunjevci Ethnic Group from their mountainous homeland to Hungary happened at the end of 17th Century, between 1686 and 1687 during the great war between Habsburg and Ottoman Empire. The purpose of this paper is to examine the process of social integration of an ethnic group from mountainous area with its special cultural heritage and customs into the society of Southern Hungary, a lowland area with the best conditions for agriculture. At the focus of my researches are not only the social changes of the Bunjevci Ethnic Group, but the changes of their culture as well.

906.4. Croatian Rural Highland in the Habsburg Monarchy: Case Study of Lika

Željko HOLJEVAC, Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences, Zagreb, Croatia

Lika is a mountainous region in the Croatian karst and sparsely populated area of snow-forest climate. During the Early Modern and Modern Period, local people were peasants and soldiers in the Military Border of the Habsburg Monarchy. They lived in patriarchal families with approximately ten members, and were engaged in archaic cattle breeding and cultivation of land owned by the state. Men in the age of 16 to 60 were soldiers in uniform who held their weapons in their own homes. The Habsburg military administration tried to build roads and bridges, open public schools, organize postal service and health care, and implement a lot of other measures "from above" in line with military needs. This administration did not stimulate entrepreneurial initiatives "from below". Rural households under the military administration had all the tools – ploughs, harrows, rollers and wagons – made of wood only. Primitive technology combined with the rocky soil did not produce enough food and many local people were often starving hungry. In 1881, the Military Border System was abolished and the Lika-Krbava County was formed. Although it was the least populated part of Croatia-Slavonia, it had surplus population because half of the County was covered by dense forests and half of the households had less than five acres of land cultivated. In search for sustainable existence, many domestic people began to leave their rural landscape going to overseas countries, especially to the United States.



En Périgord, le cochon truffier, début du xx^e siècle, carte postale, © MUCEM.

Panel 907. Rural Social, Political, and Economic Reform in Global Perspective

Organiser: Katherine JELLISON, Ohio University, USA

Chair: Katherine JELLISON, Ohio University, USA

Discussant: Daniel BRETT, University College London and the Open University, UK

This panel investigates modern-era social, political, and economic reform in rural areas around the globe. Rasmussen analyses how Denmark and Sweden differed in implementing the 18th-century transition from agricultural villages with common fields to a system of individual land usage rights. In tenure issues associated with this transition, “absolutist” Denmark saw itself as a paternalistic protector of the peasants, while “parliamentary” Sweden sided with the interests of the landlords and crown peasants represented in parliament. Reid examines Henry Ford’s interwar period acquisition and consolidation of several Georgia rice plantations. There, he introduced new crops, such as soybeans for industrial processing purposes and iceberg lettuce for east coast urban markets. Ford’s new enterprise, Richmond Hill Plantation, Inc., relied on African-American labour, and its marketing schemes perpetuated the Old South plantation imagery showcased in the era’s popular films and literature. In reforming rice plantation agriculture to meet the needs of 20th-century markets, Ford maintained existing racial hierarchies and reinforced negative racial stereotypes. Cannon also looks at the Cold War era, a period when the United States sought to export its successful agricultural methods to other parts of the globe. While the nation was touting the benefits of a U.S.-style agricultural system, however, many rural Americans were actually living in poverty. Most scholars who have focused on the mid-1960s War on Poverty have measured its outcomes in urban America, but Cannon analyses the anti-poverty program’s impact on rural regions and discusses the implications of the program’s reforms for America’s image as the Free World’s agricultural Super Power. Uekotter analyses the issue of land reform from a global perspective. Vigorous land reform debates occurred in many countries during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. After the fall of the Eastern Bloc in 1989, post-Socialist countries launched comprehensive land distribution programs for collectivized lands. Today, land reform remains a continuing concern through much of the Global South. With these realities in mind, Uekotter offers reflection on how scholars should go about writing a global history of land reform in the twenty-first century.

907.1. Indigenous Collards and Corporate Iceberg Lettuce: Production at Henry Ford’s Richmond Hill Plantation, Inc., 1930s-1940s

Debra REID, Henry Ford Museum of American Innovation and Greenfield Village, USA

Acknowledging that not all reform is necessarily beneficial, Reid’s paper examines auto manufacturer Henry Ford’s interwar period acquisition and consolidation of several Georgia rice plantations. There, in the 1930s and 1940s, he introduced new crops, such as soybeans for industrial processing purposes and iceberg lettuce for east coast urban markets. Ford’s new enterprise, Richmond Hill Plantation, Inc., relied on African-American labour, and its marketing schemes perpetuated the type of Old South plantation imagery showcased in the era’s popular literature and Hollywood films. In reforming rice plantation agriculture to meet the needs of 20-century markets, Ford maintained existing racial hierarchies and reinforced negative racial stereotypes.

907.2. The War on Poverty in a Rural and International Context

Brian Q. CANNON, Brigham Young University, USA

Cannon’s paper looks at the Cold War era, a period when the United States sought to export its successful methods of agricultural development to other parts of the globe. Ironically, however, while touting the benefits of a U.S.-style agricultural system, America found many of its own rural residents living in poverty. Cannon examines America’s mid-1960s War on Poverty to determine how successfully this ambitious anti-poverty program dealt with economic deprivation in the United States. While most scholars have focused on War on Poverty outcomes in urban America, Cannon analyses its impact on rural regions and small farmers and discusses the implications of War on Poverty reforms for America’s image as the Free World’s agricultural Super Power.

907.3. Land Reform in Global Perspective

Frank UEKÖTTER, University of Birmingham, UK

Uekotter's paper brings the topic of rural reform to the present by tackling the issue of land reform from a global perspective. While land ownership is seemingly one of the pillars of modern agriculture, written titles to land have not been sacrosanct. Vigorous land reform debates occurred in many countries during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. After the fall of the Eastern Bloc in 1989, post-Socialist countries launched comprehensive land distribution programs for collectivized lands. And land reform remains a continuing concern through much of the Global South. With these realities in mind, Uekotter offers reflection on how scholars should go about writing a global history of land reform in the twenty-first century.

907.4. The Agrarian Reform Policies of Scandinavia, ca. 1750-1820

Carsten PORSKROG RASMUSSEN, Museum of South Jutland, Denmark

The late 18th century saw a process of deliberate transformation of agrarian society through state intervention in rather large parts of Europe. Both Denmark and Sweden have a prominent place in this process. In both countries one central part of this was the dissolution of villages with common fields and individualization of usage rights over land, which was a radical process in both countries. This can probably be seen as a result of strong states with a capacity and will to intervene.

The other main aspect of the 'reforms' concerned tenure. In Denmark most peasants were tenants of private landlords, and here a series of state interventions from 1759 to the 1790's gradually changed the terms of tenure in favour of tenants. A transition to peasant freehold was directly and indirectly encouraged but never forced. In Sweden the government encouraged and facilitated the transition to freehold for its own tenants, but it gave landlords a much freer hand towards their tenants. The difference lies, it shall be argued, in the political systems. The 'Absolutist' Danish government saw itself as a paternalistic protector of the peasants, the "parliamentary" Swedish state more as a representative of the interests represented in parliament, mainly landlords and crown peasants.

While Denmark and Sweden are the main focus areas, Schleswig-Holstein and Norway shall be more shortly included.



Après la moisson, photo, 2016 © Serena Koi.

Panel 908. Rural pluri-activity: How long did it last? Local dynamics in global perspectives, 18th-20th centuries

Organisers:

Gilles POSTEL-VINAY, Institut national de la recherche agronomique and EHESS, France

Alessandro STANZIANI, CNRS and EHESS, France

Chair: Eric VANHAUTE, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

Discussant: Niccolò MIGNEMI, EHESS-CNRS, France

Unlike conventional interpretations, we know now that not only in France, German areas and eastern Europe, but to a given extent even also in Britain, until the mid-nineteenth century double employment (mostly in rural and urban areas) was the rule rather than the exception. Seasonal needs in agriculture were the crucial variable here. Seasonal and local shortages of manpower were overcome by interregional migration and, eventually, only later in the nineteenth century, by a transformation of hand harvesting techniques and tools. Yet, at the turn of the 19th and 20th century, and more likely during the 20th century, national and international labor markets and a sharp separation between activities took place in Europe, much less in Asia, and even less in Africa and Latin America. Detailed data show a strong regional and gender differentiation; kind of crops, side activities, and which one influenced the final outcome. If this is so, then we need to reassess the persistence and decline of pluriactivity and in particular conventional opposition between Britain and continental Europe on the one hand, Europe and Asia, or Africa on the other hand.

908.1. The effect of proto-industrialisation on industrialisation. Evidence from 19th century Flanders and Eastern Netherlands

Robin PHILIPS, International Institute of Social History and Utrecht University, the Netherlands

Wouter RONSJN, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

This paper puts forward an empirical test of the literature on proto-industrialisation (e.g. Mendels 1972; Kriedte, Medick, and Schlumbohm 1981; Ogilvie and Cerman 1996), by exploring the effect of proto-industrialisation on industrialisation during the Industrial Revolution in Belgium and the Netherlands. Using the division between factory-based and handicraft-based employment in historical census data, we explore the cross-municipal variation in employment in proto-industrial and industrial activities in textiles production in the two largest textiles-producing regions in the Netherlands and Belgium: respectively the Eastern Netherlands and Flanders. In contrast to Mendels (1972), regression analysis reveals a negative significant effect of proto-industrial activities on industry in Flanders, with many families long preferring to supplement their proto-industrial income with other part-time activities rather than taking up a full-time factory job. In contrast, we find for the Eastern Netherlands a positive significant effect, as industry seems to follow largely the proto-industrial heartland thanks to an active industrial policy.

908.2. Seasonality again: Agricultural labour supply between labour hoarding and migrations in the early-modern and modern period

Gilles POSTEL-VINAY, Institut national de la recherche agronomique and EHESS, France

The aim of this proposal is to come back in a comparative way to the question of the seasonality of work in early modern and modern European agricultures and its impact on the functioning of the labour markets. In particular, it intends to reassess the England-France comparison from this point of view in two complementary directions. The first one is to better understand the history of the relative importance of labour storage policies and migration. In the case of France, the main focus has been on protoindustrial employment during the slack season and on the importance of the use of migrants during the peak season. In the case of England, the focus is usually on labour hoarding policies (via both the Poor Laws and the annual contracts), even if it is assumed that the use of migrant labour was of minor importance to English agriculture.

But there is a second issue which is raised by the new research by Humphries and Weisdorf on “unreal wages” which reformulates the question of labour input in the long run by contrasting wages measured on a daily basis and those measured on an annual basis (taking advantage of the annual remuneration of farms servants). Given its important consequences, it is worth while to clarify the long history of farm servants’ contract in Europe and in particular the different regulations that have led to its annualisation

908.3. Labour-intensity and Rural Nonfarm work in South Asia: Evidence and Historiography

Tirthankar Roy, London School of Economics, UK

In applied development studies, there is a large literature on rural nonfarm activity in the South Asia region. Given the high seasonality of cultivation, low yield of land in many sub-regions, and consequently low wages, nonfarm work holds out the promise of rural development, when agricultural technology fails to deliver. The problem has been around for centuries, and peasants understood that diversification made economic sense. Still, diversification was a commercially viable strategy under certain conditions. The paper considers the evidence from colonial and postcolonial India to describe what peasants did, identify what these conditions were, and how these conditions changed in the long run.

908.4. Subleasing and by-employment in rural England, 1700-1850

Joshua RHODES, University of Exeter, UK

A hitherto neglected aspect of by-employment is the practice of supplementing a trade or cultivation with rental income from subleasing land. 18th and 20th-century manorial surveys, recorded tenants with whom manors had a direct relationship, i.e. tenants who paid rent to the lord or lady of the manor. However, many direct manorial tenants did not cultivate their land and instead leased their holdings to others. This form of subleasing was pervasive in 18th and 19th-century England, but it went unrecorded in probate inventories and has not yet been integrated into histories of by-employment strategies. Combining a new approach to reconstruct subletting activity in unprecedented detail and other evidence of employment activities, this paper presents new evidence of pluri-activity in 18th and 19th-century rural England. Overall, this paper argues that subleasing was a vitally important but neglected aspect of by-employment which shifts our understanding of the operation of pluri-activity in England.

908.5. Labor intensification and pluriactivity an Eurasian View

Alessandro STANZIANI, CNRS and EHESS, France

Between the 17th and the end of the 19th centuries, all over Eurasia, but also in the Americas and in Africa, labour constraints and bondage increased. Colonial slavery, second serfdom, criminal punishment for breach of contract in Europe, forms of servitude and slavery in Africa and Asia were not only widespread but increased during this period. This means that there were not two contrasting tendencies, one towards free labour in the core and another towards bondage in the periphery but one single process with different intensities and gradations.



Maraîchage sous serre, photo, 2014 © LaraHughes.

Panel 909. Transmitting land property and reframing kinship boundaries in wetlands across time

Organiser: Emilie STOLL, CNRS, France

Chair: Luly FISCHER, Universidade Federal do Pará, Brazil

Discussants:

Luly FISCHER, Universidade Federal do Pará, Brazil

Emilie STOLL, CNRS, France

We propose a panel at the interface of History, Law, and Anthropology, to explore how land property transmission, in a long-term perspective, participates in reframing kinship's boundaries. Classical studies in Anthropology and History already showed how land transmission issues call for family's strategies (Bourdieu 1980), ensuing in rivalries between siblings, exclusion from the land (Boudjaaba, Dousset, and Mouysset 2016; Favret-Saada 1977) and redefinition of kinship boundaries (Stoll 2014). In Law, although there is extensive regulation of succession rights in Civil Law and Common Law countries, studies from international agencies, such as Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO 2012) and the World Bank (2012, 2014), indicate that gender and other social factors, influence women and children's inheritance land rights worldwide.

In this panel, we especially focus on land inheritance in wetlands, characterized by permanent changes due to cyclical floods and associated erosion process. In this context, land transmission is challenged not only by kinship redefinition, but also by cyclical natural phenomena which substantially modify the shape of the landscape. In different countries, these flooded areas have received specific land tenure status that copes with these transformations (for example: Marine protected areas in Brazil).

How does transmission of land ownership participate in reframing kinship boundaries in wetlands through time?

We expect to receive concrete examples about how States' lawmakers and local populations deal with the immanent transformation of the land in the perspective of transmission of ownership across generations. We will welcome study cases from European and extra-European countries for comparison.

909.1. Land grants and rivers in the colonial Amazon region

Rafael CHAMBOULEYRON, Universidade Federal do Pará, Brazil

This presentation examines the agricultural frontier in the Portuguese Amazon region, especially in the Amazon River delta, and how it was connected to the occupation of the vast Amazonian hinterland (the sertão). It also analyses data on land grants in order to better understand land tenure and its functioning in colonial Amazonia, as well as the importance of rivers and their diversity for the establishment of an agricultural zone in the Amazon River delta, from the late 17th until the mid-18th century

909.2. Transmission of land rights in wetlands in Buganda kingdom, Uganda

Claire MÉDARD, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, France

Valérie GOLAZ, Institut national d'études démographiques, France

In rural societies which rely on agricultural expansion to settle younger generations, wetlands are often considered as a frontier. Yet, in central Uganda, no area remains unclaimed and wetlands were legally privatised more than a century ago. At the start of the British colonisation, wetlands were included in large estates, legally allocated to Buganda kingdom dignitaries, which were measured, recorded and mapped and centrally managed by the State. They were recently digitized and replaced by a computerised Land Information System. Despite official land registration, overlapping land rights are the rule. Rights to plots on titled land were recognised, creating two categories of land-owners: title-holders and plot-holders. Both can transmit actual land and/or their title to land to their children. Common inheritance rules apply to both. Instead of keeping domains or plots under one official heir, the land is being split between children. Since land was privatised a long time ago, wetlands are being extensively subdivided and allocated to individuals, despite government policies to protect and regulate the use of wetlands. With the increased value of land, wetlands have become a new frontier at the centre of overlapping claims. While some title holders and plot holders are claiming their inheritance in wetlands to sell it, competing strategies have led others to claim wetlands as a group, confronting authorities, for individual gain or/and in the name of future generations.

909.3. Who were landowners (“votchinnik”) on lamal in the first third of the 20th century?

Elena VOLZHANINA, Tyumen scientific center Siberian Branch, Russia

I study landownership in the lamal Peninsula, using the data from lamal Territorial Registration expeditions in the 20th century. By which criteria did the expeditioners determine the patrimonies and the image of the landowner, methods of mapping patrimonies? Large-scale Nenets reindeer herding based on alternation of seasonal pastures played an key role in the formation of land use traditions. By the beginning of the 20th century, patrimonial and *votchina* rights to use land and water were formed. Hunting and fishing grounds were located on the same territory than pastures which were of communal ownership; but summer and winter places of grazing, spring calving and autumn slaughter were divided among separate clans. The roads were used together; clans' possessions were divided into small lots belonging to families. Noticeable violations of traditional land use started at the end of the 1920's. It affected patrimonial landownership, the extent and directions of nomadic routes. The foundation of new trading stations on the peninsula, the organization of new activities (carrying, industrial fishing), collectivization made for a noticeable conscious reduction of seasonal migrations and change meridional direction to latitudinal by Nenetses. The *votchina* was preserved only in the Northern lamal. The question about the insufficient number of pastures in lamal for reindeer herders was raised. The lamal Territorial Registration expeditions were looking for traces of landownership.

909.4. The Brière marsh (marais de la Brière)

Norbert FOULQUIER, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

Frédéric ROLIN, Université Paris XI, Sceaux, France

Since the Middle Ages, the Brière marsh (Marais de la Brière), in France, has been subjected to an original legal regime: it is owned indivisibly by all the households in the communes bordering the marsh. And only these inhabitants have a right of use. Not only does this regime provide an illustration of the management of a common good, but it interests Judicial Anthropology, since the reserve of the use of the marsh to the only inhabitants of the communes bordering, which probably had consequences on the matrimonial unions. It is this hypothesis that our study aims to explore.



Cueillette de l'essaim, L. Liger, *La nouvelle maison rustique...*, Paris, 1749 © BnF.

Panel 910. Reputation, Long-Term Care, and Animal Wellbeing: Health in Rural Europe, 1300-1800

Organiser: Wendy J. TURNER, Augusta University, USA

Chair: Aleksandra PFAU, Hendrix University, USA

Discussant: Stan BOOTH, Winchester University, UK

The period from 1300-1800 saw great change with regard to public health in rural communities, starting with the Black Death and subsequent outbreaks of plague, but quickly including the English Sweat and general issues of sanitation and waste. Medieval and early modern European communities wanted to be clean, organized, and healthy. They began to regulate health matters, including animal sales, butchering, and health care, as well as human sanitation, medicine, drugs, and markets.

In many cases, these changes left any who might be chronically ill or with questionable health (including acne) without a job or with a ruined reputation. Animal husbandry changed – and at times nearly halted to the distress of farmers, butchers, and fishmongers – if there were an outbreak of disease among an animal population. Those most often scrutinized were coroners, bakers, physicians, and apothecaries. In order to avoid such damage to reputations, even farmers began to watch their flocks of sheep or cattle for signs of disease, suddenly aware that their illnesses might affect people or might appear to have caused illness in their consumers.

This panel intends to examine these issues – especially reputation, long-term health care, and animal health issues – using case studies and archival materials to recover these nearly lost elements of rural legal and medical history. A few of the papers look closely at one particular individual, disease, or plague, while other papers stand back, taking a wider lens to focus on these issues.

910.1. Living with Long-Term Pain in Rural Communities

Bianca FROHNE, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Germany

The history of pain is still largely unexplored, especially with regard to the premodern era. This is surprising, given the possibility that suffering from pain could have disabling effects and turn into a lasting impairment for people. This paper examines long-term pain from a disability history perspective. Recent studies have confirmed that in premodern societies, disability affected a majority of the population during various stages of their lives. However, social implications of impairment varied considerably, depending on a multitude of social, cultural, and environmental factors. Based on the environmental model of disability (Turner), this paper focuses on rural communities. Its aim is to examine the ways in which living conditions, including provision of care and/or assistance, work environments, and social communities, shaped the experience of living with pain. Based on a variety of sources from late medieval and early modern Germany, the following questions are approached: What were social and cultural implications of experiencing pain in rural communities, and what strategies were available to cope? How did pain affect life, working conditions, and social reputation?

910.2. “Removed from Office”: Ill 14th-Century Rural Servants of the English Crown

Wendy J. TURNER, Augusta University, USA

In many ways the English king was patron to all people who worked for him, even those who worked for only a short time. While service was expected if someone was called up, deferment or dismissal of a charge of service could be secured so long as the person was ill, in poor health, or otherwise incapacitated and sent someone in his or her stead. Sometimes dismissal though was not expected but based on complaints of poor health or impairment (such as poor eyesight).

Not just those in military service were looked after but also anyone in public service – those serving as coroners, foresters, sheriffs, or in other ways, such as the king’s clerk. The king involved himself and his council with suggestions for retirement locations for those with good or long-standing service with care, room, and board at a hospital or monastery. The king also provided necessary medical supplies, such as honey and wine, to remote outposts of his people. This paper will to examine the individuals’ occupations and subsequent removals or retirements from office, what might have happened to them, and why and how their health conditions were unacceptable for their post.

910.3. Regulating human and animal health in rural Normandy, 1400-1550

Elma BRENNER, Wellcome Collection, London, UK

The fortunes of animals intersected closely with those of humans in late medieval Europe. In a context of anxiety regarding plague, leprosy and other illnesses, it was understood that diseases manifested in cows, pigs, sheep and horses could be transmitted to humans through the consumption of these animals' meat, as well as through the corrupt air that emanated from diseased animals and was breathed in by humans. At the same time, especially in rural settings, animals were a vital source of labour and income, and their health needed to be protected. This paper explores the measures taken with respect to animals and health in the countryside of Normandy, one of the richest agricultural regions of France, between 1400 and 1550. To ensure that diseased meat was not available for public consumption, royal ordinances, such as that issued by the *bailli* of Rouen in 1432 and confirmed by King Charles VIII in 1487, regulated the butchers' trade.

Yet animal substances were also considered vital to human health. A health text printed several times in the late 15th and 16th centuries, the *Traité des eaux artificielles (Treatise of artificial waters)*, included several remedies containing animal ingredients. One printing from Normandy, produced for a Caen bookseller c. 1525–50 is held at Wellcome Collection, London. It includes additional recipes, some of which relate to the health of horses, which underline the many linkages between human and animal health.

910.4. “Strong in Zeal but Impotent in Head”: British responses to the Cattle Plague of 1746

Chris MOUNSEY, University of Winchester, UK

“Strong in Zeal but impotent in Head”: wrote James Burton, a prisoner in York gaol, trying to come to terms with his landlord's intransigence over his rent and his imprisonment for debt after his cattle died in the plague. He blamed the cattle plague on the spread of Roman Catholicism and failure of the Church of England to stamp out Methodism.

Not all responses to the cattle plague were as ill-thought out as Burton's, but they might all be classed as Burton suggested. Publications by the church, scientists and government, all enthusiastically addressed the difficult situation but with no coherent plan. The Church of England produced special prayers, but sermons by its preachers blamed the plague on parishioners' sins. Scientists brought the new technique of empiricism to bear, but the cures they offered were found in animal medicine books and herbals that were often hundreds of years old. The government passed six statutes during the plague. Government opposition was loud and clear in political pamphlets. This work argues that during the plague, those who might be thought to lead responded to the crisis, but only to use it for their own advantage.

910.5. “Be damn'd or go to the Devil”: Marriage, Incarceration and the Illness of Ann Wainhouse

Carolyn DAY, Furman University, USA

Roy Porter's ground-breaking challenge to historians of medicine to interrogate the patient's view crucially changed the physician-centered approach to the illness experience. Porter's assertion that “medical events frequently have complex social rituals involving community and family” is an essential point. These accounts need to be interrogated with an eye to cultural and social trends. The illness and death of Anne Wainhouse from consumption (tuberculosis) in 1771, has only one surviving narrative: her husband's. Rather than a retelling of the dying of a beloved spouse, this narrative is a carefully crafted piece of rhetoric that not only details the believed causes and treatment of consumption, but also utilizes popular understandings of the disease to cast blame. Complex social ideas are an important component of any illness narrative; however, the Wainhouse narrative, circulated in manuscript form, provides an opportunity to interrogate an aspect of the disease experience often neglected: use of illness narratives. Steeped in gender and family dynamics, it focuses on the role of emotions and personal environment in triggering consumption.

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Faucheuse et moissonneuse La Française, 31 prix en 1876, affiche de Jules Chéret, 1876 (Paris, BnF) © BnF.

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>1001.</p> <p>The introduction of colonial products (coffee, chocolate, sugar, tea, tobacco) in the European countryside. A “consumer revolution”? – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: G�rard B�aur, Rosa Congost Chair: Rosa Congost</p>	<p>1001.1.</p> <p>New patterns of food consumption and social changes. Colonial products in the postmortem inventories of Meaux and of its countryside (1600-1790)</p> <p>G�rard B�aur</p>	<p>1001.2.</p> <p>The spread of the consumption of colonial groceries in Northwestern Germany during 18th and 19th centuries</p> <p>Christine Fertig, Henning Bovenkerk</p>	<p>1001.3.</p> <p>Retailers and the Diffusion of Groceries in the Countryside. Southern Lorraine, ca. 1720-ca. 1790</p> <p>Julien Villain</p>	<p>1001.4.</p> <p>Introduction of colonial products in the French countryside. Coffee in Picardy, 18th century</p> <p>Herv� Bennezon</p>		<p>PANEL 1001</p> <p>Room AS1_01</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>1002.</p> <p>The Healthy Countryside? Perceptions, Experiences and Representations of Health, Healthcare and Illness, 1750-2019 – Part 1</p> <p>Organiser: Sarah Holland Chair: Nicola Verdon</p>	<p>1002.1.</p> <p>The Healthy Countryside? Farming, ‘Madness’ and the English countryside, 1850-1914</p> <p>Sarah Holland</p>	<p>1002.2</p> <p>Is a Healthy Countryside a Therapeutic landscape?</p> <p>Vitalija Petri</p>	<p>1002.3.</p> <p>“Deaf to the Voice of Humanity”: Scandal and Suffering of the Rural Poor in the final decades of the old poor laws</p> <p>Samantha Shave</p>			<p>PANEL 1002</p> <p>Room 2</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>1003.</p> <p>The scientisation and medicalisation of livestock agriculture: New perspectives on, and approaches to health, breeding and production post-1945” – Part 1</p> <p>Organiser: Karen Sayer Chair: Carin Martiin</p>	<p>1003.1.</p> <p>Communication and the Science of Animal Husbandry in the post-War English countryside</p> <p>Karen Sayer</p>	<p>1003.2.</p> <p>Feeding factory farms: The science of feeding animals in industrial farms in the Netherlands (1946-1970)</p> <p>Floor Haalboom</p>	<p>1003.3.</p> <p>The farm visit: From whose perspective? Using existing oral history sources together with new interviews to explore the dynamic between veterinary surgeons and livestock keepers on the farm</p> <p>Sue Bradley</p>			<p>PANEL 1003</p> <p>Room BS1_05</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>1004.</p> <p>From Contestation to Incorporation? Global and Comparative Perspectives on the Organic Farming Movement (20th-21st centuries) – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Delphine Thivet, Beno�t Leroux Chair: Nathalie Jas</p>	<p>1004.1.</p> <p>Agrarian elites in favour of “soil living fertility”: Bringing the birth of the French organic farming movement out of the margins (France, 1950s)</p> <p>C�line Pessis</p>	<p>1004.2.</p> <p>Organic Farming as a Failed Moral Crusade: Raoul Lemaire and Farming as a Way of Life</p> <p>Fr�d�ric Nicolas</p>	<p>1004.3.</p> <p>Depoliticisation and commodification of French organic farming, 1980-2010</p> <p>Beno�t Leroux</p>	<p>1004.4.</p> <p>Institutionalization path of organic agriculture in Uganda and Benin: From a social and economic project towards a political project</p> <p>Pauline Bendjebbar</p>		<p>PANEL 1004</p> <p>Room AS1_17</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>1005.</p> <p>Female strategies in transforming rural regions of Europe from the 1960s to 1990s – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Maria Hetzer, Leonore Scholze-Irlitz, Zsuzsanna Varga Chair: Leonore Scholze-Irlitz</p>	<p>1005.1.</p> <p>Rural girlhood in the making. History, belonging and the changing rural youth in Finland</p> <p>Kaisa Vehkalahti, Helena Pennanen</p>	<p>1005.2.</p> <p>Women’s reflections on daily life during Soviet time: 1970’s and 1980’s in rural Latvia</p> <p>Dina Bite</p>	<p>1005.3.</p> <p>Economic emergencies: Women’s work to save rural food production, the State and themselves (1960s to 1990s) GDR</p> <p>Maria Hetzer</p>	<p>1005.4.</p> <p>Females as agents of the social decompartmentalization of agriculture. A singular appropriation of modernization tools within women’s agricultural extension groups (1960-1990)</p> <p>Cl�mentine Comer</p>		<p>PANEL 1005</p> <p>Room AS1_33</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
<p>1006.</p> <p>Organized capitalism within agriculture: Agricultural associations and state intervention in the European agriculture, 1880s-1930s – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Jordi Planas, Anton Schuurman, Chair: Jordi Planas</p>	<p>1006.1</p> <p>Agriculture and organized capitalism</p> <p>Anton Schuurman</p>	<p>1006.2</p> <p>Crises and organized capitalism. Livestock improvement and knowledge networks in Belgium after the Great War</p> <p>Dries Claeys, Yves Segers</p>	<p>1006.3</p> <p>Agricultural associations and public intervention in the Romagna region during the late 19th-century crisis</p> <p>Omar Mazzotti</p>	<p>1006.4</p> <p>The regional associativism: From the commercial companies to the agricultural unions in the Douro Demarcated Region (1865-1932)</p> <p>Carla Sequeira</p>		<p>PANEL 1006</p> <p>Amphitheatre</p> <p>François Furet</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>1007.</p> <p>Ethnographing Labour in Large-Scale Agriculture. Renewed Social Histories, between Work, Migration and Daily Lives – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Guillaume Vadot, Gaspard Matton Chair: Stéphanie Barral</p>	<p>1007.1.</p> <p>The Professional Group of Agricultural Supervisors. Invisible Agents, or Collective in Construction?</p> <p>Loïc Mazenc</p>	<p>1007.2.</p> <p>Choosing Migrants to Pick Fruits. The Multiplication of Migrant Status in French Agriculture Workforce.</p> <p>Lucio Castracani</p>	<p>1007.3.</p> <p>Estate Enclaves No More. Everyday Life Practices of Plantation Workers and their Spatial and Political Consequences.</p> <p>Oliver Pye</p>	<p>1007.4.</p> <p>A Wage that Changes your Life. Trajectories, Arrangements and Aspirations among the Cameroonian Plantation Workers</p> <p>Guillaume Vadot</p>		<p>PANEL 1007</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_15</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>1008.</p> <p>Alpine vernacular Architecture and the so-called pastoral revolution – Part 1</p> <p>Organisers: Emmanuel Désveaux, Luigi Lorenzetti, Chair: Laurent Herment</p>	<p>1008.1.</p> <p>Mountain Transhumance, Sustainable Development between Man, Architecture and Economy</p> <p>Borut Juvanec</p>	<p>1008.2.</p> <p>Agro-pastoral economy, settlement patterns and labour organisation in the central Alps, 16th-19th centuries</p> <p>Luigi Lorenzetti</p>	<p>1008.3.</p> <p>The Lévi-Straussian transformational essence of Alpine vernacular architecture</p> <p>Emmanuel Désveaux</p>	<p>1008.4.</p> <p>The renewal of the parish church of the Savoy valleys in the 17th century</p> <p>Denis Cerclat</p>		<p>PANEL 1008</p> <p>Room</p> <p>AS1_9</p> <p>54 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>1009.</p> <p>Material culture of medieval countryside. Clothing at the village, 13th-15th centuries</p> <p>Organiser: Mickaël Wilmart Chair: Francine Michaud</p>	<p>1009.1.</p> <p>Peasant clothing in medieval iconography</p> <p>Perrine Mane</p>	<p>1009.2.</p> <p>Peasants' dresses. Clothes in post-mortem inventories of the Valencian countryside (13th-15th centuries)</p> <p>Juan Vicente García Marsilla</p>	<p>1009.3.</p> <p>Trousseaus as an indicator of cloth consumption in the medieval countryside (Catalonia, 1230-1330)</p> <p>Lluís To Figueras</p>	<p>1009.4.</p> <p>Cloth production and consumption in rural Southern France (13th-15th centuries)</p> <p>Mickaël Wilmart</p>		<p>PANEL 1009</p> <p>Room 8</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>
<p>1010.</p> <p>Preserved food in the 19th-21st centuries. Consumption, production, supply chains</p> <p>Organisers: Claudio Besana, Sílvia A. Conca Messina, Hildete de Moraes Vodopives, Andrea M. Locatelli Chair: Sílvia A. Conca Messina</p>	<p>1010.1.</p> <p>The Italian canning industry: Production, markets, consumption from the origins to the 1970s</p> <p>Claudio Besana, Sílvia Conca Messina, Rita D'Errico</p>	<p>1010.2.</p> <p>French internationalization in an era of food conservation: Danone's strategy strongly based on innovation</p> <p>Hildete De Moraes Vodopives, Dominique Barjot</p>	<p>1010.3.</p> <p>Milk, cheese and business' style (Russia in 19th century)</p> <p>Viacheslav Valentinovich Rudnev</p>			<p>PANEL 1010</p> <p>Room 7</p> <p>105 Bd. Raspail</p>

Panel 1001. The introduction of colonial products (coffee, chocolate, sugar, tea, tobacco) in the European countryside. A “consumer revolution“? – Part 1

Organisers:

G rard B AUR, CNRS and EHESS, France

Rosa CONGOST, Universitat de Girona, Spain

Chair: Rosa CONGOST, Universitat de Girona, Spain

Discussant: Anne-Lise HEAD-K NIG, Universit  de Gen ve, Switzerland

It is increasingly common to argue that the 18th century would have experienced a “consumer revolution”. This change would have resulted in a rise in the standard of living and in new consumption patterns that would have transformed the countryside. We have a lot of statistical evidence or qualitative sources attesting to the emergence of a number of novelties in the level of comfort, and to look for or to display a better way of life.

In this respect, the arrival of new colonial products such as coffee, tea, sugar, chocolate or tobacco has certainly been able to upset new social practices. This assumption is undoubtedly true and the consumption of such material goods occurred probably earlier in the cities, at least in the upper classes. But what about the countryside? To what extent had these new products, still classified as luxury goods, been introduced into peasant interiors? Which regional differences, which social gaps can emerge through the different choices of this type of consumption? To what extent was the adoption of each of these products concomitant or unrelated according to the different time periods? Can it be supposed that there were huge inequalities according to the access facilities offered by port sites or the proximity of inland waterways, or not? In what way did the development of these modes of consumption reveal a linear process and in what way, on the contrary, is it possible to identify global or selective inflections according to products or circuits?

Were there really more receptive areas and were there other areas slower to turn to these products? Did an industrious revolution occur in the countries all along the North Sea and only there? Or not at all? What about the influence of the French Revolution and of the French wars? Was the movement subject to other constraints that could have reshuffled the cards, changed the geography of practices and opened the way to redistributions in the choice of consumers? To all these questions, this session would like to bring some answers by case studies within rural societies that would allow to spatialize as well as to look for a chronology, to identify concordances, breakages, and shifts by a comparative approach engaged in the European area during two and a half centuries running from 1600 to 1850.

1001.1. New patterns of food consumption and social changes. Colonial products in the post-mortem inventories of Meaux and of its countryside (1600-1790)

G rard B AUR, CNRS-EHESS, France

To what extent have patterns of consumption changed in the countryside and in the towns in the long run? To what extent did they reflect a change of the living standards of people and did they reveal an increase or a decrease of social inequalities? It is not easy to answer to this question for Ancien R gime societies. Post-mortem inventories can however provide some indirect indicators that bore witness for the introduction of a lot of new products which anyway could not be produced on the farm or in the shop nor sold but only bought on the market. The post-mortem inventories of the Brie, around the region of Meaux, and of the small city itself, make it possible to determine over two centuries, from 1600 to 1790, the degree of diffusion of some luxury products: coffee, chocolate, tea, sugar, tobacco, even spices. They allow us to identify the importance and speed of such changes in consumption practices, and thus to measure their link with the change of social inequalities, to conclude if they were producing more or less inequalities among the households.

1001.2. The spread of the consumption of colonial groceries in Northwestern Germany during 18th and 19th centuries

Christine FERTIG and Henning BOVENKERK, Universität Münster, Germany

Over the course of 18th century, the import of colonial products, as coffee, sugar and many other exotic products, experienced considerable increase in Northwestern Germany. Relatively little is known so far about the penetration of these goods into different regions, markets and households. The paper aims at contributing to this research field, analysing probate inventories of rural households in Northwestern Germany in 18th and early 19th centuries. We will study several places, comparing mainly agricultural with protoindustrial regions, areas with larger and smaller distance to urban places on one hand and to the nearby Netherlands on the other hand. The occurrence of colonial products in premodern households required acquisition of new objects, suitable for storage, preparation and pleasure of these new goods. We have found those objects in 19th century inventories, but the timing and geography of diffusion into rural society lie yet in the dark. The paper will give first results from a larger project, studying the onset and development of consumer revolution in Northwestern Germany.

1001.3. Retailers and the Diffusion of Groceries in the Countryside. Southern Lorraine, ca. 1720-ca. 1790

Julien VILLAIN, Université d'Evry-Val d'Essonne and Paris-Saclay, France

The paper aims at studying the supply and the diffusion in the countryside of some groceries seen as typical of the so-called "consumer revolution". For this purpose, we use retailers' business papers, which provide insights on the types and the volumes of groceries country people purchased. Our study focuses on 18th-Century Southern Lorraine, when it was experiencing a long era of economic growth. Lorraine was widely open to interregional traffic thanks to its commercial privileges. Custom statistics reveal a high level of grocery consumption there.

Comparing urban and rural shopkeepers' inventories suggests that sugar and coffee could be found everywhere, and that for those products the same qualities were available in towns and villages. The same can be said of tobacco, provided by specialized sellers under the supervision of the Ferme Générale. On the contrary, some products such as tea or chocolate were exclusively sold in urban shops. Is that the sign of differing consumption habits between towns and country?

Some rural consumers could actually buy groceries in cities or market towns, where offer was wider than in the countryside. Judging by urban grocers' business records, it seems that consumption patterns were quite uniform at a regional scale: their rural clients purchased more or less the same quantity of groceries as urban clients from equivalent social backgrounds. However, the number of rural consumers may have been relatively small in comparison with towns.

1001.4. Introduction of colonial products in the French countryside. Coffee in Picardy, 18th century

Hervé BENNEZON, Université de Paris XIII-Villetaneuse, France

Coffee in the French countryside during the 18th century? It was so surprising to discover in the Department of Somme that very poor laborers possessed two coffeepots. We might imagine that peasants who were born during the Régence (1715-1723) were more sensitive to alcohol than to the aroma of the coffee. Indeed, the growth of this kind of consumption among the people of the countryside in Picardy is still underestimated. New research in the archives provides a lot of indicators: coffeepots, sugar, cups in earthenware, as well as licorice, glasses, books...

There were in fact very frequent travels between Picardy and Paris (or Versailles), particularly King Louis XV' soldiers and grooms of the diligence, hotel owners... The assumption about a close world, in this openfield, so far from any big city, even farthest from seaports, was truly challenged. So, like the countrymen and women of the villages near Paris at the same time, the Picards were not afraid of the innovation and nothing suited better for friendly discussion and social life than coffee.

To identify global or selective changes according to products or circuits, we have to understand the way taken by novelties, between the reign of King Louis XV and the French Revolution to take into account the influence of the Enlightenment.

Panel 1002. The Healthy Countryside? Perceptions, Experiences and Representations of Health, Healthcare and Illness, 1750-2019 – Part 1

Organiser: Sarah HOLLAND, University of Nottingham, UK

Chair: Nicola VERDON, Sheffield Hallam University, UK

Discussant: Nicola VERDON, Sheffield Hallam University, UK

The countryside has long had a reputation for being a healthy space with health-giving properties, and in the eyes of many constituted a rural idyll. In spite of extensive research that has challenged this notion, illuminating living and working experiences, there are still important aspects of this topic that require further examination. This panel explores comparative experiences of rural health, and different approaches to health in the countryside, from the mid 18th century to the 21st century. This includes case studies of poverty and welfare, “madness” and mental health, therapeutic landscapes, representations of rural health in museums and at heritage sites, public health care, and the impact of “modernization” or “repressive” policies.

The first session of this double panel explores the experience of and evidence for “madness” in the English countryside, poverty and welfare in the final decades of the old poor laws, and ‘therapeutic’ landscapes.

The second session explores the Museum of English Rural Life’s role in recording, researching and deepening understanding of health and illness in rural England, the construction of a ‘healthy heritage’, the impact of modernizing and repressive regimes on health in the Hungarian countryside, and public health care in the Polish People’s Republic.

1002.1. The Healthy Countryside? Farming, “Madness” and the English countryside, 1850-1914

Sarah HOLLAND, University of Nottingham, UK

The English countryside has long had a reputation for being a healthy space with health-giving properties, and in the eyes of many constituted a rural idyll. This perception was largely constructed within the urban sphere, which juxtaposed the urban with the rural. The reality of rural England was far more varied and nuanced. Alongside the idyllic vision of picturesque cottages and village greens, were rural slums and under-employment of agricultural workers. Whilst there has been extensive research on living and working conditions in the countryside that challenge the notion of a rural idyll, little consideration has been given to mental ill health in this environment. This paper examines the relationship between farming and “madness” (mental illness is generally concerned to be a modern term and was referred to as madness, lunacy and insanity during the period of study) in England between 1850 and 1914. It focuses on case studies of suicide and admission to asylums and hospitals amongst farmers and farm workers, and particularly those that identify occupational triggers. It also considers how such instances in a space commonly associated with health were understood, and reactions to them. Based on original research the paper draws primarily on the analysis of asylum and hospital records, newspapers and the farming press. The paper’s chronological framework is positioned within the wider context of the research project from which it is derived.

1002.2. Is a Healthy Countryside a Therapeutic landscape?

Vitalija PETRI, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

Health is increasingly understood in a broader way: not simply the absence of disease, but as a total state of physical, mental and social well-being. Nature can play a crucial role for health restoration and disease prevention processes. Urban inhabitants seek healthy rural retreats, while rural inhabitants experience loneliness and isolation. Nature connection meets our most fundamental psychological needs and can play a very important role in building human resilience, which results in connection with oneself, nature and the larger community. Our study showed that producing therapeutic landscapes becomes possible when using nature based interventions and nature therapies as efficient practices associated with human health and healing which efficacy have been proven scientifically for green exercise, ecotherapy, wilderness therapy or forest therapy. Nature based solutions for health and well-being can produce supportive nature and social spaces that are experienced as restorative places for human health. Significant impacts of connectedness with nature, one-self and social interactions transform the countryside into a therapeutic landscape with numerous benefits for human health. Aesthetic qualities and social networks offering a sense of security and inclusion play a key role in every day spaces through the transformative power to make countryside spaces into therapeutic landscapes.

1002.3. “Deaf to the Voice of Humanity”: Scandal and Suffering of the Rural Poor in the final decades of the old poor laws

Samantha SHAVE, University of Lincoln, UK

It is widely held by welfare historians that the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act legitimised a culture of abuse towards the poor. Scandals deriving from the statutory welfare systems prior to 1834 have, though, been absent from the literature. This paper seeks to redress this balance with a detailed examination of one late-18th century scandal originating in a rural parish near Salisbury, Wiltshire. In Damerham, several women were given no clothing and slept directly on hard wooden floors, and the money and food meant to maintain their health was siphoned off by parish nurses. The case reached widespread attention due to the endeavours of a local curate who wrote and published his detailed observations in a pamphlet in 1796. With funding from the Marc Fitch Fund, this paper pieces together the life of this scandal – both its causes and escalation. It examines the micro-politics surrounding the scandal, noting the roles and interactions of the poor, the poor law overseers, magistrates, reverends and curates. It also examines the nature of old poor law scandals in rural locations. The increasing cost of poor relief during economic downturn in the final decades of the old poor laws also legitimised a more restrictive welfare system, especially in southern agricultural England where under- and unemployment was widespread. This, it is argued, combined with the trend for early deterrent workhouses, fostered a culture of abuse towards the poor not dissimilar to that after 1834.



*Équipe de soldats employés au battage du blé dans une ferme de Davenescourt, photo, 2 janvier 1917
(Albums Valois, Bibliothèque de Documentation internationale contemporaine) © BDIC.*

Panel 1003. The scientisation and medicalisation of livestock agriculture: New perspectives on, and approaches to health, breeding and production post-1945 – Part 1

Organiser: Karen SAYER, Leeds Trinity University, UK

Chair: Carin MARTIN, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Discussant: Carin MARTIN, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

These two panels will interrogate the roles of science, medicine and technology in modernising livestock production after the Second World War. They will integrate methodological considerations of how to investigate this problem with case studies from different national perspectives, which explore the processes through which production practices were transformed with the aid of new technologies and scientific and veterinary advice. They will consider the various tools and practices that were mobilized to produce as much food from livestock as possible. These include: innovations in housing, feeding and stockmanship; new reproductive technologies; antimicrobials and other drugs such as hormones and vaccines; health surveillance and biosecurity; animal food science; record keeping and agricultural accounting. Papers will examine the various experts that were involved in developing these innovations and encouraging farmers to adopt them. The two panels posit that it is important to develop a broad perspective on how the knowledges and practices of modern livestock farming were produced, circulated and evaluated, and how expertise was negotiated. Directing attention to such materials as informational films, specialist farming journals, advertising, advisory literature produced by government and the unique value of oral histories, speakers will discuss how, by working with scholars from other disciplines it is possible not only to enhance historical understandings, but also to inform present-day approaches to livestock health and production. The first panel will focus on the range of methods and sources available to rural and agricultural historians working on the 20th century; the second panel will focus on case studies framed by livestock disease and veterinary medicine.

1003.1. Communication and the Science of Animal Husbandry in the post-War English countryside

Karen SAYER, Leeds Trinity University, UK

This paper will explore the use of information films as a channel of communication between state, marketeers, and animal health professionals, when seeking to pass on advice to farmers and farming communities in Britain 1945-1965. Using examples focusing on new techniques of livestock husbandry, the paper will address the ways in which films can provide the rural historian with new forms of evidence to compliment sources such as the specialist press, policy, commentary and advisory literature, and seems to have been especially powerful when linked to the emerging 'modernity' of new policy directives on the farm and in rural communities. Inspired by the developing inter-disciplinary fields of animal history, environmental history, the history of science as well as agricultural and rural history, the paper will consider in particular new historical sources and approaches for studying animal health, welfare and disease, and how it can add to both historical and contemporary understandings of them.

1003.2. Feeding factory farms: The science of feeding animals in industrial farms in the Netherlands (1946-1970)

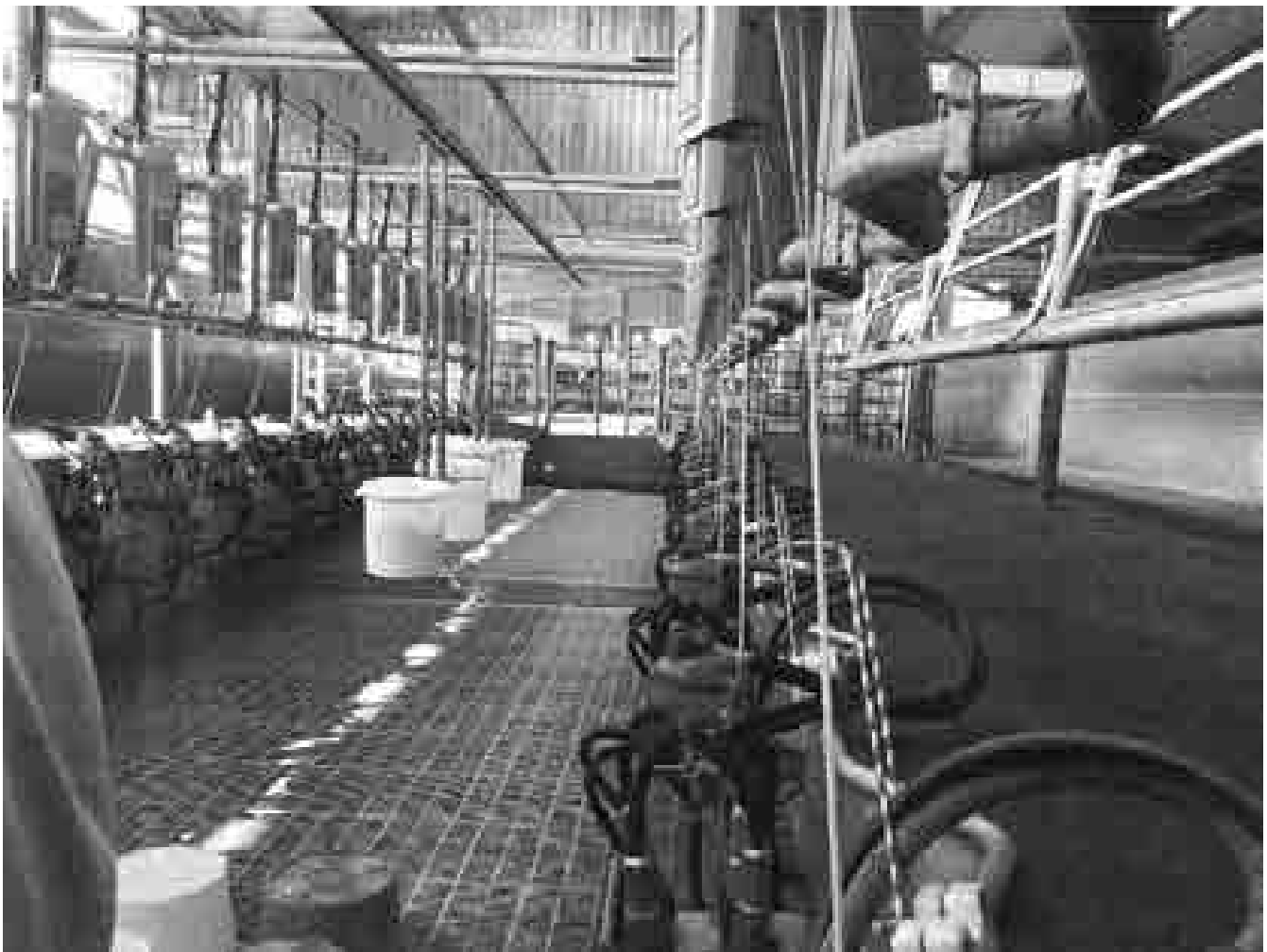
Floor HAALBOOM, Erasmus University Medical Center and Utrecht University, the Netherlands

The aim of this paper is to show the crucial importance of livestock feed as a scientific technology in intensive livestock farming in the second half of the 20th century. Historians have neglected the modern history of this feed. Yet, it contributed just as much to the rise of industrial agriculture as chemical fertilizers, pesticides, mechanization and new breeds of plants and animals did. To reach this aim, this paper focuses on feed experts in one small country with a particularly intensive industrial livestock sector and a large feed industry: the Netherlands. This paper investigates the role of animal nutrition experts in creating and evaluating these compound feeds in different settings: companies, cooperative institutions, universities and state institutions. Moreover, it studies how feed experts competed with veterinarians in providing farmers and agricultural authorities with advice on keeping livestock in new and challenging industrial environments. I use sources created by these different groups of experts and the feed industry. The paper focuses on the post-war period in which the use of compound feed increased dramatically: between 1946 and 1970.

1003.3. The farm visit: From whose perspective? Using existing oral history sources together with new interviews to explore the dynamic between veterinary surgeons and livestock keepers on the farm

Sue BRADLEY, Newcastle University, UK

A Wellcome Trust funded project, FIELD (Field-level Interdisciplinary approaches to Endemic Livestock Disease) has an oral history strand, which aims to contribute insights into the management of sheep and cattle on UK farms since the 1940s. It will record a new collection of interviews with livestock keepers in northern England, which will eventually be deposited with the Museum of English Rural Life. It will also draw on oral histories already held in regional and national archives. This paper will consider the challenges and benefits of using these existing sources in combination with new ones recorded for FIELD, taking 'the farm visit' as a specific example. I will compare previously-recorded accounts from veterinary surgeons with accounts by farmers recorded for FIELD. What can be learned by comparing their different perspectives? And what does this imply for the management of endemic livestock disease?



Salle de traite avec plancher de hauteur réglable dans une ferme de production laitière de l'Aube, 2019 © Nadine Vivier.

Panel 1004. From Contestation to Incorporation? Global and Comparative Perspectives on the Organic Farming Movement (20th-21st centuries) – Part 1

Organisers:

Delphine THIVET, Université de Bordeaux, France

Benoît LEROUX, Université de Poitiers, France

Chair: Nathalie JAS, Institut national de la recherche agronomique, France

Discussant: Margot LYAUTEY, EHESS, France

This panel aims to explore the tensions within the organic farming movement in a historical perspective. Its main objective is to contextualize the birth, development, institutionalization of sustainable agriculture in time and space. As a concept, organic agriculture is often said to have begun in the early part of the 20th century as a reaction to rapidly changing farming practices and the “modernization” of agriculture. The pioneers of the early organic movement were indeed motivated by a will to reverse the environmental and social issues associated with agriculture. In this respect, they embraced a holistic approach to agriculture and promoted agricultural practices in balance with the natural environment. While the organic movement represented at its beginnings a form of social resistance to and a critique of conventional industrial and productivist forms of agriculture, occurring at the periphery of dominant agriculture and food systems, its gradual intertwining with the State and the market has raised questions about its “conventionalisation”, coinciding with the emergence of so-called “green capitalism”. The purpose of this panel is to initiate a conversation among participants on these tensions and the ways they structure the field of organic farming in different national contexts. Bringing together different national histories of the organic movement will help to further our understanding of its socio-economic, political, and spatial dynamics. Connecting national histories with global history will also contribute to “deprovincialize” them and to acknowledge the differing trajectories of agro-ecologisation of practices in multiple regions and time periods. The history of organic farming movement will be studied from a variety of disciplinary approaches and will be traced through published and un-published historic sources, national/regional legislation and regulations, farmers unions and environmental associations archives, etc. This panel welcomes historical case studies on the organic farming movement drawn from all periods and places and invites that address anyone or more of the following topics: exploring the social space of the organic farming movement in historical perspective; analyzing the politics of organic farming; connecting the local with the global; discussing the emergence of “conventionalisation phenomena”.

1004.1. Agrarian elites in favour of “soil living fertility”: Bringing the birth of the French organic farming movement out of the margins (France, 1950s)

Céline PESSIS, Laboratoire Interdisciplinaire Sciences Innovations Sociétés, France

The beginnings of organic farming are often described as the work of small and singular dissenting movements. It has been accounted for in terms of “innovation at the margin” and radical, criticism of the dominant model of agricultural modernization. Nevertheless, it seems much less appropriate to explain its birth during the 1950s. This paper is based on the study of actors, networks and arenas largely neglected by historian investigation (professional association, commission, and surveys conducted by institutions). It shows that the first knowledge, practices and networks making as “organic” farming claim indeed resulted from concerns and engagements of recognised scientists and active members of the agricultural profession. And it emerged in formal debates linked to public policy issues, especially concerning soil fertility maintenance. I explore alternative ways for agricultural intensification, that came to be disqualified et redefined as marginal, and I document widely spread warnings about soils’ future. This sheds light on the 1950s as a pivotal period of opening of socio-technical choices and of their locking-out. By incorporating environmental history and history of science and technology perspective to agricultural history, my work tends to conceptualize “agricultural modernization” as a selection of certain knowledge, certain practices and certain farmers, while producing ignorance on certain phenomena and processes.

1004.2. Organic Farming as a Failed Moral Crusade: Raoul Lemaire and Farming as a Way of Life

Frédéric NICOLAS, Institut national de la recherche agronomique, France

By focusing on the period before the institutionalization and/or conventionalization of organic farming (1945-1980), and especially on Raoul Lemaire, I would like to discuss the ambivalence of making organic farming a moral crusade as much as a way of life. A close look at Raoul Lemaire's personal and professional archives tells us that organic farming is not only about producing food without chemical inputs. It is also about seeing farming as a way of life. As such, it was, and still is, bound to be an object of contention, from the right side of the political spectrum to its left side. Raoul Lemaire was leaning towards the far-right of the political spectrum and the fact that he failed his moral crusade, because he failed to acknowledge the new division of labor that was put into place in farming after the Second World War in France. His broad correspondence shows that he was not socially and historically adjusted to professionalized agriculture. Hence, making organic farming a moral crusade and leading this moral crusade on the moral, political and religious field, even though a professionalized representation of the farmers was put into place with the consent of the State, lead him to fail in his endeavor to make organic farming recognized. My paper thus sheds a new light on the background of the institutionalization and conventionalization processes that took place from the 1980s onwards, the condition for organic farming to be recognized being its depoliticisation.

1004.3. Depoliticisation and commodification of French organic farming, 1980-2010

Benoît LEROUX, Université de Poitiers, France

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the development of organic farming in France on the light of the processes that allowed its inclusion in the mainstream agricultural economy. It will focus on the context of regulatory institutionalisation of organic farming in France (1980) and Europe (2010). However, it is necessary to go back, first, over the founding principles of organic farming. These principles can be summarized by a dual dynamic of contestation and proposition that characterised the various emerging forms of organic farming. On the one hand, the dynamic of contestation confronts mainstream agricultural economy through political actions and discourses. On the other hand, the dynamic of proposition is characterised by a set of ecological, environmental, social and localised agricultural practices, as well as a set of socio-economic alternatives that could be described as "*transverse approaches*". Together and pushed to their limits, these two dynamics could lead to a new agricultural paradigm, i.e. an alternative model to the productivity-driven farming dominant during the last decades. We will try to show how the depoliticisation at various scales of organic farming's alternative agricultural project makes its conventionalisation possible. We will explore how organic farming occupies a dominated position in the field of agricultural economy and how social structures weigh on the different parties involved.

1004.4. Institutionalization path of organic agriculture in Uganda and Benin: From a social and economic project towards a political project

Pauline BENDJEBBAR, Université Paris-Est, France

In Europe, organic agriculture was developed first by consumers and producers' movements opposed to the industrialization of agriculture, and only after through a massive market's development. On the African continent, its development trajectory seems inverted. It appears that at the end of the 1980s it developed first through exports markets as an answer to western countries demand for tropical organic products. This communication will describes this development trajectory as the result of the diffusion of agricultural practices and market regulations procedures by non-state actors such as NGOs, consultants, firms, aid agencies and international organizations. It insists as well on the fact that the analysis should not hide other important aspects such as the characteristics and origins of active group in promoting other types of organic agriculture at the local level, other types of organic agriculture already in place before the arrival of certified export projects, or the political, economical as well as agricultural context of each countries studied as they have participated and influenced its development trajectory. This paper will apprehend the institutionalization of organic agriculture in Uganda and Benin, not strictly as a public recognition, but as a gradual process of stabilization of different dimensions such as agronomical and technical aspects, identity and socio-economical aspects through several existing forms observed on the field.

Panel 1005. Female strategies in transforming rural regions of Europe from the 1960s to 1990s – Part 1

Organisers:

Maria HETZER, Universität Siegen, Germany

Leonore SCHOLZE-IRRLITZ, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

Zsuzsanna VARGA, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

Chair: Leonore SCHOLZE-IRRLITZ, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

Discussant: Nigel SWAIN, University of Liverpool, UK

Every October, the International Day for Rural Women is celebrated. This UN initiative aims to draw attention to the key role women play in rural food production. At the last EURHO conference, we organised a panel on the changing roles of rural women in the second half of the 20th century. The presentations concentrated on former socialist countries marked by collectivization in the 1950s and decollectivisation, that is privatisation, in the 1990s, both of which caused a radical restructuring of rural work and life.

At EURHO 2019, we continue work on this topic, however with contributions that evaluate the situation of women in transforming rural regions of European countries *beyond an East-West divide*. In the second half of the 20th century, growing industrialisation and market-centred production stimulated fundamental changes in northern and southern European agricultural production patterns and family-based agriculture. The transformation of the traditional peasantry within the European Economic Area (EEA) necessarily followed a different path than in Soviet-dominated European countries. Nevertheless we can identify similar, if not identical challenges which rural women faced. In this panel, we explore the strategies of women for coping with the changes beyond an East-West divide.

1005.1. Rural girlhood in the making. History, belonging and the changing rural youth in Finland

Kaisa VEKALAHTI and Helena PENNANEN, Oulu University, Finland

The presentation focuses on one of the most profound yet overlooked historical changes that Finland has encountered during the last century: the drastic transition from a predominantly agrarian society into an urban society. Demographic, economic and social changes are well documented, but little attention has been paid to the experiences of young people, who have been – and continue to be – in the eye of the turmoil.

This presentation will introduce preliminary findings of the project Northern Rural Youth in Flux (NorFlux). The project regenerates methodologies of history and youth studies in order to track the legacy of rural roots from World War II up until the present. How is rural history such as long-continued depopulation of rural villages present in the lives of rural young people of today?

We analyse the role of rural roots, belonging and intergenerationality in the lives of Finnish rural girls from two scarcely populated regions in Central Finland and northern Finnish Sámi homeland. How do local histories, the histories of the families and models for rural femininity affect the ways that girls see their present life and their future?

The presentation is based on in-depth interviews with girls in the transition phase from compulsory school to upper secondary level (2016–2019). The project presents sociologically informed cultural history, combining historical approaches (oral history, life-course studies) with qualitative longitudinal youth and gender studies.

1005.2. Women's reflections on daily life during Soviet time: 1970's and 1980's in rural Latvia

Dina BITE, Latvia University of Life Sciences and Technologies (former Latvia University of Agriculture), Latvia

Strong political regime and command economics were the cornerstones of social order in Latvia and other countries of former Soviet Union. Latvian people suffered from repressions and poverty. They experienced difficulties meeting their basic needs and it required the development of flexible and sensible social and economic practices. Corruption is seen as a classical way of surviving during Soviet times; however, people also developed the skills of cooperation and mutual help.

Research methods include the ethnographic analysis of history of author's family, i.e. personal letters sent by different relatives living in rural and urban territories in Soviet Latvia during 1970's and 1980's. The analysis covers more than 200 letters searching for the description of their authors' daily life practices and expressed attitude towards the situation.

Reflections on daily life are the main topic of letters analysed, describing activities, news concerning their daily life, simple cases and plans. Philosophical issues or general assessments are rarely touched. The letters also reveal different strategies to cope with economic circumstances. The dominant attitude is taking things as they are, e.g. mother-in-law plans to visit her son's family before spring flooding because buses will not operate on rural roads then. There are no complaints or seeking to blame someone; instead, we find sensible and practical approaches to confront the challenges.

1005.3. Economic emergencies: Women's work to save rural food production, the State and themselves (1960s to 1990s) GDR

Maria HETZER, Universität Siegen, Germany

Throughout the existence of the GDR, women were the backbone of national food production. In a period of global urban brain drain, it was women who stayed in the village and took on the least attractive labour, worked hardest and had their work least acknowledged and rewarded.

However, there were circumstances which sanctioned the formation of exceptional female work collectives. For example, in the 1960s the state supported the formation of so-called housewife brigades. These female work groups mobilised rural housewives for national food production. Economists thus hoped to counter the shortage of land workers caused by the urban brain drain and the last stage of full collectivization. Or take the creation of women-only fieldwork brigades within agrarian cooperatives in the 1980s. As transitional collectives, they were the antithesis to the happy male work brigades proclaimed by state propaganda that centered around friendship and long-term working relationships. However, they were crucial in crop production for the excellent economic performance of the cooperatives.

In much the same manner did female work secure food production after the end of the socialist experiment and provided important services for the functioning of village and state alike. My presentation centers on a comparison of the expectations and experiences of the rural women in these differing working formats.

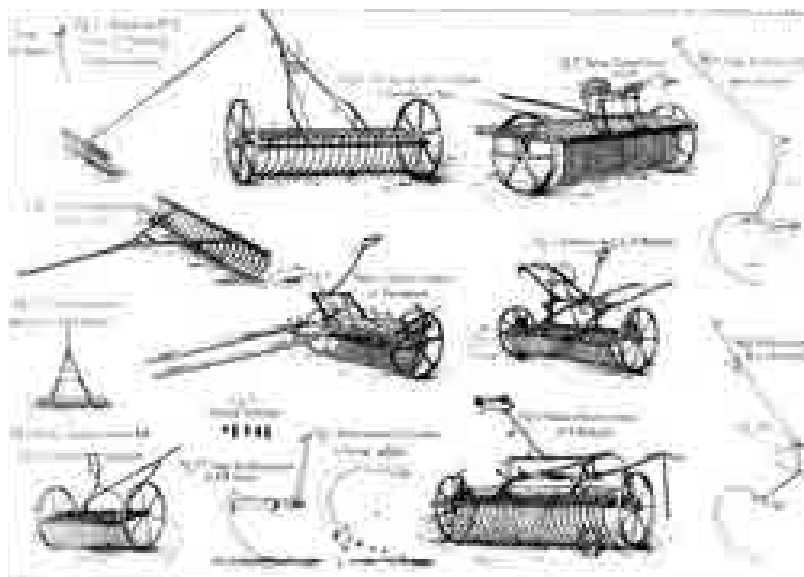
1005.4. Females as agents of the social decompartmentalization of agriculture. A singular appropriation of modernization tools within women's agricultural extension groups (1960-1990)

Clémentine COMER, Université de Rennes, France

In the post-war period, the rural world underwent a spectacular turn in Brittany. The modernization of agriculture and the training of farmers led to a significant increase in production and comfort on farms. Family farming underwent unprecedented upheavals: mechanization, integration dynamics in cooperatives, an increase in the size of farms and a drastic reduction in the number of active people. This modernization drive, relayed by the public authorities, is organized around new organizations.

This presentation concerns the place of women and the influence of their autonomous organization, in this revolution of major agricultural practices and changes. Focusing on the participation of women farmers in women's agricultural extension groups between the 1960s and 1990s, their ability to appropriate the tools of modernization is evaluated.

Based on biographical interviews with women farmers and diversified archival sources (professional documentation, press review), we distinguish two processes by which women farmers participate in the social decompartmentalization of their profession. We show how women farmers' collectives made it possible to rethink the division of traditional male and female roles and the sharing of power in the family, improved work conditions and made social and family issues the legitimate field of trade unionism. Moreover, we ask how women farmers take on the role of brokers to other social worlds, promoting culture and becoming central actors in the social local space.



Du râteau à main au râteau à cheval, J.-A. Grandvoinnet, *Le génie rural*.
Recueil spécial de machinerie agricole, Paris, 1858 © BnF.

Panel 1006. Organized capitalism within agriculture: Agricultural associations and State intervention in the European agriculture, 1880s-1930s – Part 1

Organisers:

Jordi PLANAS, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Anton SCHUURMAN, Wageningen University and Research Center, the Netherlands

Chair: Jordi PLANAS, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Discussant: Juri AUDERSET, Archives of Rural History, Switzerland

Since the late 19th-century crisis, the state intervention in European agricultural markets expanded involving many areas: governments used not only trade policy to protect domestic markets, but they also introduced many regulations affecting quality, quantity and prices in domestic markets, and they promoted innovations to make agricultural producers more competitive. The First World War and the 1930s crisis made much more urgent the need of supportive farm policies and led to a general setback of free markets and a growing role of the state in agriculture. From the late 19th-century crisis there was a growing social mobilization in the countryside, with the diffusion of agricultural associations (landowners associations, farmers unions, specialized crop producers' associations, cooperatives,...) that led to a much more organized rural society. In this panel we aim to discuss the interaction between agricultural organizations and policy makers in Europe in a period (between two agricultural crisis) when specific agricultural policies started to be implemented. We would like to shed some light in the role of agricultural associations in demanding and/or implementing the state intervention in agricultural markets (intermediary institutions between the state and the rural society); the role of the state in the diffusion of agricultural cooperatives and other farm associations (legislation, state technical and financial support, etc.); the growing influence of agricultural associations in politics, empowering farmers but also paving the way to corporatist solutions... We would like to be able to compare and discuss different experiences in Europe regarding the growing organized capitalism within agriculture, looking at the changing role of the state and the agricultural associations.

1006.1. Agriculture and organized capitalism

Anton SCHUURMAN, Wageningen University and Research Center, the Netherlands

In the 19th century the governments of the European states were formed by conservatives and liberals who favored laissez-faire policies that led to market capitalism. In the second half of the 19th century this is changing. National governments were leaving their strict aloofness of the workings of the economy and society under the influence of population growth, poverty, epidemics, collective action of the socialists and other movements, the structural changes in the economy towards larger corporations, new kind of industries, international competition. Gradually, the market capitalism evolved into an organized capitalism. In the Netherlands, for example, the 20th century started with national laws on housing, education, health. In the development of organized capitalism there is in the historical textbooks hardly attention for the agricultural sector and the countryside although here the evolution of organized capitalism is as visible as it is elsewhere. In this paper I will pay attention to these developments and address the question how our historical insight in the workings and establishment of organized capitalism is improved when we take the developments in agriculture in consideration. At the same time I will plead for the use of the term organized capitalism as an encompassing explanatory concept in agricultural history.

1006.2. Crises and organized capitalism. Livestock improvement and knowledge networks in Belgium after the Great War

Dries CLAEYS and Yves SEGERS, KU Leuven, Belgium

This paper aims to assess the role of crises in the construction of an organized capitalist model in Belgian agriculture. More particularly, it studies how cattle breeding started to become organized and regulated after World War I. We argue that the war itself and the immediate post-war period gave an important stimulus to the introduction and diffusion of new scientific insights regarding livestock improvement. Before the war the appearance of animals received most of the attention from breeders and farmers. Yields, product quality or fat percentage were hardly registered and calculated, and thus of minor importance in daily practices. But this changed after 1918. The reconstruction of the national livestock was hailed by policy makers and various experts as an opportunity to construct more productive animals. Therefore, Belgian government counted on an expanding network of state services and civil society organizations. The institutionalization of scientific knowledge within the agricultural market was regarded as a necessary step to safeguard the agrarian economy in its entirety. In this paper, we deal with the following questions: are crises pivotal events with as it comes to the organization of capitalism? What was the role of the state, the market and civil society in this process? How did the established knowledge network operate, and what kind of knowledge did it diffuse? And, eventually, how successful were the attempts to create a new, more productive livestock?

1006.3. Agricultural associations and public intervention in the Romagna region during the late 19th-century crisis

Omar MAZZOTTI, Università di Bologna, Italy

Historical studies on the Italian *comizi agrari* -farmers associations formally established by royal decree in December 1866- have stated the almost general ineffectiveness of that institutions in contributing to the agricultural development of the unified Italy. The *comizi agrari* of the Romagna region – an agricultural area located in the southern part of the Po valley – represent on the opposite an interesting case-study of a heterogeneous framework in which some of that institutions, starting from the agrarian crisis of the Eighties, played a relevant role in the local agrarian progress. This positive process was also due to their interaction with local institutions and the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, which played a key role in the State intervention policy of activating modernization processes of the local economies by setting different institutions (practical agricultural schools, research agrarian centres, governmental agricultural machinery storages) and a various system of economic incentives. The present paper aims at enlightening the above mentioned aspects – with particular regard to the spread of technical innovation in agriculture – putting in evidence the complex reasons of the existing spatial heterogeneity in the Romagna region and the territorial leadership alternation among the *comizi agrari* in the last quarter of the 19th century.

1006.4. The regional associativism: From the commercial companies to the agricultural unions in the Douro Demarcated Region (1865-1932)

Carla SEQUEIRA, Universidade do Porto, Portugal

The history of the Douro Demarcated Region, pioneer in the principles of a modern appellation of origin, is crossed by conjunctures of economic and social crisis. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the Region was confronted with the consequences of phylloxera, the liberal legislation introduced in 1865 and changes in both internal and external markets. At the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century, there was an acute trade crisis of overproduction, which led to a social crisis and to sectoral and interregional conflict. From an institutional point of view, an associative movement began to be sketched, which involved the formation of commercial companies in the 1860s. In the early 20th century, the regional associative movement takes on a new configuration. The regional elites carry out various actions aimed at the regional and institutional reorganization. In this context, the creation of agricultural unions, seen as part of the solution to the Douro Region's crisis, is of particular importance. On the other hand, the formation of agricultural unions was seen as a counterpoint to the portuguese southern wine-growing regions where they existed for a longer time and with a strong influence on the Government. In our paper we will analyze the various forms of regional associativism developed since the 1860s, trying to gauge the degree of implantation, organization and influence of the new associations in the destinations of the Douro Demarcated Region.

Panel 1007. Ethnographying Labour in Large-Scale Agriculture. Renewed Social Histories, between Work, Migration and Daily Lives – Part 1

Organisers:

Guillaume VADOT, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

Gaspard MATTON, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne France

Chair: Stéphanie BARRAL, Institut national de la recherche agronomique, France

Discussant: Apostolos PAPADOPOULOS, University of Athens, Greece

The past decade was marked by a massive investment phenomenon targeting land. This extension of large-scale agriculture has been widely studied in its most controverted aspects: the reorganization of international supply chains, the role of states and institutions in the making of the deals, or its impacts on “natives” and the landscapes (Purseigle et al., 2017).

This panel aims rather at nurturing the comprehension of large-scale agriculture worldwide by reinserting it in the rural and popular histories. For that purpose, sociological, historical and ethnological insights are needed, as well as a focus on the people who make the big plantation: workers and managers, agricultural engineers and advisers of every type (Brunier, 2016), families, traders, local judges and civil-servants.

Approaching these agricultural – industrial landscapes with the tools of social history and ethnography offers new scientific perspectives, as these spaces have often been studied as exceptional and closed unities. Refusing the enchanted narratives (the plantation as a harmonious community) as well as the miserabilistic ones (for which the relations of power are unilateral, and there is no daily life), we would like to address the coexistence of a variety of contractual forms (Arnoux, Béaur, Varet-Vitu, 2003), labor regimes (Murray Li, 2017) and power relations, gender and ethnic segmentations, and the ways they are challenged and discussed.

This panel aims at documenting popular lives trajectories coming in and out of the estate, exploring the strong human connections between the later and far wider social spaces. The communications focus on these pathways, but also on daily work experiences and negotiations, on the ways of living and inhabiting in the area of the plantation, through wage-work, petty trade, small-scale agriculture, services to the workers, etc.

This doing, we try to identify some common patterns between the experiences lived on different continents. Everywhere, large-scale agriculture forms a very specific, segregated sector among the modern, formal economy and employment market it claims to extend to rural spaces, with specific ways of mobilizing and stabilizing its workforce. It shall not be surprising to discover common ways of dealing with the constraints of living and working in these spaces, a result that could inspire further scientific developments.

1007.1. The Professional Group of Agricultural Supervisors. Invisible Agents, or Collective in Construction?

Loïc MAZENC, Institut national de la recherche agronomique, France

Backed by monographs of major French companies in the fruit and vegetable sectors, this paper seeks to give an account of the emergence of a professional group within the agricultural world: the “agricultural supervisors” of agricultural firms production.

The development of highly capitalist agriculture in commodity markets, new forms of ownership of agricultural capital and the arrival of new players, testify to the emergence of large agricultural enterprises at odds with the family forms once consecrated by farmers major policies of the second half of the 20th century. The industrialization of agricultural production, the search for rationalization and the multi-localization of companies that look like firms at different production sites, have involved a complexification of the organization of production and the use of “one hand permanent” work mostly non-family. We observe the diffusion of an unconventional labor management model: an erasure of the direct hierarchy and the implementation of managerial innovations through IT management tools. The emergence of agricultural production firms is accompanied by more precise control procedures that weigh more heavily on employees. The tight deadlines, the pressure of the customer, the emergence of new technical and social specifications are all factors that make the work intensify. This intensification of work has led to the emergence within production firms of an intermediate professional group: “agricultural supervisors”.

1007.2. Choosing Migrants to Pick Fruits. The Multiplication of Migrant Status in French Agriculture Workforce

LUCIO CASTRACANI, Aix-Marseille Université, France

State immigration policies have a main role in the supply and control of agricultural workforce in countries, aimed to improve the competitiveness of their production. In France, due to guest-workers programs, international migrants have been the major workforce in the intensive horticulture production for decades. Since the 2000's, large-scale growers and farm owners begun to require greater flexibility to their employees in order to meet 'fresh products' and 'just in time' demands. New market targets have been achieved by hiring new migrants with precarious statuses and exploiting them through informal work relationships. Undocumented migrants and posted workers have joined the traditional workforce of guestworkers and locals. The diversification and the segmentation of workforce enabled employers to have disposable workers in rural areas in competition between them.

Through participant observation and semi-structured interviews with migrant workers in the South of France, this paper focuses on the socioeconomic relationships shaped on employers' needs and migrants' mobility. The aim of the paper is to understand how vulnerable categories of migrants are subject to forms of differential inclusion in the agricultural labor market in order to maximize profits in the globalized agriculture.

1007.3. Estate Enclaves No More. Everyday Life Practices of Plantation Workers and their Spatial and Political Consequences.

Oliver PYE, Universität Bonn, Germany

Plantations are often said to be difficult places for labour organisers. When entering a plantation, it seems to be an enclave – a tightly controlled spatial unit disconnected from the wider world. Historically, this may have been the case. In 19th Century Northern Sumatra, coolie workers were shipped in from China and Java and were subjected to the savage labour regime of the penal code. Workers were separated from their homes, families and friends by physical space. In today's globalised world, characterised by the 'annihilation of space by time,' this view of the plantation as a territorial entity is no longer tenable. This contribution examines how everyday life practices of migrant workers in the palm oil industry create different spatial dynamics that embed the plantation within transnational social networks. Research findings show that workers are highly mobile, using their networks of family and friends to create knowledge about working conditions, pay, job opportunities or police raids. Workers consistently thwart territorial control elements of the labour regime by crossing national borders illegally, bringing in family members, switching employers or conducting wild cat strikes. These everyday practices create the potential for spatially new organising strategies.

1007.4. A Wage that Changes your Life. Trajectories, Arrangements and Aspirations among the Cameroonian Plantation Workers

Guillaume VADOT, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

Tens of thousands, men but increasingly women, work in the fields and factory of Cameroonian industrial plantations. Based on a large sample of interviews (212 employed persons, including 156 fieldworkers) and observations in 3 enterprises (producing sugar, rubber and bananas), this paper is an attempt at describing their life arrangements, in time and daily in the plantation. This doing, it contributes to shed light on the stratification, constraints and imaginaries that currently fashion the popular rural classes in Cameroon.

The plantation wage-workers are almost the sole fraction of the lower classes accessing to formal employment. Reversely, their salarisation is most often partial, and almost always temporary: it does not separate them from their social context. In this contradictory situation, the plantation appears as a peculiar hub for popular trajectories and experiences. A (work)place that shapes identities related to gender, age, places of origins, educational capital – and is shaped by the constraints related to the evolving availability of its labour force. In an only partly monetized world, the specific constraints and the social meanings of money, related to social mobility and to the access to honorable goods, are key to the constantly renewed popular investment in – but also withdrawal from – the plantations. In that sense, it appears that wage-work is far less marginal than it is often assumed to be for an accurate definition of African rural lower classes.

Panel 1008. Alpine vernacular Architecture and the so-called pastoral revolution – Part 1

Organisers:

Emmanuel DÉSVEAUX, EHESS, France

Luigi LORENZETTI, Università de la Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

Chair: Laurent HERMENT, CNRS, France

Discussant: Jonas ALBRECHT, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria

For a long time, the rural architecture of the upper valleys of the Alps have been perceived through a single glass: are the buildings made out of wood (the so-called chalet) or out of stone? This difference in the building materials was the main point of focalisation for researchers since the early 20th century, starting with the work of Jakob Hunziker for whom it was an indication of the linguistic affiliation of the populations (German versus Romance), to which answered the Richard Weiss's explanation phrased out in terms of ecological determinations. However, this debate overcomes the amazing unity of this architecture that offers a combinaison of three basic functions – living quarters, cowshed and haybarn – but declines them in many variations in regard to spacial arrangements in a matter that might be structurally analyzed. It is also tricking to observe the historical circumstances of the emergence of this rural architecture that seemed approximatively to occur between the end of the 17th century and the middle of the 20th century. An hypothesis emerges: this architecture is connected with the pastoral revolution, or in other words, with the implementation of a system mainly oriented to cattle-breeding for milk production. This orientation is aimed at a better rationality in exploiting natural resources, since it allows to maximize the potential resources in relation with the disponible manpower, thanks to the étagement of the landscape that loosens the seasonal imperatives of a grain harvest, so crucial in traditional plains agricultural systems. The relevance of this hypothesis has two main implications: what is the place left for cereals in these new systems? What kind of circulation it requires either for the humans (a good proportion of the population did not spend the winter in the upper valleys), either for the goods (the milky production must to be exported), either for capital (building houses and acquiring cattle means investment) and either for ideas (the building technics are not archaic)? Such a reflexion is also open to a discussion of the implications for the Alpine area of the two great principles of inheritance that prevail in Europe (indivision or egalitarian repartition) and of their respective roles of the state and of the religion in the process.

1008.1. Mountain Transhumance, Sustainable Development between Man, Architecture and Economy

Borut JUVANEČ, Ljubljana University, Slovenia

The transhumance architecture, objects for herdsmen are simple stone huts or bigger buildings with all the necessary elements: for living, sleeping, working (cheese production).

The paper shows examples in architecture in both material, stone as well as in the wood, from Portugal, over Pyrenees, the Alps to the Balkans, with accent on the Alps: typology of transhumance architecture in Slovene Alps. The main reason for building huts for livestock is security: animals can stray, following better grass, animals can be stolen, and protection from weather conditions is also important. Pastures can be enclosed by wooden fences or stone walls – for daytime use. Overnight, objects are needed. Objects for common use, for herdsmen and livestock, need to be bigger. In this system can be found important contact between people and animals: for control, security reasons, simplification of organization, even heating in the high hills with harsh weather conditions. Transhumance, as a social system of pasture, as well as all transhumance architecture, is an important part of our cultural heritage. It is worth preserving. The economic part of its technology is slowly returning in the mountains but in the field of architecture we have a lot to do – from recognition to making inventories and documentation, and especially in composing old elements into new architecture and the short-term goal is cultural tourism.

1008.2. Agro-pastoral economy, settlement patterns and labour organisation in the central Alps, 16th-19th centuries

Luigi LORENZETTI, *Università delle Svizzera italiana, Suisse*

The analyses of settlement patterns and types of vernacular architecture in the Alpine area have long been divided between ethnic and cultural features on one side, and environment and ecological frameworks on the other side. Since several years, historical and ethnographical research has integrated the two approaches into a more articulated reading. This combined perspective focuses on variability, which it seeks to capture in culture and nature over time, as well as in the manifold impacts of their interaction on productive and settlement practices and models, both locally and regionally. On this basis, this paper investigates in what way and through which mechanisms the organisation of labour in the agropastoral economy has interacted with the organisation of the territory and of production space. To this end, the paper is structured around three main, interrelated questions.

– How do pastoral nomadism systems operate, by highlighting variants and implications in terms of settlement patterns and of residential practices?

– What kind of relationships may emerge between the agrarian zones of the Swiss Alps and the organisational “models” of the Alpine pasture zone?

– What are the effects of the forms of management (privately or within the community) of mid-altitude grazing meadows and alpine pasture farming on the models of labour organisation and on the morphological-architectural solutions adopted for buildings related to the alpine economy?

1008.3. The Lévi-Straussian transformational essence of Alpine vernacular architecture

Emmanuel DÉSVEAUX, *EHESS, France*

A general survey of the vernacular architecture of the Alpine high valleys shows all together a great homogeneity of the building features and a high degree of variation not only in the material used (wood versus stones) but also at the level of the spatial distribution of the main functions of a given farm (living quarters, stable, barn and storerooms). One notices that these variations do not respond to classical diffusionism patterns, but to a type of transformations that anthropologists label as Lévi-Straussian logical transformations, grounded on inversion. This suggests a primacy given to semantics. We will see that such a transformational trend is at work at a regional scale – it can be observed for exemple between two or three valleys – but also at the scale of the totality of the Alps. These two scales of expressions of the transformational potential of vernacular architecture open the door to two important questions: is there a kind of simultaneity in the colonization of the Alps and is there a global phenomenological perception of its natural environment that framed its settlers mental patterns?

1008.4. The renewal of the parish church of the Savoy valleys in the 17th century

Denis CERLET, *Université Lyon 2, France*

Following the Council of Trent, the Church will proceed with the redevelopment of the parish churches of the valleys of Savoy in order to gather, under one roof, the parishioners and to shape a new pastoral turned towards the union with God. Architecture then becomes an exemplification of the dogma that can be physically lived. And even if this space is different from everyday life, we can make the assumption that these ways of doing things are more widely implemented.

Panel 1009. Material culture of medieval countryside. Clothing at the village, 13th-15th century

Organiser: Mickaël WILMART, EHESS, Paris

Chair: Francine MICHAUD, University of Calgary, Canada

The purpose of this panel is to examine the question of the material culture of medieval countryside on the basis of clothing. The garment, beyond its practical aspect, indeed interests a whole set of issues on the rural world: urban market access, circulation of textile materials, rural crafts, identification of social hierarchies, specialisation of farm equipment, etc. The panel will focus on the confrontation of various sources (notarial acts, justice archives, local customs, iconography, accounts).

The first issue is a story of medieval rural consumption. A special attention will be devoted to the commercial circulation of clothing, new or second-hand, but also to the transmission when making trousseaus or during the inheritance settlement. Post-mortem inventories also allow to understand the logic of accumulation and to perceive the domestic economy of clothing.

This domestic economy is the second questioning of the panel: What is the part of homemaking in clothing? What clothes are kept throughout a lifetime? How do we repair them? Is there any clothing specific to stages of life, to events or activities?

The link between professional activities and clothing is the third issue of the panel. In this context, we will focus on employers providing suits out of necessity of function or as additional wages, but also on the emergence of the working suit.

1009.1. Peasant clothing in medieval iconography

Perrine MANE, CNRS, France

Medieval representations, whether drawn, painted or sculpted, allow to grasp many details of the peasant's clothes. Whether it is for the colour, the shape, the raw materials or how to wear and adapt the costume, iconography is the main source for understanding the medieval garment provided it is used with care.

Images support and strengthen what written documents or objects from excavations show, that is the peasant costume evolves little during the Middle Ages. From the Carolingian times until the 14th century, clothing for peasants, for men as well as for women, consists of a sleeved dress, reaching at least the calves for women, sometimes not exceeding the knee for men. This wardrobe, reduced to the bare necessities, is hardly influenced by the fashions followed by the higher classes and it is only during the 14th century, that is, a century after its adoption in an urban environment, that the long costume worn by men is transformed into a garment consisting of two pieces: the doublet and the stocking.

Even when it is reduced to a small number of pieces, this wardrobe offers in reality the possibility of various combinations which enables the peasant to adapt it in order to protect himself from the aggressions of the climate as well as of his activities. Lastly, even though it is necessary to wait until the 19th century for professional clothing to become widespread, iconography makes it possible to see the appearance, from the 15th century, of some specific work outfits, such as the sowing apron or even the "camail", a mask garnished with metal cloth that protects the head and shoulders of bee-keepers.

1009.2. Peasants' dresses. Clothes in post-mortem inventories of the Valencian countryside (13th-15th centuries)

Juan Vicente GARCÍA MARSILLA, Universitat de València, Spain

The idea that market is only an urban affair in Middle Ages has been ruled out long time ago. Peasants were important part of it, and they bought specially their clothes not only to satisfy their most basic needs, but also to distinguish themselves from their neighbours and to demonstrate their wealth and their knowledge of fashion. The analysis of more than one hundred post-mortem inventories of the countryside of Valencia, one of the most important cities in medieval Iberia, will provide us an important sample to question ourselves about the composition of the peasant trousseau, the quantity and type of garments it was composed of, their monetary value, their origin, the price of each of them and the comparison between the way of dressing in the countryside and in the city. Other sources, of fiscal nature, will also allow us to know the daily market of fabrics in some of the market towns closest to the capital.

1009.3. *Trousseaus as an indicator of cloth consumption in the medieval countryside (Catalonia, 1230-1330)*

Lluís To FIGUERAS, *Universitat de Girona, Spain*

It has been claimed that sartorial innovations in Medieval and Early Modern Europe started among the urban elites, and indeed cloth traded by drapers reached, first of all, warehouses located in cities and towns. But evidence from Catalan notarial archives, descriptions of garments given as a trousseau in marriage contracts, shows that novelties were quickly adopted by peasant households. Cloth from Châlons, Ypres, Paris, Saint-Denis and Narbonne that replaced older Flemish woollens by the middle of the 13th century are attested almost simultaneously in the city of Vic and in the rural parishes around. Peasant families also did choose among a diversity of textiles, one of the main characteristics of urban consumption, in order to differentiate themselves from their neighbours. A shared desire to wear something unique can explain the surprising success of new fabrics even in rural parishes. Nevertheless there were huge differences in value and price concerning clothes pledged as a trousseau. Cloth corresponded to an economic hierarchy: wealthier families could afford expensive clothes that were out of reach for others, so cloth was also an important differentiator and economic differentiation within rural communities became an important incentive for cloth consumption in the later middle ages.

1009.4. *Cloth production and consumption in rural Southern France (13th-15th centuries)*

Mickaël WILMART, *EHESS, Paris*

This paper presents a work in progress on material culture in the Languedoc rural areas. Three points will be dealt with: crafts production in the village, the part of domestic production and the use of the market for consumer goods in relation to clothing.

Behind the cliché of peasants wearing clothes made in households, hides a more complex economy. The villager tailor is an essential craftsman, to whom the fabric to be tailored is brought or who goes to client home to take measurements. His work does not of course prevent domestic production, even if it is difficult to define its exact part. This domestic production does not only concern sewing, but can also concern raw materials alone (spun wool brought to the weaver for example). It also includes repairing used or second-hand clothes, or even adjusting them. However, the presence of dressmakers in the village or the existence of domestic work does not imply that peasants do not use the market. Indeed, they do buy the products found either in urban shops or in rural or urban markets. Of what kind are these purchases? What is offered to peasants in the commercial circuits for their clothing: second-hand and ready-to-wear clothes, shoes, raw materials (fabrics, accessories)?

Through this paper, I wish to bring forward the first conclusions of my investigation based on judicial sources (Inquisition interrogations, consular or seigniorial courts) but also on normative sources (taxation tariffs, rules) in an area located in the actual departments of Aude and Ariège.



Gladiator, affiche de Gaston Noury, 1897 (Paris, BnF) © BnF.

Panel 1010. Preserved food in the 19th-20th centuries. Consumption, production, supply chains

Organisers:

Claudio BESANA, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy

Silvia A. CONCA MESSINA, Università degli studi di Milano, Italy

Hildete DE MORAES VODOPIVES, Sorbonne Université, France

Andrea M. LOCATELLI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

Chair: *Silvia A. CONCA MESSINA, Università degli studi di Milano, Italy*

Discussant: *Andrea M. LOCATELLI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy*

The sector of preserved food has not yet received the attention it deserves from historiography, except for few particular sectors. Therefore, a group of researchers aim to promote some reflexions on this segment of the agro-food sector. The contributions will be on canned food (particularly vegetable), preserving methods and technology improvement in the supply chains, production, and consumption.

The aim is to verify how industrialisation led to changes in the primary sector, e.g in growth of crops, new system of production and preservation, standardisation of product, agrarian relationships. Another issue will be to analyse the development of industrial production, its connection with market and consumption, the birth of big industrial groups. Case studies and illustrative examples from different countries will help to highlight specific features of the sector. The contributions will focus on some main issues. First, the increasing importance, through time, of the consumption of food (canned and preserved) resulting from industrialised production processes. In Europe, the consumption of these products increased after the Second World War, together with improved conservation systems and the diffusion of the organised large-scale distribution. Some large enterprises engaged an international expansion, gaining markets and acquiring other producers. The consumption of preserved and canned food was also linked to social changes, especially in the role of women, new jobs and the consequent reduction of time available to buy and cook fresh food.

Secondly, another area of interest will be that of supply-chains, particularly concerning technological development (such as preservation techniques and hygiene standards) and management. The analysis will consider the modifications of distribution channels. It will be interesting to analyse the variety of supply chain relations between producers and transformers in different contexts.

1010.1. The Italian canning industry: Production, markets, consumption from the origins to the 1970s

Claudio BESANA, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy

Silvia A. CONCA MESSINA, Università degli studi di Milano, Italy

Rita D'ERRICO, Università Roma Tre, Italy

The contribution will present some reflections on the canning industry in Italy from the 19th century to the 1970s, exploring the connection with the evolution of agriculture and focusing on production, markets, consumption.

First, the paper will point out the origins of the sector at the end of the 19th century, when in Campania and Emilia canned tomato production emerged, thanks to the initiative and strategies of pioneers such as Cirio. In the next section, the paper will give an overview on the long-term trends and growth of vegetable crops during the first half of the 20th century, side by side with the development of the canning industry, driven in turn by exports. The last part will try to highlight production and consumption of canned food in Italy during the "golden age" in a comparative perspective with other developed countries. Particularly, it will focus on the growing consumption of canned food in the Italian domestic market, which was a consequence of the changing way of life originated from the rapid urbanisation process, the growing involvement of women in the economy and the increase in per capita incomes.

The available statistical data will be the source for some historical series on production dynamics (sectors and exports).

1010.2. French internationalization in an era of food conservation: Danone's strategy strongly based on innovation

Hildete DE MORAES VODOPIVES, Sorbonne Université, France

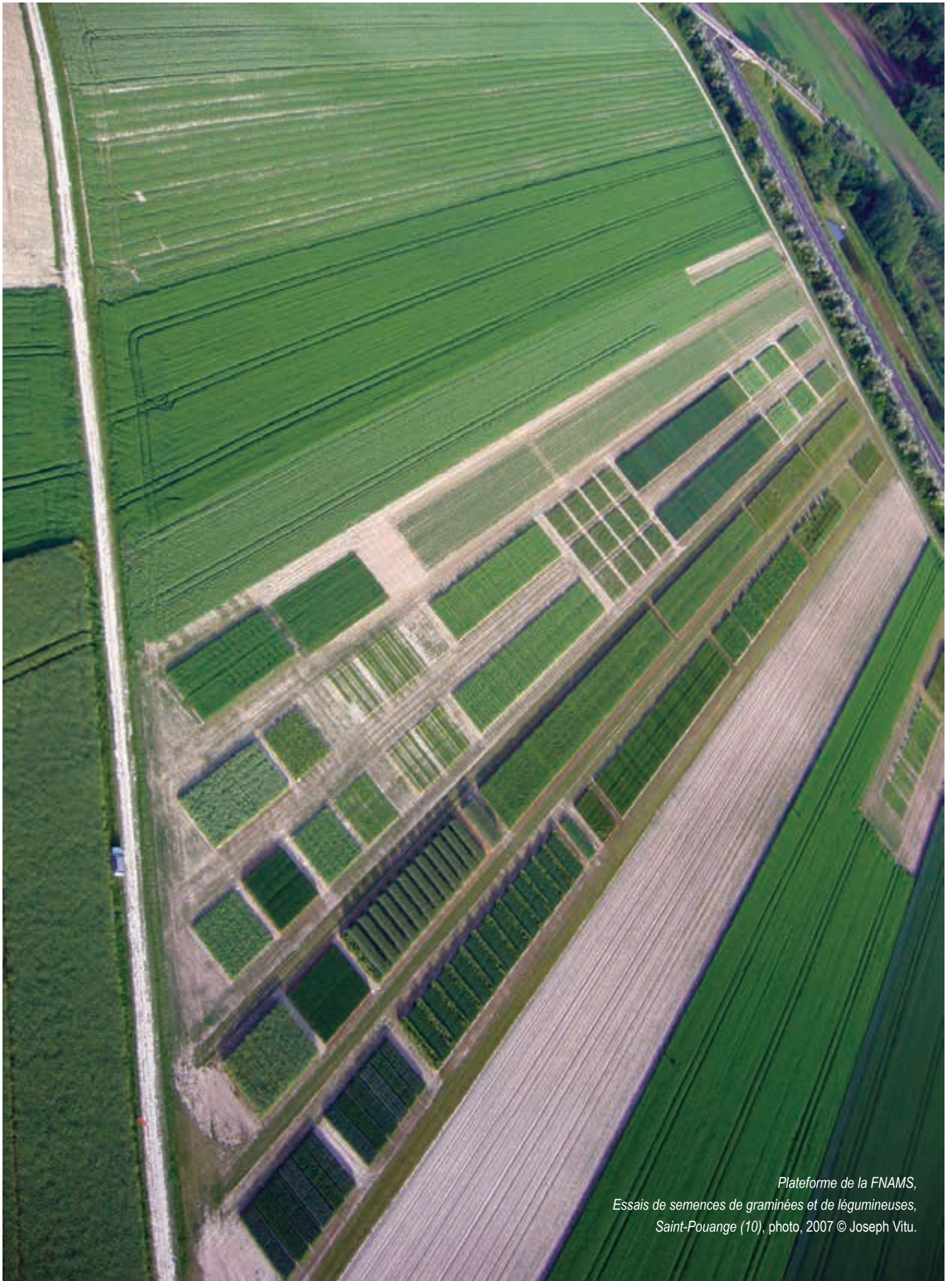
Dominique BARJOT, Renmin University, China and Sorbonne Université, France

Innovation in food conservation subverted the food supply chain and opened doors to new entrants in the food international market. New methods of conservation allowed the development of new products, with an important effect on logistics, regulation and consumer trends. It has also played a part in the internationalisation of companies who were able to make opportunistic moves. For Danone, an aggressive acquisition strategy associated with innovation in food conservation allowed the French group to become a leading international food supplier. This paper exams the recent history of Danone and the part that innovation and research had in its business strategy.

1010.3. Milk, cheese and business' style (Russia in 19th century)

Viacheslav Valentinovich RUDNEV, Russian Academy of Science, Russia.

For a long time firm cheese was imported into Russia from abroad. In the 19th century in Russia cheese-makers came mainly from Switzerland, and were engaged as tenants at landowners' dairies. Cheese-makers belonging to Swiss nationality served as guarantee of quality of their production (Tihonova A). It was a peculiar brand: "Swiss cheese is made by the Swiss cheese-maker". Swiss cheese-makers were determinant in renewing the production processes of cheese in Russia and stimulated innovation in producing and preserving milk. They brought original technologies (and kept "know-how" secrets) and generated a general interest and attention on the value of Simmental cow breeding. As a result, Simmental cow breeding became very popular in Russia; sanitary norms in milk process were copied and introduced; many enthusiasts experimented in discovering "know-how" and producing local cheese, and some of them successfully learned the business in Switzerland – like Mr. N. Vereshagin, whose initiative was very useful for the development of Russian agri-food sector. Swiss cheese-makers led to the foundation of marketing strategies, and promoted the interest, still alive today, of the Russian entrepreneurs in the agro-food production of Switzerland.



*Plateforme de la FNAMS,
Essais de semences de graminées et de légumineuses,
Saint-Pouange (10), photo, 2007 © Joseph Vitu.*

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
1101. The introduction of colonial products (coffee, chocolate, sugar, tea, tobacco) in the European countryside. A “consumer revolution”? – Part 2 Organisers: G�rard B�aur, Rosa Congost Chair: G�rard B�aur	1101.1. The consumption of chocolate among ordinary people in Catalonia and Spain in the 18th century Rosa Congost, Bel�n Moreno Claver�as, Rosa Ros	1101.2. Rhine trade in slave-based commodities, 1730-1830 Tamira Combrink	1101.3. Global consumers in the Southern Alps? Atlantic commodities in the Italian-speaking regions of the Three Leagues from 1700 to 1850 Riccardo E. Rossi	1101.4. Dietary changes in Northwestern Iberia: The secondary colonial products Ofelia Rey Castelao		PANEL 1101 Room AS1_01 54 Bd. Raspail
1102. The Healthy Countryside? Perceptions, Experiences and Representations of Health, Healthcare and Illness, 1750-2019 – Part 2 Organiser: Sarah Holland Chair: Nicola Verdon	1102.1. Historical Geographies of Rural Interaction at Saltaire (UK) 1853-1918 and the Role of Countryside Environments in the Construction of a “Healthy Heritage” Ruth Quinn	1102.2 Health and Rural England: Recent Approaches at the Museum of English Rural Life Oliver Douglas	1102.3. “One is not dying yet, so the work must be done”: Public Health Care and Rural Perception of Malicious Tumor Diseases in the Polish People’s Republic Ewelina Szpak	1102.4. Countryside modernized – or traumatized? G�bor Csik�s		PANEL 1102 Room 2 105 Bd. Raspail
1103. The scientisation and medicalisation of livestock agriculture: New perspectives on, and approaches to health, breeding and production post-1945 – Part 2 Organiser: Karen Sayer Chair: Carin Martiin	1103.1. The multiple identities of an endemic livestock disease, c1946-84 Abigail Woods	1103.2. Veterinarians, Sexual Health Control, and Artificial Insemination in Swedish Dairy Cattle, 1900–1960 Karl Bruno	1103.3. Antimicrobials marketing and the construction of “modern” animal breeding in France after 1945 Delphine Berdah			PANEL 1103 Room BS1_05 54 Bd. Raspail
1104. From Contestation to Incorporation? Global and Comparative Perspectives on the Organic Farming Movement (20th-21st centuries) – Part 2 Organisers: Delphine Thivet, Beno�t Leroux Chair: Jean-No�l Jouzel	1104.1. The roots of the environmental movement and its evolution in Andalusia (Spain): From land reform struggle to organic farming support (1975-2018) Manuel Gonzalez De Molina, Antonio Herrera, David Soto, Gloria Guzm�n	1104.2. From Social Movements to State Supervision: The Institutionalisation and Certification of Organic Farming in Andalusia Andreas J�nger	1104.3. Crossing the history of actors and the institutionalization of alternative movements: the experience of an agroecological cotton chain between Brazil and France Laura Chartain			PANEL 1104 Room AS1_17 54 Bd. Raspail
1105. Female strategies in transforming rural regions of Europe from the 1960s to 1990s – Part 2 Organisers: Maria Hetzer, Leonore Scholze-Irlitz, Zsuzsanna Varga Chair: Leonore Scholze-Irlitz	1105.1. The heroines of socialist work: The role of women in United Cooperative Farming-Agrocombine Slu�ovice Martin Jemelka	1105.2. Women, work and time management in the socialist agriculture. A comparison between Soviet and Hungarian cooperatives Zsuzsanna Varga, Alexandra Bodn�r	1105.3. Rural women in the emerging farm family enterprises of Hungary in the Nineties Ildik� Asztalos Morell	1105.4. Cultural transmission, women and peasant community in Galiza during Franco dictatorship Alba Diaz-Geada		PANEL 1105 Room AS1_33 54 Bd. Raspail

Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	
1106. Organized capitalism within agriculture: Agricultural associations and State intervention in the European agriculture, 1880s-1930s – Part 2 Organisers: Jordi Planas, Anton Schuurman Chair: Anton Schuurman	1106.1 Explaining the presence and absence of Spanish farm cooperatives before 1936: A political economy approach James Simpson	1106.2 From the right of association to the State control: Aspects of the associative policy in Spain and Greece during the first third of the 20th century Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis	1106.3 The role of cooperatives in the early agricultural policy in Catalonia (1914-1924) Jordi Planas			PANEL 1106 Amphitheatre François Furet 105 Bd. Raspail
1107. Ethnographing Labour in Large-Scale Agriculture. Renewed Social Histories, between Work, Migration and Daily Lives – Part 2 Organisers: Guillaume Vadot, Gaspard Matton Chair: Niccolò Mignemi	1107.1. Migrant Labour and Spatial Justice in Rural Greece: Taking Stock of Recent Research Apostolos Papadopoulos, Loukia-Maria Fratsea	1107.2. Working for the Large-Scale Farm. French Southwestern Strawberry and Melon Farms challenged by Foreign Labour Camille Hochedez, Sophie Clair-Caliot, Julie Le Gall	1107.3. Sunflower Expansion in Ukraine: The Role of Marketing Strategies of Multinational Producers of the High-Yield Hybrid Seeds Kateryna Soroka			PANEL 1107 Room AS1_15 54 Bd. Raspail
1108. Alpine vernacular Architecture and the so-called pastoral revolution – Part 2 Organisers: Emmanuel Désveaux, Luigi Lorenzetti Chair: Laurent Herment	1108.1. Wood and stone south of the Hidden Frontier: Variabilities of vernacular architecture in the Trentino. Giovanni Kezich, Antonella Mott	1108.2. Houses for the cows. The Oriental Alpine area between early modern and contemporary period Giacomo Bonan, Claudio Lorenzini, Stefano Morosini	1108.3. "Fragments of rurality". Mutations of the alpine rural landscape and architecture in the 20th century Roberto Dini	1108.4. The erasure of mountain pastures: When the architecture reveals their change of use. The example of high altitude resorts in 20th and 21st centuries Anne-Marie Granet-Abisset		PANEL 1108 Room AS1_9 54 Bd. Raspail
1109. Regional Economies of Welfare and Philanthropy in Northern Europe c. 1750-1834 Organiser: Henry French	1109.1. Regional difference under the Old Poor Law in England and Wales, 1776-1818 John Broad	1109.2. Pre-industrial welfare between regional economies and local regimes: Rural poor relief in Flanders around 1800 Anne Winter	1109.3. Irregular Relief Provision as Income Support within the "Old Poor Law" in England, c. 1760-1834 Henry French	1109.4. The Society of Benevolence, Pauper Colonies and Regional Economies of Welfare in the Netherlands 1818-1859 Richard Paping		PANEL 1109 Room 8 105 Bd. Raspail
1110. Developing and changing land tenure system. Goals and methods Organiser: Dániel Luka Chair: Regina Schäfer	1110.1. Social and economic transformations in (greek) Thessaly, 1850-1940 George Gassias, Foteini Lekka, Dina Moustani	1110.2. Landed property rights and agricultural development: A comparative investigation of Holland and Norfolk, c. 1350-1650 Junhao Cao	1110.3. Laval Nugent: One man, three different ways of land management and negotiation in 19th Century Gaetano Morese	1110.4. Changing land tenure system in East-Central and Southeast Europe from 1944 to 1967 in comparison Dániel Luka		PANEL 1110 Room 7 105 Bd. Raspail

Panel 1101. The introduction of colonial products (coffee, chocolate, sugar, tea, tobacco) in the European countryside. A “consumer revolution“? – Part 2

Organisers:

Gérard BÉAUR, CNRS and EHESS, France

Rosa CONGOST, Universitat de Girona, Spain

Chair: Gérard BÉAUR, CNRS-EHESS, France

Discussant: Antoni FURIÓ, Universitat de València, Spain

It is increasingly common to argue that the 18th century would have experienced a “consumer revolution”. This change would have resulted in a rise in the standard of living and in new consumption patterns that would have transformed the countryside. We have a lot of statistical evidence or qualitative sources attesting to the emergence of a number of novelties in the level of comfort, and to look for or to display a better way of life.

In this respect, the arrival of new colonial products such as coffee, tea, sugar, chocolate or tobacco has certainly been able to upset new social practices. This assumption is undoubtedly true and the consumption of such material goods occurred probably earlier in the cities, at least in the upper classes. But what about the countryside? To what extent had these new products, still classified as luxury goods, been introduced into peasant interiors? Which regional differences, which social gaps can emerge through the different choices of this type of consumption? To what extent was the adoption of each of these products concomitant or unrelated according to the different time periods? Can it be supposed that there were huge inequalities according to the access facilities offered by port sites or the proximity of inland waterways, or not? In what way did the development of these modes of consumption reveal a linear process and in what way, on the contrary, is it possible to identify global or selective inflections according to products or circuits?

Were there really more receptive areas and were there other areas slower to turn to these products? Did an industrious revolution occur in the countries all along the North Sea and only there? Or not at all? What about the influence of the French Revolution and of the French wars? Was the movement subject to other constraints that could have reshuffled the cards, changed the geography of practices and opened the way to redistributions in the choice of consumers? To all these questions, this session would like to bring some answers by case studies within rural societies that would allow to spatialize as well as to look for a chronology, to identify concordances, breakages, and shifts by a comparative approach engaged in the European area during two and a half centuries running from 1600 to 1850.

1101.1. The consumption of chocolate among ordinary people in Catalonia and Spain in the 18th century

Rosa CONGOST, Universitat de Girona, Spain

Belén MORENO CLAVERÍAS, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Rosa ROS, Universitat de Girona, Spain

Many authors have emphasised the crucial role of the colonial products during the early modern period in Western Europe. De Vries pointed out that these products had a limited diffusion in the Iberian Peninsula and in the whole Mediterranean basin. However, De Vries does not take into account some data that deny his conclusions. It is known that chocolate consumption was especially important in Madrid during the 18th century, when it was not only widespread among the elites, but also among middle classes and even humble people. In addition, the guild conflicts among chocolate makers in Madrid and Barcelona are another sign of the importance that chocolate consumption had in this period.

In Catalonia, recent research has shown different trends in rural areas. According to Moreno, in the last quarter of the 18th century chocolate pots appeared in a third of inventories in the Penedès, where chocolate became a trendy product, although it spread more in rich than in poor households. On the other hand, Congost, Ros and Saguer show the remarkable diffusion of chocolate among of the humble rural groups in the Girona region during the same period. By comparing these two Catalan areas, this paper tries to assess the hypothesis that, unlike De Vries' opinion, phenomena similar to the “industrious revolution” could have taken place in some Mediterranean regions.

1101.2. Rhine trade in slave-based commodities, 1730-1830

Tamira COMBRINK, International Institute of Social History, the Netherlands

While the Rhine as a gateway to the German hinterland is usually associated with industrial activity in the Ruhr region, this crucial trade route started to develop in the 18th century when its growth was based on the trade in colonial commodities, like coffee, sugar and tobacco. Most of the re-exported commodities were based on Atlantic slave-labour.

The growing importance of Dutch exports over the Rhine river to the Dutch economy in the 18th century does not go unnoticed in Dutch historiography, see for instance De Vries and Van der Woude. In spite of the important role that several economic historical accounts give to the Rhine river export in the late 18th century, not much detail on this trade is revealed.

The reason for the lack of studies may be due to difficulty to come up with much detail, as the source material available on the subject is scattered, as toll registers have been largely destroyed in the 19th century. This paper will nevertheless sketch a plausible scenario on the basis of patches of trade data that survived in the archives (the Gelderse tol 1741, 1800-1806, the convooien en licenten, 1753 and 1790, de A'damse waagboeken, 1793-1800), and some of the available circumstantial evidence (notarial archives, and business archives on merchants houses and sugar and tobacco processing) and literature.

1101.3. Global consumers in the Southern Alps? Atlantic commodities in the Italian-speaking regions of the Three Leagues from 1700 to 1850

Riccardo E. Rossi, Universität Bern, Switzerland

To what extent did a consumer revolution take place in the Southern Alps between 1700 and 1850? My paper will tackle this question by focussing on three Italian-speaking valleys belonging to the Three Leagues: Val Mesolcina, Valposchiavo and Valtellina. In a first part, based on a large quantity of inventories, testaments and account books, I examine which goods arrived when, how their prizes evolved and in what respect they became part of everyday life. In a second part, I analyse letters, documents regarding customs and lawsuits as well as account books in order to identify the consumers, their social backgrounds, the networks through which they obtained their goods, and the evolution of practices and strategies connected to imported products.

I argue that, when studying the changing consumption patterns in the Southern Alps, we must take into account that seasonal migration played a vital role – not just for trained artisans, but also for members of poorer social strata. Atlantic commodities played a crucial role for trade routes, business relations and changing markets, which again heavily influenced the migration flows of different local groups as well as the strategies of individual agents.

Against the backdrop of the still very powerful narratives of the economic marginalization of both the Mediterranean as well as the Alps my findings aim to enrich the understanding of the consumer revolution in the 18th-19th centuries.

1101.4. Dietary changes in Northwestern Iberia: The secondary colonial products

Ofelia REY CASTELAO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

This presentation focuses on the introduction of colonial products in both dietary habits and culinary practices in rural areas of the Northwestern Spain, especially in Galicia. In those territories corn and potatoes were essential from 1630/1640 (corn) and 1770/90 (potatoes). Yet, from America came other vegetables species that had an important impact on human nutrition: a) directly, entering the diet, as tomatoes; b) indirectly: the products that were used as meat preservatives or as substitutes for spices – the pepper, dried and ground, was used in sausages or to flavour the octopus. These products were known through the Franciscan friars who did missions in America (For example, those from the convent of Herbón), as happened in the case of peppers. They also were met through the contact with Andalusia - in the case of tomatoes and other vegetables –. All these products were easily incorporated among both the clergy and comfortable rural sectors; much later they spread among the peasantry, especially those that served to preserve meat and fish. To study the introduction of these new products in this communication are used: the chronicles of friars; tax interrogations such as the Cadastre of La Ensenada of 1753 (in which the lands dedicated to new products are indicated); the statistical dictionaries of the 19th century; the minutes of the urban municipalities (Santiago de Compostela); the stories of travelers and pilgrims; literary texts referred to the rural world.

Panel 1102. The Healthy Countryside? Perceptions, Experiences and Representations of Health, Healthcare and Illness, 1750-2019 – Part 2

Organiser: Sarah HOLLAND, University of Nottingham, UK

Chair: Nicola VERDON, Sheffield Hallam University, UK

Discussant: Nicola VERDON, Sheffield Hallam University, UK

The countryside has long had a reputation for being a healthy space with health-giving properties, and in the eyes of many constituted a rural idyll. In spite of extensive research that has challenged this notion, illuminating living and working experiences, there are still important aspects of this topic that require further examination. This panel explores comparative experiences of rural health, and different approaches to health in the countryside, from the mid 18th century to the 20th-first century. This includes case studies of poverty and welfare, “madness” and mental health, therapeutic landscapes, representations of rural health in museums and at heritage sites, public health care, and the impact of “modernization” or “repressive” policies.

The first session of this double panel explores the experience of and evidence for “madness” in the English countryside, poverty and welfare in the final decades of the old poor laws, and “therapeutic” landscapes.

The second session explores the Museum of English Rural Life’s role in recording, researching and deepening understanding of health and illness in rural England, the construction of a ‘healthy heritage’, the impact of modernizing and repressive regimes on health in the Hungarian countryside, and public health care in the Polish People’s Republic.

1102.1. Historical Geographies of Rural Interaction at Saltaire (UK) 1853-1918 and the Role of Countryside Environments in the Construction of a “Healthy Heritage”

Ruth QUINN, University of Hull, UK

In 1857 Samuel Kydd published a report (*Reynolds News*) describing how “the factory worker at Saltaire can in a few minutes leave the whirling of a thousand machines and find himself in the solitude of an untilled and uninhabited moor” a benefit which related to the “health and enjoyment of life”. There has been sustained research on how model settlement building in the countryside was pioneered as a means of improving living conditions for industrial workers, and how rural elements were incorporated into parks, hospitals and planned model settlements as part of wider trends in 19th-century welfare reform. However, there has been little scholarship on the historical geographies of rural interaction at model villages.

Responding to this gap, my research considers the significance of rural space at Saltaire. Adopting a spatial approach to archival research, it pieces together fragmentary evidence from public archives as well material remains in the landscape to understand why rural landscapes have been considered by UNESCO as an important part of Saltaire’s heritage value. This paper explores historical representations and accounts of rural interactions such as rambling, fishing and farming at Saltaire between 1853 and 1918. It seeks to understand the different ways in which rural spaces were used to support health and leisure at Saltaire as well as setting my research within a wider context of how rural landscapes are understood at model industrial heritage sites.

1102.2. Health and Rural England: Recent Approaches at the Museum of English Rural Life

Oliver DOUGLAS, Museum of English Rural Life, UK

The Museum of English Rural Life (The MERL) opened its current displays in October 2016, following a major capital redevelopment called ‘Our Country Lives’. This was core-funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, also attracting significant support from the Wellcome Trust for a strand of public engagement activity subtitled ‘Health, Nutrition, and Rural England.’ Until this point, health had never formed a core focus for the Museum or been a key topic in its displays. This was a timely and purposeful new departure.

The MERL’s approach to this was broad-based but sought to deliver sections on rural healthcare and life course and animal health that explored zoonosis, and additional content on food and nutrition throughout. The development of interpretation for these spaces was supported by a range of specialists – academic and otherwise. It sought to draw animal and human health closer together, to illustrate the need for a ‘more than human’ and ‘one health’ approach, and ultimately provide a jumping-off point for further programming and activity in this field. Throughout the process, opportunities arose to take public engagement and research in new directions. This paper will chart The MERL’s recent activity in this sphere and describe the steps we are taking to further The MERL’s role in recording, researching, and deepening our understanding of health and illness in rural England.

1102.3. “One is not dying yet, so the work must be done”: Public Health Care and Rural Perception of Malicious Tumor Diseases in the Polish People’s Republic

Ewelina SZPAK, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland

Soon after the World War II in the Polish People Republic the main health care issue were epidemics and diseases which, like tuberculosis, were not only called “social diseases” but also were regarded as one of the biggest social (and health) threats. Although the cancer rates were constantly increasing, the state healthcare policy underestimated the problem. It resulted in deficiency of funds, infrastructure and oncological staff. All those problems became of highly importance in the 1960s when the incidence of cancer (in cities) increased rapidly. During next decade the problem intensified as the rate of disease observed in rural areas and in the city reached similar indicators. Problems with the oncology education, extremely limited before the 1970s, together with popular social belief (and fears) related to cancerous diseases resulted in the birth of the so-called “cancer phobia”.

In my presentation, I would like to outline the main differences in ways of perceiving malicious tumor diseases by rural and urban societies of postwar Poland. I will bring up both the questions of registering and increasing cancer rates and changing attitudes of Polish people to oncologic care and cancer sufferers.

1102.4. Countryside modernized – or traumatized?

Gábor CSIKÓS, Vidéktörténeti Kutatócsoport (Rural History Research Group), Hungary

Modernization and industrialization were core elements of the communist program that reshaped rural life after World War Two. Although the switch to large scale agriculture was characterized by a decade long unequal battle between traditional peasantry and socialist state, the latter could finally implement collectivization by 1961. In the following decades, the Hungarian cooperative model was labeled successful not only because its efficiency (GDP) but because its contribution to standard of living in the Hungarian countryside. However, health reports showed other tendencies. Rate of suicide, alcoholism, prevalence of depression and neurosis also expanded in these decades. What could explain these discrepancies? Were they side effects of modernization or due to historic traumas (e.g. repressed revolution of 1956 or violent collectivization campaigns between 1948 and 1961)? Around 600 000 people left the villages in the sixties expressing that they see no future for themselves in the countryside. Current study aims to show these patterns. It also tries to reveal the possible causes and to make distinctions between general (European modernization tendencies) and local (repressive political systems of the Eastern Bloc) effects. The research is mainly based on archival sources (county health reports; archive of National Center of Neurology and Psychiatry).



Moisson avec moissonneuse batteuse à Saint-Lieux-lès-Lavaur (Midi-Pyrénées), photo, 2015 © Lelou.

Panel 1103. The scientisation and medicalisation of livestock agriculture: New perspectives on, and approaches to health, breeding and production post-1945” – Part 2

Organiser: Karen SAYER, Leeds Trinity University, UK

Chair: Carin MARTIN, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Discussant: James BOWEN, Leeds Trinity University, UK

These two panels will interrogate the roles of science, medicine and technology in modernising livestock production after the Second World War. They will integrate methodological considerations of how to investigate this problem with case studies from different national perspectives, which explore the processes through which production practices were transformed with the aid of new technologies and scientific and veterinary advice. They will consider the various tools and practices that were mobilized to produce as much food from livestock as possible. These include: innovations in housing, feeding and stockmanship; new reproductive technologies; antimicrobials and other drugs such as hormones and vaccines; health surveillance and biosecurity; animal food science; record keeping and agricultural accounting. Papers will examine the various experts that were involved in developing these innovations and encouraging farmers to adopt them. The two panels posit that it is important to develop a broad perspective on how the knowledges and practices of modern livestock farming were produced, circulated and evaluated, and how expertise was negotiated. Directing attention to such materials as informational films, specialist farming journals, advertising, advisory literature produced by government and the unique value of oral histories, speakers will discuss how, by working with scholars from other disciplines it is possible not only to enhance historical understandings, but also to inform present-day approaches to livestock health and production. The first panel will focus on the range of methods and sources available to rural and agricultural historians working on the 20th century; the second panel will focus on case studies framed by livestock disease and veterinary medicine.

1103.1. The multiple identities of an endemic livestock disease, c. 1946-1984

Abigail WOODS, Kings College London, UK

Little known outside farming circles, the disease known as Bovine Viral Diarrhoea (BVD) is regarded in many countries as one of the most economically significant diseases of cattle. While current understandings date from the 1980s, this paper is concerned with its earlier history, which featured many different and often conflicting reports of its symptoms, species distribution, impact, prevalence and mode of spread. Ranging across North American feedlots and UK dairy herds, Scottish sheep farms and Australian pig herds, this paper documents and accounts for the multiple biological and social identities of BVD, and explains them by reference to the political, scientific and agricultural contexts in which it was experienced. Defined and problematised largely through its resemblance to other livestock diseases, BVD also offers a unique window onto wider animal health concerns in a period of transformational changes in livestock husbandry, veterinary practice and the science of virology.

1103.2. Veterinarians, Sexual Health Control, and Artificial Insemination in Swedish Dairy Cattle, 1900-1960

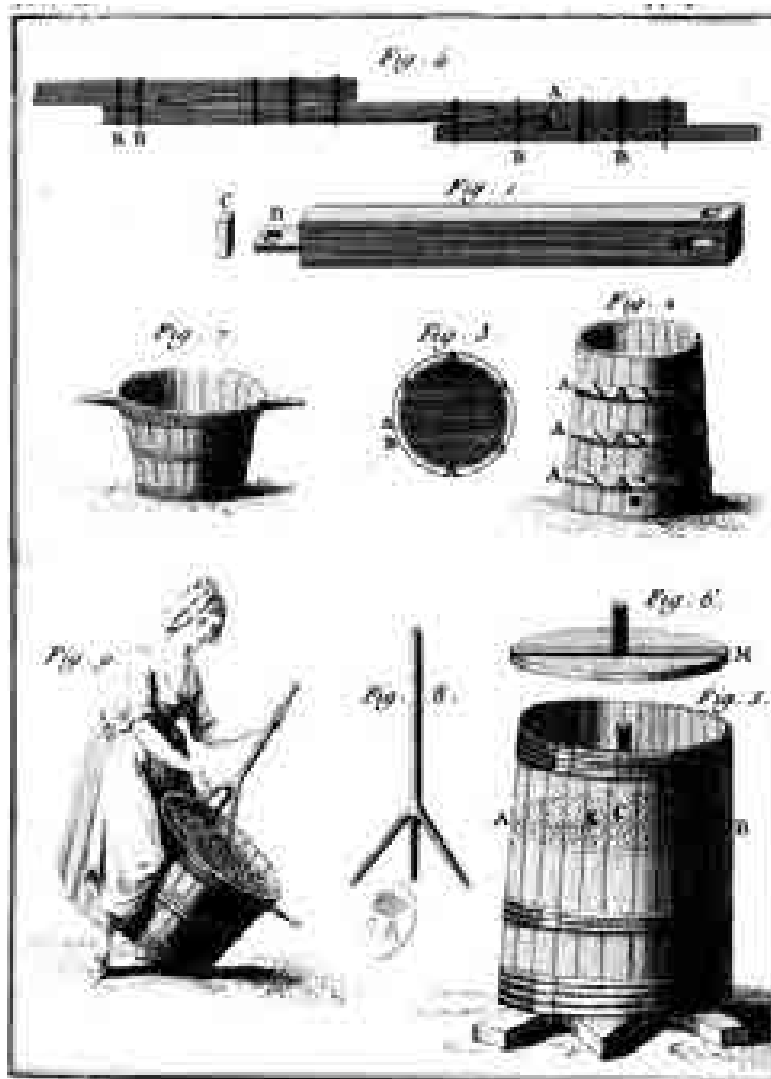
Karl BRUNO, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden

Artificial insemination transformed cattle breeding in Sweden from the mid-20th century. Here, I argue that as-yet unexamined veterinary interests crucially influenced this transformation, by first considering how veterinary perspectives on reproduction developed in the agricultural and intellectual context of interwar Sweden. Influenced by reproductive physiology and medical discourses preoccupied with inheritance, veterinary scientists began to focus on inheritable infertility. They downplayed treatments in favor of prevention, to be effected through medically motivated breeding selection grounded in “sexual health control,” a spectrum of veterinary practices for monitoring reproductive health. Linking clinical practice to genetics and breed-level fitness, this approach implied that vets would more serve the public interest and less individual animal owners. I then look at this idea in the context of a.i. appealing to the common good, vets sought to integrate a.i. with sexual health control and make its expansion contingent on their services. Breeders, geneticists and others who conceptualized a.i. as a means of quick genetic improvement often contested such veterinary paternalism, but by constructing hereditary “sexual weakness” in bulls as a threat to the very future of the dairy breeds, the veterinary profession secured considerable influence. It shaped and was shaped by a.i. into the 1960s, after which technological and organizational upheavals undermined its position.

1003.3. Antimicrobials marketing and the construction of “modern” animal breeding in France after 1945

Delphine BERDAH, Université Paris-Sud and Paris-Saclay, France.

Used to cure and prevent diseases or to accelerate the growth of farm animals, antibiotics are usually considered indispensable to intensive farming despite their negative effects (such as cheese fermentation impediment, food allergies or the selection of resistant bacteria, all known since the late 1940s). Regardless of that knowledge, French governments did not attempt to control their uses until 1975, when a law made veterinary prescription of antibiotics mandatory. This paper will thus focus on that period without regulation to apprehend how and by who, antibiotics were marketed, sold and used and to what extent, as the veterinary drug market was at stake for various actors, such as non-qualified practitioners, state agricultural advisers, farmers' associations and unions, as well as representatives of feed and pharmaceutical companies, and thus for different reasons. Following their knowledges and practices means gathering a multiplicity of direct and indirect sources: interviews of retired veterinarians and farmers, farming magazines, veterinary and animal science journals, sources from Chambers of Agriculture, informational movies and non-professional films as well as pharmaceutical leaflets and publications. This paper will thus shed light on less visible places of production and circulation of knowledge than what would do a traditional history of elites, institutions and public policies.



Foulage et égrappage du raisin, J.-A. Chaptal, *Traité sur la culture de la vigne*, Paris, 1801 © BnF.

Panel 1104. From Contestation to Incorporation? Global and Comparative Perspectives on the Organic Farming Movement (20th-21st centuries) – Part 2

Organisers:

Delphine THIVET, Université de Bordeaux, France

Benoît LEROUX, Université de Poitiers, France

Chair: Jean-Noël JOUZEL, CNRS, France

Discussant: Romain BLANCANEUX, Sciences Po Bordeaux, France

This panel aims to explore the tensions within the organic farming movement in a historical perspective. Its main objective is to contextualize the birth, development, institutionalization of sustainable agriculture in time and space. As a concept, organic agriculture is often said to have begun in the early part of the 20th century as a reaction to rapidly changing farming practices and the “modernization” of agriculture. The pioneers of the early organic movement were indeed motivated by a will to reverse the environmental and social issues associated with agriculture. In this respect, they embraced a holistic approach to agriculture and promoted agricultural practices in balance with the natural environment. While the organic movement represented at its beginnings a form of social resistance to and a critique of conventional industrial and productivist forms of agriculture, occurring at the periphery of dominant agriculture and food systems, its gradual intertwining with the State and the market has raised questions about its “conventionalisation”, coinciding with the emergence of so-called “green capitalism”. The purpose of this panel is to initiate a conversation among participants on these tensions and the ways they structure the field of organic farming in different national contexts. Bringing together different national histories of the organic movement will help to further our understanding of its socio-economic, political, and spatial dynamics. Connecting national histories with global history will also contribute to “deprovincialize” them and to acknowledge the differing trajectories of agro-ecologisation of practices in multiple regions and time periods. The history of organic farming movement will be studied from a variety of disciplinary approaches and will be traced through published and un-published historic sources, national/regional legislation and regulations, farmers unions and environmental associations archives, etc. This panel welcomes historical case studies on the organic farming movement drawn from all periods and places and invites that address anyone or more of the following topics: exploring the social space of the organic farming movement in historical perspective; analyzing the politics of organic farming; connecting the local with the global; discussing the emergence of “conventionalisation phenomena”.

1104.1. The roots of the environmental movement and its evolution in Andalusia (Spain): From land reform struggle to organic farming support (1975-2018)

Manuel GONZALEZ DE MOLINA, Antonio HERRERA, David SOTO and Gloria GUZMÁN, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla, Spain

Organic farming movement in Andalusia comes from a previous social movement, the “Andalusian Agreement for Nature” (1985-1990). This movement, which claims for a new sustainable use of forests, was possible due to the confluence of interests of several environmentalist organizations and the traditional Peasant Union. The struggles achieved a new Forest Policy (1989) adopted by the regional government. The actions developed in this conflict show an evolution in Andalusian day labourer movement from struggles for land reform in the seventies and early nineties to the development of organic farming cooperatives in the nineties. The first part of the paper provides an account of the emergence of Agroecology in Andalusia (and Spain), offering explanations about the context that made it possible and the actors involved. It also justifies the strong social and political content that Agroecology had in Andalusia from the very beginning. This strong socio-political orientation made a very significant contribution to agroecological thought, becoming one of the fundamental pillars of its very definition as a scientific approach. Second, we will analyse the circumstances that facilitated the realization of planned government action and sets out the consequences of its implementation. Finally, we will analyse the evolution of recent trends in organic farming and Agroecology in Andalusia, exploring some problems as the process of conventionalization in part of the organic agriculture.

1104.2. From Social Movements to State Supervision: The Institutionalisation and Certification of Organic Farming in Andalusia

Andreas JÜNGER, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany

Just like in other parts of the world, during the Spanish military dictatorship (from 1939 until 1975) the so-called Green Revolution led to fundamental changes in the agricultural sector through mechanisation and new (bio)technologies. In the course of the transition to democracy after 1975, several social initiatives were developed with the aim to establish new socio-environmental agricultural patterns. Perhaps more importantly, in Andalusia social movements around daily labourers and farm workers played an important role in the early days. In 1991, the Andalusian Ministry of Agriculture ordered the creation of an organisation to promote and certify organic farming (*Comite Andaluz de Agricultura Ecológica* (CAAE)). This paper looks at the development phase of CAAE in the early 1990s and the ongoing period up to the end of the 2000s. Based on the history of this institution, which can be classified as one of the most important organisations in the institutionalisation of organic agriculture in Andalusia, aspects of politics of organic farming and also the issues around the "conventionalisation" of organic farming are discussed. The paper specifically deals with the ideas and concepts of organic agriculture discussed and advocated by the CAAE, attempting to address to what extent the organisation has been able to provide solutions for the ecological and socio-economic problems of the Andalusian agricultural sector.

1104.3. Crossing the history of actors and the institutionalization of alternative movements: The experience of an agroecological cotton chain between Brazil and France

Laura CHARTAIN, EHESS, France and Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil

The doctoral research on which this communication is based consisted of following, from a socio-anthropological perspective and from the point of view of different actors, problematic moments in the establishment of a cotton chain in the 2010s. Cotton is produced in an agroecological way by small-scale farmers in the 'Sertão' region in the Brazilian Northeast and sold to French buyers who have created small 'ethical' companies. Brazilian local NGOs mediate the relationship between buyers and producers. Considering their individual and collective life histories, this paper looks at how different actors deal with the problems they face when they are involved in setting up this sector. The analytical framework is based on pragmatist approaches that give importance to the political and moral evaluation and valuation work carried out by the actors, as well as to the way in which they themselves refer to past experiences and to the different resources they mobilize. It is then possible to observe how the critical and creative capacities of the actors meet the processes of institutionalization of alternative movements in a dialectical movement composed of both support mobilization and control processes.



Pileurs d'ajoncs en Bretagne, J.-A., Barral et H. Sagnier, *Dictionnaire d'agriculture*, Paris, 1888, vol. 3 © BnF

Panel 1105. Female strategies in transforming rural regions of Europe from the 1960s to 1990s – Part 2

Organisers:

Maria HETZER, Universität Siegen, Germany

Leonore SCHOLZE-IRRLITZ, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

Zsuzsanna VARGA, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

Chair: Leonore SCHOLZE-IRRLITZ, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

Discussant: Nigel SWAIN, University of Liverpool, UK

Every October, the International Day for Rural Women is celebrated. This UN initiative aims to draw attention to the key role women play in rural food production. At the last EURHO conference, we organised a panel on the changing roles of rural women in the second half of the 20th century. The presentations concentrated on former socialist countries marked by collectivization in the 1950s and decollectivisation, that is privatisation, in the 1990s, both of which caused a radical restructuring of rural work and life.

At EURHO 2019, we continue work on this topic, however with contributions that evaluate the situation of women in transforming rural regions of European countries beyond an East-West divide. In the second half of the 20th century, growing industrialisation and market-centred production stimulated fundamental changes in northern and southern European agricultural production patterns and family-based agriculture. The transformation of the traditional peasantry within the European Economic Area (EEA) necessarily followed a different path than in Soviet-dominated European countries. Nevertheless we can identify similar, if not identical challenges which rural women faced. In this panel, we explore the strategies of women for coping with the changes beyond an East-West divide.

1105.1. The heroines of socialist work: The role of women in United Cooperative Farming. Agrocombine Slušovice

Martin JEMELKA, Masaryk Institute and Archive of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Public Research Institute, Czech Republic

The name Slušovice was known to everybody in Czechoslovakia in the Seventies and Eighties. The Agricultural Cooperative Unit served as a model example of successful socialist agriculture and life in the socialist country. With perestroika came the time of legitimization of Slušovice market-oriented methods and goals in the consumption area. Even today, the name Slušovice is mainly associated with František Čuba, the longtime chairman of the cooperative, and his team. However, what role women in the Slušovice cooperative and their activities played, has not yet been asked. Paradoxically somewhat, given the fact that the majority of people employed in agriculture were women.

This paper sketches the role of women, their activities and the gender politics of the cooperative. One of the most important aspects examined will concern the share of women in the management. The presentation will not shy away from the complexity of the company's social policy in relation to the needs of female employees.

1105.2. Women, work and time management in the socialist agriculture. A comparison between Soviet and Hungarian cooperatives

Zsuzsanna VARGA and Alexandra BODNÁR, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

It is an important feature of the Hungarian collectivization that by the end of this process, in 1961, the ratio of female cooperative members on average reached 40%. This paper presents insights from research conducted on the transition from the traditional peasant lifestyle to the so called "modern cooperative" one. Based on archival research and oral history, the central questions studied in this paper are the following: How did the division of female labour between the communal and the household farming in the cooperatives change during the 1960s-1970s? And in connection with these changes, how did the female cooperative members' time management adapt to this new situation?

1105.3. Rural women in the emerging farm family enterprises of Hungary in the Nineties

Ildikó Asztalos MORELL, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

A "third-way development" was foreseen as plausible path for rural development in Hungary after the fall of state socialist agricultural co-operatives. Family farms were expected to form the core of Hungarian agriculture. Rather, postsocialist transformation followed long-durée path-dependencies and the emergent structures showed increased polarisation between large-scale agricultural enterprises and family farms, with a vast category of mini-landowners and growing marginalisation of the rural poor. Family farms, lacking economic capital, struggled for survival. At the first phase of establishment, a primitive capital accumulation phase, this lack of economic capital forced many family farms to engage all labour resources of the family and kin. Immaterial assets of family members were utilised, such as cultural (habitus and educational) and social (weak and strong) capital.

This paper explores gender aspects of family strategies in developing family farms following the postsocialist transition. The study is based on field work data including semi-structured interviews with 50 family farms above 5 hectares in 2005. We show the diversity of women's roles on family farms at this accumulation stage. We explore farm wife roles as helping family members, wage-worker farm wife, partner in the farm family business and head of the farm family business. Through these roles, women connected the private, caring sphere of the family with the public sphere of cultivation and marketing.

1105.4. Cultural transmission, women and peasant community in Galiza during Franco dictatorship

Alba DIAZ-GEADA, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Peasant women have historically played a central role in the production and reproduction of Galician peasant communities. During the second half of the 20th century, rural communities were subjected to intense transformation processes. Our objective in this paper is to deepen the reflection on the role of rural women in cultural transmission, a key element to understand to what extent the *death* of the peasantry was such. The findings will be supported by a conceptual reflection on the notion of cultural transmission, as well as by the historical analysis of a small corpus of life stories of rural women born in the first third of the last century.



Fouillage de la vendange à Bordeaux, 1836 (Paris, BnF, Cabinet des Estampes) © BnF.

Panel 1106. Organized capitalism within agriculture: Agricultural associations and state intervention in the European agriculture, 1880s-1930s – Part 2

Organisers:

Jordi PLANAS, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Anton SCHUURMAN, Wageningen University and Research Center, the Netherlands

Chair: Anton SCHUURMAN, Wageningen University and Research Center, the Netherlands

Discussant: Miguel CABO, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Since the late 19th-century crisis, the state intervention in European agricultural markets expanded involving many areas: governments used not only trade policy to protect domestic markets, but they also introduced many regulations affecting quality, quantity and prices in domestic markets, and they promoted innovations to make agricultural producers more competitive. The First World War and the 1930s crisis made much more urgent the need of supportive farm policies and led to a general setback of free markets and a growing role of the state in agriculture. From the late 19th-century crisis there was a growing social mobilization in the countryside, with the diffusion of agricultural associations (landowners associations, farmers unions, specialized crop producers' associations, cooperatives...) that led to a much more organized rural society. In this panel we aim to discuss the interaction between agricultural organizations and policy makers in Europe in a period (between two agricultural crisis) when specific agricultural policies started to be implemented. We would like to shed some light in the role of agricultural associations in demanding and/or implementing the state intervention in agricultural markets (intermediary institutions between the state and the rural society); the role of the state in the diffusion of agricultural cooperatives and other farm associations (legislation, state technical and financial support, etc.); the growing influence of agricultural associations in politics, empowering farmers but also paving the way to corporatist solutions... We would like to be able to compare and discuss different experiences in Europe regarding the growing organized capitalism within agriculture, looking at the changing role of the state and the agricultural associations.

1106.1. Explaining the presence and absence of Spanish farm cooperatives before 1936: A political economy approach

James SIMPSON, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

Spanish farm cooperatives were limited in number and performed poorly before the Civil War. Rather than a lack of trust and social capital, this paper advances two alternative arguments. First, cooperatives often failed to offer the optimal level of scale to farmers for their day-to-day activities. In some case cooperatives were too large, which encouraged more informal forms of organization. When they were too small, greater scale could only be obtained by integrating cooperatives into federations. These required top-down support, which was provided in many European countries by landowners and the Church, as a result of competitive politics, that required them to build mass parties and organize small farmers politically. By contrast in Spain this was not forthcoming, as the Restoration political settlement (1876-1923) removed the need for party competition, and consequently left the needs of small farmers unattended. Only in Cataluña, and to a lesser extent Valencia, did regional party politics create these necessary conditions.

1106.2. From the right of association to the State control: Aspects of the associative policy in Spain and Greece during the first third of the 20th century

Dimitris ANGELIS-DIMAKIS, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

Our objective is the comparative overview of the associative policy in Spain and Greece during the first third of the 20th century. Firstly, we will examine the basic characteristics of the Spanish legislation about agrarian syndicates (1906) and the respective Greek law on cooperatives (1914). The timing of the crisis at the end of the 19th century with the shift of the European governments to an ever increasing interventionist agricultural policy will be the starting point of this study. Taking into account that in a period of three decades we cannot talk about a linear evolution of the associative policies we will look for the turning points observed. More specifically, we will examine whether and how the international conjunctures influenced the character of the associative policies in the two countries. Furthermore, we will outline the impact of State changes, such as the establishment of dictatorial regimes and the proclamation of the Republic on the decisions about the collective organisation in the countryside. A further goal of this paper is to identify similarities and differences between the two countries concerning the interdependence of the associative policy with other pillars of the agricultural policy. Finally, we will study comparatively the general trends of the cooperatives like the extent of their operation as levers of political pressure, their instrumental use by the State and the efforts of their conversion into conveyors of the agrarian protest.

1106.3. The role of cooperatives in the early agricultural policy in Catalonia (1914-1924)

Jordi PLANAS, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

From the late 19th-century crisis, the role of the state in European agriculture expanded, involving many areas: education and technical innovation; commercial policies and market regulations; farm supportive policies... In Spain, contrary to other Western European countries, the state intervention in agriculture in the early 20th century didn't go so far. A Ministry of Agriculture did not exist as a single institution until 1933 and the capacity of the state for implementing farm policies was hampered by weak administrative bodies and lack of funding. Moreover, the Spanish state was reluctant to promote farmers associations, because the large landowners who controlled the Parliament feared social and political mobilisation. Within Spain, Catalonia was an exception to the rule. Agricultural cooperatives and farmers associations spread very early. The contribution of the Catalan government, which compensated for the lack of response from the central Spanish authorities, was a critical factor in explaining Catalonia's exceptional position inside de Spanish context. In 1914 an autonomous government was set up in Catalonia, and three years later certain areas of agriculture came under its jurisdiction. A modern agricultural policy was introduced in which cooperatives had a crucial role. The aim of this paper is to shed light in this early agricultural policy in Catalonia and explain the role of cooperatives in it.

Panel 1107. Ethnographying Labour in Large-Scale Agriculture. Renewed Social Histories, between Work, Migration and Daily Lives – Part 2

Organisers:

Guillaume VADOT, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

Gaspard MATTON, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

Chair: Nicollò MIGNENI, EHESS, France

Discussant: Oliver PYE, Universität Bonn, Germany

The past decade was marked by a massive investment phenomenon targeting land. This extension of large-scale agriculture has been widely studied in its most controverted aspects: the reorganization of international supply chains, the role of states and institutions in the making of the deals, or its impacts on “natives” and the landscapes (Purseigle et al., 2017).

This panel aims rather at nurturing the comprehension of large-scale agriculture worldwide by reinserting it in the rural and popular histories. For that purpose, sociological, historical and ethnological insights are needed, as well as a focus on the people who make the big plantation: workers and managers, agricultural engineers and advisers of every type (Brunier, 2016), families, traders, local judges and civil-servants.

Approaching these agricultural – industrial landscapes with the tools of social history and ethnography offers new scientific perspectives, as these spaces have often been studied as exceptional and closed unities. Refusing the enchanted narratives (the plantation as a harmonious community) as well as the miserabilistic ones (for which the relations of power are unilateral, and there is no daily life), we would like to address the coexistence of a variety of contractual forms (Arnoux, Béaur, Varet-Vitu, 2003), labor regimes (Murray Li, 2017) and power relations, gender and ethnic segmentations, and the ways they are challenged and discussed.

This panel aims at documenting popular lives trajectories coming in and out of the estate, exploring the strong human connections between the later and far wider social spaces. The communications focus on these pathways, but also on daily work experiences and negotiations, on the ways of living and inhabiting in the area of the plantation, through wage-work, petty trade, small-scale agriculture, services to the workers, etc.

This doing, we try to identify some common patterns between the experiences lived on different continents. Everywhere, large-scale agriculture forms a very specific, segregated sector among the modern, formal economy and employment market it claims to extend to rural spaces, with specific ways of mobilizing and stabilizing its workforce. It shall not be surprising to discover common ways of dealing with the constraints of living and working in these spaces, a result that could inspire further scientific developments.

1107.1. Migrant Labour and Spatial Justice in Rural Greece: Taking Stock of Recent Research

Apostolos PAPAĐOPOULOS and Loukia-Maria FRATSEA, Harokopion University of Athens, Greece

Since the 1990s Southern Europe has attracted a large number of migrants due to the fact that it transformed into a global economic and political power. The number of migrants pouring into Europe increased tremendously, but the Southern European countries host a significant proportion of these migrant flows. Despite the harsh economic conditions, which are due to the recent economic crisis, those countries continue to serve as the main entrance gates for migrants in Europe. Migration to Greece has demarcated a new era of its economic development and societal evolution, which brought about new challenges and opportunities, especially in rural areas and agriculture. Both the older migration flows from the Balkans and recent flows from Asia and Africa have induced various challenges for the society, the economy and the political elites. During the economic crisis, the pressure exerted by migrants on society and economy has been particularly acute, raising issues of social and spatial justice. The paper critically discusses a set of issues arising from the expanding literature on rural migrant labour in Greece and Southern Europe. The hierarchy among migrant groups, ethnic divisions of labour, migrant mobilizations, the employment conditions and antagonisms between migrants and farmers are some of the major issues to be discussed. The production functions and the engagement of migrant labour in rural areas are closely related to social and spatial justice in post-crisis Greece.

1107.2. Working for the Large-Scale Farm. French Southwestern Strawberry and Melon Farms challenged by Foreign Labour

Camille HOCHÉDEZ, Université de Poitiers, France
Sophie CLAIR-CALIOT, Université de Poitiers, France
Julie LE GALL, ENS Lyon
David LESSAULT, CNRS, France

Foreign agricultural seasonal workers, these “*forgotten men* of rural studies” (Hubscher and Farcy, 1996), are traditionally presented as “birds of passage” (Piore, 1979). On the contrary, we propose to consider the processes of anchoring by agricultural activities. How are the spaces of the large-scale farm, and beyond, the rural areas, transformed by hosting this working force?

This proposal is based on field surveys conducted between 2018 and 2019 in two farm-intensive supply chains in the French Southwestern countryside: the melon sector around Loudun (Vienne district), and the strawberry sector in Pays Vernois (Dordogne district). Both rely on the massive use of seasonal foreign labour: Portuguese workers in strawberry production, Southern Europeans, West Africans, Bulgarians and Poles in melon production.

Our results show that the large-scale farm can become an anchor point in agricultural activity, and more widely in rural areas. This process results in three dynamics:

- (1) Foreign workers bring changes both in the organization of work, and in technical and cultural orientations on the large-scale farm;
- (2) The large-scale farm can become a place where to live for the foreign seasonal workers. Residential and agricultural spaces are closely intertwined, with a wide range of housing solutions;
- (3) The setting-up of formerly seasonal foreigners as farmers is the ultimate stage of anchoring, especially in Dordogne. Thus, this process changes the structures of farmlands.

1107.3. Sunflower Expansion in Ukraine: The Role of Marketing Strategies of Multinational Producers of the High-Yield Hybrid Seeds

Kateryna SOROKA, EHESS, France

Since mid-2000, Ukraine has become world's biggest exporter of sunflower oil, providing nearly one third of its global production. This development has entailed extensive use of Ukrainian fertile soils, as well as monopolization of landscapes by monoculture sunflower fields. This presentation is based on a six-month ethnographic fieldwork at Kiev subsidiary of a multinational agrochemical corporation, which occupies an important share of Ukrainian market of high-yield hybrid sunflower seeds. The aim of this study was to understand how global agrochemical industry finds its place in the large-scale Ukrainian agriculture. I studied three levels of expert discourse about hybrid sunflower seeds and found significant discrepancies between different types of promoting the same product depending on the target audience. First level of justification of the excellence of these seeds takes place in the narrow circle of the marketing team, where their quality is discussed openly. Second level is happening during the presentation of these hybrids to the selling team of the subsidiary, where the marketing team seeks to incite demand creators to vehemently promote the product, and thus, only few drawbacks of the product are exposed. The third level of justification takes place during the promotion of the hybrids to the clients, where the drawbacks of the hybrid seeds are rarely mentioned at all.

1107.4. Tenants on plantations. Disobediences, pluriactivity and individual trajectories on a Peruvian pioneer fringe

Gaspard MATTON, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

The valleys of La Convención in Southern Peru, attract thousands of peasants from the neighboring Andean highlands in the first half of the 20th Century. The installation of these settlers on the agricultural properties of this frontier is organized by contracts called *arriendo*. In exchange for a few hectares of land to clear and cultivate, the newcomers work 15 to 20 days a month on the owner's *demesne*. Based on the exploitation of the archives of an agricultural company managing two haciendas producing sugar cane, tea and coffee, this communication aims to describe the indiscipline and negotiations in which the settlers are involved. The internal correspondence within the company allows us to see how these contracts, which are supposed to organize the entire social and economic life of the haciendas, are daily overwhelmed on all sides.

First we shall see how these widespread disobediences have considerable collective effects, particularly in terms of changing the clauses of the contracts. We will then see how the administration's tolerance towards each settler is linked to the development of a strong pluriactivity. The many forms of arrangement and constraint on work can only be understood by paying attention to relations established by tenants in and outside the estate. This economic diversification of a border region is essential to take into account in order to understand the emergence of collective modalities of opposition to landlords' power at the end of the 1950's.

Panel 1108. Alpine vernacular Architecture and the so-called pastoral revolution – Part 2

Organisers:

Emmanuel DÉSVEAUX, EHESS, France

Luigi LORENZETTI, Università de la Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

Chair: Laurent HERMENT, CNRS, France

Discussant: Jonas ALBRECHT, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Austria

For a long time, the rural architecture of the upper valleys of the Alps have been perceived through a single glass: are the buildings made out of wood (the so-called chalet) or out of stone? This difference in the building materials was the main point of focalisation for researchers since the early 20th century, starting with the work of Jakob Hunziker for whom it was an indication of the linguistic affiliation of the populations (German versus Romance), to which answered the Richard Weiss's explanation phrased out in terms of ecological determinations. However, this debate overcomes the amazing unity of this architecture that offers a combinaison of three basic functions – living quarters, cowshed and haybarn – but declines them in many variations in regard to spacial arrangements in a matter that might be structurally analyzed. It is also tricking to observe the historical circumstances of the emergence of this rural architecture that seemed approximatively to occur between the end of the 16th century and the middle of the 20th century. An hypothesis emerges: this architecture is connected with the pastoral revolution, or in other words, with the implementation of a system mainly oriented to cattle-breeding for milk production. This orientation is aimed at a better rationality in exploiting natural ressources, since it allows to maximize the potential ressources in relation with the disponible manpower, thanks to the étagement of the landscape that loosens the seasonal imperatives of a grain harvest, so crucial in traditionnal plains agricultural systems. The relevance of this hypothesis has two main implications: what is the place left for cereals in these new systems? What kind of circulation it requires either for the humans (a good proportion of the population did not spend the winter in the upper valleys), either for the goods (the milky production must to be exported), either for capital (building houses and acquiring cattle means investment) and either for ideas (the building technics are not archaic)? Such a reflexion is also open to a discussion of the implications for the Alpine area of the two great principles of inheritance that prevail in Europe (indivision or egalitarian repartition) and of the respective roles of the state and of the religion in the process.

1108.1. Wood and stone south of the Hidden Frontier: Variabilities of vernacular architecture in the Trentino

Giovanni KEZICH and Antonella MOTT, Museo degli Usi e Costumi della Gente Trentina, Italy

The pronounced structural variability of vernacular architecture in the Trentino region (Italian eastern Alps) has so far failed to comply convincingly with either altitude-based, 'ecological' modes of explanation on the one hand, or valley-specific, 'ethnological' on the other, which have been alternatively brought into play in the context of local ethnography. Based on extensive research as to the compiling of an "Atlas of the rural landscapes of Trentino", the paper aims at giving a summary view of a very rich evidence of variations, taking into account the Lévi-Straussian paradigm, in the general context of that "Hidden Frontier" explored by US anthropologists John W. Cole and Eric R. Wolf in the 1960's, which has very much set the pace for the anthropological study of the area.

1108.2. Houses for the cows. The Oriental Alpine area between early modern and contemporary period

Giacomo BONAN, *Università di Bologna, Italy*

Claudio LORENZINI, *Università degli Studi di Udine, Italy*

Stefano MOROSINI, *Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy*

The first investigations on the traditional architectures in the Oriental Alpine area were been promoted by the geographers in the last decades of the 19th century. It deals with a tradition of famous study that has conditioned the history of the landscape. They tried to understand the altitudinal boundaries of the permanent residences and temporary ones. In reason for that limits they discovered “types” of residences. These first recognitions influenced the investigations on the architecture, promoted a few decades later, where the architectural ‘forms’ were all brought back to the title “rural”. In truth, the inhabited spaces have centralized form and in many cases, “urban” characters. Nearby or together with the residences for the men, were built spaces for keep animals and fodder. All around the inhabited centers were spread the low pastures and, going up, the woods and the higher pastures (“alpeggi”). In this landscape there were houses permanently inhabited and others temporarily frequented, as the structures for storing hay or the cowshed and the houses for man in the “alpeggi”.

The paper offers a first recognition of the literature around the so called “temporary” or “seasonnaly” residences, in particular with the structures for living in the higher pastures in the Oriental Alpine area between the early modern and contemporary period. Together with, we will promote a comparison between three separate regions: the Valtellina, the Feltrino and the Carnia.

1108.3. "Fragments of rurality". Mutations of the alpine rural landscape and architecture in the 20th century

Roberto DINI, *Politecnico di Torino, Italy*

During the twentieth century, the urbanization and settlement growth processes that have affected the alpine areas have irreversibly transformed the morphology of the historical rural territory, grafting onto the stratification process that has produced the anthropized mountain environment.

On the slopes, the widespread settlement development and the new enhancement land processes have changed the forms of the historical landscape following different logics and methods. The historical agrarian pattern – built according to certain scale ratios and shaped by cadastral and productive logics – has been profoundly transformed into a multi-scale landscape with new spatial relationships, new hierarchies, new polarities in the settlement architectures of the Alpine valleys.

On one hand, these new polarizations have redefined the settlements for breeding and, on the other hand, the diffusion of building transformations have produced the metamorphosis of the existing architectural heritage.

Finally, the theme of architectural imaginary, through the mystification of fetishes and simulacra of the rural tradition of the alpine world, have created reference models for the diffusion of the kitsch style so-called ‘neo-vernacular’. The paper wants to investigate the morphological and constitutive aspects of these mutations, in order to understand how the traces of the rural palimpsest in the Alps can still be considered an essential part of the framework of the contemporary settlement processes, both at the territorial and architectural scale.

1108.4. The erasure of mountain pastures: When the architecture reveals their change of use. The example of high altitude resorts in 20th and 21st centuries

Anne-Marie GRANET-ABISSET, *Université de Grenoble, France*

Huts, barns, raccard, mazot, mayen, temporary chalets... These constructions, usually basic in their fulfillment, attest to the function that was devolved to them in the organization of territories and traditional agro-pastoral economies. Their precariousness were linked to their location, sometimes exposed to the risk of avalanches, requiring reconstruction or repair in the spring. With changes in the agro-pastoral system and the economy in the upper valleys, these cottages have disappeared or, most often, they are redeveloped for tourist accommodation, linked with the popularity of the chalet and preserved areas, in both winter and summer. Some of these habitats remain as relict traces in the landscape that have reclaimed spaces, empty of permanent dwellings, to install, with the stations of the third generation, an urban planning and an architecture borrowing from urban standards in accordance with the decades of their construction. These new constructions as well as the infrastructures (ski lifts and traffic routes) that goes along with threlationship to the territory of the users which are more and more different and contradictory in their expectations. These questions will be approached on the basis of the example of a few resorts in the French Alps; from ex nihilo “urban resorts” which are seeking to recover a semblance of tradition, to “village resorts” which have been able to preserve the alpine hamlets, in a renewed practice of their use.

Panel 1109. Regional Economies of Welfare and Philanthropy in Northern Europe c. 1750-1834

Organiser: Henry FRENCH, University of Exeter, UK

Chair: Richard Hoyle, University of Reading, UK

Recent research into welfare and philanthropy in Europe has moved away from macro-level analyses of poverty as expressed through average per capita relief payments, and towards more nuanced case studies, based on localities and regions. These have allowed researchers to develop more holistic understandings of the nature of welfare in pre-industrial society, and have illustrated that it included a mixture of public, religious, and private provision, payments in money, goods and services, and provision of work, housing, clothes, schooling and vocational training, and balanced charitable benevolence against efforts to punish or reform. This research has also emphasized the huge regional variations within all such relief “systems”, which reflected differing regional economies and employment opportunities, the extent of female and child labour, agricultural regions and farming regimes, and the accumulation of charitable institutions and resources over time. In the North Sea area (UK, and Northern Europe) these new research findings have demonstrated that there was little practical difference in levels of provision or access to relief between the “compulsory” Old Poor Law system in England, and the kinds of provision and initiatives found in the modern Netherlands and Belgium in the 18th and early 19th centuries. This session will explore these connections through four detailed studies. Papers by John Broad and Anne Winter & Thijs Lambrecht compare regions within the entire welfare systems of England and the Southern Netherlands respectively. Papers by Henry French and Richard Paping explore these regional variations through detailed case-studies of relief provision and initiatives within specific regions within England and the Netherlands in this period.

1109.1. Regional difference under the Old Poor Law in England and Wales, 1776-1818

John BROAD, University of Cambridge, UK

The Old Poor Law in England and Wales gave great flexibility to parish authorities in how they provided welfare to the very poor. After 1834 central government had much more oversight over what happened in parishes and restricted the ways in which money could be spent. The mass of rich parish level material has led to many fine detailed studies of the earlier period e.g. Williams, 2011; French 2015. Generalisations about regional differences are more difficult to make. The most sweeping was Steve King’s claim that the nature and ethos of poor relief in northern England was quite different and much less generous before 1834 (King, 2000). This paper will examine regional difference via three sets of parish (and sub-parish) statistics covering the whole of England and Wales between 1776 and 1818. The parish level data from the British Parliamentary papers was digitised, and has been linked to the CGKO GIS maps at the Cambridge Group, with linkages to revised 1801 census data. Mapping this data makes it possible to show a variety of regional patterns: differences in welfare payments per head of population across English and Welsh regions, the prevalence of places that did not need to raise poor rates, the distribution of workhouses in different regions, how far parishes were subsidising rents in different parts of the country. The potential of these data sets to show changes in the burden of poverty in different parts of the country over time will also be examined.

1109.2. Pre-industrial welfare between regional economies and local regimes: Rural poor relief in Flanders around 1800

Anne WINTER, Vrije Universiteit Brussel and Thijs LAMBRECHT, Universiteit Gent, Belgium

This study combines cross-sectional poor relief data at parish-level in Flanders (present-day Belgium) in 1786 and 1807 to analyse both spatial variation and temporal shifts in the geography of rural welfare in a time of regime change. By comparing levels of relief income and spending with demographic data and socio-economic proxies at local level, we aim to evaluate the relative importance of regional economies and local variation in producing spatially distinctive poor relief regimes. By combining data from the end of the ancien regime (1786) on the one hand, and the French period (1807) on the other hand, we will be able to establish the impact and (dis)continuity of French poor relief reforms on both overall levels of spending and geographies of welfare.

The results show considerable local variation, based on underlying structural socio-economic characteristics. The importance of socio-economic characteristics in determining both regional patterns and local variation supports our contention that local and regional levels of analysis represent a more fruitful avenue for understanding variations in poor relief practices than national differences in legislation. This has implications for the comparative study of poor relief practices in a wider international context.

1109.3. Irregular Relief Provision as Income Support within the “Old Poor Law” in England, c. 1760-1834

Henry FRENCH, University of Exeter, UK

This paper examines the composition of poor relief in three contrasting English parishes: Terling, south-east England; Butleigh, in western England; and Cannock, in the industrial West Midlands. Picking up on studies by King (2000 & 2003), Ottaway (1998 & 2004) & Williams (2005 & 2011), the micro-study considers the question of the ‘generosity’ and the wider purpose of poor relief provision in this period. This research draws on a database of all occasional payments made to relief recipients in the three parishes between 1762 and 1835 (over 300,000 individual payments, to 3,631 individual recipients). The ages of approximately 80 per cent of these recipients have been identified, and the family structure of a proportion of these can be established, so that individual and familial payment ‘life-histories’ can be reconstructed. It focuses not just on recipients of regular weekly pensions but also on a wider, much more diverse group who received ad hoc payments, who more closely reflected the working-age population of these parishes. While debates about the “generosity” or otherwise of the Old Poor Law will continue, this paper argues that these findings force economic historians to take “occasional” provision much more seriously as a mechanism of income replacement within the relief system.

1109.4. The Society of Benevolence, Pauper Colonies and Regional Economies of Welfare in the Netherlands 1818-1859

Richard PAPING, University of Groningen, the Netherlands

The private Society of Benevolence (“Maatschappij van Weldadigheid”) was created in 1818 to help solve the enormous poverty problems in the cities in Holland in the west of the Netherlands, which were a consequence of economic stagnation and accompanying extensive de-urbanisation. The idea – strongly supported by King William I and consequently the government – was to bring urban paupers to large newly created institutions called colonies in the countryside in the east of the Netherlands (especially Drenthe and Overijssel), to do agricultural work and reclaim infertile moors, earning a decent living. These paupers would learn to work in a disciplined way and acquire new skills to enable them to improve their socio-economic position after leaving these institutions. In a few years, colonies of the Society of Benevolence contained nearly 10,000 persons, mainly pauper families and convicted beggars but also some 2,000 orphans (including foundlings) over 6 years of age, largely from Amsterdam. In 1859 the colonies were taken over by the government, as they proved extremely costly, and inefficient. The paper considers the life chances of these ‘colonists’ (age-dependent death rates were more than 5 times higher than normal for the orphans), the extent of integration in the local marriage market, and assess the standard-of-living in the colonies and the social chances to evaluate the outcomes of this huge social experiment involving the migration of tens of thousands of paupers.

Panel 1110. Developing and changing land tenure system. Goals and methods

Organiser: Dániel LUKA, University of Pécs, Hungary

Chair: Regina SCHÄFER, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany

Discussant: Mateo TACCA, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

The main topic of this panel is land tenure system, especially from interdisciplinary and comparative perspectives. The focus will be on structural changes which were caused by various political, social and economic processes up to the present, but especially from 18th Century. Land tenure, its form and nature are determining agricultural production, and also create a context to examine rural population in general and individual farmers in particular. The topic is mainly related to history and development of property rights in rural societies. Problems and solutions, similarities and differences concerning land ownership and land use have to be explored from international view to gain knowledge of global issues, like distribution of land, land use, methods of food production, social aspects, etc. Development and change of land tenure structure were described by scholars in broader sense as result of land policy measures. Its goals, methods and effects should be investigated by more disciplines, for instance economics, history, jurisprudence, sociology, geology and agricultural economics in cooperation, emphasizing economy, society, law, culture and everyday life.

Raising key aspects on change of possession and use of arable land, it is expected to point out how land reforms and agrarian reforms affected the tillers, their life, the cultivation of land and agricultural production. Land tenure in history and in the present is subject of transition; regulation of rights on land had major impact on rural estates, especially in the 20th Century. In this regard it seems necessary to evaluate change of land tenure particularly during wars, colonization, different political systems and crisis, and to assess their effects in the short – and in the long-term. Reallocating land had role to ease social tensions in societies and economies which had unequal land structure and large rural population. Due to this factor securing ownership and use rights to land were mainly decisive to properly utilization and production. Different areas and regions created other conditions which make possible to compare phenomena under diverse circumstances.

1110.1. Social and economic transformations in (greek) Thessaly, 1850-1940

George GASSIAS, Foteini LEKKA and Dina MOUSTANI, University of Crete, Forth. Institute for Mediterranean Studies and University of Thessaly, Greece

Our presentation focuses on the transformations that took place between 1850 and 1940 in the province of Thessaly, an extensive rural region on the Balkan Peninsula, which constituted the administrative unit of *sancak-i Tirhala* in the Ottoman Empire until 1881, when Greek Kingdom annexed Thessaly.

We seek to approach changes in the economic, social and cultural sphere through the mapping of central political choices as well as local traditions and peculiarities, key issues for everyone who wishes to understand the complexity and diversity of relations taking place in rural Thessaly from the time of the Land Law (1858), during the period of the Ottoman Reforms, until the annexation of Thessaly and the implementation of the extensive program of land reform, in the 1920's by the Greek state.

The uses of land, the types of labor in the large land estates, the function of rural economy, the connection of Thessaly to the European markets, mostly through Volos, the great land port, the systematic demographic homogenization (due to the prevalence of the Christian population), the ways landlords-entrepreneurs acted, the emergence of middle classes and urban mentalities, are especially the issues that prevailed in our research during the period under discussion. In our approach, these changes are inextricably linked to the content, evolution and function of the land tenure system.

1110.2. Landed property rights and agricultural development: A comparative investigation of Holland and Norfolk, c. 1350-1650.

Junhao CAO, Utrecht University, the Netherlands

It has been revealed that agriculture in the Low Countries and England experienced rapid growth and became the most advanced in Europe during the early modern ages. How to explain this development? The role of changes in landed property rights in agricultural development was one of the crucial factors.

There are three points when investigating the role of landed property rights in the process of agricultural development. (1) Changes of property rights to land. Here, I focus on the changes in land ownership and land lease rights and examine that to what extent did the rights become exclusive, clear-defined and secure. (2) The mechanism of effects: The impact exerted by landed property rights on agricultural development was not direct and extremely complicated and divergent in different regions. As a start, this paper would focus on the changes in land social distribution, land leasehold, and land investment. (3) Measuring agricultural development: Here I emphasize agricultural land and labour productivity, value added and profitability, and structural changes.

In this paper, the research would take place by regional case of Holland and Norfolk, the most advanced and representative regions of the Low Countries and England respectively. I select the period of 1350 – 1650 as the research period when agricultural decline, recovery and growth since late medieval crisis. During the period, landed property rights seemed to experienced profound transitions.

1110.3. Laval Nugent: One man, three different ways of land management and negotiation in 19th Century

Gaetano MORESE, Associazione per la storia sociale del Mezzogiorno e dell'area mediterranea, Italy

In 1815 Laval Nugent, an Austrian-Irish officer of the Austrian imperial army, married the Neapolitan noblewoman Giovanna Riario Sforza who brought the lands of Montepeloso (Basilicata) as a dowry, obtained after the subversion of feudalism introduced with the Napoleonic occupation of Southern Italy. In 1819 Ferdinand of Bourbon conceded to Laval Nugent the former fief of Castelvolturno to make a reclamation on behalf of the state, to repay his aid in the reconquest of his kingdom. With the capitals obtained from these lands, Nugent bought some wooded properties in Croatia from which he obtained new income with the sale of wood and on these new lands he then sought to build his political position. Family assets, land reclamation, land purchase for economic-political purposes were three different ways in which the Nugent relied on with the land and with the different populations with whom he came into contact. Through the case of the Nugent, the paper intends to identify three different forms of rural land ownership and exploitation, in three distinct areas of the continent, with three different relationships with local communities, within a circulation of knowledge and skills that saw technicians and administrators involved in the management and transformation of this territory.

1110.4. Changing land tenure system in East-Central and Southeast Europe from 1944 to 1967 in comparison

Dániel LUKA, University of Pécs, Hungary

During the second half of the 20th century communist dictatorships had tried in East-Central and Southeast Europe to accomplish "socialist transformation of agriculture". This study provides an overview of land policies in the region from a comparative and interdisciplinary perspective from 1944 to 1967. Changing legal relationship to land in agriculture was a determining factor to create a planned economy on basis of communist ideology. Restricting and abolishing private property were set as main goals in the long term. Can we consider restriction and abolition of private land ownership and private land use in Poland, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, in the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany/German Democratic Republic, in Romania, in Bulgaria, in Albania and in Yugoslavia as part of "socialist transformation of agriculture"? Which differences, particularities and similarities can we experience by comparison regarding land legislation and legal system? To what extent had been the land structure changed by land policy measures? Is it possible to find connections, interactions and links between legislation of the countries in East-Central and Southeast Europe, and to point out the extent of Soviet influence? This contribution to legal history and specifically to comparative legal history tries to reveal main tendencies.

Meetings in conjunction with the Conference

ERHFDBA

European Rural History Film Database Association
RURALFILMS.EU

Monday 9 September 2019, 17.30-19.30
54 Boulevard Raspail

The European Rural History Film Database Association promotes the documentation, conservation and study of films on rural history. It maintains a film database which provides an overview over the film production of rural Europe in the 20th century. A selection of more than 100 films are now digitised and open accessible via the Beta-Version of the ERHF-Online-Portal.

Roundtable and Presentation of film extracts from the ERH-Film Online-Portal:



Dietlind Hüchtker, Leipzig
Niccolò Mignemi, Paris
Micheál O'Fathartaigh, Galway
Debra A. Reid, Michigan
Nadine Vivier, Le Mans

Organised by the members of the ERHFDBA: Archives of Rural History, Bern; Centrum Agrarische Geschiedenis, Leuven; CLUE+: The Interfaculty Research Institute for Culture, Cognition, History and Heritage of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam; Fryske Akademy, Leeuwarden; Frisian Film Archive, Leeuwarden; Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten; Museum of English Rural Life (MERL), Reading; Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum.

Meetings in conjunction with the Conference

Meeting of the Rural Women's Studies Association

Tuesday 10 September, 9.-10.30

Members of the Rural Women's Studies Association (RWSA) welcome all interested parties to attend a planning meeting to discuss ideas for the next triennial RWSA conference. The conference will be held 13-15 May 2021 at the University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada, and the theme will be "Kitchen Table Talk to Global Forum".

The theme "Kitchen Table Talk to Global Forum" emphasizes how conversations, relationships, and food shape rural communities. This theme allows for the consideration of the ways that gendered, sexual, ethnic, and racial identities affect personal power, class consciousness, individual choice, and community development.

RWSA is an international association founded in 1998 to promote and advance farm and rural women's/gender studies in a historical perspective by encouraging research, promoting scholarship, and establishing and maintaining links with organizations that share these goals. RWSA welcomes public historians and archivists, graduate students, and representatives of rural organizations and communities as members, in addition to academic scholars from diverse fields, including sociology, anthropology, literature and languages, Indigenous Studies, and history.

The triennial conference of the Rural Women's History Association (RWSA) will be held 13-15 May 2021 at the University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada. The theme will be "Kitchen Table Talk to Global Forum."

The theme "Kitchen Table Talk to Global Forum" emphasizes how conversations, relationships, and food shape rural communities. This theme allows for the consideration of the ways that gendered, sexual, ethnic, and racial identities affect personal power, class consciousness, individual choice, and community development. These subjects lend themselves to the exploration of rural activism, social justice, innovation, politics, business development, cultural expression, self-governance, and collective experiences – both historical and contemporary – in local, regional, national, and global settings.

Presentations take many forms at RWSA conferences, including workshops, panel sessions, tours, interactive sessions, roundtable discussions, poster presentations, open-mic discussions, performances, readings, and audiovisual presentations. The RWSA encourages inter-, trans- or multi-disciplinary approaches that connect rural women's/gender history and present-day concerns. The RWSA seeks to integrate creative work with the conference theme, and we encourage artists working in visual, film, performative, and literary genres to submit their ideas to make the conference most dynamic.

The theme: "Kitchen Table Talk to Global Forum" encourages exploration of several subthemes:

- Women and mental health
- Women and food justice
- Indigenous rural women
- Women and food tourism
- Women and technological and biological innovation (media, healthcare, equipment)
- What's on the table (food production, preparation, rituals, hospitality, etiquette, and display)
- Women's table talk (issues concerning family, community, politics, legislation, and markets).

Please submit the following information by 31 May 2020.

1. Title of paper/panel/poster/workshop/performance (working title is acceptable).
2. 200-word description/abstract of paper, panel, poster, workshop, performance, etc.
3. Brief vita/bio of presenter or panel participants and complete contact information for all.

Table Ronde du RUCHE

Histoire environnementale et Histoire rurale: bilan, enjeux et perspectives

Wednesday 11 September, 15.-17, 105 Bd Raspail, room 13

À la suite de son assemblée générale annuelle le RUCHE (Réseau Universitaire de Chercheurs en Histoire Environnementale) organisera une table ronde consacrée aux relations entre histoire environnementale et histoire rurale. Elle réunira notamment Corinne Beck (Université de Valenciennes), Christophe Bonneuil (CNRS – CAK), Jawad Daheur (CNRS-CERCEC), Thomas Le Roux (CNRS-CRH), Raphaël Morera (CNRS-CRH / Études rurales) et Sylvain Olivier (Université de Nîmes).

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Rural History 2019: Geographical origin of the participants:
549 active participants representing institutions in 44 countries

