



# Rural History 2013

International conference of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO)  
University of Bern, UniS, Schanzeneckstrasse 4, 19–22 August 2013

With 300 contributions from Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas

[www.ruralhistory2013.org](http://www.ruralhistory2013.org)

Organised by the Archives of Rural History (ARH) and the Swiss Rural History Society (SRHS)

**Rural History 2013 has been organised by the Archives of Rural History in Bern (AHR) and the Swiss Rural History Society (SRHS).**

The organisers are particularly grateful to the Swiss Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences (SAGW), the Swiss National Science Foundation and the Federal Office for Agriculture (FOAG) for their substantial financial support.



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[www.sagw.ch](http://www.sagw.ch)



SWISS NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

The City of Bern and the Swiss Milk Producers (SMP) have sponsored the welcome reception on Monday, 19 August 2013. We are thankful to them as well as to those who have sponsored the academic work of the conference:

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**Rural History 2013 – Conference of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO)**

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# Rural History 2013

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

University of Bern, UniS

19 – 22 August 2013

**On-site Conference Registration**

The on-site registration facilities for the conference are at the entrance of UniS

- Monday 19 August:** 08.00 to 17.00
- Tuesday 20 August:** 07.30 to 17.00
- Wednesday 21 August:** 08.00 to 17.00
- Thursday 22 August:** 08.00 to 13.00

**Infopoint**

If you have questions or need help: Go to the on-site registration stand at the entrance. There you will be looked after.

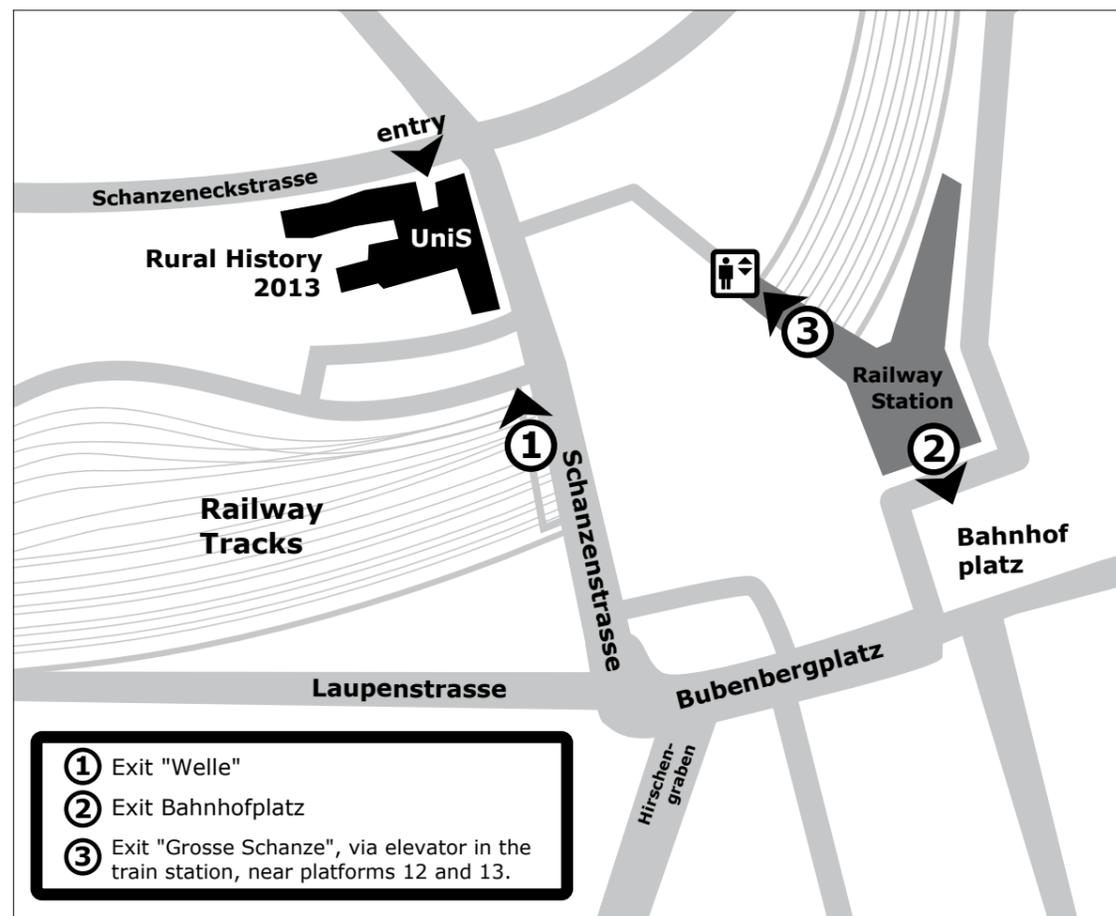
**Refreshments and Lunch**

Tea, coffee, mineral water and lunch are served in the main hall of the conference building. You can buy lunch vouchers at the registration stand.

**Internet**

There is a wireless access in the whole building of UniS, where the conference takes place. Ask at the registration desk for the wireless access.

**Map**



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## A welcome to the Bern conference from the President of EURHO

When a group of us in the British Agricultural History Society thought that the moment was ripe to launch an international conference of rural historians, we had hopes to gather together a modest number of colleagues - perhaps a hundred. We had more than twice that number at the University of Sussex in 2010. And now at the second conference – the first run under the aegis of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO) – we have a conference that is larger still, more diverse still, even more international. Whilst the two conferences show that there is no right way to do rural history - no single school, no standard approach – one also senses that with the launch of EURHO and its conferences, our discipline has achieved a higher level of standing amongst the historical sciences. In another sense, with the formal adoption of the constitution of EURHO at this meeting, we have, in very important way, come of age.

I am under no illusion about the time it takes to organise a meeting on this scale nor the numbers who contribute to making it a success. On behalf of EURHO and all those attending the conference I want to offer thanks first and foremost to Peter Moser of the Archives of Rural History as conference director and to the Swiss Rural History Society who are our hosts.

We will meet again in two years at a location to be announced. Happily we have a choice of venues – itself a sign of our vitality – and a difficult decision has to be made choosing between them. We will announce our next destination during the conference. For the moment, enjoy this meeting. There is so much that we can all learn from the experience of other countries and their rural societies and the methodologies that colleagues use to explore and explain their rural history. There is no better place to do that than at this conference, so listen and learn, observe and absorb, and depart enriched. And if we all do that, this great endeavour to understand the rural past in all its dimensions will go from strength to strength.

**Richard Hoyle**  
President, EURHO

## Rural History 2013: Towards a better understanding of rural history

The Swiss Rural History Society and the Archives of Rural History in Bern welcome all the participants to the Rural History 2013 conference of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO), the organisation launched at the Rural History 2010 conference organised by the British Agricultural History Society in 2010 in Brighton.

Rural History 2013 reflects the various roads which rural history writing has taken over the last two decades in Europe and elsewhere. Contributions from virtually every country in Europe as well as from Africa, Asia and the Americas are one feature of the conference whilst others include the wide variety of topics as well as the range of methodologies and theories. While Rural History 2013 is in many ways the culmination of the numerous new initiatives launched by rural historians since the early 1990s, it by no means marks the conclusion of this most welcome and exciting process. In two years' time the participants of Rural History 2015 will be able to draw on the insights gained at the conference here in Bern.

The organisers and the scientific committee of Rural History 2013 aim to provide insight into the state of the art of rural history today. Further, we seek to strengthen the various developing networks and co-operative projects of rural historians and their institutions. We have little doubt that the more than 300 participants of the conference will advance our aspirations.

The keynote lectures offer an opportunity for rural historians to reflect on their own activities. While in the first of the three sessions the promise and the constraints of English as the lingua franca of rural historians are discussed, the second one highlights some of the results of the journey taken by rural history in the last few years. And the third session focuses on film, a so far underutilised source by rural historians.

A conference of this size can only be executed with the help of a great number of people over a long period of time. On behalf of the Archives of Rural History and the Swiss Rural History Society I would like to thank Claudia Schreiber, Martina Ineichen, Nathalie Bardill, Martin Stuber, Anne-Lise Head and Thomas Schibli for their enormous commitment to the success of this meeting. Michael Moser designed and produced the Conference Book and Peppina Beeli and Stefanie Kohler from the Swiss Society for History and Catherine Glover and Richard Hoyle from the British Agricultural History Society shared with us their valuable expertise in organising large conferences. I also wish to offer thanks to all members of the Management Committee of EURHO, who had the confidence to hold the first conference of the new organisation in a country where – at least so far – rural history has not figured among the most popular academic disciplines. If Rural History 2013 makes even a small contribution towards changing that, the whole project will have been all the more worthwhile.

**Peter Moser**  
Conference Director  
Chairman Scientific Committee

## Scientific Committee

The scientific committee launched a call for panels in 2012 and then made a selection from the proposals. Once the panels were selected, a call for papers was started and it was now up to the panel organisers to select the papers they wished to include in their panel. The purpose of this procedure was to encourage a manifold composition of the panels as well as offering young scholars new opportunities for presenting their work by joining experienced panel organisers with similar interests.

### Members of the Scientific Committee:

- **Moser, Peter**, Dr., Director, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland (Chairman)
- **Béaur, Gérard**, Professor, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France
- **Coclanis, Peter**, Professor, University of Carolina, USA
- **Hoyle, Richard**, Professor, University of Reading, Great Britain
- **Langthaler, Ernst**, PD, Director, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria
- **Morell, Mats**, Professor, University of Stockholm, Sweden
- **Socrates, Petmezas**, Ass. Professor, University of Crete, Greece
- **Sonderregger, Stefan**, Prof., Stadtarchivar St.Gallen, Switzerland
- **Strom, Claire**, Professor, Rollins College, Florida, USA
- **Swart, Sandra**, Ass. Professor, Stellenbosch University, South Africa
- **Van Molle, Leen**, Professor, University of Leuven, Belgium
- **Varga, Zsuzsanna**, Ass. Professor, Lorand Eötvös University Budapest, Hungary

## European Rural History Organisation (EURHO)

The EURHO is a non-profit association concerned to promote the study and dissemination of all aspects of rural history in Europe and beyond. It organizes a bi-annual international conference, runs the website [www.ruralhistory.eu](http://www.ruralhistory.eu) and publishes the Rural History Newsletter. 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 current officers (President: Richard Hoyle, UK, Vice-Presidents: Rosa Congost, Spain, and Leen Van Molle, Belgium, Secretary: Ernst Langthaler, Austria, Treasurer: Peter Moser, Switzerland) were appointed at the international conference Rural History 2010, organised by the British Agricultural History Society, in Brighton/UK. Meanwhile, the EURHO has chosen its legal seat at the Institute of Rural History in St. Pölten/Austria which provides administrative services to the organisation. The international conference Rural History 2013 in Bern/Switzerland is the first held under the auspices of the EURHO in cooperation with the Swiss Rural History Society and the Archives of Rural History in Bern. EURHO membership is open to scientific institutions concerned with the furtherance of rural history and to individuals who attend the organisation's conferences.

[www.ruralhistory.eu](http://www.ruralhistory.eu)

eu | ropean  
r | ural  
h | istory  
o | rganisation

## Swiss Rural History Society

The Swiss Rural History Society (SRHS) was established in 2009. The society initiates and supports research on rural history, brings together researchers on all periods and acts as a link to regional as well as international institutions. Furthermore, it maintains a multilingual, interactive bibliography on rural history. The SRHS organises workshops and, bi-annually, scientific conferences. Once every year it carries out an excursion.

The Swiss Rural History Society is proud to host the conference Rural History 2013 together with the Archives of Rural History in Bern and welcomes all participants.

[www.ruralhistory.ch](http://www.ruralhistory.ch)

SSSR SSSHR  
SGLG SRHS  
Schweizerische Gesellschaft für ländliche Geschichte  
Société Suisse d'histoire rurale  
Società svizzera di storia rurale  
Swiss Rural History Society

## Archiving sources from the agricultural sector – a success story from Switzerland

We are delighted to announce that more than 300 historians, economists and other scientists from Europe, Africa, the Americas and Asia are set to participate in the conference Rural History 2013, organised by the Archives of Rural History and the Swiss Rural History Society.

This international conference is an impressive demonstration of the fact that the humanities and the social sciences are becoming seriously interested in the study of the agricultural sector and rural society. The contributions from so many scholars further demonstrate how forward-looking the establishment of the Archives of Rural History ten years ago was. Obviously, what began as a risky experiment has developed into an important institution in a short time period. We are pleased to note that our archives, catalogued by the Archives of Rural History, are now making a significant contribution towards the impressive revival of rural history.

With our support of the Archives of Rural History in conducting this conference we hope to help to secure the future of the institution as well as the promotion of rural history in general. We strongly recommend to our partners abroad that they support all relevant initiatives to safeguard the sources of the agricultural sector in their own country. The development of rural history in Switzerland over the last decade illustrates quite clearly, that the availability of sources is a crucial pre-condition for a serious and innovative examination of the agricultural sector and rural society.

## Archives of Rural History (AHR)

### A new institution for old challenges

The Archives of Rural History (AHR) is an independent, scientific institution engaged in archiving historical records and in conducting historical research. Since its foundation in 2002 it has become the centre for rural history in Switzerland. It maintains a wide range of connections and exchanges with historical and archival institutions in Europe and elsewhere.

We systematically search for, collect and catalogue records relating to the history of agriculture and the rural society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. So far the historical records of more than 170 institutions, organisations and individuals, extending to more than 1,500 linear metres, have been catalogued and made accessible to researchers for scientific purposes.

As a virtual archive, the Archives of Rural History do not store the catalogued archival records itself, but rather deposit the collections in existing public archives or, alternatively, returns them to the owners-creators who keep them as private archives which are accessible for scientific research. For each collection a catalogue is created. This finding aid functions as a key in identifying the individual items contained in the files of the collection. Each catalogue is published in our online-database *Records of Rural History*.

The Archives of Rural History are also engaged in conducting historical research. We initiate and undertake research projects in our own right as well as participate in bigger ventures on a national and international level. At the moment we are conducting, for example, a research project on the subject of the agrarian-industrial knowledge society funded by the Swiss National Research Foundation.

Besides the online-database *Records of Rural History* we maintain the online-database *Rural Biography* which contains substantial information on the lives and activities of more than 3000 actors.

We are proud to host Rural History 2013 together with the Swiss Rural History Society and welcome all participants in Bern.

[www.agrararchiv.ch](http://www.agrararchiv.ch)



[www.swissgenetics.ch](http://www.swissgenetics.ch)



[www.mutterkuh.ch](http://www.mutterkuh.ch)



[www.braunvieh.ch](http://www.braunvieh.ch)



[www.vianco.ch](http://www.vianco.ch)



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[www.holstein.ch](http://www.holstein.ch)



[www.ogg.ch](http://www.ogg.ch)



[www.ipsuisse.ch](http://www.ipsuisse.ch)

## Archiv für Agrargeschichte Archives of rural history Archives de l'histoire rurale



### Geschichte im virtuellen Archiv

Das Archiv für Agrargeschichte als Zentrum der Geschichtsschreibung zur ländlichen Gesellschaft

Herausgegeben von  
Beat Brodbeck, Martina Ineichen, Thomas Schibli



**Monday, 19 August 2013**

	Room A-126	Room A-119	Room A-122	Room A 201	Room A 027	Room A 022	Room A 019	Room A 024	
0800-1100	Registration								
1100-1300	1.1.	1.2.	1.3.	1.4.	1.5.	1.6.	-	-	
1300-1400	Lunch								
1400-1530	2.1.	2.2.	2.3.	2.4.	2.5.	2.6.	2.7.	-	
1600-1700	Reception								
1700-1930	Keynote Session I: Lost in Translations? Room A 003								

**Tuesday, 20 August 2013**

	Room A-126	Room A-119	Room A-122	Room A 201	Room A 027	Room A 022	Room A 019	Room A 024	
0800-1000	3.1.	3.2.	3.3.	3.4.	3.5.	3.6.	3.7.	-	
1000-1030	Tea								
1030-1200	4.1.	4.2.	4.3.	4.4.	4.5.	4.6.	4.7.	-	
1200-1300	Lunch								
1300-1500	5.1.	5.2.	5.3.	5.4.	5.5.	5.6.	5.7.	5.8.	
1515-1645	6.1.	6.2.	6.3.	6.4.	6.5.	6.6.	6.7.	6.8.	
1700-2230	Excursion: Open air museum Ballenberg								

**Wednesday, 21 August 2013**

	Room A-126	Room A-119	Room A-122	Room A 201	Room A 027	Room A 022	Room A 019	Room A 024	
0900-1030	7.1.	7.2.	7.3.	7.4.	7.5.	7.6.	-	-	
1030-1100	Tea								
1100-1300	8.1.	8.2.	8.3.	8.4.	8.5.	8.6.	8.7.	-	
1300-1400	Lunch								
1400-1600	9.1.	9.2.	9.3.	9.4.	9.5.	9.6.	9.7.	-	
1600-1630	Tea								
1630-1900	Keynote Session II: Rural History in Europe – Rural History in Switzerland, Room A 003								
1900-2200	Excursion: Cheese-making Affoltern (Emmental)								

**Thursday, 22 August 2013**

	Room A-126	Room A-119	Room A-122	Room A 201	Room A 027	Room A 022	Room A 019	Room A 024	
0800-0945	Keynote Session III: Films – a new Source in Rural History, Room A 003								
1000-1200	10.1.	10.2.	10.3.	10.4.	10.5.	10.6.	10.7.	-	
1200-1300	Lunch								
1300-1415	EURHO: Meetings								
1430-1630	11.1.	11.2.	11.3.	11.4.	11.5.	11.6.	11.7.	-	

## Monday 19 August 16.00 – 17.00

### Welcome to all participants!

The Archives of Rural History, the Swiss Society for Rural History and the European Rural History Organisation invite all participants of Rural History 2013 to a reception which is sponsored by the City of Bern and the Swiss Milk Producers. No tickets are required, please wear your conference badge.

### Welcome addresses by:

**Anne-Lise Head** Prof. em., on behalf of the Swiss Rural History Society (SRHS) and the Archives of Rural History (ARH)

**Richard Hoyle** Prof., on behalf of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO)  
**Jürg Burri** Head of Directorate Research and Innovation, on behalf of the Swiss State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation SERI, Bern



### Keynote Session I:

## Lost in Translations?

Monday 19 August 2013, 1700-1930, University of Bern, UniS, Schanzeneckstrasse 1, Room A 003

In rural history, as in many other sciences, English becomes more and more the dominant language. The European Rural History Organisation (EURHO), for example, declares in its constitution unreservedly: "The working language of the Organisation and of its website and other publications shall be English". No doubt, the process towards English as the lingua franca facilitates the communication and comprehension among rural historians from a variety of territorial backgrounds and linguistic and cultural orientations. It helps to overcome national science cultures and linguistic barriers which have in the past restrained, if not altogether prevented, the exchange of ideas and debates.

This process of standardisation, however, also creates new problems. It weakens the perception of linguistic differences and meanings – aspects of particular relevance to cultural historians. On a more general level, the application of English as the sole language creates the danger that a discursive variety (today a hallmark of the cultural and social sciences) is diminishing if not disappearing altogether. In other words: A homogenisation of the scientific discourses which have been created within the discipline of rural history in the last two decades could, therefore, destroy the potential of the new rural history once again.

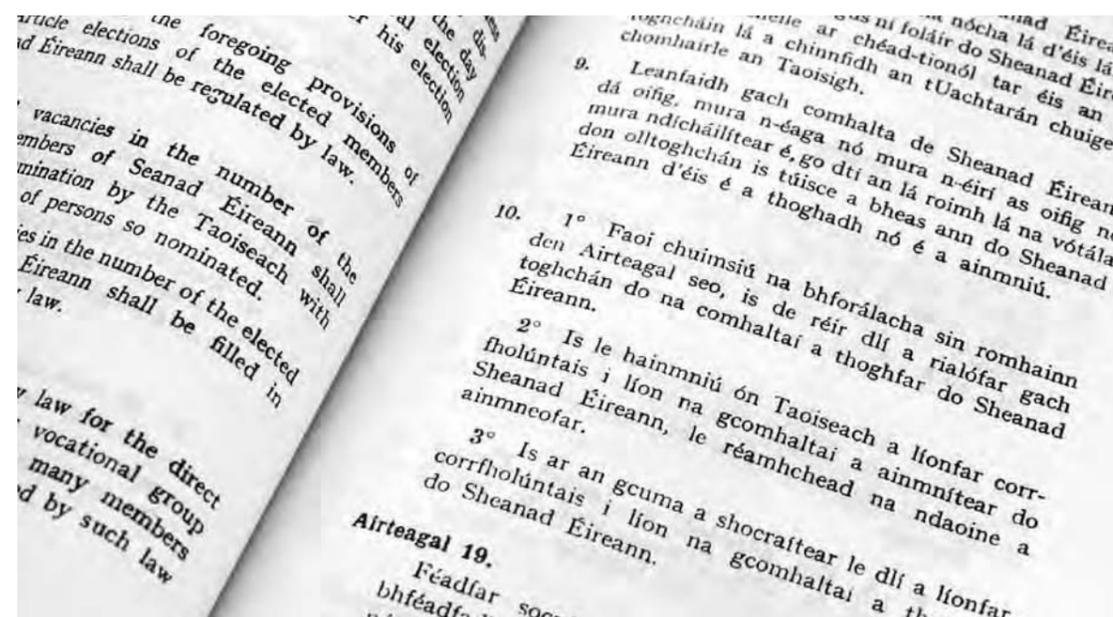
**Chair:** Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History

**Plenary Lecture:** Michael Cronin, Dublin City University: Expanding Worlds? Translation and the Challenge of Microspecion

**Comments:** Claire Strom; Martin Schaffner

**Roundtable:** Zsuzsanna Varga; Leen van Molle; Martin Schaffner; Claire Strom

**Participants:** Michael Cronin, Prof., Dublin City University  
 Martin Schaffner, Prof. em., University of Basel  
 Claire Strom, Prof., Rollins College, Florida  
 Leen Van Molle, Prof., University of Leuven  
 Zsuzsanna Varga, Prof., Lorand Eötvös University, Budapest



## Keynote Session II:

## Rural History in Europe – Rural History in Switzerland

Wednesday 21 August 2013, 1630-1900, University of Bern, UniS, Schanzeneckstrasse 1, Room A 003

The aim of this Keynote-Session is to reflect on the development of rural history in Europe in the last two decades and to look more closely at one of its specific results: the 12-volume Rural History in Europe series published by Brepols.

**Chair: Anne-Lise Head-König**, Swiss Rural History Society

### Rural History in Europe and Switzerland: Development and Perspectives:

**Gérard Béaur**: Rural history in Europe in the last two decades – an overview and analysis

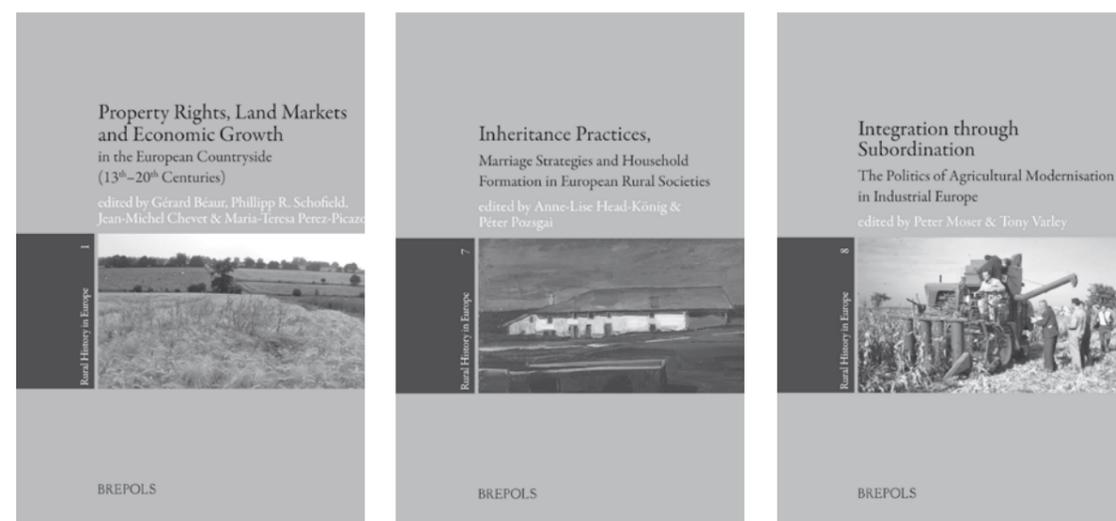
**Sacha Zala**: Rural History in Switzerland: from the fringe to the centre?

### Rural History in Europe – a 12 volume series published by Brepols:

**Jürgen Schlumbohm**: Twelve workshops, twelve books – achievements, shortcomings and perspectives

**Comments:** Sandra Swart; Juan Pan-Montojo; Nigel Swain

**Participants:** **Gérard Béaur**, Prof., EHESS Paris, Chairman of the Management Committee PROGRESSORE  
**Juan Pan-Montojo**, Prof., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid  
**Jürgen Schlumbohm**, Prof. em., Göttingen, Vice-Chairman of the Management Committee PROGRESSORE  
**Nigel Swain**, Prof., University of Liverpool  
**Sandra Swart**, Prof., Stellenbosch University, South Africa  
**Sacha Zala**, Dr., Director Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland (DODIS); President elect of the Swiss Society for History



## Keynote Session III:

## Films - a new Source in Rural History

Thursday 22 August 2013, 0815-0945, University of Bern, UniS, Schanzeneckstrasse 1, Room A 003

The agricultural sector was one of the pioneers when it came to producing moving pictures in the early 20th century. These films were used by agricultural organisations for educational purposes as well as for advertising products. At a time when films were rare, moving pictures provoked a great interest in the countryside and farm women began to make use of the new technique as early as scientists. That film was an important medium in political propaganda is well known – but what is much less appreciated is that films were widely used by scientists and state institutions to popularise their discoveries and to communicate with the wider public.

The Archives of Rural History (ARH) have unearthed, safeguarded and digitised a substantial number of agricultural films from the time period of the 1920's to the 1970's. In this lecture we will present extracts from a variety of films and discuss the potential of this new source for rural (and other) historians.



Session 1 (p. 21)	Session 2 (p. 35)	Session 3 (p. 51)	Session 4 (p. 67)	Session 5 (p. 83)	Session 6 (p. 101)
<p><b>Panel 1.1</b> Consumption of wood, energy transitions and woodland management from a historical perspective. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Infante-Amate, Juan Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.1</b> Subsistence strategies of single women in the European countryside, 17th to the early 19th century</p> <p>Panel organiser: Devos, Isabelle</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.1</b> Intensification of animal husbandry in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Jonasson, Maren</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.1</b> Childhood and the Countryside in the Twentieth Century</p> <p>Panel organiser: Griffiths, Clare</p>	<p><b>Panel 5.1</b> Agro-Food Chains in the First World War</p> <p>Panel organiser: Langthaler, Ernst</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.1</b> Authority, agency, autonomy? Change for rural women in Europe 1850-1914</p> <p>Panel organiser: Clear, Caitriona</p>
<p><b>Panel 1.2</b> Continuing tensions in respect of common land in European high-mountain areas (17th-21st centuries)</p> <p>Panel organiser: Head-König, Anne-Lise</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.2</b> How Mechanization and Mountains Have Been Interacting (19th/20th Century)</p> <p>Panel organiser: Abt, Roman K.</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.2</b> New Studies in Alpiculture: Moments of Change</p> <p>Panel organiser: Mathieu, Jon</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.2</b> Rural Health Tourism: a New Domain for Rural History</p> <p>Panel organiser: van der Burg, Margreet</p>	<p><b>Panel 5.2</b> Intensification of animal husbandry in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: Jonasson, Maren</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.2</b> The Great Outdoors - 150 years of mountain sports and tourism in the Alps. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Barton, Susan</p>
<p><b>Panel 1.3</b> The provision of poor relief in rural Europe. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Marfany, Julie</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.3</b> Protest(ing) Rural Heritages: The Making and Remaking of Heritage. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Griffin, Carl Jones, Roy Robertson, Iain</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.3</b> The provision of poor relief in rural Europe. Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: Marfany, Julie</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.3</b> „God is in the detail“ - Agrarian technology 1000-1600</p> <p>Panel organiser: Sapoznik, Alex</p>	<p><b>Panel 5.3</b> Social networks in rural society</p> <p>Panel organiser: Fertig, Christine</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.3</b> Protest(ing) Rural Heritages: Land and Community Memory. Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: Griffin, Carl Jones, Roy Robertson, Iain</p>
<p><b>Panel 1.4</b> „Virgin Lands“: Land Reclamation Campaigns in the Twentieth Century. A Rural Development History</p> <p>Panel organiser: Unger, Corinna; Frey, Marc</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.4</b> Rural Elites: towards a comparative history of rural elites in pre-modern Europe, Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Soens, Tim Thoen, Erik</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.4</b> Ruling the Commons. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Alfani, Guido De Moor, Tine</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.4</b> Peasants and their relationship to land. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Congost, Rosa Béaur, Gérard</p>	<p><b>Panel 5.4</b> Ruling the Commons. Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: De Moor, Tine Alfani, Guido</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.4</b> Peasants and their relationship to land. Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: Béaur, Gérard Congost, Rosa</p>
<p><b>Panel 1.5</b> The open fields of Europe in their social and economic context: origins and use. Part I: Continental Europe and Scandinavia</p> <p>Panel organiser: Thoen, Erik Dyer, Christopher Williamson, Tom</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.5</b> Rural resilience to disaster: explaining regional divergences (Middle Ages – c. 1850). Part III: Welfare effects of climate anomalies</p> <p>Panel organiser: Pfister, Ulrich</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.5</b> The open fields of Europe in their social and economic context: origins and use. Part II: General papers and UK</p> <p>Panel organiser: Thoen, Erik Dyer, Christopher Williamson, Tom</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.5</b> Social movements and popular political participation in rural societies. Part II: XXth century</p> <p>Panel organiser: Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro Brassart, Laurent</p>	<p><b>Panel 5.5</b> Rural Elites: towards a comparative history of rural elites in pre-modern Europe, Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: Soens, Tim Thoen, Erik</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.5</b> Conflict and Negotiating Conflict in Pre-Modern Rural Societies. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Muller, Miriam</p>
<p><b>Panel 1.6</b> Women on the land: Gender, patriarchy, ethnicity and nationhood in modern agrarian history</p> <p>Panel organiser: Verdon, Nicola</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.6</b> Consumption of wood, energy transitions and woodland management from a historical perspective. Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: Infante-Amate, Juan Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.6</b> Agricultural politics in Europe between WWII and 1957. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Martín, Carin Pan-Montojo, Juan</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.6</b> Commons in premodern Europe: Uses, management and conflicts in comparative view</p> <p>Panel organiser: Baydal, Vicent</p>	<p><b>Panel 5.6</b> Cotton, Race, and Labor in the Post-Civil War South</p> <p>Panel organiser: Whayne, Jeannie</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.6</b> Agricultural politics in Europe between World War II and 1957. Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: Martín, Carin Pan-Montojo, Juan</p>
	<p><b>Panel 2.7</b> Agricultural exports and economic growth during the first wave of globalisation, 1850-1929. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra Pinilla, Vicente</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.7</b> Agrarian reforms or markets – causes of agricultural growth in comparative perspective</p> <p>Panel organiser: Olsson, Mats</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.7</b> The evolution of productivity in agriculture, 16th to 19th century: the case of Germany</p> <p>Panel organiser: Pfister, Ulrich</p>	<p><b>Panel 5.7</b> Transforming Village Culture: Village Halls and Cultural Centres in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Part I</p> <p>Panel organiser: Musat, Raluca</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.7</b> Social movements and popular political participation in rural societies. Part I: 14th to 19th century</p> <p>Panel organiser: Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro Brassart, Laurent</p>
				<p><b>Panel 5.8</b> Agricultural exports and economic growth during the first wave of globalisation, 1850-1929. Part II</p> <p>Panel organiser: Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra Pinilla, Vicente</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.8</b> Reproduction and Production: Sex and Gender in Rural Economies</p> <p>Panel organiser: Bächli, Beat</p>

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**Panel 7.1**  
Female Activism in Rural Civil Society: Women on Farms and in Agricultural Organisations in the Twentieth Century

Panel organiser:  
Varley, Tony  
Moser, Peter

**Panel 7.2**  
The Great Outdoors - 150 years of mountain sports and tourism in the Alps. Part II

Panel organiser:  
Barton, Susan

**Panel 7.3**  
Rural history and „reenactment history“: Challenges, questions, opportunities. Part I: Museums and beyond

Panel organiser:  
Sayre, Laura

**Panel 7.4**  
Conflict and Negotiating Conflicts in Pre-Modern Rural Societies. Part II

Panel organiser:  
Muller, Miriam

**Panel 7.5**  
Rural Russia: 1880s to present day

Panel organiser:  
Bruisch, Katja

**Panel 7.6**  
Transforming Village Culture: Village Halls and Cultural Centres in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Part II

Panel organiser:  
Musat, Raluca

Session 8 (p. 133)

**Panel 8.1**  
Gender and other diversities. The empirical, scholarly, written and tacit knowledge and its transfers in plantology, ecology and agriculture (Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century)

Panel organiser:  
Rippmann Tauber, Dorothee

**Panel 8.2**  
Social and economic convergences and divergences in the rural world: the Alpine space (16th-19th Century)

Panel organiser:  
Lorenzetti, Luigi  
Mocarelli, Luca

**Panel 8.3**  
Rural history and „reenactment history“: Challenges, questions, opportunities. Part II: Rural development and oral history projects

Panel organiser:  
Sayre, Laura

**Panel 8.4**  
Land rights and rural development in the non-European world in the long 20th century

Panel organiser:  
Vanhaute, Eric

**Panel 8.5**  
Crises, fluctuations, land-use changes and their long term consequences 1300-1870. Multidisciplinary approaches

Panel organiser:  
Morell, Mats  
Isacson, Maths

**Panel 8.6**  
Cadastral sources from Scandinavia as gateway to Rural History

Panel organiser:  
Dam, Peder

**Panel 8.7**  
Rural Resilience to Disaster: explaining regional divergences (Middle Ages – c. 1850). Part I: Epizootics

Panel organiser:  
Soens, Tim

Session 9 (p. 151)

**Panel 9.1**  
Land- and credit-market participation and inequality - a self-sustaining process?

Panel organiser:  
Limberger, Michael  
De Vijlder, Nicolas

**Panel 9.2**  
Nature control and land use in flood areas

Panel organiser:  
Takahashi, Motoyasu  
Yamauchi, Futoshi

**Panel 9.3**  
The economic enlightenment and beyond. Collecting, evaluating and spreading knowledge to exploit agrarian resources, 1750-1850

Panel organiser:  
Dauser, Regina  
Stuber, Martin  
Popplow, Marcus

**Panel 9.4**  
Wetland reclamation in Early Modern Europe

Panel organiser:  
Van Cruyningen, Piet

**Panel 9.5**  
Rural Resilience to Disaster. Part II: Warfare

Panel organiser:  
van Bavel, Bas

**Panel 9.6**  
Long-term effects of agrarian crisis and agrarian depressions on commercial networks (1750-2000)

Panel organiser:  
Herment, Laurent

**Panel 9.7**  
Knowledge networks in rural Europe, 1700-2000. Part I

Panel organiser:  
Segers, Yves

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**Panel 10.1**  
Knowledge networks in rural Europe, 1700-2000. Part II

Panel organiser:  
Segers, Yves

**Panel 10.2**  
Imagining the Rural: The Politics of Rural Representation

Panel organiser:  
Hartman, Rebecca

**Panel 10.3**  
Innovation and change in European agriculture via the spread of new crops from the 16th to the 19th century. Part I

Panel organiser:  
Moriceau, Jean-Marc  
Olivier, Sylvain  
Chaussat, Alain-Gilles

**Panel 10.4**  
This land is not quite your land: tenancy and leaseholding in the pre-industrial period. Part I

Panel organiser:  
González Agudo, David  
Vervaeet, Lies

**Panel 10.5**  
Towards a comparative approach to rural inequality in the transition debate

Panel organiser:  
Ryckbosch, Wouter  
Furio, Antoni

**Panel 10.6**  
Institutional encounters: European property rights in colonial contexts. Part I: Asia and Latin America

Panel organiser:  
Serrao, Jose Vicente

**Panel 10.7**  
Co-operatives under authoritarian (socialist and capitalist) regimes in Europe in the 20th century

Panel organiser:  
Varga, Zsuzsanna

Session 11 (p. 183)

**Panel 11.1**  
Why were some pre-industrial societies resilient over the long-term while other pre-industrial societies were vulnerable to exogenous crises?

Panel organiser:  
Curtis, Daniel

**Panel 11.2**  
Cheese Making in the Alpine Space from the 18th to the 21st Century

Panel organiser:  
Roth, Ernst

**Panel 11.3**  
Innovation and change in European agriculture via the spread of new crops from the 16th to the 19th century. Part II

Panel organiser:  
Moriceau, Jean-Marc  
Olivier, Sylvain  
Chaussat, Alain-Gilles

**Panel 11.4**  
This land is not quite your land: tenancy and leaseholding in the pre-industrial period. Part II

Panel organiser:  
González Agudo, David  
Vervaeet, Lies

**Panel 11.5**  
Everyday Relations between Tenant Farmers and Landlords in the Middle Ages

Panel organiser:  
Sonderegger, Stefan

**Panel 11.6**  
Institutional encounters: European property rights in colonial contexts. Part II: Africa

Panel organiser:  
Serrao, Jose Vicente

**Panel 11.7**  
Agricultural Policies in the 20th Century

Panel organiser:  
Federico, Giovanni  
Spoerer, Mark



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<p><b>Consumption of wood, energy transitions and woodland management from a historical perspective. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Infante-Amate, Juan Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki</p> <p>Chair: Schwarz, Ulrich</p>	<p><b>1.1.1. The exploitation of wood resources from the wood-pasture commons of Shropshire between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries</b></p> <p>Bowen, James</p>	<p><b>1.1.2. Effects on vegetation of historical charcoal making in Central Spain: The „Montes de Toledo“ Case</b></p> <p>González y González de Linares, Víctor; García-Viñas, Juan Ignacio; Carrero Díez, Leticia; Cuevas Moreno, Jorge; González-Doncel, Inés; Gil Sánchez, Luis</p>	<p><b>1.1.3. Are rural women to blame for misusing wood for livelihood and household use in Burnt Forest Area, Kenya</b></p> <p>Chabeda-Barthe, Jemaiyo</p>		<p><b>Panel 1.1</b> Room A-126</p>
<p><b>Continuing tensions in respect of common land in European high-mountain areas (17th-21st centuries)</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Head-König, Anne-Lise</p> <p>Chair: Mocarelli, Luca</p>	<p><b>1.2.1. Management of common land in western alpine regions, 18th-19th centuries</b></p> <p>Vivier, Nadine</p>	<p><b>1.2.2. Nature and Culture: tensions and challenges regarding landed property in High Alpine areas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries</b></p> <p>Granet-Abisset, Anne-Marie</p>	<p><b>1.2.3. Common land and collective property in prealpine Switzerland. Tensions with regard to access and the allocation of resources</b></p> <p>Head-König, Anne-Lise</p>	<p><b>1.2.4. The various problems with common land in Tyrol (Austria) from the 19th to the 21st century</b></p> <p>Siegl, Gerhard</p>	<p><b>Panel 1.2</b> Room A-119</p>
<p><b>The provision of poor relief in rural Europe. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Marfany, Julie</p> <p>Chair: Marfany, Julie</p>	<p><b>1.3.1. Rural poor relief in the coastal Netherlands: from a „collective insurance“ to a „supplement-system“ (Groningen 1770-1860)</b></p> <p>Paping, Richard</p>	<p><b>1.3.2. Poverty and the Fabric of Daily Life in Rural England, 1762-1834: a case study</b></p> <p>French, Henry</p>	<p><b>1.3.3. Rural poor relief in the Netherlands around 1800</b></p> <p>Looijesteijn, Henk van Leeuwen, Marco</p>		<p><b>Panel 1.3</b> Room A-122</p>
<p><b>„Virgin Lands“: Land Reclamation Campaigns in the Twentieth Century. A Rural Development History</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Unger, Corinna Frey, Marc</p> <p>Chair: Unger, Corinna</p>	<p><b>1.4.1. Dutch Land Reclamation and Settlement Projects in the Interwar Period</b></p> <p>Van de Grift, Liesbeth</p>	<p><b>1.4.2. Agrarian Development in sub-Saharan Africa from the 1920s to the Present: The Office du Niger in Mali</b></p> <p>Frey, Marc</p>	<p><b>1.4.3. The Virgin Lands Campaign, Khrushchev's Secret Rehabilitation of the Gulag</b></p> <p>Pohl, Michaela</p>		<p><b>Panel 1.4</b> Room A 201</p>
<p><b>The open fields of Europe in their social and economic context: origins and use. Part I: Continental Europe and Scandinavia</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Thoen, Erik Dyer, Christopher Williamson, Tom</p> <p>Chair: Williamson, Tom</p>	<p><b>1.5.1. Open fields, environment, peasants and manors. Medieval and early modern field-systems between the Meuse and the Ardennes</b></p> <p>Schroeder, Nicolas</p>	<p><b>1.5.2. Micro-openfields in Flanders in the middle ages. New hypotheses on their origin and functioning</b></p> <p>Thoen, Erik</p>	<p><b>1.5.3. The development and function of Scandinavian open fields</b></p> <p>Gadd, Carl-Johan</p>	<p><b>1.5.4. Openfield systems in 17th century Sweden. Regular and irregular strip field systems in the Swedish large scale maps; 1630-1655 &amp; 1680-1700</b></p> <p>Jupiter, Kristofer</p>	<p><b>Panel 1.5</b> Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Women on the land: Gender, patriarchy, ethnicity and nationhood in modern agrarian history</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Verdon, Nicola</p> <p>Chair: Verdon, Nicola</p>	<p><b>1.6.1. „...With A Stout Wife“: Doukhobor Women's Challenge to the Canadian</b></p> <p>Androsoff, Ashleigh</p>	<p><b>1.6.2. „Disastrous for the Woman and for the Reputation of Canada“: Debating Women as Farmers in Western Canada 1900 - 1930</b></p> <p>Carter, Sarah</p>	<p><b>1.6.3. „I cannot be idle“: Patriarchy, Gender and the Yeoman Farmer Ideal in Nineteenth-Century Victoria, Australia</b></p> <p>Nixon, Kerry</p>	<p><b>1.6.4. Willing and capable: Women as farmers in late Victorian British agriculture</b></p> <p>Sayer, Karen Verdon, Nicola</p>	<p><b>Panel 1.6</b> Room A 022</p>

## 1.1. Consumption of wood, energy transitions and woodland management from a historical perspective. Part I

Panel organiser: Infante-Amate, Juan, Pablo de Olavide University, Spain; Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki, University of Zaragoza, Spain



The use of wood as fuel has been essential throughout the course of history. Heat, food and the development of numerous activities such as mining largely depended on the supplies of wood available in preindustrial societies. This dependence gradually diminished as industrialising countries increasingly used fossil fuels. However, today, according to the FAO, 47% of wood production in the world is still used as fuel and this percentage is considerably higher in less developed countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where it reaches 90%. The aim of this session is to analyse the consumption of wood in different historical and geographical contexts, linking it with energy needs and its effect on the management of forests, woodlands and areas where the wood was obtained. The chief interest here is to detect different transitions which affected the consumption of wood (either increasing or decreasing it) in a bid to find the causes associated with these changes and trace the environmental effects that changes in consumption can generate. Which factors have historically had the greatest influence on changes in the consumption of wood? What were the effects of increasing or decreasing consumption in environmental terms? How were the approaches to woodland and territorial management adapted in accordance with changes in demand for organic fuels? The session is open to re-

searchers of any historical period or geographical area. There are new lines of research looking at the industrial energy transition process which are providing new details about the spatial and historical peculiarities of change, noting that it did not consistently occur as a process of energy transition which radically changed the consumption of wood for coal. Note, for example, the consumption of woody crops in the Mediterranean or hedgerows in central Europe. The very nature of forest and woodland in the world means that supply differs greatly (scrubland, forest, savannah usage). This session aims to shed light on the nature of a phenomenon which is still occurring in much of the world and which brought about major changes in the management of woodland and rural life in industrialised countries.

Chair: Schwarz, Ulrich, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Monday 19.8.2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 1 – Room A-126

### 1.1.1. The exploitation of wood resources from the wood-pasture commons of Shropshire between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries

Bowen, James, Lancaster University, UK

Common land has significance historically as a valued agrarian resource, its communal nature making it a focus for study of the interaction between past human societies and their evolving environment. Globally there is a substantial literature stressing the enduring and sustainable management of common land as a property regime. The CORN (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area) study of common land management in Western Europe between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries proposed a nuanced empirical and comparative methodology in order to incorporate understanding and economic and social explanations. This paper explores the wood resources which common wasteland provided, namely timber, wood and underwood. In contrast to champion countryside and upland environments, the wood-pasture commons of Shropshire included areas of lowland fen, marsh and moor; lowland scrub heathland and lightly wooded wood-pasture commons; forest and woodland countryside; and upland wood-pasture.

Comparative links will be made with other wood-pasture environments in England and Wales, which provided a range of resources widely exploited by rural communities on a formal legal and/or informal customary basis. This included wood for domestic fuel consumption or increasingly for industrial purposes, but also a wide variety of other uses.

### 1.1.2. Effects on vegetation of historical charcoal making in Central Spain: The „Montes de Toledo“ Case

González y González de Linares, Víctor, Technical University of Madrid, Spain  
 García-Viñas, Juan Ignacio, Technical University of Madrid, Spain  
 Carrero Díez, Leticia, School of Forestry, Technical University, Madrid, Spain  
 Cuevas Moreno, Jorge, School of Forestry, Technical University, Madrid, Spain  
 González-Doncel, Inés, School of Forestry, Technical University, Madrid, Spain  
 Gil Sánchez, Luis, Technical University of Madrid, Spain

A compared analysis of the vegetation from 1830 to date in 5000 ha of Montes de Toledo region (Central Spain) is made based on historical documents and GIS applications. The changes are bounded up to charcoal making in the area, as this region was a key provider of charcoal to Toledo and Madrid towns from the XIIIth century onwards, decreasing the harvesting of fuel wood gradually along the XXth century. After establishing the level of degradation in the existing plant stands in 1830, different historical maps and handwritten documents from 1859, 1862, 1870, 1884 and 1951 are analyzed to obtain a sequence of the evolution of tree and bush species in the area and their coverage of the terrain. This information is compared to existing aerial photographs from 1956 and data from the latest National Forest Map (1997-2006). The methodology provides a good description of the landscape and a proper estimation of the plant stand evolution, as well as its link to the intensity of fuel wood harvesting. A very intense degradation in the woods in 1830 is detected as a consequence of the previous charcoal making. The property changes that have occurred in the last two centuries have not affected significantly the land uses or the dominant tree species composition during the studied period, being *Quercus ilex*, *Quercus faginea* and *Quercus pireaica* the most common ones. But the area covered by coppice forest or bushes has increased regularly until 1956.

### 1.1.3. Are rural women to blame for misusing wood for livelihood and household use in Burnt Forest Area, Kenya

Chabeda-Barthe, Jemaiyo, Graduate Institute of Geneva, Switzerland

This paper will analyse the consumption of woodfuel by women in rural Kenya, specifically in the Rift Valley. I choose to concentrate on the Burnt Forest area in Rift Valley because it is the study area for my PhD research. The Burnt Forest area is situated in Ol'Leinguse location, Uasin Gishu district which is in the Rift Valley province of Kenya. This was an area that in pre-colonial times was inhabited by the Maasai tribe. However, when Kenya became a Crown Colony of Britain in 1920, the colonial government settled here due to the agreeable climatic conditions that were suitable for rearing livestock and growing maize and wheat. The paper will demonstrate linkages between woodfuel consumption and energy needs by the rural women in this area. Approximately 90 percent of the women use woodfuel and charcoal, for household uses like cooking. Women use woodfuel to brew Changaa – an illicit alcohol that is very lucrative. The paper will elaborate on the different transitions which affect the consumption of woodfuel in Burnt Forest, how the area got its name and how the area has attracted settlement schemes thus leading to clearance of vast forest land. Historically, the trees were used for traditional beekeeping and as a source for indigenous medicine. UNDP and UNEP are encouraging establishment of woodlots. In addition, UNEP has started a project to realize Carbon Credits for farmers who plant eucalyptus trees. These 'Carbon credit' projects have a monetary value attached to motivate the rural communities to seek an alternative way of livelihood.

#### Participants

##### Bowen, James

Research interests include the rural agrarian history of the British Isles, landscape studies and local and regional history. James' doctoral thesis, supervised by Professor A.J.L. Winchester, examined the governance and management of common land in Shropshire from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. He is currently the Economic History Society's Tawney Junior Research Fellow at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London.

##### Chabeda-Barthe, Jemaiyo

Ms Jemaiyo Chabeda-Barthe is a PhD Candidate whose research interest is on Gender, ethnic conflict and Land Reform in Kenya. She holds a Masters in Development studies from University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. She has worked for United Nations Development Programme in Kenya from 2004 to June 2010. She conceptualized and initiated the Communication for Development project to raise awareness on Gender empowerment and Rural Agriculture. In 2012, she worked as lead researcher for a Community Based Child Protection Mechanism project for the Columbia Group for Children in Adversity.

##### González y González de Linares, Víctor

M. Sc (Forestry). Senior Lecturer in Forest Harvesting. School of Forestry, Technical University, Madrid. Mr. González's research has focused on different aspects of forest harvesting, particularly forest products market, the impact of wood consumption on forest sustainability and the historical evolution of forests in Central Spain. Prior to his docent position, Mr. González has worked in different forest transnational companies for more than 20 years.

##### Infante-Amate, Juan

Juan Infante-Amate is Lecturer in Contemporary History at University Pablo de Olavide and researcher in the Agroecosystems History Laboratory. His research is focused on the history of the Mediterranean agriculture from an environmental perspective. His recent work has been focused on the history of soil erosion, energy and material analysis, olive orchards history and wood production. Some of his recent papers have been published in *Environmental History*, *Rural History*, *Historia Agraria* and *Historia Social*. He has taken up visiting positions in University of East Anglia, University of Saskatchewan and IFF Social Ecology Institute.

##### Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki

Iñaki Iriarte-Goñi is Senior Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Zaragoza. Interested in forests history, property rights and the commons, environmental history. Recent works on forests uses: "Forests, Fuelwood, Pulpwood and Lumber in Spain, 1860-2000. A non Declensionist History", *Environmental History*, 18, 2 (2013) 333-359; "Not only subterranean forests: Wood consumption and economic development in Britain (1850-1938)", *Ecological Economics*, 77 (2012) 176-184 (with M.I. Ayuda); "Wood and industrialization Evidence and hypotheses from the case of Spain, 1860-1935" *Ecological Economics*, 65 (2008) 177-186 (with M.I. Ayuda).

##### Schwarz, Ulrich

Ulrich Schwarz is PhD-Student in history at the University of Vienna, member of the Institute of Rural History in St. Pölten, and executive editor of the *Rural History Newsletter* (RHN). Currently he is Junior Fellow at the IFK Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften in Vienna.

## 1.2. Continuing tensions in respect of common land in European high-mountain areas (17th-21st centuries)

**Panel organiser: Head-König, Anne-Lise, University of Geneva, Switzerland**

The aim of this session is to explore the tensions which existed and continue to exist with regard to common land in the pre-alpine and alpine regions of Europe. Different elements need to be addressed. Among them is the question of the tensions between those excluded from the benefits associated with common land and those individuals who were able and still are able to exercise their rights to define the patterns of the use of the land and to decide who were the claimants entitled to access to the resources of common land. Clearly, due to the variations in the geographical and climatic contexts and to the necessity of maintaining long-term sustainability, the definition of those individuals who were entitled to use the common lands differed widely in the European mountains. In some areas, too, with the increase in mobility, the entitlement underwent significant changes due to the part played by migrants (both in- and out-migrants). An important matter also worth examining is the degree of willingness – or the lack of it – to adjust to the capacity of the land, which was dependent on patterns of use and management techniques aiming at protecting it from over-exploitation. The methods varied considerably depending on whether common land was used for grazing purposes, to provide cultivated plots, for planting fruit trees or as woodland, and in the case of infringement of the relevant rules and regulations the sanctions varied accordingly. Another question is that of the diversity of the institutional arrangements regarding the allocation of income derived from common land resources in the mountain regions of the various European countries. This problem emerged towards the end of the 18th century but became more critical in the course of the 19th century. The relations between the communities or collective associations owning common land on the one hand and institutions, such as the municipalities (that is the communes composed of all inhabitants) or the central state on the other hand resulted in lengthy disputes. By the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century most parts of Europe had resolved such problems in their own individual manner. However, they still remain unsettled in a few areas where the two parties – the associations possessing common land rights and the municipalities – continue to be intractable.

**Chair: Mocrelli, Luca, Bicocca University Milano, Italy**

**Monday 19.8.2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 1 – Room A-119**

### 1.2.1. Management of common land in western alpine regions, 18th-19th centuries

**Vivier, Nadine, University of Maine, France**

The huge size of collective property in high alpine regions, their free use and consequently their overexploitation are generally accepted ideas for foreigners and modern historians. Such was not the case. The paper will in its first part show the diversity in the statutes of common lands and the consequences on the tensions within villages. Two cases will be studied: the Savoy Duchy and the Dauphiné in the 18th c. In Savoy the laws passed in the 1780s allowed the lords to claim for a share of commons, hence sales and grazing taxes to be paid by the inhabitants in order to be redeemed of feudal rights. Tensions increased considerably between lords, rich and poor. In Dauphiné and Ubaye, in the 14th c., the lord had granted to the communities the absolute ownership of the mountain pastures. They have been managed in a relatively consensual manner by the inhabitants' assembly. The second part of the paper will address the point of overexploitation in focusing on the case of Briançonnais. Observers spoke of overexploitation at the beginning of the 19th c. This has to be discussed. According to documented evidence, this might have been true for forests but not for pastures.

### 1.2.2. Nature and Culture: tensions and challenges regarding landed property in High Alpine areas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

**Granet-Abisset, Anne-Marie, University of Grenoble, France**

Since the high alpine valleys were developed in the 19th century as a tourist destination, first for the urban elites and then, in the 20th century, for a consumer society of leisure, these territories have not only entered public awareness, but have become the object of diverging real and symbolical appropriations. The remaining collective property which still exists there, functioning as a playground for town dwellers and tourists (some of whom being members of the former indigenous population now possessing a secondary residence), is the source of tensions which reveal the complex antagonisms and incomprehension at the heart of con-

temporary societies. There are the problems relating to the use of land for tourism, to its use as pasture, to the possession of private property (whether individual or collective), to areas reforested with the aim of averting natural risks and, since the 60s, to protected areas needing to be defended. In this paper I will present some concrete examples relating to the contemporary situation in the Alpes Dauphinoises (Isère, Hautes Alpes). To understand clearly the situation described in these examples and to judge their implications, it is necessary to consider in detail the progressive development of the contradictory functions that have been attributed to collective property since the end of the 19th century.

### 1.2.3. Common land and collective property in prealpine Switzerland. Tensions with regard to access and the allocation of resources

**Head-König, Anne-Lise, University of Geneva, Switzerland**

My paper will focus mostly on common land and collective property in the highlands of central, eastern and southern Switzerland. It will deal with the changes which occurred in the use of land itself (pastures, forests, etc.), and also with the controversies which in some cases arose when state institutions – mainly cantonal governments – tried to implement a different policy in the allocation of the resources this type of land generated. With regard to individual access to the benefits, I shall discuss two decisive moments which in the course of time had far reaching consequences on the economy and the demography of the upland communities. From the end of the 17th century, but especially in the 18th century, there was a general tendency of the communities (communes) to limit the number of claimants – even those who belonged to the community, i.e. possessed the community's citizenship – in order to maintain a long-term sustainability of the land. And from the 19th century on, especially as from the second half, the development of two parallel structures on the same territory, the community of inhabitants on one hand (commune municipale/Einwohnergemeinde) and that of the citizens on the other (commune bourgeoise/Bürger-Korporationsgemeinde) was the source of increased political and economic tensions, since the first had hardly any resources other than the income tax which was not yet very well implemented to cope with its legal obligations and the second were unwilling to share the resources accumulated by their ancestors with the newcomers living in their villages.

### 1.2.4. The various problems with common land in Tyrol (Austria) from the 19th to the 21st century

**Siegl, Gerhard, University of Innsbruck, Austria**

Until 1847 the sovereign possessed the common land. The rural population was allowed to use the local common land resources as an act of mercy. With the rise of mercantilism parts of the common land were divided and transferred into single use of farmsteads. As a result more and more common land was charged with certified use rights held by farm owners or groups of farm owners (traditional/old agricultural associations). In 1847, the sovereign transferred the ownership of the common land to the municipalities. The farmers' use rights were not affected. This clear legal status – public ownership and individual or common use right to satisfy the household requirements ("Haus- und Gutsbedarf") – remained stable until Austria became part of Hitler's Third Reich and the Tyrolean district of Lienz (Osttirol) was integrated into the province of Carinthia. Contrary to valid law, the ownership of the common land in this district was transferred from the municipalities to the farmsteads ('new' agricultural associations). A small group of landowners now possessed the common land, but the non-agricultural community population was excluded from the benefits. When the district of Lienz returned to the province of Tyrol in 1948 the authorities adopted this practice to other parts of the province. Since then several lawsuits between municipalities and 'new' agricultural associations came to the same judgment: benefits from common land exceeding the farmers' household requirements belong to the municipality. These court rulings have not been implemented to date.

#### Participants

##### Granet-Abisset, Anne-Marie

Anne Marie Granet-Abisset is professor of contemporary history at the University of Grenoble. She is director delegate of the LARHRA-UMR 5190 (Laboratoire de Recherche historique Rhône-Alpes), in charge of the research group Sociétés-Economie-Territoire, and is scientific coordinator of the LABEX ITEM - innovations et territoires de montagne. She is the author, amongst other relevant publications, of "L'autre 'territoire du vide'. Des espaces répulsifs aux territoires préservés. L'exemple de la montagne alpine", in A. Cabantous [et al.] (dir.), *Mer et Montagne dans la culture européenne (XVIe-XIXe s.)*, Rennes, PUR, 2011, p. 57-72.

##### Head-König, Anne-Lise

Anne-Lise Head-König, professor emerita of economic and social history at the University of Geneva, is co-editor of the periodical *Histoire des Alpes/Storia delle Alpi/Geschichte der Alpen*. She is also a member of the scientific board of the Swiss Rural History Society. Her current research focuses on rural and especially mountain societies with an emphasis on farm transfers, collective property, the labour market and migration. Her most recent publication, edited in collaboration with Péter Pozsgai, is *Inheritance Practices, Marriage Strategies and Household Formation in European Rural Societies*, Turnhout, Brepols Publisher, 2012, 337 p.

##### Mocrelli, Luca

Luca Mocrelli is full professor of economic history at Milano Bicocca University, Faculty of Economics. He is treasurer and member of IAUH board (Italian Association for Urban History) and President of IAAH (International Association for Alpine History). He

has worked extensively on urban and regional economy with special reference to early modern Lombardy. His recent work deals with the building sector in Milan (XVIII-XX centuries), the commons in mountain areas and labour history.

##### Vivier, Nadine

Nadine Vivier is professor emerita of contemporary history at the University of Maine. Her core interests lie in the comparative history of French and European rural societies. She is a member of the Association d'Histoire des Sociétés rurales, the Académie d'Agriculture de France, the research network CORN and GDRI-CRICEL (Crises and Changes in the European Countryside in the long run). Her current research projects are nineteenth century European agricultural surveys, the role of the state and agricultural crises. She is also editor of *The State and Rural Societies. Policy and Education in Europe. 1750-2000*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, 278 p.

##### Siegl, Gerhard

Gerhard Siegl, Dr. phil., fellow researcher at the Institute for Historical Sciences and European Ethnology at the University of Innsbruck since 2008. His main fields of specialisation are modern and contemporary economic and social history with the emphasis on the history of agriculture, the history of the social security and the history of the rural landscape. He is the author, together with Guenther Steiner, of *Ja, jetzt geht es mir gut ... Die Entwicklung der bäuerlichen Sozialversicherung in Österreich*, Wien, Goldegg Verlag, 2010, 492 p.



Panel

### 1.3. The provision of poor relief in rural Europe. Part I

**Panel organiser: Marfany, Julie, University of Oxford, UK**

Outside of England, the provision of poor relief in the countryside in the past is a neglected topic, in part due to the assumption that it was minimal compared to the provision of relief by large urban institutions and in part because of a lack of evidence. Nonetheless, those historians who have studied rural poor relief have shown that many types of assistance were available for the poor, such as local hospitals, bread doles, dowry funds, other endowed charities, confraternities and almsgiving of different kinds. By and large, these forms of charity were private, though sometimes administered by public bodies. More recent work has stressed that these forms of private charity were important even in England, operating alongside statutory poor relief as part of a mixed economy welfare. What has largely not been addressed for anywhere in Europe is the role and significance of such charities. Were funds adequate enough to provide relief in any systematic and sustained fashion? What contribution could they make to the household 'economy of makeshifts'? Did migration to the cities represent the only option in times of hardship? How did poor relief change over time? In posing these questions, historians also need to consider the different relationships between family forms and poor relief that may have existed. Richard Smith and Peter Solar have suggested that the English poor law provided a safety net that mitigated against the hardship traditionally associated with the nuclear family, in particular through provision of relief to the elderly. This raises the question of how poor relief may have functioned in association with other family forms over different stages of the life-cycle and to what extent it substituted for or supplemented provision of relief by kin. The papers presented in these two panels investigate the role of poor relief, broadly defined, for different areas of rural Europe.

**Chair: Marfany, Julie, University of Oxford, UK**

**Monday 19.8.2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 1 – Room A-122**

Paper

#### 1.3.1. Rural poor relief in the coastal Netherlands: from a „collective insurance“ to a „supplement-system“ (Groningen 1770-1860)

**Paping, Richard, University of Groningen, Netherlands**

Between 1770 and 1790 average real expenditure on rural poor relief was a third higher than after 1795 in the market-oriented and wealthy Dutch coastal province Groningen. Before 1790 rural poor were rather well-fed and well-clothed and comprised mainly of

elderly, disabled, orphans and widows with children. Poor relief was organised by the middle groups and an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants contributed to it. The distance between poor and non-poor was relatively small and poor relief functioned as a local collective insurance system against personal hardships. After 1790 this collective insurance character was undermined. Revenues of poor relief administrations fell exactly when high agricultural prices made farmers extremely rich and real earnings of other inhabitants decreased. Rapidly growing differences in rural wealth resulted in larger social distances. For rich farmers, it became difficult to imagine that they ran a risk of becoming poor themselves. Consequently, as the main potential financial supporters, they lost interest in a generous system and did not raise their contributions when after 1825/1830 rural poor relief came under financial pressure. An ongoing process of proletarianisation had augmented the share of potential poor, while their real wages persistently decreased. Because food was a very large part of their budget, poor were heavily hit by the rise of agricultural prices compared to industrial prices. As the share of paupers doubled, the contribution per pauper halved. Support fell to a level impossible to live from exclusively and poor relief changed in a system of supplementing other sources of income.

#### 1.3.2. Poverty and the Fabric of Daily Life in Rural England, 1762-1834: a case study

**French, Henry, University of Exeter, UK**

Existing research on the 'old' poor law in England has focused heavily on the relatively small group of regular relief recipients – the 5-15% of inhabitants who received weekly pensions. The reason is simple – their names are recorded consistently in the parish records. By contrast, it is much more difficult to research the far larger group of recipients, who were granted short-term or one-off payments. Conventional wisdom suggests that because the bulk of expenditure was concentrated on the small group of regular, and most needy, recipients, they are the most significant group in the study of English poor relief. However, to understand how poor relief became integrated into the fabric of rural society before 1834, it is important to consider this larger and more disparate group of occasional recipients. This paper undertakes such a study for the Essex village of Terling, covering all poor relief payments from 1762 to 1834. It analyses 148,000 individual payments made to 1,508 recipients through this period. Short-term payments were frequently relatively large sums. By analysing these payments as part of a weekly earnings pattern, the paper reveals how the poor law functioned as an adaptive, dynamic system. It also shows how the crisis of 1798-1801 marked a decisive turning-point in the function, scope and scale of poor relief in Terling (as elsewhere in southern England). This research will be set in the context of a series of contemporary parish investigations into the earning capacity of pauper households in 1801, 1803, 1809 and 1811.

#### 1.3.3. Rural poor relief in the Netherlands around 1800

**Looijesteijn, Henk, International Institute for Social History, Netherlands**

**van Leeuwen, Marco, International Institute for Social History and the University of Utrecht, Netherlands**

As in most countries, the study of rural poor relief in the Netherlands has been rather neglected, partly because of the predominance of the city in (early) modern Dutch life, partly because of a lack of source material. The fragmented nature of the federal early modern Dutch Republic further prevented a clear assessment of the manner in which the rural poor were assisted. During the newly-formed Batavian Republic, attempts were made to centralize Dutch government. Twice, in 1798 and 1806, a massive nationwide survey was undertaken, which allows us to study Dutch poor relief, private and public and urban and rural, on a national level, and by and large more or less as it had been during the eighteenth century. In this paper we will look at what kinds of rural poor relief institutions were in place, and how these were distributed over the country, how many and which kind of people could be assisted by them, and if and why there were regional differences. We will combine the data from the surveys with our databases on almshouses and orphanages in the Netherlands, and compare our results with the few studies available on the countryside in the Netherlands. Thus we will come to an assessment of the importance of rural poor relief in the Netherlands.

#### Participants

**French, Henry**

Henry French is professor of Social History at Exeter University. He has published a number of articles, chapters and books on rural and agrarian history. Recently, his research on rural society has concentrated the effects of agrarian crisis on labourers' incomes and households in the period 1760-1834, in a case-study based on another Essex village, Terling. He has published his initial research in an essay in S. Hindle, A. Shepard & J. Walter (eds), *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England* (Boydell, 2013).

**Looijesteijn, Henk**

Henk Looijesteijn specializes in the history of the Dutch Republic in an international and global perspective. He obtained his doctorate from the European University Institute in Florence, for his thesis on the Dutch radical social and religious thinker Pieter Plochhoy (ca. 1620-1664). Currently he is a postdoc researcher on the GIGA-project in Amsterdam, studying among others how and why private benefactors founded almshouses for the elderly.

**Marfany, Julie**

Julie Marfany received her PhD from the University of Cambridge in 2003. Since then, she has been a researcher and lecturer at the University of Cambridge and is now a Departmental Lecturer in Economic and Social History. Her research interests are in the transition to capitalism in southern Europe, focusing on Catalonia. She has pub-

lished several journal articles and a monograph *Land, proto-industry and population in Catalonia, c.1680-1829. An alternative transition to capitalism?* (Ashgate, 2012).

**Paping, Richard**

Richard Paping (1962) is Senior Lecturer in Economic and Social History at the University of Groningen. He is especially interested in rural, regional and demographic history and in topics related to social structure, social chances and long term economic development from the 17th to the 20th century. Besides having published numerous articles, he co-edited with Vanhaute and Ó Gráda *When the Potato Failed. Causes and Effects of the Last European Subsistence Crisis, 1845-1850* (2007) and he contributed to Vanhaute e.a. *Making a living. Family, Income and Labour [Rural Economy and Society in North-Western Europe 500-2000]* (2012).

**van Leeuwen, Marco**

Marco H.D. van Leeuwen is professor of historical sociology in Utrecht, and honorary research fellow at the International Institute of Social History. He studied history in Amsterdam (MA cum laude 1985) and sociology in Utrecht (PhD cum laude 1990). He holds the ERC Advanced Investigator Grant 'Towards Open Societies? Trends, Variations and Driving Forces of Intergenerational Social Mobility in Europe over the Past Three Centuries'. His chosen field is social inequality world wide from 1500 to the present.

Paper

Paper



Panel

## 1.4. „Virgin Lands“: Land Reclamation Campaigns in the Twentieth Century. A Rural Development History

**Panel organiser: Unger, Corinna, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany; Frey, Marc, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany**

Development history is rarely considered part of rural history. The history of development – the process of changing and, possibly, “improving” socioeconomic structures, living standards, and livelihoods – has long been written as a story revolving around industrialization and urbanization, steel mills and highways, hospitals and universities in so-called “developing countries”. What has been missing in many development accounts is the rural side of development. Seeing that the majority of the countries in question were predominantly rural, villages, agriculture and rural populations have received much less attention than they deserve. In our panel we would like to challenge this notion by bringing rural history and development history together. To do so, we would like to present case studies on land reclamation campaigns in different parts of the world in the twentieth century. The developmental idea of “opening up” new land for agricultural cultivation has been a constant in rural history. Hence, land reclamation campaigns can shed light on the relation between development history and rural history. The panel is inspired by a larger project on the international history of rural development.

**Chair: Unger, Corinna, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany**

Monday 19.8.2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 1 – Room A 201

### 1.4.1. Dutch Land Reclamation and Settlement Projects in the Interwar Period

Paper

**Van de Grift, Liesbeth, Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands**

Ever since the agricultural crisis at the end of the nineteenth century hit large parts of Europe, the plight of the farming population had been cause for grave concern. The Netherlands proved no exception in this respect: several State Commissions were appointed in the first half of the twentieth century to study the socio-economic situation of the rural population and recommend suggestions to improve their lot. Pressing questions concerned the shortage of land and the exorbitant rates which tenant farmers were obliged to pay landowners in the framework of the existing tenure system. In general, and for several reasons that will be elaborated on, Dutch politicians shared a scepticism towards increased government intervention and proved reluctant to encroach on property rights. There was one notable exception, however: the lands that were reclaimed from the Zuiderzee in 1930. Politicians and experts perceived them as a clean slate on which they could experiment with new forms of government intervention and carry out important agricultural reforms. In this paper, the ideal visions of an improved rural order that were projected on ‘virgin lands’ as well as the ways in which the proposed reconfigurations were legitimized will be examined. They will provide an insight into prevailing conceptions regarding the (degree of) importance attributed and the role ascribed to the agricultural community within society as a whole in the interwar period.

### 1.4.2. Agrarian Development in sub-Saharan Africa from the 1920s to the Present: The Office du Niger in Mali

Paper

**Frey, Marc, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany**

The Office du Niger (ON) is a large irrigation scheme in the interior delta of the Niger. On 100.000 hectares of irrigated land, about 150.000 farmers produce rice, cotton, vegetables and other produce mainly for the national market. Described as a show case for the feasibility of the Green Revolution in sub-Saharan Africa, the ON has absorbed more than a billion dollars in development assistance since the early 1980s. But financial self-sufficiency is not in sight. The reasons for this are complex and have to do with governance, technology, economic boundary conditions, and the ways peasants farm and go about their business. In a larger sense, however, the challenges the ON faces are rooted deeply in history. Designed in the 1920s as a land reclamation project of the colonial administration, the French forcibly re-settled tens of thousands of people to work on this large irrigation scheme. The ON reflects the checkered history of agrarian development doctrines put into practice between the late colonial period and the present day. And it epitomizes the changing conceptions on farmers, rural governance, and socio-economic transformation in rural Sub-Saharan African areas.

### 1.4.3. The Virgin Lands Campaign, Khrushchev’s Secret Rehabilitation of the Gulag

Paper

**Pohl, Michaela, Vassar College, USA**

This paper discusses the Virgin Lands campaign in the Akmolinsk/Astana region of Northern Kazakhstan, initiated by Nikita Khrushchev in 1954. The name Virgin Lands is intentionally misleading. It hides one of Khrushchev’s greatest achievements, the rehabilitation of a vast region of the gulag. The rivers and land of the Akmolinsk region had been the domain of Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and had a long history of Russian settlement. Northern Kazakhstan was the focus of rural reforms and land reclamation under Prime Minister Stolypin (assassinated in 1911). In the 1930s and 1940s the region became one of the main sites of the streams of prisoners and exiles sent into the Soviet camp and “special settler” system. My paper gives an overview of what worked and what did not in terms of large-scale mechanization, extensive land use, and decades of investments (often vanity projects), and educational policies. The paper shows how the “Virgin Lands” fared under Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Nazarbaev, from the point of view of long-term residents as well as “settlers” and newcomers, and demonstrates how “Virgin Lands” local and agricultural history was tightly connected to high politics in St. Petersburg and Moscow, until Akmolinsk/Tselinograd became the new Kazakh capital, Astana.

#### Participants

##### Frey, Marc

Marc Frey received his PhD and his habilitation from the University of Cologne. He holds the Helmut Schmidt Chair of International History at Jacobs University Bremen. He has written on early 20th century European political and economic history, on late colonialism and decolonization in Southeast Asia, and on U.S. policies towards decolonization. More recently, he has become interested in the global history of development cooperation and in particular agrarian development cooperation in the 20th century.

##### Pohl, Michaela

Miki Pohl is Associate Professor of History at Vassar College. She received her B.A. in Liberal Studies from the Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington (1989), and Ph.D. in modern Russian history from Indiana University at Bloomington, Indiana (1999). Her research focuses on the Soviet Union after Stalin. Other research and teaching interests include the history of Kazakhstan and Chechnya, diasporas in the borderlands of the former Soviet Union, youth and children in Russia and Europe, and Russian and Eurasian popular culture.

##### Unger, Corinna

Corinna Unger is Associate Professor of Modern European History at Jacobs University Bremen. She received her PhD in history from the University of Freiburg, Germany, and worked at the German Historical Institute Washington, DC, as a postdoc. Her current research focuses on development and modernization policies and practices in the post-1945 period, particularly in India, and on the history of population studies.

##### Van de Grift, Liesbeth

Liesbeth van de Grift is Assistant Professor Political History and German Studies at the Radboud University Nijmegen. Before that she worked at Utrecht University. Her dissertation was published in 2012: *Securing the Communist State: The Reconstruction of Coercive Institutions in the Soviet Zone of Germany and Romania, 1944-1948*. Her current research project entitled ‘Brave New Worlds: Internal Colonisation in Europe, 1910-1940’ focuses on cases of internal colonisation in the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden.

## 1.5. The open fields of Europe in their social and economic context: origins and use. Part I: Continental Europe and Scandinavia

**Panel organiser: Thoen, Erik, Ghent University, Belgium; Dyer, Christopher, Leicester University, UK; Williamson, Tom, University of East Anglia, UK**

In the middle ages and early modern period open fields can be found in every country of Europe. These were extensive areas of land given over to arable farming, with provision for common grazing of animals, and were subject to rules enforced by communities. There were many varieties. Sometimes they occupied a high proportion of the land in a village's territory, but in some cases the open fields formed an element in a landscape also containing enclosed land, woodland or expanses of pasture. They were usually cropped according to agreed rotations, in which crops occupied each year a proportion of the land (a half, two thirds or three-quarters) and the rest lay fallow. They were replaced by enclosures, which could be as early as c.1200, but were often delayed until the 18th and 19th centuries. The enclosures could take place gradually, or in a single revolutionary act. The origin, character and function of the open fields were often studied by geographers, while historians were more interested in the process of enclosure. Approaches to the open fields are now commonly multi-disciplinary, and involve much archaeological attention as well as that of historians and geographers. There are debates about the environmental context, as scholars seek to explain the uneven distribution of open fields across varied landscapes. Some attribute the decision to change field systems to lords, or to ethnic groups, or even to the state, while others favour the view that peasants were the agents. Were open fields devised and managed in order to maintain and improve levels of productivity, was their prime function to avoid risk, or was it the consequence of a structural lack of capital? Did the fields impose equality on the cultivators, for example by ensuring that strips were scattered, or was there provision for individuals to make improvements, invest in livestock and implements, and raise their profits? How did tenures and other dimensions of land holding impact on the field organisation? Was the existence of open fields linked with technology, and did those technologies change? Developments within the open fields and in the processes of enclosure, happened at a different pace, and this needs to be explained. The purpose is to examine origin, use and decline of open fields in the context of evolving social relations and economic change. The panel is divided in two parts. Part I deals with continental Europe and Scandinavia. Part II with Europe in general and the UK. These panels are organized by the CORN network (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area).

**Chair: Williamson, Tom, University of East Anglia, UK**

**Monday 19.8.2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 1 – Room A 027**

### 1.5.1. Open fields, environment, peasants and manors. Medieval and early modern field-systems between the Meuse and the Ardennes

**Schroeder, Nicolas, University of Oxford, UK**

The environment of the region between the Meuse and the Ardennes is highly contrasted. The Ardennes are uplands with hard climatic conditions and relatively poor soil, whereas the Condroz and the Famenne are more fertile lowlands. This had a significant impact on medieval agriculture. In the late medieval Ardennes, ley farming and shifting cultivation were combined to produce predominantly rye and oat. In the Famenne and the Condroz, rotations were more intense, mainly triennial. Spelt, oat and, to a lesser extent, wheat were produced here in the late middle ages. In all these regions, there was a strong social control of field systems and rotations through rules enforced by peasant-communities and manorial organisation. Open fields were but one of these socially controlled agro-systems. Indeed, the social organisation of ley farming and even shifting cultivation was not that different, from both an institutional and 'ideological' point of view, than that of open fields. The paper will try to build upon the regional differences in the studied area in order to see which factors were important in the uneven distribution of field-systems. The focus will be on environmental, agro-biological, agro-technical, and socio-economic aspects (manors and lordship, access to markets or towns, village communities). This comparative study should allow to address the problem of the origins, the developments and the specificities of open fields.

### 1.5.2. Micro-openfields in Flanders in the middle ages. New hypotheses on their origin and functioning

**Thoen, Erik, Ghent University, Belgium**

In large parts of inland Flanders an openfield system had developed in the course of the middle ages. However, in some areas the size of the openfields was relatively small; it remained micro-openfields. Only in some areas it developed to a larger openfield system via a so called 'patch work'. In other areas it disappeared in an early period already. The origin, use and function of these openfields is not well known, nor are its links with (changing) settlement patterns. In this presentation we will link the development of openfields with the evolution of the social organization of the Flemish medieval society.

### 1.5.3. The development and function of Scandinavian open fields

**Gadd, Carl-Johan, Gothenburg University, Sweden**

The late medieval society is showing differences between eastern and western parts of Sweden. The western parts show open field systems with a variety of irregular strip field systems and different types of settlements. In Scandinavia, originally the normal system of cultivation was continuous cropping (ensåde) which still existed in some areas in the 18th century. The changeover from continuous cropping to an open field system (two- or three-course rotations) happened in Skåne and the Central-Swedish plains in the period 1000-1200, in transitional areas (i.e. between woodland and plains) from the 16th century on. The changeover to a three- or four-field system involved that all strips laid fallow were collected to one field that could be grazed. We will examine the reasons for this change as well as the evolution of the system which increased efficiency, increased productivity and was cost and risk reducing as pointed out by earlier researchers (Mc Closkey). We also will explain why the system eventually was given up.

### 1.5.4. Openfield systems in 17th century Sweden.

#### Regular and irregular strip field systems in the Swedish large scale maps; 1630-1655 & 1680-1700

**Jupiter, Kristofer, National archives (Riksarkivet), Stockholm, Sweden**

The late medieval society is showing differences between eastern and western parts of Sweden. The western parts show open field systems with a variety of irregular strip field systems and different types of settlements. There were many field systems but the one- and three-field crop rotation was dominant. In contrast to the irregular structures in the west the east central parts show a highly regulated strip field system (the so called sun-division) established in the late 13th and early 14th century. The introduction of two-field crop rotation coincides with the introduction of the system and was here the dominant rotation system. The sun division has been thought of as top-down as a way of control for land owners (even though disputed). Both areas are compared. The origin of the irregular strip field system and its organisation and functioning is for the most part unknown and research is scarce. The focus has mainly been on the regulated system in the east. The irregular system or systems have more or less been dismissed as residues of older, primitive strip field systems that gradually developed, bottom-up and resulted in the structures that we see in the 17th century large scale maps. The block-shaped parcels in common field (one field) systems with no fallow have been interpreted as older than the long and narrow strip-shaped parcels. The strip shaped parcels have been explained as a result of farming techniques (plough) but also a result of a transition from one- to three-field crop.

### 1.5.5. Externalities of the Sun Division

**Talvitie, Petri, Department of Finnish and Nordic History, University of Helsinki, Finland**

I will analyze the functioning of the 'sun division', which was a Scandinavian version of the European wide open field system. The field system came to Scandinavia in the late middle ages, and it was introduced to facilitate the collection of taxes. The sun division was the only legal field system in Sweden (Finland included) from the mid-14th century onwards. However, in reality it was implemented only in the central parts of the kingdom. The basic principle behind the system was to divide the village resources according to the fiscal burden of an individual household: the more a household paid taxes, the more the members of a household could use the village resources. The most visible expression of the system was the strip system itself, where the widths of the strips varied according to the taxation units of the households. This paper concentrates on the problems of the system, on the externalities or "neighborhood effects" (McCloskey). The study area comprises four parishes, situated in the province of Western Nyland at the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland. At the time Western Nyland was one of the most industrialized regions in Finland with a flourishing sawmill and iron industry. I would scrutinize several types of disputes: a) illegal widening of the individual strips; b) contested enclosures in the common waste; c) disputed pasturing in the common fields etc. I will also prove how these neighborhood effects eventually led to the dissolution of open fields in the mid-18th century onwards.

#### Participants

**Dyer, Christopher**

Emeritus Professor, specialised in economic history and historical geography of England.

**Gadd, Carl-Johan**

Professor Economic History.

**Jupiter, Kristofer**

Archivist.

**Schroeder, Nicolas**

Senior PhD researcher.

**Talvitie, Petri**

Peri Talvitie is a Senior PhD researcher.

**Thoen, Erik**

Erik Thoen is professor of rural and environmental history at Ghent University (Belgium). He is a specialist of pre-modern agriculture and rural society in North Western Europe, and founder and chair of the CORN - Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area - Research Network.

**Williamson, Tom**

Professor Historical geography.

## 1.6. Women on the land: Gender, patriarchy, ethnicity and nationhood in modern agrarian history

**Panel organiser: Verdon, Nicola, Sheffield Hallam University, UK**

This panel brings together scholars from Canada, Australia and Britain to present new and innovative research on women's involvement in modern western agriculture. In an era when female involvement in farming at all levels was increasingly being questioned, criticised and marginalised, these papers seek to analyse how women in both the old and new worlds sought to overcome cultural, technological, and institutional barriers to participation in the agricultural arena. They analyse the representation of women agriculturalists from a variety of sources at times of cultural and economic crisis: public critiques of women who broke established gendered norms by carrying out some of the most physically demanding work on the land; press discussion on the place of women as homesteaders and landowners; self-representation in the form of diary writing. All papers, whilst looking at different groups of women agriculturalists (Russian émigrés in Canada; Canadian homesteaders; an Australian family farm and British female farmers), include themes that overlap and intersect in various ways: gender, patriarchy, ethnicity and nationhood.

**Chair: Verdon, Nicola, Sheffield Hallam University, UK**

Monday 19.8.2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 1 – Room A 022

### 1.6.1. „...With A Stout Wife“: Doukhobor Women's Challenge to the Canadian

**Androsoff, Ashleigh, Douglas College, British Columbia, Canada**

Fleeing religious persecution in Russia, nearly 8000 Doukhobors came to Canada in 1899 to take up free homestead land in the Northwest. Repeated exile to the remote outreaches of the Russian empire had prepared them for the challenges implicit in breaking new ground despite limited resources and unfavourable conditions. Their reputation for hard work and agricultural acumen made them attractive as prospective prairie settlers in turn-of-the-century Canada. Their cultural peculiarity was, however, cause for concern. While male Doukhobors hired out to earn much needed start-up capital, female Doukhobors set out to construct their homes and break the land. Too poor to afford draught animals, the women harnessed themselves to their plows. This ensured that they could feed their families by harvest, and demonstrated that they could cultivate the land, even without men or animals. This incident proved that women could rise to the physical challenges of agricultural work, providing they were willing to depart from gender conventions, liberalist assumptions, and standard agricultural practices. In so doing, however, the women challenged Canadian nation-builders' expectations concerning gender roles, the agricultural ideal, the value of severalty, and white newcomers' potential for complete assimilation. Drawing from public critiques of this incident, this paper explains the conflict between the cultural and agricultural priorities of Canada's homesteading program.

### 1.6.2. „Disastrous for the Woman and for the Reputation of Canada“: Debating Women as Farmers in Western Canada 1900 - 1930

**Carter, Sarah, University of Alberta, British Columbia, Canada**

“It would be most disastrous, not only for the woman, but for the reputation of Canada, for any woman to start grain farming in Western Canada.” In April 1913, Saskatchewan wheat farmer and Englishwoman Georgina Binnie-Clark was scornfully derided at the Royal Colonial Institute in London, England following her presentation “Land and the Woman in Canada.” In this paper I explore the roots and uses of the entrenched and pervasive idea that in Western Canada women and farming were incompatible. In contrast to the U.S. there was no prolonged discussion about the place of women as homesteaders among legislators of land policy, but there was heated debate in the Western farm press that touched on issues of ethnicity, race including “whiteness,” gender, class and nation. A determination to fabricate Western Canada as a British imperial project, and an ideal of British femininity, that developed in response to the presence of alternative and “foreign” femininities, was at the core of objections to women farming and owning land.

### 1.6.3. „I cannot be idle“: Patriarchy, Gender and the Yeoman Farmer Ideal in Nineteenth-Century Victoria, Australia

**Nixon, Kerry, La Trobe University, Bendigo, Australia**

The settlement of land in Victoria was a conscious attempt at social engineering by colonial legislators in the 1860s. They sought

to encourage a class of yeoman farmers at the expense of the existing squatters, tenant farmers and rural wage labourers. The implications of this were felt particularly by women and the children of farmers, at a time when those same family constraints were being loosened in urban centres. This paper utilises the Currie diary, a document which records the life of one family on the land in rural Victoria, Australia for some thirty-five years. It will examine the nexus between the yeoman farmer ideal and patriarchy as it played out in the lives of the Currie family. In particular, Kate Currie, the matriarch trod an interesting path as compliant wife, entrepreneurial farmer, and caring mother. All her children stayed in the family home and continued to farm the same land after their parents' demise. Whilst the rhetoric of yeomanry was one of frugality and independence, reality involved dependence on family labour, neighbourhood assistance and generous financial terms provided by the government. The challenge to transform the hostile environment into a profitable farm meant that many farmers did not succeed. How the Curries succeeded is as much due to their successful negotiation of patriarchal and gender boundaries as it is their farming prowess.

### 1.6.4. Willing and capable: Women as farmers in late Victorian British agriculture

**Sayer, Karen, Leeds Trinity University College, UK**  
**Verdon, Nicola, Sheffield Hallam University, UK**

In many respects Victorian farming was a man's world. As an industry that was progressively directed by scientific research and technological innovation, agriculture in England came to be dominated by a language and imagery that was increasingly masculine. Contemporary observers increasingly subjected women who were involved in farming to adverse comment and criticism. But between 1851 and 1901 almost one in ten farms was headed by a woman. Although historians have written widely about the position of women as farm workers, and farmers family members in Britain the last decade, women who owned or managed farms in their own right are still under-researched. Most were widows, continuing the tenancy of their late husbands; others were single women managing alone. Farming involved women taking part in activities that defied gendered norms such as the buying and selling of stock in the open market, and the hiring and managing of labour. This paper will explore the strategies that women developed in order to overcome gendered and institutional barriers to farming in late Victorian England.



#### Participants

##### Androsoff, Ashleigh

Ashleigh Androsoff is a faculty member of the Department of History at Douglas College in Canada. Her doctorate is entitled 'Spirit Wrestling: Identity Conflict and the Canadian "Doukhobor Problem," 1899-1999' and awarded by the Department of History, University of Toronto in 2011. She has published on this subject in the Journal of the Canadian Historian Association.

##### Carter, Sarah

Sarah Carter is Professor and Henry Marshall Tory Chair in the Department of History and Classics, and the Faculty of Native Studies of the University of Alberta since 2006. Her research focuses on the history of Western Canada and on the critical era of the late nineteenth century when Aboriginal people and newcomers began sustained contact. Her recent publications include *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915*.

##### Nixon, Kerry

Kerry Nixon is currently completing her graduate studies in History at La Trobe University, Bendigo. Her research focuses on the diary of a farm family from Victoria, mostly written by its matriarch Kate Currie, spanning some thirty-five years, covering the work performed by various family members, the produce grown and manufactured,

the price of inputs and outputs, and social activities. This reflects her wider interests in modern gender, social and economic history.

##### Sayer, Karen

Karen Sayer is Professor of Social and Cultural History at Leeds Trinity University. She has wide ranging interests in modern British, including rural and gender history, and is currently working on a longer-term large-scale environmental and cultural history project focused on farming, gender and food production in the Modern period, for example, the industrialisation of poultry keeping, its standardisation and consumption. She is also working on projects connected to the history of women in farming, including a joint project with Nicola Verdon on women as farmers in the 19th and 20th centuries.

##### Verdon, Nicola

Nicola Verdon is Reader in History at Sheffield Hallam University. She has broad interests in social and economic history of the British countryside since 1750, with special reference to gendered patterns of employment, family and domestic life, poverty and household economies. She is currently writing a history of the farmworker in England from 1850 to the present day, and researching the history of women farmers with Karen Sayer.



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5
<p><b>Subsistence strategies of single women in the European countryside, 17th to the early 19th century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Devos, Isabelle</p> <p>Chair: Devos, Isabelle</p>	<p><b>2.1.1. Single women and the rural credit market in 18th century France</b> Dermineur, Elise M.</p>	<p><b>2.1.2. Labor division in an early modern transhumance system: a Swedish case</b> Larsson, Jesper</p>	<p><b>2.1.3. Survival strategies of single women in the countryside around Bruges, 1814</b> Devos, Isabelle</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.1</b> Room A-126</p>
<p><b>How Mechanization and Mountains Have Been Interacting (19th/ 20th Century)</b></p> <p>Panel organiser Abt, Roman K.</p> <p>Chair: Mooser, Josef</p>	<p><b>2.2.1. The „Armament of the Village“: Agricultural Restructuring in Mountainous Areas in Nazi Germany</b> Langthaler, Ernst</p>	<p><b>2.2.2. Dealing with Mechanization: Perspectives and Strategies of Farmers and Local Institutions in the Central Alps of Switzerland</b> Wunderli Götschi, Rahel</p>	<p><b>2.2.3. From „Nightingale“ and „Helvetia“ to Single-Axle-Machines. The Adaptation of Agricultural Machinery to Steep Slopes</b> Abt, Roman K.</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.2</b> Room A-119</p>
<p><b>Protest(ing) Rural Heritages: The Making and Remaking of Heritage. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Griffin, Carl Jones, Roy Robertson, Iain</p> <p>Chair: Griffin, Carl</p>	<p><b>2.3.1. Invoking Rural Heritage as Protest? The Western Australian „Shack“ Settlements of Wedge and Grey</b> Jones, Roy Selwood, H. John</p>	<p><b>2.3.2. „Old Events“ as a Resource for Action in Times of Political Change: The Example of „Ecovilage Brodowin“</b> Scholze-Irlitz, Leonore</p>	<p><b>2.3.3. Creating Something From Very Little: Manufacturing a Protest Heritage Icon</b> Robertson, Iain</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.3</b> Room A-122</p>
<p><b>Rural Elites: towards a comparative history of rural elites in pre-modern Europe, Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Soens, Tim Thoen, Erik</p> <p>Chair: Van Molle, Leen</p>	<p><b>2.4.1. Rural Elites in the East-Frisian Coastal Marshes (1648- 1806)</b> Cronshagen, Jessica Schmekel, Frank</p>	<p><b>2.4.2. British farmers and the public sphere, 1815-1914</b> Hoyle, Richard W.</p>	<p><b>2.4.3. Gardens as exponents of rural élites. Peasant miners and ironmasters in Sweden 1600-1830</b> Ahrland, Åsa</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.4</b> Room A 201</p>
<p><b>Rural resilience to disaster: explaining regional divergences (Middle Ages – c. 1850). Part III: Welfare effects of climate anomalies</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Pfister, Ulrich</p> <p>Chair: Pfister, Ulrich</p>	<p><b>2.5.1. Social and economic vulnerability to climatic fluctuations in the Burgundian Low Countries during the fifteenth century</b> Camenisch, Chantal</p>	<p><b>2.5.2. Why did welfare improve during the Little Ice Age? Famines, integration of grain markets and nutritional status in early-modern France (17th–18th centuries)</b> Ewert, Ulf Christian</p>	<p><b>2.5.3. Climate variability and transatlantic migration from Southwest Germany in the nineteenth century</b> Mauelshagen, Franz</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.5</b> Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Consumption of wood, energy transitions and woodland management from a historical perspective. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Infante-Amate, Juan Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki</p> <p>Chair: Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki</p>	<p><b>2.6.1. Seeing the wood for the trees: the diversity of local fuel sources and the transition to a coal-burning economy in England</b> Williamson, Tom Warde, Paul</p>	<p><b>2.6.2. Fuel supply to Madrid and forest transformations in an organic economy</b> Hernando Ortego, Javier Madrazo García de Lomana, Gonzalo</p>	<p><b>2.6.3. Wood and fuelwood in Spain: production and final uses in the long run (1850-2000)</b> Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki Infante-Amate, Juan González de Molina, Manuel Soto Fernández, David</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.6</b> Room A 022</p>
<p><b>Agricultural exports and economic growth during the first wave of globalization, 1850-1929. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Kuntz-Flicker, Sandra Pinilla, Vicente</p> <p>Chair: Brassley, Paul</p>	<p><b>2.7.1. Tropical Agricultural Exports: Changing Agrarian Structures and Long-run Development</b> Byerlee, Derek</p>	<p><b>2.7.2. Agriculture – the engine of growth in the Hungarian economy in the second half of the 19th century</b> Nagy, Mariann</p>	<p><b>2.7.3. Agricultural exports and economic development in Spain, during the first wave of globalization</b> Pinilla, Vicente Ayuda, María Isabel</p>	<p><b>Panel 2.7</b> Room A 019</p>

## 2.1. Subsistence strategies of single women in the European countryside, 17th to the early 19th century

**Panel organiser: Devos, Isabelle, Ghent University, Belgium**

Since Alice Clark's pioneering study in 1919, many social historians writing about pre-industrial times have tried to shed light on women's work and the experiences. However, single women have only started to receive particular attention since the mid 1980s. Some researchers present a rather gloomy picture of their historical position. According to scholars such as Olwen Hufton (1984) and Derek Phillips (2008) unwed women had but limited agency and were a vulnerable group in early modern society because they lacked the privileges widows and married women derived from their marriages. In their view, the transition to capitalism and modernization taking place at that time was especially detrimental for the employment opportunities of single females since women's work was lower paid and of lower status than that of men (Bennett, 1988, 1993). Other authors advance a more optimistic interpretation of the position of single women. Pamela Sharpe (1996) for instance and, more recently, Amy Froide, contend that the opportunities available to lone women from the middle and higher classes increased during the eighteenth century: they set up businesses, became teachers or governesses, and were able to enter new and even masculine trades. In her 2005 book on unwed Englishwomen, the first devoted entirely to this group, Froide authoritatively establishes the self-reliant nature of their lifestyles. Furthermore, Dutch historians Manon van der Heyden and Ariadne Schmidt (2012) have lately argued that, although unattached women were undoubtedly less well-off than their male counterparts, the assumption they always led ancillary lives in pre-industrial times, needs revision. Bridget Hill (2001) examined early industrialization's impact on the lives of various groups of Englishwomen. She took a more intermediate position, stating that because the resultant changes were uneven, some – mainly middle class - women had more prospects, but others much less. However, despite the fact that research on single women has thus far been very fruitful, discussions of the opportunities and constraints in their lives have almost exclusively focused on urban populations and/or are based on qualitative material. Somewhat surprisingly, we know almost nothing about how their sisters out in the countryside managed their lives. In this panel we will explore the subsistence strategies of unmarried women in the European countryside.

**Chair: Devos, Isabelle, Ghent University, Belgium**

Monday 19.8.2013 // 1400 – 1530 // Session 2 – Room A-126

### 2.1.1. Single women and the rural credit market in 18th century France

**Dermineur, Elise M., Umeå University, Sweden**

In early modern France, money, credit, investment, and negotiation are terms usually associated with the business sphere, and the common assumption is that this automatically excluded women, not only because of the weight of patriarchy but also because the legal rights of women were usually perceived to be restricted. But women had, nonetheless, the legal opportunity to borrow and lend money in the local credit market. In theory, single women who could sign contracts alone had to be at least twenty-five years old, the legal age to avoid the guardianship of their fathers or male relatives. In practice, one can find many of them – even minors – borrowing and above all lending money in the credit market. This paper intends to examine the participation, strategies and the social and economic role of single women in the rural credit market in early modern France from 1650 to 1800, using an interdisciplinary method of analysis. As a case study, I have selected a rural area located in the south of Alsace, on the border with the Swiss cantons, and only a few kilometers away from Basel. There, peasants traded, exchanged, and lived in traditional communities. The period selected is of critical importance, since the eighteenth century witnessed the delicate transition away from traditional forms of exchange and commerce, and a form of pre-capitalism, especially in the context of the credit market. Moreover, it is my contention that indebtedness provoked upheaval in the social tissue, profoundly affecting the old societal model of patriarchy.

### 2.1.2. Labor division in an early modern transhumance system: a Swedish case

**Larsson, Jesper, Swedish University of Agriculture Sciences, Sweden**

The question about who did what is essential to understand how agriculture was performed, and to shed lights on strategies within the household and the family are essential to understand society at large. In an agrarian economy dependent on animal husbandry performed as alpine transhumance, one of the most important task to be done is taking care of the animals; to tend them, milk

them, make dairy products, etc. In early modern Sweden women performed most of the work connected to animals. This is particularly true for the northern part of Sweden where the use of summer farms became part of the agriculture system during this time. The knowledge about these women has to a large extent been based on ethnological sources from the beginning of the twentieth century. By examining a record from the late seventeenth century about how people tended animals and connecting it with a catechetical examination register from the same time it is possible to unveil strategic choice of labor division within households. The paper will discuss how in an area with sparse population, labor division made it possible to use the vast forest, held as commons, for animal grazing and developing a transhumance system. Important questions are: what kind of strategies did the households use? How did the structure of community shape the workforce? What was the rational choice for families: e.g. who used a daughter, an in-law or a maid to tend the animals? What kind of institutions, formal and informal, were in place? To what extent was the labor division a result of institutions developed by the peasants?

### 2.1.3. Survival strategies of single women in the countryside around Bruges, 1814

**Devos, Isabelle, Ghent University, Belgium**

This paper explores the employment opportunities and strategies of unmarried women in two rural areas around Bruges on the basis of the census of 1814. This source enables us to offer an overview of the professions and household situations of nearly 3000 unmarried women above the age of 30. At that age, women exceeded the mean age of marriage and presumably had to develop very specific subsistence strategies. The rural surroundings of the city of Bruges provide an excellent case to study the strategies of such women as the region had different structural environments with specific opportunities and limitations linked to its economic, geographic and institutional particularities (social agro-systems). The polder area (north of Bruges) was a rich agricultural area with large holdings and commercially oriented farms while the south of Bruges, the inland area, had mostly smallholders and peasant households primarily occupied with survival. Intensive cultivation of the land was complemented by a constant search for additional sources of income which they found in market production through proto-industrial activities. For a large number of households, the linen industry, traditionally an industry with substantial female employment, provided an additional but essential income to the household budget. The 1814 census allows us to look at the registered occupations, but also at single women without a registered occupation. While these women were officially 'without occupation', they most probably did work. Information on household structures allows us to get an insight into the living arrangements and the activities of these women



#### Participants

**Dermineur, Elise M.**

Elise M. Dermineur is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Umeå Group for Pre-modern Studies.

**Devos, Isabelle**

Isabelle Devos is Senior Lecturer at the History Department of Ghent University.

**Larsson, Jesper**

Jesper Larsson is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Department of Economics, Division of Agrarian History at the Swedish University of Agriculture Sciences.



**Panel** 2.2. How Mechanization and Mountains Have Been Interacting (19th/20th Century)

**Panel organiser:** Abt, Roman K., Department of History, University of Basel, Switzerland

Mechanization is an important source for change in the lifeworld of human beings and their environments. It has met specific circumstances in the mountains, particularly due to the topographic relief there, resulting in unique solutions for transportation, agricultural production, etc. In the 19th and 20th century mechanization has been more expensive and technically difficult in mountain regions and thus less comprehensive than elsewhere. This is, in fact, one of the key reasons for the contrasting development of mountain regions and lowlands in modern era. The panel gives an opportunity to discuss processes, practices and discourses of mechanization in mountain areas. We want to look closely at mechanization in mountain regions during the last two centuries, taking into account technical and material aspects as well as effects on local economies and social interactions. Some of the questions the panel will address are: How have machines been adapted to mountain regions? What difference has the use of motors made? Are there continuities and/or shifts in the use of energy sources such as water, animals, electricity, fuels etc.? Who has paid for mechanization and what role have state subsidies played? How has mechanical equipment shaped the organization of labor? How have different actors reflected these processes? And how have these processes changed nature and perceptions of nature (i.e. landscape) in different mountain areas?

**Chair:** Mooser, Josef, Department of History, University of Basel, Switzerland

Monday 19.8.2013 // 1400 – 1530 // Session 2 – Room A-119

2.2.1. The „Armament of the Village“: Agricultural Restructuring in Mountainous Areas in Nazi Germany

Paper

**Langthaler, Ernst, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria**

In this study rural planning for mountainous areas in Nazi Germany is explored as a case of ‘high modernism’ (James Scott), i.e. large-scale social engineering driven by a modernist ideology and put into practice by an authoritarian state. In 1940, the Nazi agrarian apparatus launched an action called ‘community construction in upland areas’ which was administered by a newly established sub-department of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. This project was implemented in a limited number of Alpine communes as experimental stations for the overall technological modernisation of the German countryside after the war. The planned measures encompassed technical restructuring such as the construction of roads, cable cars and power lines, the enlargement of the average farm area, the adoption of labour- and land-saving technology, the rationalisation, specialisation and commercialisation of farm production as well as institutional restructuring such as the organisation of individual farmers by local cooperatives, the transfer of expert knowledge into everyday decision-making and the substitution of the subsistence ethic by a more ‘productivist’ attitude towards farming. In sum, the low-input low-output farming system oriented towards oxen breeding should be transformed into a high-input high-output farming system oriented towards the marketing of dairy products. Even though this megalomaniac project failed due to external and internal contradictions, the vision of Nazi modernism anticipated the pathway of Alpine agricultural development in the post-war decades.

2.2.2. Dealing with Mechanization: Perspectives and Strategies of Farmers and Local Institutions in the Central Alps of Switzerland

Paper

**Wunderli Götschi, Rahel, Department of History, University of Basel, Switzerland**

The widespread use of fuel driven machines in mountain agriculture started after World War II. On the one hand, it was important for the farmers in these regions to take part in the process of mechanization in order to keep up with current modes of production. On the other hand, there were several aspects of mountain farming that limited the use of machines and vehicles or made their use particularly expensive. This paper shows how different kinds of farmers participated in mechanization during the second half of the 20th century, taking as an example a region in the central Alps of Switzerland. It also investigates the role and strategies of local institutions that helped finance this process. Finally, it asks how these actors have perceived mechanization and its effects over the course of the past decades.

2.2.3. From „Nightingale“ and „Helvetia“ to Single-Axle-Machines. The Adaption of Agricultural Machinery to Steep Slopes

Paper

**Abt, Roman K., Department of History, University of Basel, Switzerland**

Cutting the grass with motorized machines in Swiss alpine regions had its take off in the 1950s. It was in these years that the machine factory Aebi in Burgdorf (Switzerland) started to manufacture machines that were more and more adapted to mowing steep slopes. What circumstances did Aebi and other machine factories react to? And how did Aebi advertise its inventions? In this paper I proceed from the thesis that “Mechanization is an agent” (Sigfried Giedion). I argue that the study of very different aspects – such as relief, work force, politics, economic development, investment opportunities etc. – is necessary to understand the process of mechanization and motorization in agriculture which is especially significant for mountain regions. Throughout my paper I consider two aspects of the machine development from the end of the 19th century to the 1970ies: On the one hand, I will outline the changing metaphorical potential of different model names. On the other hand, I focus on the social construction of a market for these products by looking at how their advantages were promoted and how their deficiencies were addressed by producers (e.g. Aebi), experts and, users over time.

**Participants**

**Abt, Roman K.**  
Roman K. Abt (M. A.), PhD student, working title: “Processed Cheese and Grain. Agrarian Logistics in 20th Century Switzerland”. He has been working as a research assistant to Professor Monika Dommann at the University of Basel since January 2010.

**Langthaler, Ernst**  
Ernst Langthaler has studied Economic and Social History at the University of Vienna (MA 1995, PhD 2000, Habilitation 2010). He was Visiting Professor at the Universities of Innsbruck and Vienna and is currently Director of the Institute of Rural History in St. Pölten and Secretary of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO). Recent books include “Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis” (co-editor, 2012), “Niederösterreich. Vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart” (co-author, 2013) and “Kulinarische ‚Heimat‘ und ‚Fremde‘. Migration und Ernährung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert” (co-editor, 2013).

**Mooser, Josef**  
Prof. em. Dr. Josef Mooser studied History at LMU University of München; he got a PhD and Habilitation from the University of Bielefeld, where he acted as extraordinary Professor. Acting Professor at the FU Berlin and the University of Trier and, from 1993 – 2012, full Professor at the University of Basel. His research focuses on the Social History of Rural Societies, the History of Religion and Labour History. Among his Publications are: Ländliche Klassengesellschaft 1770-1848 (1984); Idylle oder Aufbruch? Das Dorf im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert. Ein europäischer Vergleich (1990).

**Wunderli Götschi, Rahel**  
Lic. phil. Rahel Wunderli Götschi runs the PhD-project “Continuity and Change of an Alpine Cultural Landscape: Agriculture in Ursern Valley in the 20th Century” at the Department of History, University of Basel. She is member of the Committee of the Swiss Rural History Society.



### 2.3.1. Invoking Rural Heritage as Protest? The Western Australian „Shack” Settlements of Wedge and Grey

Paper

**Jones, Roy, Curtin University, Australia**  
**Selwood, H. John, University of Winnipeg, Canada**

During the early and mid-twentieth century, many recreational ‘shack’ settlements were established on Crown (public) Land in scenic, waterside locations around Australia. Characteristically, they evolved as farm and city families created structures at sites where they had camped in order to fish, swim and enjoy the environment. Their establishment was by transgression rather than protest, since the ‘shackies’ simply occupied unused land in remote locations. Over time, these settlements developed a distinctive architecture related to their opportunistic use of building materials and ingenious methods of obtaining power and water supplies and strong social bonds between the inhabitants. In recent decades, as more roads were built, and as more waterside land was demanded for development, many of these illegal settlements were removed entirely. Wedge and Grey are the only remaining shack settlements on the 400 kilometre coastal strip extending from state capital Perth to the regional centre of Geraldton. The community associations of both settlements have been resisting government proposals for their demolition for several decades and have recently taken the approach of invoking their heritage value as a justification for their retention. This paper considers a novel form of rural protest, namely the associations’ involvement in the production of a report, lodged in 2012 by the National Trust of Australia with the state Heritage Council, recommending that Wedge and Grey be placed on the Western Australian Heritage Register and that a plan be developed for their conservation.

### 2.3.2. „Old Events” as a Resource for Action in Times of Political Change: The Example of „Ecovillage Brodowin”

Paper

**Scholze-Irrlitz, Leonore, Institute of European Ethnology, Humboldt-University Berlin, Germany**

This paper focuses on “Ecovillage Brodowin”, 80km from Berlin in East Germany, home since 1991 to one of the largest organic farms in Germany. The issue to be discussed will be: What effect did the experience with protest and the development of action practices against the industrial use of land from the 1960s up to the 1980s have on the economic, social and cultural transformations since 1991? A landscape preservation area was created in Brodowin in the 1960s as the result of protests against new forms of land use – the destruction of the landscape in order to create large coherent tracts of land. A second wave of protests in the 1970s concerned the ecological effects of agricultural fertilizers on lakes and in the ground water, resulting in the creation of a forum on environmental issues. This group kept growing through the years, it organised protests and resistance actions, and since it did not fit into the political order of the GDR, it eventually split the village in supporting and opposing groups. How do the various groups cope after the political turn with the memory of these protests? What was the influence of the decision to transform the former farming cooperative into an organic farm? What are the sequels of these events on the present behaviour, thinking and action patterns of a group of people in village settings? The theoretical starting point will be provided by the ethnological understanding of social conflicts which result from the interaction of history, culture, social organisation and natural environment, as developed in cultural ecology.

### 2.3.3. Creating Something From Very Little: Manufacturing a Protest Heritage Icon

Paper

**Robertson, Iain, University of Gloucestershire, UK**

This paper takes as its point of departure a series of monuments to acts of social protest on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. The more significant point of departure, however, is the statement by the driving force behind the project: ‘we realised that we had at least four events that were well worth celebrating so we up and sailed off from there’. The paper asks ‘why those and why not others?’. In particular, it focuses on the Bernera riot of 1874, a celebrated, iconic and even notorious event of the Land Wars. The question I ask is how did this happen? And additionally, how and why do we seek to memorialise protest events when the protestors themselves rarely explicitly cited the memory of protest past as inspiration for present action. The actions of historians and playwrights, were, it is shown, central in stimulating the cultural revival of the Highlands in the 1970s and 1980s and led directly to its commemoration in the mid 1990s. We memorialise to enable remembering when there is a danger of forgetting. But in so doing, we imbue the event with an iconic status far removed from that of the original. This is what has happened to the Bernera riot of 1874. It has moved from being a riot on Lewis to being the Highland riot, a synonym and mnemonic. The creation of a lieu de mémoire for the Land Wars was precisely the intention of the Lewis memorials. But this was rejected by the Bernera historical society who instead built a memorial for and by the local alone. Even at the local level and even when expressed from below heritage is always dissonant.

## Panel 2.3. Protest(ing) Rural Heritages: The Making and Remaking of Heritage. Part I

**Panel organiser: Griffin, Carl, University of Sussex, UK; Jones, Roy, Curtin University, Australia; Robertson, Iain, University of Gloucestershire, UK**

Acts of protest linger long in community memory, the protest invariably a pivotal moment in shifting social relations. Equally, protest can also be conceived of as representing a catastrophic breakdown in social relations, a low point for the community, something therefore to be erased and forgotten. This tension is also experienced in profoundly dialectical ways: rural elites invariably wanting the commemoration of protest past to be suppressed, while protestors often want the act of protest – and the events that led to the protest – to be written in the rural landscape forever. Conversely, attempts to put particular places under the ‘protection’ of heritage organisations and law can also lead to resistance from those members of the community whose lives the inscription will delimit. Drawing on recent attempts to think through the ways in which protest is commemorated ‘from below’ and work in memory studies, this session seeks to examine these complex relationship in a variety of different conceptual, spatial and temporal contexts. Papers explore how past rural protests are used to revivify resistance in the present; the selective memories of communities in commemorating past struggles; or, battles over attempts to celebrate previous protests. In conclusion, the session asks why some rural protests are actively remembered and others not – and why community memories of some protests are actively subjugated – as well as how acts of commemoration and ‘protection’ can in themselves provoke protests in a variety of forms.

**Chair: Griffin, Carl, University of Sussex, UK**

Monday 19.8.2013 // 1400 – 1530 // Session 2 – Room A-122

#### Participants

**Griffin, Carl**  
 Senior Lecturer in Human Geography. Author of *The Rural War: Captain Swing and the Politics of Protest* (Manchester University Press, 2012) and *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700-1850* (Palgrave, 2014, forthcoming).

**Jones, Roy**  
 Emeritus Professor of Geography. Author (with Brian Shaw) of *Geographies of Australian Heritages: Loving a Sunburnt Country?* (Ashgate, 2007) and *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the Periphery* (Ashgate, 1997).

**Robertson, Iain**  
 Senior Lecturer in History. Author of *Heritage from Below* (Ashgate, 2012) and *The Later Highland Land Wars* (Ashgate, 2013, forthcoming).

**Scholze-Irrlitz, Leonore**  
 Director of the State Office for Berlin-Brandenburg Folklore. Author of (with I. Keller) *Costumes as a Cultural Phenomenon of our Time* (Bautzen, 2009) and (with S. Bauer et al) *Food in Europe: Cultural ‘Residues’ in Food and Body* (Bielefeld, 2010).

**Selwood, H. John**  
 Senior Scholar, Department of Geography.

## 2.4. Rural Elites: towards a comparative history of rural elites in pre-modern Europe, Part I

**Panel organiser: Soens, Tim, University of Antwerp, Belgium; Thoen, Erik, Ghent University, Belgium**

In contrast to urban historians who often discern a rather homogenous 'bourgeois' elite-model throughout much of pre-modern Europe, historians of rural society are usually more hesitating in defining something as the rural elite. Recent studies tend to stress the striking regional divergences in the organization of agriculture and society, which persisted well beyond the middle of the 19th century. Elite groups existed in peasant smallholding economies with a strong communal organization, as well as in areas of 'grand' commercial farming, but it remains to be questioned whether these elites had much in common, except local predominance. Can we find common denominators of rural elites throughout different agro-systems in pre-modern Europe? And do we see an increasing convergence of these elites from the later middle ages to the beginning of the 19th century, perhaps influenced by non-rural – urban bourgeois or state-bound – models of social interaction, economic and political dominance and cultural behaviour? In 2009/2010 two major comparative research projects on Rural Elites in pre-industrial Europe were initiated. On the one hand the Rural Elites in a Changing Society project was funded by the Flemish Research Foundation and framed within the CORN-Comparative History of the North Sea Area research network. This project studied regional divergences in the organization and dynamics of village elites in the pre-modern Low Countries by linking them to equally regionally divergent patterns of rural commercialization. On the other hand, the project Ländliche Eliten, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, united specialists from Oldenburg University, archives and museums in a collaborative effort to study the life and literary culture of the northwest German peasant-bourgeois elite from the late 17th century to the early 19th century. The goal of this session is not only to present and compare the results of both major research projects so far, but also to invite experts of other regions to reflect on the regional diversity of rural elites in pre-modern Europe and the (im)possibility of constructing encompassing typologies of rural elites. By comparing elite configurations in different regions of Europe, this session will be able to assess the impact of variations in economic commercialization; state power; local lordship; the proximity and influence of cities; legal traditions (e.g. inheritance systems) and the social coherence of village communities on the nature and reproduction of rural elites.

**Chair: Van Molle, Leen, University of Leuven, Belgium**

**Monday 19.8.2013 // 1400 – 1530 // Session 2 – Room A 201**

### 2.4.1. Rural Elites in the East-Frisian Coastal Marshes (1648-1806)

**Cronshagen, Jessica, Carl von Ossietzky University, Oldenburg, Germany**

**Schmekel, Frank, Carl von Ossietzky University, Oldenburg, Germany**

A very fertile land, shaped by sluices, canals and dykes characterizes the Coastal Marshes of North-West Germany. These environmental circumstances favoured the rise of a rural elite called the Hausleute. Due to an agrarian surplus they were allowed to be successful farmers as well as traders. During the 17th and 18th century East-Friesland was a rural region – only 15% of the people lived in small towns – but nevertheless it was integrated in the European Market. The North Sea trade reached remote villages and towns like Emden by water and was flanked by a quite solid trade by land. While the main export-goods were grain, cattle, bricks, horses, butter, milk and wool, there was a lack of wood and manufactured products. Things like textiles, earthen-ware, tobacco, tea, coffee, herbs and sugar were offered in different ways. A lot of regional markets, pedlars, grocers, catalogues, agents and auctions allowed the Frisian upperclass to take part in European fashions. In combination with a selfish Hausmann-confidence the rural elites established a specific early modern consumption-culture. European and global artefacts were adapted in regional culture and patterns of distinction. This should not be understood as a one-way-street but as interplay. East-Frisian elites for example ordered porcelain in China shaped in a European style and decorated with a local coat of arms. Hence, there is no look on a local elite without thinking a global dimension.

### 2.4.2. British farmers and the public sphere, 1815-1914

**Hoyle, Richard W., University of Reading, UK**

There was never an English or British farmers' party. Instead farmers were associated with the Conservative Party which was, in effect, a coalition of landowners (who offered leadership) and farmers (who offered electoral numbers) whose interests were by no means the same. Both could believe in Protection as a means to maintain domestic prices, but the Conservative landowners were opposed to any statutory implementation of tenant right and supported the maintenance of the game laws. Farmers' societies

were supposed to eschew political discussions. The National Agricultural Union, founded in 1893, was the last kick of the idea that landlords and tenants formed a single interest. By this time farmers were well aware that their interest was not that of the landlords. Farmer's societies formed in the last quarter of the century tried to slip domination of the landlords. So much is well known. But questions arise. How far were farmers allowed to take part in the public debate about agriculture and, in particular, about landlord-tenant relations? In what forums did they do so? We will argue that farmers could occasionally act as a unified force before 1850. But in the later nineteenth-century we will also show that landlords could intimidate and even evict farmers who followed political careers as representatives of farming interests. Finally though, the farmers' interest was overwhelmed by the widening of the franchise in 1884 and by the beginning of the century there was no prospect of a farmer's party. But it was farmers rather than landlords who spoke on behalf of agriculture in Britain in the twentieth century.

### 2.4.3. Gardens as exponents of rural elites. Peasant miners and ironmasters in Sweden 1600-1830

**Ahrland, Åsa, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden**

Through history gardens have played an important role for elites to manifest themselves in the landscape. In 17th century Sweden a new elite, mainly industrialists from abroad, emerged in the mining areas north and northwest of Stockholm. This group produced iron in large quantities for the European market. Extensive ironworks were laid out. An architectural concept developed characterized by a strong hierarchy. The spatial organization with tree planted avenues and the manor surrounded by its gardens in the center, mirrored the patriarchal nature of the works. Iron production was not new to the area. Since medieval times peasant miners had produced iron, working in cooperative teams. Peasant miners were in general wealthier than traditional peasants, as they were part of a market economy. Forming an élite in the peasant community, their standing was often manifested in grander buildings and in elaborate gardens, not unlike the homesteads of the clergymen. The gardens of the early 17th century ironworks show great similarities with the gardens of the peasant miners. However, over time the gardens of the two groups are diverging, those of the ironmasters become architecturally more advanced complying with new ideas on garden art. This is particularly articulated with the introduction of the landscape garden, only embraced by the outmost elite in the late 18th century and early 19th century, in this case the ironmasters. This study shows how gardens and horticulture is an important key to express the stratification of the rural society.

#### Participants

##### Ahrland, Åsa

Åsa Ahrland PhD, senior lecturer at the Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU). Focusing on the intersection between nature and culture and the relationship between man and landscape, her research concerns parks, gardens and other cultural landscapes, where man's desire to control and enjoy the environment has created complex structures with underlying meanings and functions. Her thesis (2005) investigates professional gardeners in 18th century Sweden.

##### Cronshagen, Jessica

Jessica Cronshagen studied History and Social Sciences in Osnabrück. Between 2006 and 2010 she was research fellow of the protestant foundation "Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst" and finished her PhD-thesis on rural elites in the North-West-German Coastal Marshes in 2010. Now she holds a post-doc-position in Oldenburg in a project about dissenter-generations in reformation Europe. Her main interests are rural social history, religious pluralization, radicalism and early-modern generation/life cycles-concepts.

##### Hoyle, Richard W.

Richard Hoyle is professor of Rural History at the University of Reading, UK, and is editor of Agricultural History Review. Currently he also serves as President of EURHO. His research interests lie mainly in the early modern period, but he enjoys trespassing on other people's territory too.

##### Soens, Tim

Tim Soens is Associate Professor of Medieval and Environmental History at the University of Antwerp (Belgium). He has studied Medieval History at the University of Ghent, where he obtained his PhD in 2006, investigating water management and the inter-

action of man and nature in coastal Flanders (1300-1600AD). Within the Antwerp Department of History, Tim Soens has developed a new research line 'Environment and Power', concentrating on the historical relationship between human societies and the natural environment, and the way this interaction was steered by evolving power constellations and formal and informal institutions.

##### Schmekel, Frank

Frank Schmekel studied History, German and Education Science in Potsdam and Oldenburg. He currently is stipendiary of the Volkswagen Foundation and works in an interdisciplinary project concerning about Early-Modern rural elites in North-West Germany. Key aspects of his work are globalization, material culture and the analysis of cultural-historical exhibitions.

##### Thoen, Erik

Erik Thoen is professor of rural and environmental history at Ghent University (Belgium). He is a specialist of pre-modern agriculture and rural society in North Western Europe, and founder and chair of the CORN - Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area - Research Network.

##### Van Molle, Leen

Leen Van Molle is full professor of social history at the University of Leuven, Department of History, research group MoSa (Modernity & Society 1800-2000). She is chair person of the Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History, University of Leuven. Her research focuses on Belgian and comparative social history of Europe from 1800 to the present, especially rural history, the rural-urban divide, the construction of social identities, co-operative saving and lending, gender and the methodology of oral history. In 2005 she was visiting professor at the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).

## 2.5. Rural resilience to disaster: explaining regional divergences (Middle Ages – c. 1850). Part III: Welfare effects of climate anomalies

Panel organiser: Pfister, Ulrich, University of Münster, Germany

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*Antworte, oder neueste Befragung der Vogel.*

*Brüjelen.*

	1766.	1767.	1768.	1769.	1770.	1771.	1772.	1773.
<i>Novf.</i>		Febr.: 15.	Febrg.: 20.	Marl.: 13.	Marl.: 10.	Febrg.	Febrg.	Febrg.
<i>Vofla.</i>		Febrg.: 17.	Febrg.: 26.					Jan.: 26.
<i>Vrossel singh.</i>		Marlg.: 7.	Marl.: 17.	Marl.: 13.		Marl.: 6.	Marl.: 8.	Marl.: 10.
<i>Quik flagh.</i>		Marl.: 9.	Febr.: 29.	Marl.: 7.	Marl.: 25.	Febr.: 23.	Marl.: 4.	Febr.: 27.
<i>Maavan.</i>	Marl.: 13.	Febr.: 17.	Febr.: 25.	Febr.: 10. Febr.: 15. Marl.: 2.	Marl.: 10.	Febr.: 22.	Febrg.: 27.	Febr.: 26.
<i>Wilsen. Babelnig.</i>		Marl.: 13.	Marl.: 17.	Apr.: 8.	Marl.: 11.	Marl.: 18.	Febrg.: 29.	Marlg.: 2.
<i>Singh singh.</i>	Marl.: 14.	Marl.: 7.	Marl.: 17.	Marl.: 7.	Marl.: 27.	Febr.: 23.	Febrg.: 27.	Marl.: 1.
<i>Wilsen Babelnig.</i>	Marl.: 14.	Marl.: 7.	Marl.: 24.	Marl.: 15. Apr.: 16.	Marl.: 13. Apr.: 26.	Marl.: 16.	Marlg.: 11.	Marl.: 4.
<i>Quidnilling.</i>	Marl.: 17.	Marl.: 18.	Marl.: 18.	Marl.: 14. 15.	Apr.: 9.	Marl.: 14.	Marlg.: 11. 18.	Marlg.: 2.
<i>Quidnilling.</i>		Marl.: 25.	Marl.: 28.	Apr.: 24.	Marl.: 28.	Apr.: 2.	Marlg.: 24.	Marlg.: 3.
<i>Quidnilling, Mäthin.</i>		Marl.: 30.	Apr.: 12.	Apr.: 26.				
<i>Vornotig, Blainaut.</i>	Apr.: 6.	Apr.: 12.	Apr.: 30.	Apr.: 22.	Apr.: 18.	Apr.: 23.	Mai.: 9.	Apr.: 10.
<i>Quidnilling.</i>		Apr.: 10.	Apr.: 3.	Apr.: 21.	Marl.: 18.	Apr.: 12.	Marlg.: 30.	Apr.: 2.
<i>Quidnilling. Babelnig.</i>			Apr.: 12.					Apr.: 2.
<i>Quidnilling.</i>		Apr.: 13.	Apr.: 16.	Apr.: 14.	Apr.: 26.	Apr.: 13.	Apr.: 14.	Apr.: 26.

*Rittergüter  
Mannbrüder.*

The session includes contributions relating to the following two interrelated issues: (1) There are still very few studies using the relatively high-resolution data on climatic fluctuations that have become available over the past 15 years to assess the impact of fluctuations of climatic conditions on agricultural output, food prices and vital events. In particular, the description of the statistical relationships between climatic variables and vital events holds the potential to uncover regional differences with respect to sensitivity vs. resilience to climatic disaster. (2) It is still unclear to what extent market development improved resilience to climate shocks. Whereas Sen (1981) believed that a harvest failure not only operated through a supply shock but also led to a collapse of food entitlements through an inward movement of the demand for agricultural labour, others have concluded that markets were capable to mitigate disaster shocks from quite an early period on. By providing new historical evidence on the development of grain markets and its effects on material welfare in terms of the sensitivity of vital events to adverse climate the session will contribute to clarifying this issue.

Chair: Pfister, Ulrich, University of Münster, Germany

Monday 19.8.2013 // 1400 – 1530 // Session 2 – Room A 027

### 2.5.1. Social and economic vulnerability to climatic fluctuations in the Burgundian Low Countries during the fifteenth century

Camenisch, Chantal, University of Bern, Switzerland

During the pre-industrial era human societies were highly vulnerable to climatic fluctuations. For the 15th century the Burgundian Low Countries – the region of modern Belgium, the Netherlands and parts of northern France – are no exception in that regard. For that century a climate reconstruction, based mainly on narrative documents like chronicles, annals, journals or memoirs, which provide descriptions of weather and climate, has been made. Since the source density is sufficient, it was possible to use a seasonal resolution of temperature and precipitation indices. As weather and grain production were strongly linked, the weather-indices have been compared to grain price lists of the same region. The results of the statistical analysis show a remarkable correlation between prices and climatic fluctuations. Of course it is necessary not only to consider climatic fluctuations but also additional factors with regard to the development of the grain price. Amongst them are wars, the impossibility of grain imports or the degree of market integration.

### 2.5.2. Why did welfare improve during the Little Ice Age? Famines, integration of grain markets and nutritional status in early-modern France (17th-18th centuries)

Ewert, Ulf Christian, University of Münster, Germany

After the so-called Maunder Minimum (c. 1675–c. 1715), which is commonly considered as the coldest period of the last millennium, climate on average improved during the 18th century. In addition, aided by improvements in transport infrastructure, eighteenth-century France experienced an increase of grain market integration. Finally, the biological standard of living improved: From about 161 cm for birth cohorts of the 1670s average body height in France increased to about 167 cm for birth cohorts of the 1740s. The paper explores the interplay of climate and markets in bringing about this improvement in material welfare: (1) Annual data on climate conditions, grain prices and average height of the French allows estimating indirect age-specific effects of climate during the period of human growth on the later nutritional status of cohorts. (2) Focusing on the severe subsistence crises of 1693/94, 1709/10, 1740 and 1770 it becomes possible also to derive whether for those cohorts still having been in a growing age at the time it made a difference or not for their nutritional status, at which age starvation was actually experienced. Thus, welfare losses of climatic anomalies can be distinguished from welfare gains of a long-term climatic improvement. (3) Controlling for the long-term development of climatic conditions during the 18th century it is possible to assess the potential risk-reducing effect of increased market integration in times of a climate-induced subsistence crisis.

### 2.5.3. Climate variability and transatlantic migration from Southwest Germany in the nineteenth century

Mauelshagen, Franz, Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities / Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut (KWI), Essen, Germany

This study looks at the statistical correlation between climatic variability and outmigration from Southwest Germany (Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria) in the nineteenth century. In this period, Germans together with people from Ireland formed the largest group of immigrants to the U.S. We investigate qualitative links between climatic hardship, push factors resulting from harvest failures and other social circumstances, in the context of outmigration from Southwest Germany to North America. It is particularly important to reconstruct climatic variability and migration down to the local level of municipalities, particularly in a period of social transition from an agrarian to an early industrial society, to understand the complex interrelationship between climate, agriculture and migration.

#### Participants

##### Camenisch, Chantal

PhD in history, University of Berne 2011. Current position: Postdoc in the Section of economic, social and environmental history (Prof. Christian Rohr), University of Berne. Principal research interests: History of climate and economic history of the Late Middle Ages and the early modern period.

##### Ewert, Ulf Christian

PhD in medieval history, University of Kiel 1999; Habilitation (medieval history and economic and social history), Chemnitz University of Technology 2008; Current Position: Lecturer in Social and economic history, University of Münster; Principal research interests: Medieval trade and the Hanse, Portuguese overseas expansion, political economy of pre-modern princely courts, living standards and demographic-economic interactions in pre-modern times.

##### Mauelshagen, Franz

PhD in history, University of Zürich 2000. Current Position: Senior Fellow and Member of the Board of Directors at the Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities / Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut (KWI), Essen (since 2008). Principal research interests: global environmental history with a strong focus on climate history and the history of disasters (including epidemics and famines), c. 1500-2000.

##### Pfister, Ulrich

PhD in history, University of Zürich 1984. Current position: Full professor in economic and social history, University of Münster (since 1996). Principal research interests: Aggregate development of the German economy, c. 1500-1871.

## 2.6. Consumption of wood, energy transitions and woodland management from a historical perspective. Part II

**Panel organiser: Infante-Amate, Juan, Pablo de Olavide University, Spain; Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki, Zaragoza University, Spain**

The use of wood as fuel has been essential throughout the course of history. Heat, food and the development of numerous activities such as mining largely depended on the supplies of wood available in preindustrial societies. This dependence gradually diminished as industrialising countries increasingly used fossil fuels. However, today, according to the FAO, 47% of wood production in the world is still used as fuel and this percentage is considerably higher in less developed countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where it reaches 90%. The aim of this session is to analyse the consumption of wood in different historical and geographical contexts, linking it with energy needs and its effect on the management of forests, woodlands and areas where the wood was obtained. The chief interest here is to detect different transitions which affected the consumption of wood (either increasing or decreasing it) in a bid to find the causes associated with these changes and trace the environmental effects that changes in consumption can generate. Which factors have historically had the greatest influence on changes in the consumption of wood? What were the effects of increasing or decreasing consumption in environmental terms? How were the approaches to woodland and territorial management adapted in accordance with changes in demand for organic fuels? The session is open to researchers of any historical period or geographical area. There are new lines of research looking at the industrial energy transition process which are providing new details about the spatial and historical peculiarities of change, noting that it did not consistently occur as a process of energy transition which radically changed the consumption of wood for coal. Note, for example, the consumption of woody crops in the Mediterranean or hedgerows in central Europe. The very nature of forest and woodland in the world means that supply differs greatly (scrubland, forest, savannah usage). This session aims to shed light on the nature of a phenomenon which is still occurring in much of the world and which brought about major changes in the management of woodland and rural life in industrialised countries.

**Chair: Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki, Zaragoza University, Spain**

**Monday 19.8.2013 // 1400 – 1530 // Session 2 – Room A 022**

### 2.6.1. Seeing the wood for the trees: the diversity of local fuel sources and the transition to a coal-burning economy in England

**Williamson, Tom, University of East Anglia, UK**  
**Warde, Paul, University of East Anglia, UK**

Most research into fuel supply in England in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has concentrated on the relative contributions made by wood and coal, and has assumed that the majority of the former came from managed woodland. As there was relatively little of this resource by the start of the seventeenth century, but increasing levels of coal production, the transition to a coal-burning economy is assumed to have come relatively early to England, and at roughly the same time in most parts of the country. But such analyses may be flawed, because they fail to take into account the fact that much domestic fuel was supplied by peat, or from materials like gorse, heather and broom cut from heaths and other commons; most fuel wood, moreover, came not from managed woods but from hedges and farmland trees. This diversity of supply remained important in many regions well into the nineteenth century, not least because of the high costs of transporting coal. The transition to a coal-burning economy in England may thus have occurred slightly later than some historians have recently suggested, and in regional terms, certainly, coal only replaced such traditional fuels as systems of transport were progressively improved in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This in turn freed up large areas of land for new uses - with major implications for agricultural production and productivity.

### 2.6.2. Fuel supply to Madrid and forest transformations in an organic economy

**Hernando Ortego, Javier, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain**  
**Madrazo García de Lomana, Gonzalo, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain**

This paper provides an analysis of the relationship between a city and its territory of fuel supply – its energy footprint –, in the context of an organic economy. Our case study is the city of Madrid in the eighteenth century, before the transition to fossil fuel. First, we estimate the consumption levels in Madrid, and compare them with other European areas. The fuel supply, with a clear predomi-

nance of charcoal, came from an area that increased historically, and in places extended up to 200 km beyond the city. Transport was exclusively land-based, which represented a major constraint for this important flow of resources. Government intervention was aimed at regulating forests in order to ensure their sustainability since sixteenth century, sometimes in conflict with peasant interests and practices. The study of the nature and state of the forests, and the quantification of the surface required to support urban consumption allows to determinate the land cost of energy production in an organic-based system. Fuel supply had a clear impact on the woodland management and forest landscapes. The main result was the increase of the surface of the “monte bajo”, a forest in which the regular practice of coppice represented a “charcoal specialization”, very different from the “monte alto”, a savannah usage which integrated forestry and livestock. Furthermore, the working methods used in forests tended to intensify fuel production. Finally, production and supply of fuel to the city may be considered as a guarantee of long-term sustainability of forest landscapes.

### 2.6.3. Wood and fuelwood in Spain: production and final uses in the long run (1850-2000)

**Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki, University of Zaragoza, Spain**  
**Infante-Amate, Juan, Pablo de Olavide University, Spain**  
**González de Molina, Manuel, Pablo de Olavide University, Spain**  
**Soto Fernández, David, Pablo de Olavide University, Spain**

The aim of this paper is to examine production and end consumption within Spain's wood and timber sector between the mid 19th Century and the year 2000. In this debate, most research usually focuses on production derived from forest usage. However, in areas such as the Mediterranean, much of the supply of wood and timber comes from cultivated land, such as olive groves, grape vines, fruit trees and also from meadow and pasture lands, which are often not incorporated into production statistics for wood and timber. The aim is to provide an account of the complexity of the supply process for fuel and wood used for industrial purposes in Spain, a country dominated by the cultivation of woody crops. The findings will offer an analysis that encompasses the origin of production, both in terms of land uses and at a regional level in Spain, as well as the end use given to these products. The paper will review the different patterns of production and consumption in a country with broad agro-climatic variability, where some areas are distinctly Atlantic and others are dominated by woody crops. It will also analyse the general effects of the industrialisation process and energy transition initiated in the late 19th century, which changed the functionality and use of forest and agricultural land in Spain.

#### Participants

##### González de Molina, Manuel

Professor in Modern History at Universidad Pablo de Olavide. He has studied the rural world in Spain during 19th and 20th centuries and has published eight books and more than sixteen articles on national and international journals. He has been General Director of Organic Agriculture in Regional Government of Andalusia (2004-2007). He is currently vice-president of the Spanish Society of Organic Agriculture (SEAE) and also vice-president of Spanish Society of Agricultural History. He coordinates the Agro-ecosystem History Laboratory, specialized on Agrarian Metabolism and Socio-ecological Transition in Environmental History.

##### Hernando Ortego, Javier

Javier Hernando Ortego is Associate Professor in the Department of History and Economic Institutions, Autonomous University of Madrid. Research interests include the study of the impact of Madrid's fuel demand on the near surrounding territory in the early modern period, both from an economic and an ecological viewpoint. One of his recent papers is “Energy Production, Ecological Footprint and Socio-Economic Transformation of the Territory in an Organic Economy. The Case Study of Early Modern Madrid”.

##### Infante-Amate, Juan

Juan Infante-Amate is Lecturer in Contemporary History at University Pablo de Olavide and researcher in the Agroecosystems History Laboratory. His research is focused on the history of the Mediterranean agriculture from an environmental perspective. His recent work has been focused on the history of soil erosion, energy and material analysis, olive orchards history and wood production. Some of his recent papers have been published in Environmental History, Rural History, Historia Agraria and Historia Social. He has taken up visiting positions in University of East Anglia, University of Saskatchewan and IFF Social Ecology Institute.

##### Iriarte-Goñi, Iñaki

Iñaki Iriarte-Goñi is Senior Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Zaragoza. Interested in forests history, property rights and the commons, environmental history. Recent works on forests uses: “Forests, Fuelwood, Pulpwood and Lumber in Spain, 1860-2000. A non Declensionist History”, Environmental History, 18, 2 (2013)

333-359; “Not only subterranean forests: Wood consumption and economic development in Britain (1850–1938)”, Ecological Economics, 77 (2012) 176–184 (with M.I. Ayuda); “Wood and industrialization Evidence and hypotheses from the case of Spain, 1860–1935” Ecological Economics, 65 (2008) 177–186 (with M.I. Ayuda).

##### Madrazo García de Lomana

Gonzalo Madrazo García de Lomana holds a PhD in Geography. He is currently Associate Professor of Geography at the Complutense University of Madrid. His research includes the history and geography of Spanish forests. Recent publications: Energy consumption in Madrid, 1561 to c. 1860, Cambridge University Press, 2010; Forest Dynamics in the Spanish Central Mountain Range, in: Landscape Archaeology and Ecology Review. Gonzalo Madrazo had visiting positions at the Cardiff University and the University of Toulouse.

##### Soto Fernández, David

David Soto holds a PhD in Contemporary History from the University of Santiago de Compostela with a thesis entitled “Productive transformations in contemporary Galician agriculture. From organic agriculture to the green revolution”. In 2007 he became Associate Professor of Contemporary History at the University Pablo de Olavide of Seville. His main research focuses on the analysis of Agrarian History from the environmental perspective. His work has focused on the study of sustainability of agricultural systems and evolution of environmental conflicts.

##### Williamson, Tom

Tom Williamson heads up the Landscape Group within the School of History – a collection of academics, researchers and research students studying all aspects of the English landscape, from later prehistory to the present. He is currently involved in a number of projects, including the GIS-aided study of Agriculture and the Landscape in Midland England Agriculture and the Landscape in East Anglia, 1870-1950, funded by the AHRC and the Leverhulme Trust. He is also actively involved in the study of designed landscapes, especially parks and gardens of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.



Panel

## 2.7. Agricultural exports and economic growth during the first wave of globalisation, 1850-1929. Part I

**Panel organiser:** Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra, El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico; Pinilla, Vicente, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain

During the first wave of globalization (1850-1929), many countries participated in international trade mainly as exporters of primary products and importers of manufactured goods. The consequences of such participation have been the subject of much controversy in the economic literature over the past decades. Nowadays, the predominant although not exclusive view is that these countries had a favorable opportunity for economic development, at least from the middle of the nineteenth century up to the collapse of international trade following the 1929 crash. This opportunity consisted of developing an export sector that specialized in the production of primary products to supply the rapidly growing markets of the industrialized countries. The contribution of such specialization to their economic development varied greatly, depending on very diverse factors, with its overall effect being influenced by the relative importance of the export sector to the rest of the national economy. In this context, the purpose of this panel is to analyze cases of countries or groups of countries that fit into this typology.

**Chair:** Brassley, Paul, University of Exeter, UK

Monday 19.8.2013 // 1400 – 1530 // Session 2 – Room A 019

Paper

### 2.7.1. Tropical Agricultural Exports: Changing Agrarian Structures and Long-run Development

**Byerlee, Derek, Independent scholar, Washington D.C., USA**

A key determinant of the development outcomes of agricultural exports is the type of agrarian structure resulting from export agriculture. In the past, plantation agriculture, especially during the period of slavery, often had long-run devastating social and

economic impacts. This presentation will provide a long-term assessment since the first period of globalization to analyze changes in agrarian structures and long-run economic growth for a few key plantation commodities in the tropics, such as sugar, tea, rubber, bananas, and oil palm. Some of these industries, especially rubber and tea, were initiated through large plantation structures but have evolved into dynamic smallholder sectors. Others such as henequen in Mexico resulted in widespread displacement of indigenous groups, abuse of labor rights, and boom and bust cycles. Differences in development outcomes have emerged depending on commodity characteristics, initial conditions, and the institutional and political economy context in which the industry developed. I illustrate these through examples from SE Asia and Sri Lanka, with some examples from Central America and Africa.

### 2.7.2. Agriculture – the engine of growth in the Hungarian economy in the second half of the 19th century

**Nagy, Mariann, University of Pécs, Hungary**

This paper is focusing on the agrarian export sector of pre-1918 Hungary, when it belonged first to the Habsburg monarchy and between 1867 and 1918 to Austria-Hungary. The industrialization of western and central Europe from the 1830s onwards provided an expanding market for the Hungarian agricultural, timber, and food industry products. The timing of Hungary's integration into Europe's economic development - between 1850 and 1873 - was fortunate. Hungary was able to exploit these years of economic growth. Between 1840 and 1890, crop production in Hungary increased threefold. After 1867, one third of Hungarian grain production was exported, with flour exports representing a growing share. At the turn of the century, Hungary was the world's second-largest flour exporter – after the United States. Agricultural produce and food products accounted for 85 percent of exports. This explains why it was primarily agricultural interests that sought the construction of railways in the 1850s and 1860s. Agriculture became the engine of growth in the Hungarian economy in the second half of the 19th century, while industry caught up with it by the end of the 19th, beginning of the 20th century. During the Great Depression, Hungarian grain and flour were squeezed out of foreign markets. The effects of the agrarian crisis were partly offset by the fact that industrial goods – consumer goods in particular – suffered even greater price falls. Consequently, an industrial price gap developed in the markets of the Monarchy, and the terms of trade in international trade developed favorably for Hungary.

### 2.7.3. Agricultural exports and economic development in Spain during the first wave of globalization

**Pinilla, Vicente, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain**

**Ayuda, María Isabel, 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 nineteenth century. However, from 1891 onwards wine exports faced tariff barriers and slow growth in consumption in the northern European countries and their new settlements, causing severe problems for this sector. Meanwhile, fruits and vegetables became the flagship products of Spanish exports. This inclusion of Spain in the first globalization as an exporter of agricultural products and food, while high tariffs sought to reserve the domestic market for burgeoning industrial production, had important consequences for the regions involved in such activity. 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.

#### Participants

**Ayuda, María Isabel**

Ph.D. in Economics, University of Zaragoza 1994. Associate Professor of Econometrics at the University of Zaragoza, Spain. Her research interests lie in econometric model selection and cliometrics. She is author of numerous papers in academic journals and book chapters on these issues. Recent publications include papers in *Ecological Economics*, *European Review of Economic History*, *Journal of Geographical Systems*, the *Annals of Regional Science*, *Applied Economics*, *Computational Statistics and Applied Economic Letters*. She has been visiting scholar at the University of Bristol, University of California at Davis and University of Maastricht.

Fellow at the University of Chicago, and the University of California at San Diego; Tinker Visiting Professor at Stanford University and at the University of Texas at Austin, and is currently a National Fellow in the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Her research work deals with the economic history of Mexico from the mid nineteenth to the mid twentieth century, particularly with topics related to the economic impact of railroads, Mexico's foreign trade and commercial policy, and Mexico's economic development during the first globalization.

**Byerlee, Derek**

Independent scholar based in Washington, DC, USA. He is a Fellow of the American Association of Agricultural Economists and has published widely on the economics of agricultural development. More recently his interests have turned to agricultural economic history, with a particular focus on social and environmental outcomes of land expansion on the frontier during the first period of globalization, 1850-1929, both for settler and plantation agriculture.

**Nagy, Mariann**

Ph.D. in History, University of Debrecen, 2001. Associate professor in the Department of Modern History at the University of Pécs. His research interests lie in the regional structure of the economy in Austria-Hungary and the Nationalities in East-Central-Europe. He is author of several books and numerous papers in academic journals on these issues. He is member of the Committee for Agrarian History of Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 2003. He has been visiting scholar at Oxford University and the University of Zagreb.

**Brassley, Paul**

Senior Research Fellow in the University of Exeter, and a former chair of the British Agricultural History Society. His research interests lie in British agricultural history. He is author of several books and numerous papers in academic journals on these issues. He is co-editor of the book *War, Agriculture and Food Rural Europe from the 1930s to the 1950s* (Routledge, 2012).

**Pinilla, Vicente**

Ph.D. in Economics, University of Zaragoza 1990. Professor in Economic History at the University of Zaragoza, Spain. His research interests lie in international trade in agricultural products, Spanish agricultural production and migration. He is author of several books and numerous papers in academic journals on these issues. His latest book is *Peaceful Surrender. The depopulation of rural Spain in the twentieth century* (with F. Collantes) (2011). He held appointments at the University of Bristol, London School of Economics, University of California at Davis, University of Maastricht and Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.

**Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra**

Professor of Economic History at El Colegio de México. She has been Visiting Research



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<p><b>Intensification of animal husbandry in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Jonasson, Maren</p> <p>Chair: Bächli, Beat</p>	<p><b>3.1.1. Modern Livestock and Animal Technology: Livestock Exposition with a Global Mission, 1893–1920</b> Knapp, Neal</p>	<p><b>3.1.2. Horse breeding in Finland in the nineteenth century</b> Toivio, Hilja</p>	<p><b>3.1.3. Blinded by the beauty of science? – François Guénon's method of predicting milk yield</b> Jonasson, Maren</p>		<p><b>Panel 3.1</b> Room A-126</p>
<p><b>New Studies in Alpiculture: Moments of Change</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Mathieu, Jon</p> <p>Chair: Mathieu, Jon</p>	<p><b>3.2.1. Prehistoric alpine animal husbandry – recent discoveries in the Silvretta range (Switzerland/Austria)</b> Reitmaier, Thomas</p>	<p><b>3.2.2. The intensification of alpiculture in the early modern period: the case of harvesting „wild hay“ in the high mountains</b> Blatter, Michael</p>	<p><b>3.2.3. Swiss alpine pasture farming since 1880 – a landscape historical assessment</b> Bürgi, Matthias</p>	<p><b>3.2.4. Adapting the management of alpine pastures to changes in the 20th century: the case of Ursen Corporation</b> Wunderli Götschi, Rahel</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.2</b> Room A-119</p>
<p><b>The provision of poor relief in rural Europe. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Marfany, Julie</p> <p>Chair: Marfany, Julie</p>	<p><b>3.3.1. Poor relief in eighteenth-century rural Spain: a case study of Catalonia</b> Marfany, Julie</p>	<p><b>3.3.2. The provision of poor relief in the Polish countryside during the preindustrial period. A case study of Cracow and its surroundings.</b> Wyzga, Mateusz</p>	<p><b>3.3.3. Poor relief and taxation in the Southern Low Countries during the eighteenth century.</b> Lambrecht, Thijs Winter, Anne</p>		<p><b>Panel 3.3</b> Room A-122</p>
<p><b>Ruling the Commons. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Alfani, Guido De Moor, Tine</p> <p>Chair: Alfani, Guido</p>	<p><b>3.4.1. Commons and Inequality in Renaissance Lombardy</b> Di Tullio, Matteo</p>	<p><b>3.4.2. The changing culture of commons governance in northern England, medieval to modern</b> Winchester, Angus</p>	<p><b>3.4.3. Participation versus punishment. The relationship between institutional longevity and sanctioning in the early modern times (case studies from the East of the Netherlands)</b> De Moor, Tine</p>	<p><b>3.4.4. Local governance: controversy over distributive justice of the commons in early modern England, focusing on Gillingham Royal Forest dispute, c. 1620s-1650s</b> Inui, Hideaki</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.4</b> Room A 201</p>
<p><b>The open fields of Europe in their social and economic context: origins and use. Part II: General papers and UK</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Thoen, Erik Dyer, Christopher Williamson, Tom</p> <p>Chair: Thoen, Erik</p>	<p><b>3.5.1. Open-field landscapes in Europe</b> Renes, Hans</p>	<p><b>3.5.2. Open fields, „planning“ and the environment</b> Williamson, Tom</p>	<p><b>3.5.3. Manorialization and demographic pressure in landscape areas in thirteenth-century England</b> Kanzaka, Junichi</p>	<p><b>3.5.4. The village meeting in organizing open fields in medieval England</b> Dyer, Christopher</p> <p><b>3.5.5. Four new indicators for the origins and development of open-field farming in England</b> Jones, Richard</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.5</b> Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Agricultural politics in Europe between WWII and 1957. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Martin, Carin Pan-Montojo, Juan</p> <p>Chair: Pan-Montojo, Juan</p>	<p><b>3.6.1. British Agriculture in transition: Food Shortages to Food Surpluses (1947-57)</b> Martin, John</p>	<p><b>3.6.2. Cold War Farm: international contexts for British farming in the 1940s and 1950s</b> Griffiths, Clare</p>	<p><b>3.6.3. Modernized farming but stagnated production: Swedish farming from WWII to the late 1950s</b> Martin, Carin</p>	<p><b>3.6.4. Agricultural politics and production in the British West African colonies during and after World War II to 1960: Reflection on Nigeria's agro-production</b> Chimee, Ihejiwa Nkemijika</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.6</b> Room A 022</p>
<p><b>Agrarian reforms or markets – causes of agricultural growth in comparative perspective</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Olsson, Mats</p> <p>Chair: Pinilla, Vicente</p>	<p><b>3.7.1. Agricultural growth without agrarian reforms? The case of early industrializing Saxony c. 1770-1850</b> Kopsidis, Michael</p>	<p><b>3.7.2. Agrarian reform, markets and agricultural growth in Westphalia, 1820-1870</b> Fertig, Georg</p>	<p><b>3.7.3. Interaction between institutional change and market forces in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century</b> Nagy, Mariann</p>	<p><b>3.7.4. Institutional change, markets and agricultural growth in south Sweden 1750-1850</b> Olsson, Mats Svensson, Patrick</p>	<p><b>Panel 3.7</b> Room A 019</p>



Panel

### 3.1. Intensification of animal husbandry in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Part I

**Panel organiser: Jonasson, Maren, University of Abo Akademi, Finland**

In this panel the innovations and new scientific methods concerning horse- and stockbreeding, dairy farming and milk trade c. 1830 to c. 1920 will be discussed. Special attention is given to case studies and local applications of these innovations and methods, but contributors will discuss the themes in broader perspectives as well, e.g. Nordic, European or global. The central aim of the panel is to link national and local case studies on breeding of domestic animals and on intensification of animal husbandry to more general trends of rationalization, professionalization and the development of science. The decline in the profitability of grain-growing and years of bad crop in the latter half of the 1800s forced many farmers to change their line of production and direct their energies towards a more intensified form of animal husbandry. In Finland, for instance, the so-called ‘hunger years’ in the late 1860s have been seen as a turning-point in this process, and parallel cases can be found in other European countries. The change of line in production, the rapid technical development and the commercialization of agriculture accentuated the position of cows and horses as the most significant domestic animals. The period c. 1830 to c. 1920 can in many respects be seen as the formative years of organized food and milk control, veterinary medicine and of studbook and herdbook systems, but many of the initiatives and measures taken needed adjustment and reevaluation later on. This nuanced process of selecting the ‘right path’ within the different areas of breeding and animal production will be of interest in this panel. Part II of the panel will explore cattle husbandry in Northern Italy, the rise and decline of large-scale animal husbandry in Hungary, Friesian cattle in Barcelona and regulations on milk trade in Finland, whereas Part I focuses on livestock exhibitions in the United States, horse-breeding in Finland and a revolutionary French invention that spread across the world.

**Chair: Bächli, Beat, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 0800 – 1000 // Session 3 – Room A-126

### 3.1.1. Modern Livestock and Animal Technology: Livestock Exposition with a Global Mission, 1893–1920

Paper

**Knapp, Neal, Boston University, USA**

The transition of America into the modern industrial age required human actors – rural, suburban, and urban – to harness and exploit the offerings of the environment and usurp the limitations of the national world. To urge agriculture into the modern era, livestock producers and land-grant university professors worked with urban elites, meatpackers, and the federal and state governments to create the International Livestock Exposition (the International), which they hoped would rival the 1893 Columbian Exposition in prestige. The International, starting in 1900, combined the fanfare, architectural opulence, and sensation of a world’s fair with the expansionist impulse of the United States’ economic and military policy. Political officials, businessmen, and livestock producers, who hosted British, Argentine, and Japanese dignitaries at the International, believed that the viability of the United States as a world power rested on the competitiveness and efficiency of animal carcasses, meatpacking, and grain production. The ability to directly influence the genetics, the vaccination, and the feeding of animals provided producers, meatpackers, and policymakers the predictability and efficiency necessary to project global authority. The ability to assert authority abroad required American agrarians to assert their authority over the animals’ bodies and lifecycles. Modern animals were not simply sources of food and fertilizer, but they were units of technology, modern institutions created by systems of cultural and professional knowledge that influenced and were influenced by national policy and international competition.

### 3.1.2. Horse breeding in Finland in the nineteenth century

Paper

**Toivio, Hilja, University of Tampere, Finland**

In the nineteenth century breeding of domestic animals became a general movement in Europe. In a broader perspective this phenomenon can be connected to the intensification of agriculture and the development of science. The breeding movement touched many domestic animal species, such as horses. Transportation, agriculture and industry were largely dependent on the horse. The horse had an important role as a source of power in everyday life. Finland, for example, was at that time a horse-drawn agrarian society. Therefore horse breeding – as well as the breeding of other domestic animals for other reasons – can be seen from the view of utility. In this paper I investigate horse breeding in nineteenth-century Finland. I base my study on administrative source material and focus on the period from 1835 to 1907. During that same period the Finnish administration was also generally interested in improving domestic animals, cows in particular. The first act aiming at improving the horse population was given in 1835. In Finland some of the initial steps towards more efficient horse breeding included an organized placing of stallions in the countryside, state-organized shows and trotting races and the founding of horse associations. The first acts focused on acquiring better horses in general, putting no special emphasis on the domestic horse. Later there were clearly pedigree-oriented characteristics in the breeding, which was central to the purebred breeding method. The official definition of the Finnish horse breed, the so called Finnhorse, was given in 1907 when the studbook for it was founded.

### 3.1.3. Blinded by the beauty of science? – François Guénon’s method of predicting milk yield

Paper

**Jonasson, Maren, University of Abo Akademi, Finland**

In the 1830s the Frenchman François Guénon introduced the public to his invention by which, he claimed, it was possible to predict the exact milk yield for every cow. The method was an immediate success in Europe and the United States. All cows, regardless of breed and age, could by this method be classified by certain external criteria. By using Guénon’s method even newborn calves could be classified and individuals showing poor external distinctive marks weeded out at an early stage. This could save considerable amounts of time, fodder and money, eliminate mistakes and remove many of the uncertainties surrounding dairy farming. But suspicion arose – the method was just too good to be true. Sceptics claimed the method was a fraud, sheer humbug, and they conducted several blindfold tests to prove their point. In this paper the diffusion of Guénon’s ideas is examined, the triumph and longevity of his method throughout the world, the arguments against it, and the reception this method got in different countries, including the Nordic countries and the United States. But were the sceptics right? Had Guénon and his followers been blinded by the beauty of science and lured on by false hopes of predictability?

#### Participants

##### **Bächli, Beat**

Beat Bächli studied history, sociology, and philosophy at the University of Zurich and holds a Ph.D. from the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology. After stays in Paris and Berlin, he was post-doc at Bielefeld University and leader of a junior research group at the centre for interdisciplinary research, Bielefeld. Today he is Research Associate at the Archives of Rural History in Bern, Switzerland, where he works on the scientisation and industrialisation of cattle breeding since the middle of the 19th century. He has published in the history of technology, the history of medicine, and the history of knowledge.

##### **Jonasson, Maren**

Maren Jonasson is a Ph.D. student at the Department of Nordic history, at the University of Abo Akademi in Finland. Her main fields of scholarly interest include agricultural meetings and expositions in the Nordic countries in the 19th century and modern textual scholarship. She is currently working as editor-in-chief of the trilingual editing and publishing project, The Collected Works of Anders Chydenius, 1729–1803.

##### **Knapp, Neal**

Neal Knapp is a Ph.D. Candidate at Boston University. For his dissertation he is working on the development of “modern” livestock in the United States and the trading of “animal technology”, which deals with genetic selection, breeding and feeding practices, and the transformation of animals’ bodies among nation-states between the Spanish-American War and the Great War. He is also interested in the role of British policy and British purebred livestock in the transformation of livestock breeding and modern animals in the United States. Neal Knapp is originally from Indiana, where he raises sheep.

##### **Toivio, Hilja**

Hilja Toivio is a Ph.D. student in history at the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Tampere, Finland. In her Ph.D. research she studies horse breeding in Finland at the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century in the context of the movement of purebred breeding of domestic animals. In her previous research Toivio has studied the history of domestic animals in Finland, especially horses and broiler chickens. She has also planned and organized museum exhibitions on these themes.



Panel

## 3.2. New Studies in Alpiculture: Moments of Change

**Panel organiser: Mathieu, Jon, University of Lucerne, Switzerland**

Among the different branches of mountain agriculture, alpiculture or “Alpwirtschaft” is rather prominent in the scholarly literature. It is sometimes identified in historical overviews as the primary source of agricultural income of mountain regions and is often alluded to in local and regional monographs. General studies, such as “Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action” (1990) by Elinor Ostrom, are especially interested in the complex rules of property and management. An easy definition of alpiculture is hard to come by, since the examples are so varied. Among its most important and diffuse characteristics are summer-time pasturing, the elevation of the pasture areas, and the mode of exploitation – carried out at a distance from settlements, but juridically and economically dependent on them. The prominent position of alpiculture within the scholarly tradition is less obvious than one might assume. To be sure, it has a long history, and it covers vast territories: in the Swiss Alps, for instance, alpine summer pastures, up to the present day, stretch over more than 5’000 sqkm, that is one eighth of the total surface of the country. On the other hand, alpiculture was, and still is, a discontinuous and extensive form of land use thus limiting its output. Other branches of mountain agriculture often absorbed much more labor and contributed considerably more to total production. In our panel we would like to focus on moments of change in alpicultural development, seen in the very long run: when, and under which conditions, did alpiculture really begin according to the latest archeological research? How did it change during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period? What happened to it in Modernity, up to the present time, when its economic, political, and environmental context underwent such dramatic transformation?

**Chair: Mathieu, Jon, University of Lucerne, Switzerland**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 0800 – 1000 // Session 3 – Room A-119

### 3.2.1. Prehistoric alpine animal husbandry – recent discoveries in the Silvretta range (Switzerland/Austria)

Paper

**Reitmaier, Thomas, Archaeological Service of the Canton of Grisons, Switzerland**

Few regions in Europe are so strongly associated with alpine animal husbandry and agriculture as the mountain regions of Switzerland and Austria. The seasonal use of high alpine pastures by sheep, goat and cattle herds and the immediate and local utilisation of animal products seems perfectly adapted to the alpine landscape. However, the origins and development of ‘Alpwirtschaft’ in the central Alps are still badly understood. An interdisciplinary research project was initiated in 2007 by the University of Zürich to study the early history of alpine animal husbandry in the Silvretta range on the Swiss-Austrian border. Starting points of the surveys were a number of settlements on the valley floor dating to the Bronze Age and Iron Age. During four campaigns a large number of high alpine (over 2000 masl) sites dating between the earliest deglaciation and the modern age could be discovered. These are chronologically similar to and functionally complement the valley sites. The results of the project show that the extensive alpine pastures were being used from at least the 3rd millennium BC for summer grazing. These archaeological results are supported by e.g. archaeobotany/palynology, archaeozoology, toponymy and dendrochronology. The presentation provides insight into current research results and discusses still open research questions and future research potential.

### 3.2.2. The intensification of alpiculture in the early modern period: the case of harvesting „wild hay” in the high mountains

Paper

**Blatter, Michael, Stadtarchiv Sursee, Switzerland**

In the Middle Ages, a subsistence economy based on grain, sheep and goat was predominant in the Alpine area. By the eighteenth century, however, in certain Alpine regions, the economy was driven by raising cattle and providing dairy products for export. In my presentation, this transformation between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries is re-evaluated by focusing on one aspect of mountain pastoralism: haymaking on remote mountain precipices even beyond the reach of livestock – the so called Wildheuen or harvesting wild hay. Its development coincided with the recovery of the economy of the cities in the plains of northern Italy in the 1660s, illustrating how strongly intertwined both the alpine husbandry and the Italian urban industries were on their path to modernity.

### 3.2.3. Swiss alpine pasture farming since 1880 – a landscape assessment

Paper

**Bürgi, Matthias, Swiss Federal Institute for Forest, Snow and Landscape Research, Birmensdorf, Switzerland**

Alpine pasture farming shapes the landscape in the Swiss Alps on more than 5’000km<sup>2</sup>, i.e. one eighth of the total surface of Switzerland. Alpine pastures are high in cultural, ecological and economic values, but they are undergoing rapid changes, mainly due to the integration of alpine agriculture in a global market for agricultural products. However, various other so-called driving forces of change and persistence, acting at various temporal and spatial scales have an impact. In the study presented, I will discuss various approaches of how to evaluate the ecological and socio-economic changes in Swiss Alpiculture in the late 19th and 20th century. Combining approaches and sources used in landscape ecology, ecological history and environmental history some trajectories of change are outlined and interpreted in their political and economic context.

### 3.2.4. Adapting the management of alpine pastures to changes in the 20th century: the case of Ursern Corporation

Paper

**Wunderli Götschi, Rahel, University of Basel, Switzerland**

Ursern Corporation is a local institution in the central Alps of Switzerland. For many centuries it has set the rules for the use of a majority of the agricultural area in Ursern Valley and thus has long been and still is an important factor in local alpiculture. This paper investigates how the corporation adapted the management of the alpine pastures to changes in 20th century agriculture, taking into account old and new techniques of cultivation, the effects of economic forces, and the impacts of various political decisions made at both regional and national levels. Furthermore, it considers the management of the alpine pastures in Ursern Valley in terms of collective action, as the corporation consists of those families that have been settled there for more than 100 years. How were decisions made under these institutional and social conditions? And how do farmers and representatives of the corporation evaluate the effects of those decisions today?

#### Participants

**Blatter, Michael**

Dr. Michael Blatter is the director of the Archives of the City of Sursee, Switzerland. He has worked in various institutions as a research assistant, fellow and lecturer. Recently he published a comprehensive study of an Alpine valley in the 16th and 17th centuries.

**Bürgi, Matthias**

PD. Dr. Matthias Bürgi is a group leader at the Swiss Federal Institute for Forest, Snow and Landscape Research and teaches at the ETH Zurich. Currently he runs the project of the Swiss National Science Foundation entitled “Changes in diversity of Swiss alpine pasture farming since 1880”.

**Mathieu, Jon**

Jon Mathieu is professor of history at the University of Lucerne, Switzerland. He was

the founding director of the “Istituto di Storia delle Alpi” at the Università della Svizzera italiana and has published widely about mountain regions in the modern period.

**Reitmaier, Thomas**

Dr. Thomas Reitmaier is director of the Archaeological Service of the Canton of Grisons in Switzerland. He has worked on archeological projects in many countries and is currently heading the international project “Silvretta historica”, dealing with the early history of alpiculture.

**Wunderli Götschi, Rahel**

Lic. phil. Rahel Wunderli Götschi runs the project “Continuity and Change of an Alpine Cultural Landscape: Agriculture in the Urserental in the 20th Century” at the Department of History, University of Basel. She is member of the Committee of the Swiss Rural History Society.



**Panel** 3.3. The provision of poor relief in rural Europe. Part II

**Panel organiser:** Marfany, Julie, University of Oxford, UK

Outside of England, the provision of poor relief in the countryside in the past is a neglected topic, in part due to the assumption that it was minimal compared to the provision of relief by large urban institutions and in part because of a lack of evidence. Nonetheless, those historians who have studied rural poor relief have shown that many types of assistance were available for the poor, such as local hospitals, bread doles, dowry funds, other endowed charities, confraternities and almsgiving of different kinds. By and large, these forms of charity were private, though sometimes administered by public bodies. More recent work has stressed that these forms of private charity were important even in England, operating alongside statutory poor relief as part of a mixed economy welfare. What has largely not been addressed for anywhere in Europe is the role and significance of such charities. Were funds adequate enough to provide relief in any systematic and sustained fashion? What contribution could they make to the household 'economy of makeshifts'? Did migration to the cities represent the only option in times of hardship? How did poor relief change over time? In posing these questions, historians also need to consider the different relationships between family forms and poor relief that may have existed. Richard Smith and Peter Solar have suggested that the English poor law provided a safety net that mitigated against the hardship traditionally associated with the nuclear family, in particular through provision of relief to the elderly. This raises the question of how poor relief may have functioned in association with other family forms over different stages of the life-cycle and to what extent it substituted for or supplemented provision of relief by kin. The papers presented in these two panels investigate the role of poor relief, broadly defined, for different areas of rural Europe.

**Chair:** Marfany, Julie, University of Oxford, UK

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 0800 – 1000 // Session 3 – Room A-122

**Paper** 3.3.1. Poor relief in eighteenth-century rural Spain: a case study of Catalonia

**Marfany, Julie, University of Oxford, UK**

Almost no research has been done on poor relief in rural Spain. The assumption has often been that the poor in rural Spain and southern Europe more generally either relied on extended kin networks for support or were forced to migrate to the large institu-

tions of the cities. In fact, though the evidence is scattered, rural parishes had a variety of institutions that offered relief, including small local hospitals, endowed charities (mostly bread doles and dowry funds), confraternities and almsgiving. In the late eighteenth century, there were attempts to co-ordinate these different funds under the auspices of local charity committees. At the same time, reformers were debating the best method of relieving the poor, with a vocal number calling for an end to 'indiscriminate charity' in the form of almsgiving and bread doles in favour of more discriminatory and supposedly efficient relief schemes, often more centralised and including indoor relief. This paper presents some preliminary findings for one Spanish region, Catalonia, focusing in particular on a survey of endowed charities from 1772-4. The paper considers the role these charities and other forms of poor relief played in the local economy in the light of contemporary debates. While endowed charities in particular saw their income decline over the eighteenth century, some parishes still fought hard to keep them. More generally, rural poor relief appears to have been more dynamic and adaptable to the needs of local inhabitants than either contemporaries or historians have given it credit for.

3.3.2. The provision of poor relief in the Polish countryside during the preindustrial period. A case study of Cracow and its surroundings.

**Wynga, Mateusz, Institute of History, Pedagogical University in Cracow, Poland**

Paupers in the Polish countryside could count on various forms of social welfare. In principle, it was the Church that took care of poor relief. Often, however, it was not formalized. Rural shelters usually gave places to only a few individuals, who in turn helped in the church and were godparents. Sometimes mere sojourners, including orphans, disabled war veterans, single mothers with children, sick traders or handcrafters, were located in rural shelters. These so-called "hospitals" were generally neglected, small, wooden houses. The poor were also supported by confraternities and the gentry. It is known that many paupers lived in peasants' households. They did lighter, additional work on the farm. The nuclear family type (parents and their children) dominated in the Polish countryside of the 18th century. Sometimes, there was no place for the elderly in the household. Many poor left their place of birth or habitation because of poverty, hunger and old age. This situation escalated during natural disasters, epidemics, war and famine. Parish registers contain information about wandering children, who died from exhaustion, or people seeking for food, who arrived in the environs of Cracow, sometimes from a long distance. It seems that a chance of a better life for the poor was to go to the towns. This paper investigates these issues through a study of 13 parishes near Cracow, using parish registers from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, episcopal visitations and the census of 1790-2 for the province of Cracow.

3.3.3. Poor relief and taxation in the Southern Low Countries during the eighteenth century.

**Lambrecht, Thijs, University of Ghent, Belgium**  
**Winter, Anne, Vrije Universiteit Brussels, Belgium**

Until the end of the eighteenth century, poor relief in the rural Southern Low Countries was organized by so-called 'armendissen' or poor tables, dating back to the late middle ages. Poor tables pooled charitable gifts and redistributed them to poor inhabitants of the parish. The bulk of their income consisted of charitable endowments: gifts of land and annuities. From the early seventeenth century, parishes could raise taxes to supplement the income of the poor table. However, it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that poor taxes became a widespread measure, as poor tables experienced difficulties in attracting charitable gifts. The decline in charity can be attributed to legal measures concerning mortmain and different attitudes to poverty. After 1750, more parishes introduced local poor taxes and the weight of these increased relative to other sources of charitable income. In some regions, poor taxes constituted up to three-quarters of the resources raised for the poor. In this paper, we explore the origins and effects of poor taxes in some 20 rural parishes in the western part of the Southern Low Countries. In this region, characterized by farm engrossment and high levels of mobility, poor taxes were introduced in nearly all parishes in the second half of the eighteenth century. The transition from a charitable to a tax-based model of welfare was much debated and resulted in social tensions within parishes. By the end of the eighteenth century, the organization of poor relief resembled English practices under the Old Poor Law.

**Participants**

**Lambrecht, Thijs**  
 Thijs Lambrecht studied history at Ghent University and obtained his PhD in 2007. He was postdoctoral research fellow of the FWO (2007 to 2012) and visiting scholar at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (2008-2009). In August 2012 he started working as an archivist at the General State Archives. His research focuses on rural society in the Southern Low Countries and he has published on the history of credit markets, labour organization and poor relief. In recent years, he has developed an interest in rural welfare provisioning in the eighteenth century.

**Marfany, Julie**  
 Julie Marfany received her PhD from the University of Cambridge in 2003. Since then, she has been a researcher and lecturer at the University of Cambridge and is now a Departmental Lecturer in Economic and Social History. Her research interests are in the transition to capitalism in southern Europe, focusing on Catalonia. She has published several journal articles and a monograph *Land, proto-industry and population in Catalonia, c. 1680-1829. An alternative transition to capitalism?* (Ashgate, 2012).

**Vanhoute, Eric**  
 Eric Vanhoute is professor of economic and social history and world history at Ghent University, Belgium. He is head of the cross departmental research group CCC – Communities-Comparisons-Connections at Ghent University (<http://www.ccc.ugent.be>). He coordinates the collaborative research project "Trajectories of peasant transformation. A comparative and global research into the decline and disappearance of

peasantries, 1500-2000". He is member of the board of the International Research Community CORN Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area.

**Winter, Anne**  
 Anne Winter studied history at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel and the London School of Economics. She obtained her PhD at the VUB in 2007 and was appointed lecturer in urban history at that same university in 2010, after carrying out research visits at Somerville College (University of Oxford), at the EHESS in Paris and at the University of Salzburg. Her research focuses on social and economic problems of the early modern period and the long nineteenth century in an international comparative perspective, with a particular interest in migration, social policies, urbanization and labour conditions in the transition period 1750-1850.

**Wynga, Mateusz**  
 Mateusz Wynga is assistant professor in the Institute of History at the Pedagogical University in Cracow since 2010, graduate of history and doctoral studies at the Jagiellonian University and the Pedagogical University in Cracow, member of Historical Demography Team (Polish Academy of Sciences), member of the Polish Historical Society. Author of *Parish Raciborowice from the Sixteenth to the Late Eighteenth Century. Study of the Local Community* (2011). Research interests: historical demography, history of the City of Cracow, history of settlement, parish archives, local history.

### 3.4. Ruling the Commons. Part I

**Panel organiser: Alfani, Guido, Bocconi University, Italy; De Moor, Tine, Utrecht University, Netherlands**

Commons are again a hot topic, in particular in scientific disciplines other than history. Whereas since the late 1960s they were perceived from a negative point of view, this perception seems to have changed recently, due to the work of Ostrom (Nobel Prize in 2009) and due to the economic and social crisis, which enforces the call for new models of governance, other than market and state-based models. The input of historiographical knowledge in the debate is still limited but nevertheless very important as only the study of the long-term evolution of institutions for collective action such as commons can help us to understand why they might be viable, and more resilient, alternatives to other forms of resource governance. The two sessions will focus mainly on the way in which commons were internally organized and how the commoners adapted their institution to the changing circumstances. Two misunderstandings that are still alive in some parts of the social sciences are the supposed lack of internal organization and the idea that commons are accessible to all, as in an open access would be the case. These two issues will form the focus of our two sub-sessions which will be chaired by the organisers. In three of the underneath listed papers, the internal organization in particular in the form of regulation will receive special attention, and this for different countries in Europe and periods since the late middle ages. Several of the presented papers use a new methodology that is currently being developed as part of an international project (Utrecht-Pamplona-Lancaster) whereby for a substantial number of cases the regulation of commons is analyzed and compared over time according to a collectively set-up analysis framework. Related to the issue of access to the commons, several papers will focus on the ways resources were divided within the commons and how inequality influenced the functioning of the commons. In fact, only rarely were rights over the commons equally distributed among all the households or all the individuals of a community. Instead, different categories with unequal access could exist, or the community could be split between those who enjoyed the rights to the common resources, and those who did not. These distinctions created conflict within the community and generated specific issues of governance and control. Sometimes, unequal rights were one of the reasons leading to the progressive erosion of the commons, or even to their final disappearance.

**Chair: Alfani, Guido, Bocconi University, Italy**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 0800 – 1000 // Session 3 – Room A 201

#### 3.4.1. Commons and Inequality in Renaissance Lombardy

**Di Tullio, Matteo, Bocconi University, Italy**

In the last few years, international Early Modern history has drawn the attention of scholars interested in a fairly new field: that of the development in time of institutions for collective action and the management of commons in ancient societies. However, Renaissance Italy has been neglected, in spite of the fact that the Peninsula was the cradle of many of these institutions. The goal of this paper is to understand how local societies face to a period of general crisis, investigating the local socioeconomic dynamics during the long period of the Italian Wars (1494-1559) and focusing on a boundary area, disputed by Milan and Venice, constantly crossed and occupied by armies. The area of Geradadda was a sort of self-governing province, over which in the course of time no central institution had been able to gain complete control, but highly desirable for foreign investors, considering the nature of the territory and its agriculture, the passage of important commercial routes, the widespread presence of small holdings and medium-sized farms and of extensive as well as lucrative communal property. For these reasons this paper particularly focuses on the management of commons, such as the capacity of the institutions and of the social network to adopt policies for the use, exploitation, rationalisation and defence of local resources. The study shows how local societies were not inactive in the face of war. On the contrary, they co-operate in defence of local resources, developing innovative credit systems and encouraging a process of redistribution.

#### 3.4.2. The changing culture of commons governance in northern England, medieval to modern

**Winchester, Angus, Lancaster University, UK**

This paper takes a long view of the evolution of rules governing the use of common land in northern England. Its focus is the changing character and operation of manorial courts, the seigniorial courts which formulated and policed regulations governing the use of commons and applied sanctions to those who broke the rules. The regulations formed a body of local byelaws, unique to each manor. Using a corpus of byelaws recorded in the records of manorial courts from across northern England and a more detailed

analysis of regulations from a selection of courts in Cumbria (north-west England), the paper examines not only the content of the byelaws but also the changing pattern of sanctions imposed by the courts.

The paper argues that it is possible to discern shifts in the balance between seigniorial and grassroots control over the regulation of commons by manorial courts between the late-medieval period and the nineteenth century. Local custom with deep roots in the medieval centuries was absorbed into more formal regulations and recorded by seigniorial officials in the era 1550-1700 but, in the face of weakening manorial control and increasing pressure on the resources of common land in the eighteenth century, agrarian communities themselves increasingly came to dominate the rule-making process.

#### 3.4.3. Participation versus punishment. The relationship between institutional longevity and sanctioning in the early modern times (case studies from the East of the Netherlands)

**De Moor, Tine, Utrecht University, Netherlands**

Sanctioning is in most studies on common resources considered a necessity to avoid freeriding. Without the threat of punishment commoners and outsiders alike will choose the personal benefit over that of the collectivity. But sanctioning can altogether however be a costly affair: sanctions need to be designed, agreed upon collectively; bad behavior needs to be detected and a punishment needs to be executed. It is to be expected that in many cases the benefit of the sanction (the price paid by the free-rider) is lower than the costs this whole process would entail. Our study of 9 Dutch cases furthermore demonstrates that commoners in the early modern period were aware of this negative trade-off and that they choose other ways to convince their commoners to follow the rules instead of breaking them. Moreover, a negative correlation was found between the longevity of the common as an institution and the time and energy spent on designing sanction. The commons that lived longest spent on average the least time in designing such sanctions. The study suggests that – contrary to the idea that sanctions are needed to avoid freeriding – there might be cheaper and more effective ways to create a sustainable institution.

#### 3.4.4. Local governance: controversy over distributive justice of the commons in early modern England, focusing on Gillingham Royal Forest dispute, c. 1620s-1650s

**Inui, Hideaki, Hokaido Public School, Japan**

Many of the arguments for seigniorial control over forest, fenland or the commons tended to make much of class-based readings of the social profile of participation, and characterized the riots of the 1620s and 1630s as artisanal in the west counties and gentrified in the east county, but paid less attention to the relationship of complaints/riots against the enclosures to governance at a lower level. This paper begins from the premise that demands for devolution originated from national level (Elizabethan poor laws) required the involvement of actors and institutions at lower governance levels. And it will focus on the 'petitions' to understand how policies worked as instruments of governance to pursue social stability within systems of power and authority through the lens of 'deforestation and land-readjustment' and 'land trust'. In what follows, 'petitions' is used as an umbrella term, which includes 'complaints' or 'appeals' as well as explicit 'petitions'. It will examine local governance concerning the commons on a range of under-written subjects: (1) Execution capability: market regulation & relief of the vulnerable, (2) Rule of law: pursuing stability & participation in the political process as agency – increased role and participation of non-state actors; understanding decision making in terms of complex overlapping networks – public meeting of township or parish, county bench, and central court and (3) Corruption control: governance scandal.

#### Participants

##### Alfani, Guido

Guido Alfani is Associate Professor of Economic History at Bocconi University, Italy and Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow, UK. He is a member of Dondega Centre for Research on Social Dynamics and chief editor of the journal *Popolazione e Storia*. His research interests include economic inequality, social alliance systems (particularly godparenthood), historical demography (particularly epidemics and famines). He is the Principal Investigator of the ERC-funded project EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800.

##### De Moor, Tine

Tine De Moor is Professor of "Institutions for Collective Action in Historical Perspective" at the Department for Social and Economic History of Utrecht University. Her research combines extensive empirical research and analysis with modeling and a strongly theoretical framework. She is an executive board member of The International Association for the Study of the Commons, and co-founder of the peer-reviewed open-access *International Journal of the Commons*. Currently she is in charge of several projects on institutions for collective action, of which one is an ERC Starting Grant ([www.collective-action.info](http://www.collective-action.info)).

##### Di Tullio, Matteo

Matteo Di Tullio obtained his PhD in social and economic history from Bocconi University (Milan, Italy) in 2010. Currently, he is working as Post-doc researcher at Bocconi

University, as member of the ERC project EINITE-Economic Inequality Across Italy and Europe. He teaches Economic History at "Insubria" University of Varese. His principal research interests are: History of local communities, History of taxation and finance, Economic inequality, Historical demography and Environmental History of northern Italy during the Early Modern period; management of commons and natural resources; agricultural innovations, family history.

##### Inui, Hideaki

After obtaining a Master of Economics at Osaka University of Economics, Hideaki Inui finished his doctoral program without a PhD degree at the Graduate School Literature Department of Hokkaido University. In 2005-2006, he worked as a part-time lecturer at Sapporo Gakuin University. Currently, he is Vice-principal at Otaru City Public School (Japan).

##### Winchester, Angus

Angus Winchester is Professor of Local and Landscape History at Lancaster University, UK. His publications include *The Harvest of the Hills: rural life in northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700* (Edinburgh University Press, 2000), which examined the management of hill commons by manorial courts. More recently, he co-directed a major study of common land in England and Wales, published in C. P. Rodgers et al., *Contested Common Land: Environmental Governance Past and Present* (Earthscan, 2011).

### 3.5. The open fields of Europe in their social and economic context: origins and use. Part II: General papers and UK

**Panel organiser: Thoen, Erik, Ghent University, Belgium; Dyer, Christopher, Leicester University, UK; Williamson, Tom, University of East Anglia, UK**

In the middle ages and early modern period open fields can be found in every country of Europe. These were extensive areas of land given over to arable farming, with provision for common grazing of animals, and were subject to rules enforced by communities. There were many varieties. Sometimes they occupied a high proportion of the land in a village's territory, but in some cases the open fields formed an element in a landscape also containing enclosed land, woodland or expanses of pasture. They were usually cropped according to agreed rotations, in which crops occupied each year a proportion of the land (a half, two thirds or three-quarters) and the rest lay fallow. They were replaced by enclosures, which could be as early as c.1200, but were often delayed until the 18th and 19th centuries. The enclosures could take place gradually, or in a single revolutionary act. The origin, character and function of the open fields were often studied by geographers, while historians were more interested in the process of enclosure. Approaches to the open fields are now commonly multi-disciplinary, and involve much archaeological attention as well as that of historians and geographers. There are debates about the environmental context, as scholars seek to explain the uneven distribution of open fields across varied landscapes. Some attribute the decision to change field systems to lords, or to ethnic groups, or even to the state, while others favour the view that peasants were the agents. Were open fields devised and managed in order to maintain and improve levels of productivity, was their prime function to avoid risk, or was it the consequence of a structural lack of capital? Did the fields impose equality on the cultivators, for example by ensuring that strips were scattered, or was there provision for individuals to make improvements, invest in livestock and implements, and raise their profits? How did tenures and other dimensions of land holding impact on the field organisation? Was the existence of open fields linked with technology, and did those technologies change? Developments within the open fields and in the processes of enclosure happened at a different pace, and this needs to be explained. The purpose is to examine origin, use and decline of open fields in the context of evolving social relations and economic change. The panel is divided in two parts. Part I deals with continental Europe. Part II with Europe in general and the UK. These panels are organized by the CORN network (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area).

**Chair: Thoen, Erik, Ghent University, Department of History, Belgium**

**Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 0800 – 1000 // Session 3 – Room A 027**

#### 3.5.1. Open-field landscapes in Europe

**Renes, Hans, University of Utrecht, Netherlands**

The landscapes of open-field agriculture were the bread-baskets of medieval Europe. After the heyday of this landscape in the early 1400s, the changing economic geography of Europe brought changes in the functioning and distribution of open field agriculture. During the Early-modern period, the open-field landscape almost disappeared, together with large-scale grain cultivation, in the central UK and in smaller regions elsewhere. At the same time, it survived in Central Europe and was newly introduced in regions on the south-eastern Baltic. This regional variety resulted in different research traditions and has influenced the development of landscape archaeology and historical geography.

#### 3.5.2. Open fields, „planning“ and the environment

**Williamson, Tom, University of East Anglia, UK**

Much recent work on the English medieval landscape has emphasised the way that villages and open fields were created by manorial lords, and imposed on local peasant populations, to increase agricultural efficiency and facilitate the extraction of services and surpluses. This paper will argue that the fashionable model of settlement 'nucleation' and village 'planning' is misleading. What the middle and later Saxon periods witnessed was the stabilisation, and then the expansion, of settlement. In some districts settlements expanded in situ, leading to the emergence of nucleated villages with extensive communal open fields. Elsewhere, farms tended to disperse to varying extents across the landscape. These regional variations in the landscape are best understood, not in terms of spatial variations in social or tenurial structures, but as a consequence of complex hydrological and agrarian factors.

#### 3.5.3. Manorialization and demographic pressure in landscape areas in thirteenth-century England

**Kanzaka, Junichi, Soka University in Tokyo, Faculty of Economic, Japan**

I have examined the degree of manorialization and population increase in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Oxfordshire, and Warwickshire, based on the Hundred Rolls of 1279–1280. Through a factor analysis (using the maximum likelihood and varimax rotation), I identified three factors, namely the 'population factor' and two aspects of manorialization: the 'classical structure factor' and 'freedom factor'. Since these factors were independent of each other, the relationship amongst the three factors varied according to the three regions. A high 'classical structure factor' score and low 'population factor' score characterized the first region, including the western champion Midlands, Cotswolds, Chiltern Hills, and the Forest of Arden. In the second region, including the southeastern champion and East Anglian Heights, population increase was linked to low levels of manorialization, a low 'classical structure factor' score and high 'freedom factor' score. In contrast, in the third region, the eastern champion Midlands, a marked population increase was linked to high scores for the 'classical structure factor'. Thus, the relationship between manorialization and demographic pressure was different in each region.

#### 3.5.4. The village meeting in organizing open fields in medieval England

**Dyer, Christopher, Leicester University, UK**

Historians of medieval field systems in England assume that the villagers themselves were involved in managing the fields, such as fixing the times of fencing fields that were to be sown, arranging for the pasturing of animals, regulating the harvest and so on. This view is justified by the records of by-laws issued by the manorial court, and the punishment of those who offended against the rules. The by-laws did not deal with all of the problems associated with field management, and rules must have been agreed and enforced by meetings held away from the lord's court. There are also no detailed records of meetings earlier than about 1270, and this paper will speculate on the earlier hidden history of field management.

#### 3.5.5. Four new indicators for the origins and development of open-field farming in England

**Jones, Richard, Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester, UK**

Despite capturing the attention of historians and archaeologists for more than a century, pinpointing the origins and spread of open-field farming in England continues to prove elusive. In this paper, the issue will be readdressed using four forms of evidence which have largely been ignored to date - animal bones, isotopic analysis, evidence for manuring practices, and place-names. Used together clear regional and chronological patterns emerge which appear to add greater precision to our understanding of the place and timing of the introduction of open fields to England and, perhaps more importantly, the pace and direction of their subsequent spread.

#### Participants

##### **Dyer, Christopher**

Chris Dyer is emeritus professor from Leicester University and specialised in economic history and historical geography of England.

##### **Jones, Richard**

Senior Lecturer in Landscape History.

##### **Kanzaka, Junichi**

Junichi Kanzaka is a professor in economic history at Soka University, Japan. He has studied the agrarian history of medieval England. His publications include 'Villein Rents in Thirteenth-Century England: An Analysis of the Hundred Rolls of 1279–1280', *Economic History Review*, 60–4, 2002. He is also carrying out research comparing the agrarian history of England and Japan.

##### **Renes, Hans**

Hans Renes is professor at the University of Utrecht, specialised in historical geography.

##### **Thoen, Erik**

Erik Thoen is professor of rural and environmental history at Ghent University (Belgium). He is a specialist of pre-modern agriculture and rural society in North Western Europe, and founder and chair of the CORN - Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area - Research Network.

##### **Williamson, Tom**

Tom Williamson is professor at the University of East Anglia specialised in historical geography.

### 3.6. Agricultural politics in Europe between WWII and 1957. Part I

**Panel organiser: Martiin, Carin, Agrarian History, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden; Pan-Montojo, Juan, Departamento de Historia Contemporánea, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain**

The session is a two-part panel with contributors representing various parts of Europe. The overall aim is to discuss and compare agricultural politics in the early years just after World War II, and the two panels will bring international and national approaches together in a comparative perspective. Beginning in 1945, or even with the Hot Springs Conference in 1943, and ending in the late 1950s before the creation of CAP, the session will highlight times and processes that have often been overshadowed by wartime food and farming, and by the introduction of the CAP. More than a decade passed in between, however; a decade that saw new political climates, the emergence of the Cold War, and the implementation of new national agricultural programmes in many European countries. Early post-war agriculture can be studied from an international perspective that brings to the forefront the international context of the 1940s and 1950s; the reorganisation of food exchanges; bilateral agreements, and agrarian policies, including the development of the FAO and the programmes designed within the framework of the Marshall Plan. Post-war agriculture can also be examined from the national perspective by looking at national food production, structural policies, and market regulations. Agricultural policies cannot, however, be analysed without taking into account more general political factors: the new understanding of socio-political integration and the role of farmers/peasants after the experience of the 1930s and the war; the electoral realities of various political forces and the reshaping of political coalitions in European democracies; the ruralist discourse of Southern-European authoritarian regimes; and the position of peasant parties in “popular democracies”. Among the many issues to discuss are: When and how were agricultural programmes worked out? What were their short and long-term purposes? What role did agricultural organisations and factors play in the political coalitions after the war? What was the impact of pre-war plans, war-related agricultural problems and the Marshall Plan at the international, national and local level? What were the technological trends and policies across Europe and how did the US influence these trends? How did agricultural productivity, food supply and nutritional standards change during the first decade after the war? Did newly introduced policies favour agriculture, or were industry and urbanization given priority at the expense of farming and rural societies?

**Chair: Pan-Montojo, Juan, Departamento de Historia Contemporánea, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 0800 – 1000 // Session 3 – Room A 022

#### 3.6.1. British Agriculture in transition: Food Shortages to Food Surpluses (1947-57)

**Martin, John, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK**

The ten year period 1947 to 1957 constitutes a period of profound change for the state's relationship with British agriculture. The 1947 Agriculture Act marked a watershed in that the Labour government was committed to ensuring ‘stability and efficiency’ in the form of guaranteed prices accompanied with a five year expansion plan with clearly defined targets for the main agricultural commodities. In addition, not only had the Labour party's historic commitment to land nationalisation been abandoned, but it was now actively seeking to align itself with the agricultural interest. In contrast, following the return to power of the Conservatives, food rationing and the other controls administered by the Ministry of Food were dismantled in favour of re-establishing pre-war Marketing Boards and radically reforming the system of state support. The aim of this paper is to consider how far the changes in government were a pragmatic response to the world food situation with food surpluses now replacing the post war shortages or whether the change reflected the ideological differences between the two main political parties.

#### 3.6.2. Cold War Farm: international contexts for British farming in the 1940s and 1950s

**Griffiths, Clare, Department of History, University of Sheffield, UK**

The Second World War is often presented as a period of revolution in British agriculture. Yet the most durable transformations in the farming sector were largely features of the post-war period, as the promise of increased mechanisation and technological advances began to bear fruit across many parts of the country, and as a new political settlement established a privileged economic status for the industry. This paper considers these changes in farming practice and national policy against a background of international

pressures and influences. How does this agricultural history relate to the Cold War context in which these developments were taking place? Farmers had been on ‘the front line of freedom’ in wartime, and in peace they were also seen as having roles to play in national defence, in its broadest sense. Even the countryside was not immune from concerns about the new threats of potential attack, or from the impact of international political alignments. Whilst farming lobbyists argued for the sector's role in an international commitment to improved nutrition as a universal goal, farming was mobilised to promote recovery at a national level – to feed the country, support the project of postwar reconstruction and foster a rebuilding of the nation's economy. At a time when Britain's economic and political links with its empire, Europe and the United States were all in flux, the management of the nation's agriculture and the planning of its food supply need to be considered in the light of these broader contexts.

#### 3.6.3. Modernized farming but stagnated production: Swedish farming from World War II to the late 1950s

**Martiin, Carin, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden**

In 1947 the Swedish Riksdag decided to implement a comprehensive long-term agricultural programme, which was part of the ambitious overall planning that characterized the development of the Swedish welfare state after WWII. The programme included aims about farming efficiency, food production and improved material living standards in farm households. Special emphasis was put on efforts to move labour from small-scale farming to the industrial sector. Moreover the programme stressed the importance of rational use of all factors of production in the Swedish society, including farming. Less interest was devoted to the total food production, even though warnings about looming overproduction were heard long before the end of the war. The paper pays special attention to changes in methods of production, for example mechanization, increased use of artificial fertilizer, pesticides, fossil fuel and electricity, but also to reduced numbers of smallholders and employees. In spite of changes in methods of production the total farm production stagnated in the 1950s, and was actually reduced per capita, which contrasts the contemporary trends in many other countries.

#### 3.6.4. Agricultural politics and production in the British West African colonies during and after World War II to 1960: Reflections on Nigeria's agro-production

**Chimee, Ihediwa Nkemjika, Department of History & International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria**

World War II was one of the most devastating developments in Europe and indeed Africa and Asia. It created challenges not only for the powers involved in the struggle, but also for those living far off and under colonial domination. In Africa, it imposed the burden of forced recruitment into the British colonial army as well as forcing farmers to produce agricultural produce for export only. West African farmers were faced with the added responsibility of producing not to meet the consumption requirements of their people, but that of an imperial power and its industries. The simple politics was that everything needed to be done to defeat Nazism/Hitlerism, and massive agricultural production was the tool for the attainment of this goal. Thus Nigerian farmers were compelled as indeed other colonial people in Africa, to produce agricultural raw materials and food stuffs to support the war efforts. This narrow pattern affected adversely agricultural development in Nigeria up to the time of independence, thereby slowing down industrial growth. The paper intends to examine the nature of agricultural production in British West Africa during and after the war up to independence period, and the implications such had on the overall agricultural and industrial template of the region, using Nigeria as case study.

#### Participants

##### Chimee, Ihediwa Nkemjika

Ihediwa Nkemjika Chimee, is a doctoral student and an academic staff in the Department of History & International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. He holds a BA degree in History and an MA in Economic and Social History. In addition, he holds an LL.B degree in Law and a BL from the Nigerian Law School Abuja. His research areas are social, economic and political history as well as conflict and human rights. He has published in journals and contributed chapters in edited books. He has attended international conferences abroad and within.

##### Griffiths, Clare

Clare Griffiths is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Sheffield. She is the author of *Labour and the Countryside: the politics of rural Britain, 1918-1939* (2007), and co-editor of *Classes, Cultures and Politics: essays on British History* for Ross McKibbin (2011). She created the exhibition ‘Farming for the New Britain: images of British farmers in war and peace’ for the Museum of English Rural Life in 2010, and writes on visual arts for the *Times Literary Supplement*. She is currently a member of the EC for the BAHS, and on the editorial board for *Agricultural History*.

##### Martiin, Carin

Carin Martiin is Associate Professor in Agrarian History in the Department of Economics at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala, Sweden. She is agronomist, PhD in Agrarian History and docent in Economic History. Among the publications are the textbook ‘*The World of Agricultural Economics: An introduction*’ (Routledge, April 2013) and articles in Brassley, Segers, Van Molle ‘*War, Agriculture,*

and Food (Routledge 2012), *Rural History* (2010) and *Agricultural History Review* (2008). Her main research interests include cattle husbandry and dairy production, and 20th century agricultural politics in Sweden and internationally.

##### Martin, John

John Martin is Reader in Agrarian history, De Montfort University, Leicester. His main research interest is the impact of government policies on British agriculture and the countryside since the 1930s. His books include *The Development of Modern Agriculture: British Farming Since 1931*, (2000) co-editor *The Encyclopaedia of British Rural Sports* (20004) co-editor *The Frontline of Freedom* (2007). Research Associate for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the series consultant for BBC's highly acclaimed eight part ‘*Wartime Farm*’ and ‘*Wartime Farm Christmas Special*’ by Lion TV in association with the Open University (2012).

##### Pan-Montojo, Juan

Juan Pan-Montojo (1962) received PhD in Modern History in 1992. He has been visiting researcher at the LSE, London, (1988), the New School for Social Research, New York, (1995), and the Friedrich-Alexander Universität of Erlangen-Nürnberg (2003). He has been since 1997, Associate Professor of Modern History at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Among others he has published the following books: *La bodega del mundo. La vid y el vino en España, 1800-1936* (Madrid, 1994), and *Apostolado, profesión y tecnología. Una historia de los ingenieros agrónomos en España* (Madrid, 2005). Currently he is the editor of the academic journal *Historia agraria*.

### 3.7. Agrarian reforms or markets – causes of agricultural growth in comparative perspective

**Panel organiser: Olsson, Mats, Lund University, Sweden**

The agricultural transformation of preindustrial Europe is a classical area of research, which has drawn attention to several important factors affecting growth. The prevailing focus on single areas in European research has led researchers to put forward different aspects as key factors in the agricultural transformation. The literature on Germany and Sweden 1750–1880 indicate that these areas experienced agricultural transformations at about the same point in time, but while institutional change and land reforms have been put forward as explanations for the Swedish development, recent German research has downplayed this part, instead focusing on the long-term process of market integration as the most important factor. The aim of this panel is to study growth, institutional change and market integration during agricultural transformations.

**Chair: Pinilla, Vicente, University of Zaragoza, Spain**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 0800 – 1000 // Session 3 – Room A 019

#### 3.7.1. Agricultural growth without agrarian reforms? The case of early industrializing Saxony c. 1770-1850

**Kopsidis, Michael, Leibniz-Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe (IAMO), Halle (Saale), Germany**

Saxony's population growth accelerated after the Seven Year's War. Simultaneously Saxony's industry boomed. Beside the Northern Rhineland it developed very early into a center of industrialization in Germany. However, in stark contrast to the Northern Rhineland agrarian reforms took place very late only after 1830. Thus, to a large part the structural transformation of Saxony from an agrarian to an industrial economy c. 1800-1830 proceeded under the conditions of the Grundherrschaft (manorial system). Moreover, due to the boosting demand for wool landlords insisted on their common rights of temporarily grazing their sheep on all arable land whereas peasants feverishly tried to intensify farming to benefit from rising food prices. As a consequence of booming sheep stocks severe land use conflicts between peasants and landlords occurred. The paper asks for the consequences of the continuing existence of the manorial system on agricultural growth. Despite a strongly growing pressure on natural resources Saxony could successfully escape the Malthusian trap without radical liberal agrarian reforms. A comparison between Saxonian regions demonstrates that negotiated solutions between the peasants and the landlords according to the Coase-theorem seemed to have played an important role in solving land use conflicts and in enabling agricultural growth. However only good peasant property rights and a central government which strongly supported voluntary partly 'enclosures by will' in favour of the peasants allowed to solve the antagonistic land use conflicts within the institutional setting of the mitteldeutsche Grundherrschaft.

#### 3.7.2. Agrarian reform, markets and agricultural growth in Westphalia, 1820-1870

**Fertig, Georg, University of Halle (Saale), Germany**

During the 19th century, Westphalia underwent a massive growth in agrarian output, particularly in regions close to industrial centres of demand. In the same period, property rights were disentangled between lords and peasants, and the Prussian state introduced a modern system of documenting property and hypothecs. Also, common lands were divided in some regions during the 19th century. While these reforms might lend support to the institutionalist view that a clearer specification of property rights was the main cause of growth, alternative views emphasizing the role of consumer markets have also been presented. Over the last decade, agricultural product markets, land reforms, land markets, land productivity, life cycle and network strategies in Westphalia have been studied in depth by various authors; Westphalia has thus become a hot spot of European rural history. This paper will give an overview on recent findings and interpret them in the context of the session.

#### 3.7.3. Interaction between institutional change and market forces in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century

**Nagy, Mariann, University of Pécs, Hungary**

My paper is focusing on the interaction between institutional changes and market forces for pre-1918 Hungarian agricultural growth. The most important institutional changes occurred in 1848 and afterwards when essential political, institutional and juridical changes were carried out. Common market was created by abolishing the customs frontier between Austria and Hungary in 1850. For Hungarian agriculture and the food industry, the western half of the Empire represented a secure, long-term and expanding

market – even during the European agrarian crisis at the end of 19th century. The 1890s saw agricultural interests becoming an increasingly important factor in government economic policy by establishing an independent Ministry of Agriculture. It contributed to the spread of modern production methods – especially among the country's peasant farmers. It was due to market requirements, however, that the mechanization of agriculture was most advanced in the field of threshing. The more than fivefold increase in the cultivated area of fodder crops was indicative of the most important change in the structure of the agricultural sector, namely the increased relative importance of livestock farming as against plant production. From the 1830s onwards, the industrialization of Western and Central Europe gave rise to a rapidly expanding market for Hungarian agricultural and food industry products. In the era of dualism, agricultural production in Hungary exhibited an average growth rate of 2–2.1 percent. The paper concludes that the main factor was the market forces which stood behind agricultural growth in Hungary.

#### 3.7.4. Institutional change, markets and agricultural growth in south Sweden 1750-1850

**Olsson, Mats, Lund University, Sweden**

**Svensson, Patrick, Lund University, Sweden**

From the 1780s Scania, the main surplus producing region in Sweden, experienced a rapid growth in grain production. While population growth was high, production grew even faster. This agricultural transformation, reflected by growth in total land productivity and in per capita production from the 1780s to the mid-19th century, has in recent research been attributed to institutional changes taking place within agriculture. Secured property rights and fixed taxes for the peasants, and enclosure reforms leading to individual management of land are examples of this. The effect of the transformation in a national perspective was a change from Sweden as a grain-importing country to a major exporter by the 1850s. While the supply-side approach, above all the enclosures, has been highlighted in recent Swedish research less emphasis has been devoted to the role of markets and consumer demand. One reason for this is the lack of rural-urban dynamics in Sweden due to towns being very small. The impact of the European demand for grain and price incentives from these markets affecting Swedish producers are a potential alternative explanation for the growth in production and productivity. This paper sets out to accomplish two things. First, a thorough and elaborated analysis of recent findings will allow for a more complete picture of the agricultural transformation in Scania. Second, unique micro data on production, labour, property rights, and enclosures will be combined with aggregate data on prices, transports and exports to assess the relative importance of institutions and markets for changes in production and productivity.



#### Participants

##### Fertig, Georg

Georg Fertig holds the chair for economic and social history at the University of Halle (Saale), Germany. He has published on topics including pre-industrial migration, land markets, and demography in the 18th and 19th centuries.

##### Kopsidis, Michael

Michael Kopsidis obtained his PhD in Economics at the University of Münster in 1994. Since 1995 he is senior researcher at the Leibniz-Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe (IAMO), Halle (Saale), Germany. He works about agricultural growth and peasants in market integration processes in 19th and 20th centuries Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

##### Nagy, Mariann

Nagy, Mariann, Associate Professor, Department of Modern History, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pécs. PhD: The Regional Structure of the Hungarian Agriculture at the Beginning of the 20th Century; University of Debrecen, 2001. Field of Research: Regional structure of the economy in Austria-Hungary Nationalities in East-Central-Europe.

##### Olsson, Mats

Mats Olsson, PhD in Economic History 2002. Current position: Professor, Dept. Economic History, Lund University. Principal research interests: The agricultural transformation, peasant and manorial economy.

##### Pinilla, Vicente

PhD in Economics, University of Zaragoza, 1990. Current position: Professor of Economic History, Dept. of Economic History and Applied Economics, University of Zaragoza, since 2007. Principal research interests: Agricultural change and economic development in Europe, 1750-2000.

##### Svensson, Patrick

Patrick Svensson, PhD in Economic History, Lund University 2001. Current position: Tenured Associate Professor, Dept. Economic History, University of Lund (since 2010). Principal research interests: The first agricultural revolution in Sweden, 18th and 19th c., and its social and economic consequences.

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Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<p><b>Childhood and the Countryside in the Twentieth Century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Griffiths, Clare</p> <p>Chair: Griffiths, Clare</p>	<p>4.1.1. Overwork and empowerment in the daily life of children on Swiss farms in the middle of the 20th century</p> <p>Moser, Peter</p>	<p>4.1.2. Country childhood in twentieth-century rural England: perceptions and experiences</p> <p>Burchardt, Jeremy</p>	<p>4.1.3. Visiting „farm“ animals: 1940-2000</p> <p>Sayer, Karen</p>	<p>4.1.4. „It's not a big part of me but I know it's where I come from“: Farm youth and their changing relationship with the countryside</p> <p>Cassidy, Anne</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.1</b></p> <p>Room A-126</p>
<p><b>Rural Health Tourism: a New Domain for Rural History</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: van der Burg, Margreet</p> <p>Chair: Keller, Irene</p>	<p>4.2.1. Rural Welcome for Health Activities and Medical Treatment: Connecting Histories of Health Tourism and Rural Change</p> <p>van der Burg, Margreet</p>	<p>4.2.2. Magic Mountains: Rural Health Tourism in Early Twentieth Century United States</p> <p>Jensen, Joan</p>	<p>4.2.3. The Search for Health in the High Alps of Switzerland: Sanatoria Treatments in Davos and Leysin</p> <p>Barton, Susan</p>		<p><b>Panel 4.2</b></p> <p>Room A-119</p>
<p><b>„God is in the detail“ - Agrarian technology 1000-1600</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Sapoznik, Alex</p> <p>Chair: Brassley, Paul</p>	<p>4.3.1. The forgotten female agrarian revolution 1000-1300: Weaving, churning and cheese-making</p> <p>Myrdal, Janken</p>	<p>4.3.2. Aspects of peasant arable productivity in late medieval England</p> <p>Sapoznik, Alex</p>	<p>4.3.3. Learning by doing or expert knowledge? Technological innovations in dike-building in coastal Flanders (13th-18th centuries AD)</p> <p>Soens, Tim</p>		<p><b>Panel 4.3</b></p> <p>Room A-122</p>
<p><b>Peasants and their relationship to land. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Congost, Rosa Béaur, Gérard</p> <p>Chair: Béaur, Gérard</p>	<p>4.4.1. Which property? The rise of a class of powerful emfiteutes in Catalonia (15th - 18th centuries)</p> <p>Congost, Rosa</p>	<p>4.4.2. English farmers and the land 1500-1926</p> <p>Broad, John</p>	<p>4.4.3. Owning Land and Building „A Great Rural Civilization“ for White Farmers in the U.S. South</p> <p>Herbin-Triant, Elizabeth</p>		<p><b>Panel 4.4</b></p> <p>Room A 201</p>
<p><b>Social movements and popular political participation in rural societies. Part II: XXth century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro Brassart, Laurent</p> <p>Chair: Brassart, Laurent</p>	<p>4.5.1. „Individualizing“ social research. Conflicts, kinship and sexuality in the Swiss Alps at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century</p> <p>Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro</p>	<p>4.5.2. Bauern, Bonzen, und Bomben: Peasant protest in northwest Germany, 1927-1930</p> <p>Vascik, George S.</p>	<p>4.5.3. Political Organization of the Peasantry in Communist Romania: the Case of Ploughmen's Front (1945-1953)</p> <p>Radu, Sorin</p>		<p><b>Panel 4.5</b></p> <p>Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Commons in premodern Europe: Uses, management and conflicts in comparative view</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Baydal, Vicent</p> <p>Chair: Aparisi, Frederic</p>	<p>4.6.1. Commons in the late medieval Crown of Aragon: Regulation, uses and conflicts, 13th-15th centuries</p> <p>Baydal, Vicent</p> <p>Royo, Vicent</p>	<p>4.6.2. Managing the Commons: The role of the elites in the uses of common lands in the Midlands of the kingdom of Valencia during the Middle Ages</p> <p>Aparisi, Frederic</p> <p>Esquilache, Ferran</p>	<p>4.6.3. The common denominator: The regulation of the community of users within the Campine area during the 16th century</p> <p>De Keyzer, Maika</p>	<p>4.6.4. A new Mezzogiorno? Exploring the diverse and dynamic paths towards the inequitable distribution of property in Southern Italy through an examination of institutions for the collective management of resources in Apulia, 1600-1900</p> <p>Curtis, Daniel R.</p>	<p><b>Panel 4.6</b></p> <p>Room A 022</p>
<p><b>The evolution of productivity in agriculture, 16th to 19th century: the case of Germany</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Pfister, Ulrich</p> <p>Chair: Svensson, Patrick</p>	<p>4.7.1. Land rental values in north-western German in a European context, c. 1600-1920</p> <p>Bracht, Johannes</p>	<p>4.7.2. Agricultural development in a low-wage industrial setting: Saxony, c. 1790-1830</p> <p>Kopsidis, Michael</p> <p>Pfister, Ulrich</p>	<p>4.7.3. Labour productivity in agriculture: Germany, 1500-1850</p> <p>Pfister, Ulrich</p>		<p><b>Panel 4.7</b></p> <p>Room A 019</p>

## 4.1. Childhood and the Countryside in the Twentieth Century

**Panel organiser: Griffiths, Clare, University of Sheffield, UK**

Connections between childhood and the countryside were explored in many different ways during the twentieth century. The countryside was the setting for ideals about physical and mental wellbeing, promoted by youth movements and developments in education, imagined as a counterblast to the damaging influence of urban industry. It was often a landscape for leisure and holidays – whether in children's personal experience or in the books they read. Yet, for some children it was also a place of work, of various forms of casual labour, support for family enterprises and an education and training for possible future careers. This session explores understandings about the place of the countryside in children's experience and imagination. As generations of families grew up within towns and cities with little personal engagement with farming or the rural landscape, this prompted attempts to bring them back in contact with more natural, healthful ways of living and to educate them in an aspect of national life from which they seemed increasingly estranged. At the same time, representations of rural life and rural places were a prominent feature in children's culture: the toys they played with, the stories they read, the illustrations produced to entertain and delight them. As children played at farming or empathised with storybook characters living a rural idyll, what did this mean for generations growing up in very different settings? How did children respond to attempts to educate them in the realities of farming or in the strenuous pleasures of outdoor recreation? What do the supposed affinities between children and the countryside reveal about contemporaries' ideas regarding the experience of childhood and the special character of rural settings and rural communities? And what of the children growing up in villages and on the farms? How did that experience shape them and the communities and economies of which they were a part? The papers in the session explore some of these questions through studies of childhood and the countryside in Britain and Switzerland.

**Chair: Griffiths, Clare, University of Sheffield, UK**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1030 – 1200 // Session 4 – Room A-126



### 4.1.1. Overwork and empowerment in the daily life of children on Swiss farms in the middle of the 20th century

**Moser, Peter, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland**

Up to the 1950/60's most children on family farms were an integrated part of the family economy; they were engaged in a multitude of tasks in their daily life and often made a substantial contribution to the work rendered on family farms. While today this fact is often bemoaned and criticized as inhuman and cruel, historians have so far made remarkably little effort to contextualize the phenomenon historically and find out what impact the work experience had on the children themselves and on the family economy as a whole. Was it one of the causes which contributed to the relative competitiveness of family farms in highly contested markets? And was the work itself rather more than simply an excessive burden for the children? Did the self-reliant handling of animals and plants not also empower and strengthen them? Based on detailed empirical surveys and interviews carried out with children living on family farms, parents and teachers in the 1950s in the Canton of Luzern, student essays from primary and secondary schools in the Canton of Bern, published recollections and photographic sources from all over Switzerland this contribution analyses a) the extent and the variety of children's work on family farms in the middle of the 20th century and b) looks at various impacts this performance had on the different categories of children (kin, foster, boys, girls, heirs and non-heirs) living and working on family farms.

### 4.1.2. Country childhood in twentieth-century rural England: perceptions and experiences

**Burchardt, Jeremy, University of Reading, UK**

This paper lies at the intersection of two historiographical growth areas: the history of childhood and the critical analysis of the 'rural idyll'. For much of the twentieth century, the belief that nature and the countryside were good for children was widespread and influential. Youth movements such as the Scouts and Guides took young people out into the countryside, schools taught nature study and folk dancing, while open-air adventure was central to children's literature. By the late twentieth century, survey data suggested about three-quarters of adults believed the countryside was a better place to bring up children, while studies of counterurbanization frequently cited this as a principal motivation for rural relocation. Yet how justified were such beliefs? As yet, historians have hardly begun to explore the relationship between perceptions and experiences of country childhood. The paper will make a small start in addressing this gap in the literature by drawing on the Museum of English Rural Life's unique collection of rural life writing, consisting of over 300 mainly twentieth-century diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, typescripts and oral history recordings. The rural life collection provides a potentially very rich source of information about childhood but it has not yet been systematically analyzed by historians. This will be an exploratory paper, opening up lines of enquiry, and attempting to offer a preliminary map of the wide diversity of childhood experiences of the English countryside in the twentieth century.

### 4.1.3. Visiting „farm“ animals: 1940-2000

**Sayer, Karen, Leeds Trinity University, UK**

As farming processes specialised and intensified in the twentieth century, so the public came to see less and less of the animals that they consumed, yet at the same time increasingly sought out a supposedly 'authentic' rural experience: farmer's markets, 'slow' food, and visitor attractions such as farm parks, rare breed centers and heritage 'home farms'. There was a perceptual 'lag' between the technology employed within agriculture and the ways in which the public believed farming worked. In particular, the representation of farms and farm animals in texts either aimed at children, or seeking to attract parents with young children, drew on the long-standing iconography of British rural life, messages of tradition – the essence of trust – and intersected with Romantic conceptualisations of childhood. Within this perceptual gap new spaces of experience opened up, which allowed farmers to offer, profitably, their farms as sites of special interest to children and families. Concentrating on texts that present farms as centres for 'education' – from WWII efforts to educate children in the ways of country life and animal care in particular, through to the development of play farms/barns – this paper will look at the ways in which the managed spaces of the 'modern' farm came to be perceived in the post-War period as somehow overlapping or intersecting peculiarly with the social spaces of childhood.

### 4.1.4. „It's not a big part of me but I know it's where I come from“: Farm youth and their changing relationship with the countryside

**Cassidy, Anne, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland**

This research looks at the relationship between a cohort of young Irish university students from farming families and the countryside. In particular it focuses on the social and emotional impact of their attachment to the farm they grew up on and their membership of wider local and agricultural communities. This is a significant but often overlooked group who even as they build their life away from farming continue to retain deep connections to the countryside and the world of their childhoods. The findings show that there are two distinctly different dimensions to how they present their relationship with the countryside. In seeking to locate themselves against an externalised other i.e. the urban they look to convey an image of a bucolic childhood of purity, innocence and hard work that is underpinned by the rural idyll discourse. On the other hand in dealing with their internal relationship with this background a more nuanced, complicated story can emerge. For some in shifting from the external to the internal there is little change in how they present their childhoods. For others, however the security of belonging clashes with a feeling of being under surveillance and the love of the farm jars against resentment at long hours of work on it. Regardless of their individual reactions to it the results show that while attitudes to the countryside and especially the farm are liquid, both continue to be of profound and enduring importance to their ontology whether willingly embraced or not.

#### Participants

##### Burchardt, Jeremy

Jeremy Burchardt is Lecturer in History at the University of Reading and chair of the Interwar Rural History Research Group. His research focuses on the social and cultural history of the English countryside in the 19th and 20th centuries. He is the author of *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873* (2002) and *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change* (2002), and co-editor, with Paul Brassley and Lynne Thompson, of *The English Countryside between the Wars: Regeneration or Decline* (2006). His articles in various scholarly journals focus on urban-rural relations, perceptions of the countryside and rural social change.

##### Cassidy, Anne

Anne Cassidy is a final year PhD student in the National University of Ireland, Galway. Her research focuses on the experience of growing up on Irish family farms and its impact on the transition to adulthood for a cohort of university students who will not become farmers. She has a BA in Sociological and Political Studies and History and an MA in Community Development. Her research interests include rural youth sociology, belonging, research methodologies and rural development.

##### Griffiths, Clare

Clare Griffiths is Senior Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Sheffield, and the author of *Labour and the Countryside: the politics of rural Britain, 1918-1939* (2007).

##### Moser, Peter

Peter Moser is Director of the Archives of Rural History in Bern and President of the Swiss Rural History Society. Latest Publication: *Integration through Subordination. The Politics of Agricultural Modernisation in Industrial Europe, Brepols, 2013* (together with Tony Varley).

##### Sayer, Karen

Karen Sayer is a member of the executive of the British Agricultural History Society and is Professor of Social and Cultural History at Leeds Trinity University, Leeds, UK. She was elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society in 2002. She has published widely on rural history, including to date two monographs: *Women of the Fields*, (MUP 1995); *Country Cottages: A Cultural History* (MUP 2000). She is currently working on a book-length project for Ashgate: *Farm Animals in Britain: 1850-2001*. She has articles forthcoming in the *Agricultural History Review* and in *Agricultural History*.



**Panel** 4.2. Rural Health Tourism: a New Domain for Rural History

**Panel organiser:** van der Burg, Margreet, Wageningen University, Netherlands

This panel will explore rural health tourism as a new domain of rural history, especially in the modern period. It is well known that many health and rehabilitation institutions, caring homes and health centres are, and have been situated in rural areas. This is the case for both western countries and their colonized rural areas. Though, their presence has hardly been seen as connected to or integrated into the research field of rural history and rural change. Neither has this been the case for physically nor mentally 'healthy' activities that are and were often connected to the rural environment, such as hiking, skiing, pilgrimages and spiritual retreats. When comparing to critical studies on contemporary medical or health tourism into the so-called developing countries (e.g. Hall 2011), we can raise many related questions with regard to the rural past. The 'invasion' of patients, clients and their visitors in rather social and economic homogeneous rural societies when these rural based institutions and activities started and intensified, does not only ask for how their coming changed the livelihoods of the inhabitants and how new (professional) labour opportunities altered the social setup, behaviour and structures of the surrounding communities. It also asks for how the direct or indirect contacts with other (e.g. most urban elite class) cultures, new health ideas and rituals, leisure and entertainment activities, and new professionals, have affected (groups of) people in the villages and small towns culturally. Another perspective is how the portrayal of the surroundings in promotional campaigns, infrastructural designs for accessibility and sanitation of the newcomers, designs of the health accommodations, day schedules, leisure activities, tell more about how the newcomers perceived their (future) relationships to the existing rural environment and the people who lived there. This session explores the research area by literature review, points for the research agenda and case studies in especially the Netherlands, USA New Mexico / N. Carolina and Switzerland. It focusses especially on the modern period. Besides how especially the gender dimension is at stake in this domain (e.g. m/f labour changes, services rendered to the institutions, visitors and tourists, f/m ratio of patients, clients, visitors, health movement adherents), we also pay attention to the intersections with other dimensions such as class/wealth, religion, race/ethnicity, age/generation, health status.

**Chair:** Keller, Irene, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1030 – 1200 // Session 4 – Room A-119

4.2.1. Rural Welcome for Health Activities and Medical Treatment: Connecting Histories of Health Tourism and Rural Change

Paper

**van der Burg, Margreet, Wageningen University, Netherlands**

Currently, the impacts of health related traveling and tourism are passionately highlighted and addressed. The existing historical literature on health institutions and activities hardly makes any notice of them being based in small rural towns or even more remote away from them within rural areas. The healthy environment is often propagated but hardly discussed in relation to ideas of rurality or images and the realities of rural communities. Though, if we want to know what rural change they brought about, characterizing the interactive relationships between the rural communities and the health related newcomers is crucial. This paper will connect the main contemporary issues and concepts with new research questions, conceptualisations and methods for rural history research in this field. I will discuss how definitions and distinctions of various health activities and medical treatment can be used for historical research on rural change. Also I will suggest how relationships between health facilities and rural communities can be systematically mapped to investigate exchange and impacts both ways, from the economic, social, cultural and political perspective. This is needed to show whether and how the promises of bringing welfare and health facilities in exchange for advantageous support and licenses are accomplished. From recent examples it has become clear that some really profit, but also that there is a potential increase of inequality and conflicts over incomes, social status, access to natural resources, and over decent behaviour among the sexes, generations, classes and ethnicities.

4.2.2. Magic Mountains: Rural Health Tourism in Early Twentieth Century United States

Paper

**Jensen, Joan, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, NM, USA**

This paper will focus on three rural mountain health resorts in the United States. One, in the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina, was a sanatorium started by Dr. Mary H. Lapham, who had studied with Dr. Brauer of Hamburg and Dr. Spengler of Davos, Switzerland, perhaps the same sanatorium at Davos that inspired Thomas Mann's novel *The Magic Mountain*. Dr. Lapham introduced the pneumothorax machine into the United States, at a 1912 National Tuberculosis Association meeting and later instructed doctors in Silver City, New Mexico on the use of the new machine. By 1912, Silver City, New Mexico, at the southern end of the Rocky Mountains, had become a mecca for health tourists from all over the country. There Dr. Earl S. Bullock, oversaw the Cottage Sanatorium. The third centre, and the best known, in the Adirondacks of New York, was established by Dr. Eduard L. Trudeau. Each of these mountain sanatoriums became health resorts specializing in cures for tuberculosis, then a major cause of deaths in the United States. The paper will examine the cultures and cures of these three centres, who sought them, who staffed them, who fed them, and how they influenced rural mountain communities.

4.2.3. The Search for Health in the High Alps of Switzerland: Sanatoria Treatments in Davos and Leysin

Paper

**Barton, Susan, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK**

Tuberculosis was one of the biggest killers in the industrial cities of nineteenth century Europe. Without antibiotics there was little that could be done to relieve symptoms or provide a cure. Medical climatology was widely adhered to by physicians who sent wealthy TB sufferers away to the milder climates. In around 1860, Dr Alexander Spengler, a German refugee working in the Swiss Alpine community of Davos, noticed that local people who went away to work in cities where they contracted the disease, seemed to be cured soon after they returned home. Spengler also observed that tuberculosis of the lungs was absent among the native population. He assumed it was the high alpine air, unpolluted and relatively free of damp, with its south-facing location that combined to kill tuberculosis. His theory was published and patients began to arrive in Davos. In 1889, Dr Karl Turban opened his closed sanatorium in Davos where patients followed a strict routine of rest, exercise, fresh air and good food. In Sameden Dr Oscar Bernhard looked to the healing power of the sun to cure surgical tuberculosis, what he called heliotherapy. Inspired by Bernhard and Spengler, Dr August Rollier opened his own clinics in Leysin, specialising particularly in heliotherapy but also incorporating the fresh air altitude cure. By the beginning of the twentieth century the treatment of tuberculosis in Davos and Leysin reached industrial proportions and adapted to the needs of the sick who followed strict regimes, often remaining in the sanatoria for many years.

**Participants**

**Barton, Susan**

Dr Susan Barton is an honorary research fellow in the International Centre for Sports History and Culture at De Montfort University in Leicester. She has a wide range of interests in social history and her publications include work on knitted textile industry, working-class tourism, the British seaside, package holidays in Spain, sport and learning disability, tourism development in Switzerland and winter sports. Her current project is an investigation into the Winter Olympics up to 1948 and their sporting and touristic legacies. Her books include 'Healthy Living in the Alps – the origins of winter tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914'.

**Keller, Irene**

Lic. phil. Irene Keller has studied history, German literature and political sciences at the Universities of Bern and Stockholm. She was a member of research staff in a project on Jeremias Gotthelf at the University of Bern transcribing some of that famous Swiss writer's sermons, worked in the office for preservation of historical monuments of the State of Lucerne (inventory) and is since 2012 part of the team of the Archives of rural history in Bern. At the moment, she's attending a Master of Advanced Studies in archival, library and information science in Bern and Lausanne.

**Jensen, Joan**

Prof. Dr. Joan M. Jensen is author of 'Silver City Health Tourism in the Early Twentieth Century: A Case Study' *New Mexico Historical Review* (2009). As historian of rural women, she published numerous articles and various books such as *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850* (1986) and *Calling This Place Home: Women on the Wisconsin Frontier, 1850-1925* (2006). She taught women's history and directed the Women's Studies program at New Mexico State University, and co-established the Rural Women's Studies Association. She was president of the Agricultural History Society (1993) and received their Lifetime Achievement Award (2012).

**van der Burg, Margreet**

Dr. Margreet van der Burg is rural gender historian at Wageningen University, NL. She published several books and many articles on rural women within agricultural and rural modernisation programming with respect to labour, education, extension, self-organisation, representation, and agricultural research. From NL, she first broadened her view to Europe and the western world, and expanded the last decade to global and transnational change. She served as chair and board member in organisations on women's history, rural women's studies and agricultural or rural history, and is now on the editorial board of *Agricultural History*.

### 4.3. „God is in the detail“ – Agrarian technology 1000-1600

**Panel organiser: Sapoznik, Alex, King's College London, UK**

Understanding the innovation, adaptation, and stagnation of technology is of fundamental importance to the study of agricultural production and productivity. Yet despite its significance, agricultural technology has been neglected by much recent research in agrarian history. This is because historians tend to focus on 'macro' innovations, such as the mouldboard plough, and in so doing fail to recognize that such technology is the result of hundreds of small innovations, each one itself linked to many other technological elements. In concentrating on 'end products', technological change is often seen as static, and dynamic developments within each 'macro' development are overlooked. In this panel we suggest a new perspective on agricultural technology is needed to open new avenues for understanding how and why change occurred – or stagnation prevailed. We therefore focus not on 'macro' innovations but on the details. We consider that there are indeed 'landslides' of new technology during certain periods, but that these changes consist of a number of interlinked innovations and must be seen as a change from one system to another. Often the overlooked detail reveals larger contexts: the form of the shepherd's staff was connected to the intensification of shepherding; the evolution of cropping patterns can by extension explain productivity differences between seigneurial and peasant agriculture; understanding that women used many of the most skill-intensive technologies to produce goods for sale deepens our knowledge of both gender-specific labour distribution within the household and the role of women within the larger framework of commercializing societies. For many years discussion of agricultural technology has concentrated on a few important innovations, such as the plough and the water mill. Whilst the development of these technologies is crucial to agrarian history, understanding the detail of innovation within its wider context offers richer insight into the development of agricultural systems.

**Chair: Brassley, Paul, University of Exeter, UK**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1030 – 1200 // Session 4 – Room A-122

#### 4.3.1. The forgotten female agrarian revolution 1000-1300: Weaving, churning and cheese-making

**Myrdal, Janken, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden**

This paper will discuss the so-called agrarian revolution in the High Middle Ages from a new perspective. When this technological change is discussed, often a few "prime movers" are highlighted, such as the heavy plough and the water mill. In reality, a myriad of technological details changed: iron-spades and harrows among many others. Together these formed new technological complexes, and these were slightly different in different regions. In parts of Northern Europe we have the improved ard instead of the heavy wheel-plough, in the East the sokha-plough, and so on. In this paper I will argue that even this more elaborate picture does not give the true story. The change of technology for animal husbandry has been overlooked. This technological change concerned further processing of the products: textile production and dairy production. New and better looms were introduced. With more efficient churns more cream could be made into butter, and in addition preservation techniques developed (salted butter, hard cheese). These new technologies, which produced goods for the market, demanded a skilled workforce. This workforce was female, and a hypothesis is that large amounts of female labor were released when the hand mill became obsolete, which could be invested in a production on a higher level of refinement. The technological change in the female sphere was of utmost importance for economic change. Why has it been overlooked? The answer is perhaps that it did not make any large footprints in written sources, and so we have to go to archaeology and images and closely study the details to discover this change.

#### 4.3.2. Aspects of peasant arable productivity in late medieval England

**Sapoznik, Alex, King's College London, UK**

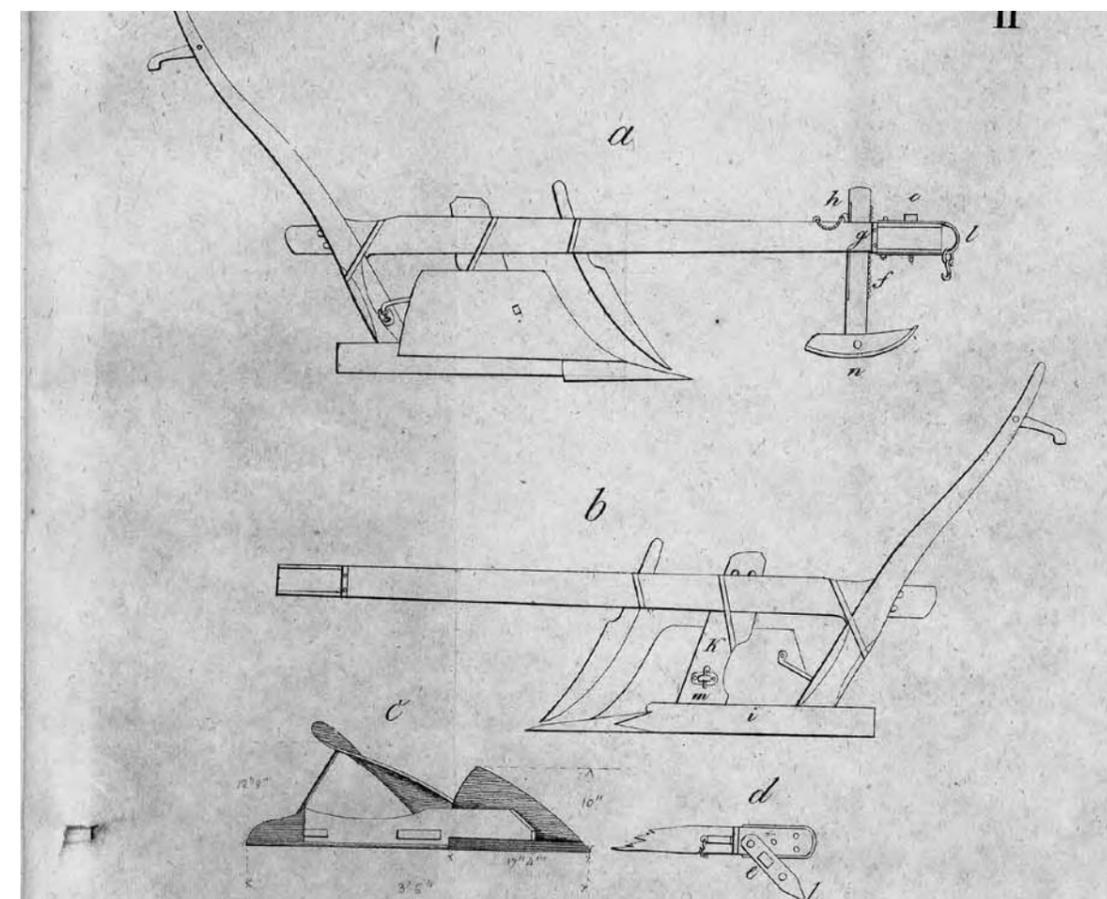
Recent research into the productivity of peasant land in late medieval England has indicated that peasants were able to achieve higher yields or higher aggregate output per acre than their lords. Although evidence for peasant agriculture is scant, what glimpses we have suggest that peasant land may have been up to 25 percent more productive than that of the demesne sector. The high levels of arable output on peasant land suggests that peasants were not necessarily disadvantaged in terms of potential land productivity, despite being disadvantaged with regard to capital resources. Research into modern developing economies has informed recent studies of medieval agriculture, considering smaller units of land to be potentially more productive than larger units due to personal motivation and high family-based labour inputs. This paper will discuss the possible technical elements which can help explain this productivity difference given the resources available to cultivators of smallholdings. These elements include more intensive weeding, drainage and soil preparation, hand cultivation practices, and the use of fertiliser, perhaps facilitated by stabling techniques.

This paper will explore the connection between the constantly evolving but largely invisible technological complexes which allowed peasants to achieve such high levels of arable output in late medieval England.

#### 4.3.3. Learning by doing or expert knowledge? Technological innovations in dike-building in coastal Flanders (13th-18th centuries AD)

**Soens, Tim, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

Dike-building in coastal wetlands seems an excellent example of technological path dependency: once the decision was taken to embank permanently a coastal wetland, dikes had to be permanently upgraded and adapted to changing environmental conditions, including the slow but steady sea-level rise and the compaction of soils in embanked wetlands. The historiography on medieval and early modern embankments in the North Sea Area discerns on the one hand a gradual evolution in the height and profile of the dikes, which grew higher and less steep, and on the other hand some major turning points, like the introduction of groynes to prevent erosion and foster sediment disposal, or the covering of dike bodies using stone, straw or brushwood. Based on extensive evidence on dike construction in coastal Flanders from the 13th to the 18th century, we want to argue that such improvements – either gradual or step-wise – cannot be dissociated from their wider social and environmental context: each change in dike building implies different assemblages ('agencements' to use the concept of Bruno Latour and Michel Callon) of people, dikes, land and water. As a consequence the spread of more standardized, centrally managed and capital-intensive technologies, based on non-local expert knowledge, cannot be considered inherently 'superior' or 'more effective' than their more localized predecessors. They just correspond to different realities.



#### Participants

##### Brassley, Paul

Paul Brassley is a visiting Senior Research Fellow in the Centre for Rural Policy Research at the University of Exeter, UK. Since 2009 he has been working there on a project to investigate the process of technical change in English agriculture between 1935 and 1985. He has previously produced studies on rural issues in the Second World War, the interwar period, and the late nineteenth century. His most recent book (edited with Yves Segers and Leen Van Molle) is *War, Agriculture and Food: rural Europe from the 1930s to the 1950s* (Routledge, 2012).

##### Myrdal, Janken

Janken Myrdal is professor in agrarian history in Uppsala, Sweden. He has published on medieval history in general and agrarian history from the early medieval period until the nineteenth century. A main interest is the history of technology (cows and ploughs – but in a theoretical context). He also has written on economic cycles (as the crisis of the Late Medieval period). He was main editor for the five-volume "The Agrarian History of Sweden", condensed into one volume in English in 2011. Currently he is working on a project about agricultural systems in Eurasia.

##### Sapoznik, Alex

Alex Sapoznik is Lecturer in Late Medieval History in the Department of History, King's College London. Her research focuses on peasant land use and agricultural productivity in late medieval England, with particular interest in how and why peasants allocated their resources in the ways they did, and the implications of these decisions on peasant standards of living. Her research also considers the impact of environmental and economic crises on peasant communities.

##### Soens, Tim

Tim Soens is Associate Professor of Medieval and Environmental History at the University of Antwerp. He studied Medieval History at the University of Ghent, where he obtained his PhD in 2006, investigating water management and the interaction of man and nature in coastal Flanders in the medieval and early modern period. Within the Antwerp Department of History, Tim Soens has developed a new research line "Environment and Power", concentrating on the historical relationship between human societies and the natural environment, and the way this interaction was steered by evolving power constellations and formal and informal institutions.

## 4.4. Peasants and their relationship to land. Part I

**Panel organiser:** Congost, Rosa, Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, University of Girona, Spain; Béaur, Gérard, Centre de Recherches Historiques, GDRI CRICEC, CNRS/EHESS, Paris, France

In some current representations of European Rural Societies, the relationship of peasants to land is dominated by the idea of a visceral attachment; not only regarding property rights, which are seen as stable and hardly changing, but also the attachment to individual farms of those who work them. Beyond its economic worth, the social and symbolic value of land was crucial, and therefore its transmission to the next generation constituted a priority and marked a key stage in the lifecycle and identity of peasant families. This attachment largely determined social behaviour. It provoked harsh competition and also enforced complex processes of negotiation in order to ensure the continuity of the farm. In the end, the sale of a plot of land or the abandonment of a farm were always considered to be trials that must be avoided at all costs. The loss of an exploitation was an unbearable drama, even more so when the accumulation of land was achieved at the cost of considerable sacrifices, and the transmission from generation to generation of the family's land had become a moral obligation. In these circumstances, the land market would be modest, indeed, almost paralyzed were it not for the expropriation of land caused by continued financial pressure on indebted peasants. These are issues we must discuss. What did the possession of land represent for the farmers of different regions, both yesterday and today? How far is the image we have today merely a product of the triumph of agrarian individualism? How could families ensure by themselves their reproduction through inheritance or marriage, and how great have changes in their decision-making processes been under the impact of recent economic and social upheavals? Were peasants really motivated by a passion for "their" land, or rather did they treat it as any other part of their capital? Did they see it as a simple work tool, or did they crave landed property? Was the attachment to land that we assume existed a reality, or, rather, is it the reflection of "our own" relationship to property and to the "family's goods"? In what ways did the relationship between peasants and land in different societies produce significant changes in property rights to land, and thus, in social relationships as a whole, that is to say, in the society itself? This panel is organized under the auspices of CRH and GDRI CRICEC.

**Chair:** Béaur, Gérard, Centre de Recherches Historiques, GDRI CRICEC, CNRS/EHESS, Paris, France

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1030 – 1200 // Session 4 – Room A 201



### 4.4.1. Which property? The rise of a class of powerful emfiteutes in Catalonia (15th-18th centuries)

**Congost, Rosa, Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, University of Girona, Spain**

One of the most interesting processes of change in the history of Catalonia, clearly contrasting with other European regions, is the rise of a class of powerful emfiteutes in the early modern period. The possible contrast between the judicial reality of feudal rights as described in legal texts and the social reality of a strengthened dominium utile shown in empirical research, poses a stimulating challenge to historians since it demands that we focus on aspects of daily reality that are not always visible and explicit in official documents. How could an important number of peasants emerge as a powerful social group despite the fact that the interests of dominium directum landlords were protected by law? From a comparative perspective, what would seem more specific to Catalonia is not so much the end of serfdom or the strengthening of the dominium utile but the consolidation of an important number of wealthy and well-off peasant families. Up to what point did the strategies practised by emphyteutic tenants contribute to a certain corrosion of the dominium directum? We propose two lines of very interrelated inquiry. First, to consider certain practices of peasant resistance, known and practised in some European regions, as a working hypothesis to explain the different ways of overcoming the crisis of the late middle ages in western Europe. The second line aims to broaden this task of interpretation by considering the attitudes and strategies related to the available documents and titles and, therefore, to the social use of information.

### 4.4.2. English farmers and the land 1500-1926

**Broad, John, CAMPOP, Cambridge, UK**

This paper takes a long view of English peasant farmers and their property rights from the later middle ages to the early twentieth century when customary or feudal rights were finally (largely) extinguished. It argues that the combination of the predominance of the will over custom in English inheritance practice, combined with a widespread practice of lifetime gifts to children, and the ability of peasant farmers to buy and sell customary land provided the basis for a fluidity of peasant property holdings. Good transport links, and the growth of London and later of industrial cities, provided incentives for farmers to specialise and expand operations, while the widespread availability of non-agricultural work in the countryside minimised subsistence competition for land. While English peasant farmers may have had an attachment to a piece of land in a particular place, their geographical mobility was considerable, and while the prosperous tenant farmer of the 18th and 19th century might own land to give him a political voice, and as a store of wealth, they increasingly used their capital to invest in their farms. The paper will provide a framework for the development of the 'English system' of agriculture from the peasant point of view and will provide data to show how the structure of land ownership was frequently very different from the farm structures in a village, and examine aspects of the decline of customary and feudal tenures in the 19th century.

### 4.4.3. Owning Land and Building „A Great Rural Civilization“ for White Farmers in the U.S. South

**Herbin-Triant, Elizabeth, St John's University, New York City, USA**

Small white farmers in the early twentieth-century U.S. South were desperate to buy and keep farms. These were people with an agrarian worldview – farming was central to how they understood their heritage and their purpose on earth. These farmers imagined that if they could own farms, they would be able to build a society quite different from the one they lived in, where landlords rented eroded farms to debt-ridden sharecroppers and tenants. They hoped to build a society dominated by thriving white yeomen. For them, this was a vision radiant with meaning and beauty. It was also a vision built on racial exclusion. They envisioned white farmers working cooperatively and enjoying rich social lives – and they considered African American farmers living and working nearby a threat to this vision. For this reason, many small white farmers supported a campaign to segregate rural North Carolina in 1913-1915 after the model of South Africa, a campaign led by The Progressive Farmers Clarence Poe. This paper uses what Poe and the small white farmers who supported his rural segregation campaign said about the importance of farm ownership. It explores the world – which Poe called a "great rural civilization" – that they wished to build. It argues that land ownership was important to these farmers because they viewed it as an essential component of political power – a step toward full citizenship. The paper also considers how the desire for farms shaped the behavior of small white farmers, arguing that agrarianism heightened racism in the 20th century U.S. South.

#### Participants

**Béaur, Gérard**

Specialist of rural and economic history, Gérard Béaur is Directeur de Recherches at CNRS and Directeur d'Etudes at EHESS (Paris, France). He is a member of the Centre de Recherches Historiques and he was director of this unit of research from 2002 to 2010. He was Chair of the COST Action A35 Progressore and he is director of the GDRI (International Research Network, CNRS) CRICEC (Crises and Changes in the European Countryside). He is director of the series Rural History in Europe (Brepols) and he is actually co-editing a volume of this series about Property rights, land markets and economic growth.

**Broad, John**

John Broad taught at London Metropolitan University and since 2009 has been attached to the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, University of Cambridge on a project with Richard Hoyle and Leigh Shaw Taylor to explore new ways of analysing and digitising the late eighteenth century Land Tax data for England and Wales. Recent publications include 'Bishop Wake's Visitation Returns for the diocese of Lincoln c1710' (2 vols 2012) while he is currently completing a history of rural housing in England.

**Congost, Rosa**

Senior researcher at the Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, Rosa Congost teaches at Facultat de Lletres in Universitat de Girona as Professor of the Economic History Department. She was vice-chair of the Cost Action A35 Progressore and she is vice-chair of EURHO. Her research interests cover the history of landed property and agrarian social relations. She has co-edited the volume about Contexts of Property in Europe. The social embeddedness of property rights in land in historical perspective. She is director of the programme Impoverishment and enrichment processes in rural societies: a way of studying social dynamics in History.

**Herbin-Triant, Elizabeth**

Elizabeth Herbin-Triant is an Assistant Professor in the History Department at St. John's University in New York City. She received her degrees from Harvard University (AB) and Columbia University (PhD), and held a postdoctoral fellowship in Agrarian Studies at Yale University. Herbin-Triant is completing a manuscript entitled: A "Great Rural Civilization" for White Southerners: Agrarianism and Rural Segregationist Ideology in the American South. This manuscript argues that segregationist thinking in the Southern countryside developed independently from urban segregation, and grew out of a different tradition – agrarianism.

## 4.5. Social movements and popular political participation in rural societies. Part II: XXth century

Panel organiser: Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro, University of Lausanne, Switzerland; Brassart, Laurent, University of Lille, France



Since the 1950s, great attention has been paid in Europe to the history of social conflicts, as crucial keys for understanding mechanisms of popular politics and culture. The problem of earlier studies was that violent conflicts were often seen as the main expression of popular politics, underestimating the complexity of the backgrounds of such spectacular outbreaks. Moreover, actors were mostly vaguely described as “crowds” or “mobs”, thus simplifying the articulation of different political interests in local life. Recent historiography has provided impulses to approach these crucial items. Still, several problems have to be resolved: on the one hand the question about the actors in popular movements, on the other hand the problem of the forms, places and instruments of popular political articulation, not only in special situations like revolts or elections, but in everyday life and in the long term. The aim of our panel is precisely to go in depth into some of these aspects, unravelling mechanism of popular participation in pre-modern states. To understand the logics of state-building and social conflicts, we need to take into account the involvement of working-class men and women in the political traditions, for example in communal councils and assemblies or parochial institutions. In fact, we observe that in many European regions working-class people largely participated in local politics, mainly in communal institutions, or in the religious life of their parish. Communities and district

institutions were in this sense crucial elements of regional “States” – although frictions with larger territorial institutions can often be observed – as parishes are constitutive elements of the “Church”. When communities revolted against “the State”, it often meant a conflict within the State, rather than between “popular” and “elite” groups. In this sense we prefer speaking of “popular political participation” rather than of “popular politics”, since the interaction of popular and non-popular elements in local traditions is crucial to understand the articulation of political interests and the dynamics of protest movements. From a theoretical point of view, a better understanding of popular involvement at local level of early modern States appears to be an important key to interpret social movements and political evolutions. Our panel’s aim is to go deeper into this topic with contributions from different European countries.

Chair: Brassart, Laurent, University of Lille, France

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1030 – 1200 // Session 4 – Room A 027

### 4.5.1. „Individualizing” social research. Conflicts, kinship and sexuality in the Swiss Alps at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro, University of Lausanne, Switzerland

In 1900 a small group of radical families founded a Free School in Villette, a mountain village in the Swiss Canton of Valais. This ‘Ecole libre’ was a private school supported by the local radical faction, dedicated to secularist teaching and free-thinking. It was the first school of this kind in Western Switzerland.

This event, however, happened in the wake of earlier sharp conflicts between a radical minority and the Catholic-conservative majority in this region. Several sources allow us to identify the protagonists of the struggles, and systematic genealogies make it possible to reconstruct their families and their wider kin groups. This way it becomes possible to ‘individualize’ the research about the conflict or, more precisely, to focus on individuals, their families and kin-groups as the basic social networks involved in the conflict.

Studies on political conflicts often adopt – more or less explicitly – a hierarchic interpretation scheme, wherein ideas and political views are passed down from top to bottom: conflicts thus appear as struggles between elite individuals, each of them supported by their respective political clientele. An ‘individualized’ analysis, based on the agency of individuals and kin groups, sheds light on a more complex reality: the radical faction, for example, was rooted in specific professional networks of mountain guides, tourism operators and small tradesmen. Moreover, the opposition between radicals and conservatives took place against the background of diverse sexual and family-related behaviour patterns, shaping diverging identities and different attitudes towards the Church, towards education and also towards democracy. Illicit sexual relations and contraceptive practices gain in this perspective an eminent political significance. This was also the ground on which free-thinking, atheism and early socialism could spread in the region in the early 20th century.

### 4.5.2. Bauern, Bonzen, und Bomben: Peasant protest in northwest Germany, 1927-1930

Vascik, George S., Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, USA

German peasants, particularly meat and dairy producers in northwest Germany, were “winners” of the 1921-1923 hyperinflation. By the winter of 1927, a true crisis situation was already in place for many producers, exacerbated by heavy flooding and hail damage. The winter disasters of 1927-28 pushed northwest German farmers over the edge, as the number of foreclosures and forced sales grew monthly. These were met with spontaneous peasant disruptions and boycotts. Starting in Schleswig-Holstein autonomous peasant groups calling themselves Landvolk began a bombing campaign against banks and government offices. The established political parties and agrarian interest groups were desperate to contain the unbounded peasant fury and hoped to channel it to their own political ends. Huge demonstrations were organized in January in the major county towns of northwest Germany where all rural interests and parties (except Social Democrats and Communists) participated. This “containment” policy led to the founding of the Christian Nationalist Peasants and Rural Peoples party (CNBLP). In this paper, I will examine the dynamics of peasant protest (through an extended examination of autogenerated peasant self-defense measures including the Landvolk) and through a spatial analysis of the national parliamentary elections of May 1928, which resulted in a splintering of the rural vote and Social Democratic pluralities in many communes.

### 4.5.3. Political Organization of the Peasantry in Communist Romania: the Case of Ploughmen’s Front (1945-1953)

Radu, Sorin, University “Lucian Blaga” of Sibiu, Romania

Ever since its establishment (1933), the Ploughmen’s Front was a political organization of the most obedient to the Communist Party in Romania, this fact being prominent in the post-war period. Led by Dr. Petru Groza, the Ploughmen’s Front was an artificially developed post-war organization, with the specific purpose of countering the influence of the National Peasant Party in rural areas, as well as to mediate the Communist influence among the peasants. Since 1945 until its “self-dissolution” in March 1953, its actions were thoroughly supervised by the Communist Party of Romania. The aim of this formation was to: “to organize the immense energies of the country’s huge agricultural sector”. Officially, the Communist Party tried to stress the independence in action of the Ploughmen’s Front due to the lack of adherence of Communist ideas among the peasants; uncovering the relation between the Communists and the Ploughmen’s Front was assessed as “a tactless mistake that would turn against us”.

#### Participants

**Brassart, Laurent**

Laurent Brassart is Associate Professor at the Université de Lille 3. He works about the history of the french state and countryside during the French Revolution. He has published: *Gouverner le local en Révolution. Etat, pouvoirs et mouvements collectifs en Picardie, 1790-1795.* (Paris, SER, 2013) and has edited with Jean-Pierre Jessenne and Nadine Vivier, *Clochermerle ou république villageoise ? La conduite municipale des affaires villageoises en Europe, XVIII-XXe siècle* (Lille, Septentrion, 2012). He has been involved in numerous research projects which focus on rural popular politization, agricultural policies in Europa.

**Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro**

Sandro Guzzi-Heeb is professor at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. He works about peasants mobilization, sexual behavior and social changes, kinship and networks in rural societies of the Swiss Alps in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Since 2000, he has written 3 books and 14 articles on these subjects.

**Radu, Sorin**

Sorin Radu is Associate Professor Ph.D. at the University of Sibiu. His research interest are the history of electoral systems and the history of communism in Romania. He is the author of many volumes written on these themes: *Romanian Electorate during Parliamentary Democracy (1919-1937)*, European Institute Publishing House, 2004; *Modernization of the Electoral System in Romania (1866-1937)*, European Institute Publishing House, 2005; *Ploughmen’s Front. Documents, vol I (1944-1947), vol II (1948-1951)*, Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2011, 2012 (in collaboration with V. Ciobanu and N. Georgescu).

**Vascik, George S.**

George S. Vascik, a graduate of the University of Michigan, teaches history at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. His teaching and research focus is Modern German History, with special reference to the subjects of agrarian politics and economy. The author of numerous articles, reviews, and papers, Vascik’s current research focuses on rural politics and anti-Semitism in northwest Germany in the period 1893-1933, for which he has developed a GIS linking village election returns with census and other data.

## 4.6. Commons in premodern Europe: Uses, management and conflicts in comparative view

**Panel organiser:** Baydal, Vicent, University of Oxford, UK

The process by which commons and woods were privatized by lords, urban groups and peasants is well known mainly in Great Britain and other northern European territories, in which livestock farming was important for the wool industry. However, this was not the case all over Europe, since the commons lasted in many regions until the industrial revolution and the privatization was only partial in others, especially to create arable land in woodlands and to drain wetlands. The purpose of this session is to compare some of these last cases in order to know better the role of the commons in the economic development and to exchange views about their study in different parts of Europe. In particular, we shall focus on three areas: Valencia in Eastern Spain, the Campine in the Netherlands, and Apulia in Southern Italy. In the first case, two papers will analyze the legal framework of the commons and the conflicts among lords, towns and commoners, as well as the specific role of the elites in these conflicts, in the kingdom of Valencia from 13th to 15th centuries. In the second case, another paper will show the type of regulation of the commons in the Campine during the 16th century, with particular attention to the social structure of this area. In the third case a final paper will explore the origins of the inequality in Apulia by studying the collective agricultural system which was carried out there between 16th and 18th centuries. In sum, we shall discuss similarities and differences in the uses, the management and the role of the commons in distinct premodern European regions.

**Chair:** Aparisi, Frederic, University of Valencia, Spain

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1030 – 1200 // Session 4 – Room A 022

### 4.6.1. Commons in the late medieval Crown of Aragon: Regulation, uses and conflicts, 13th-15th centuries

**Baydal, Vicent, University of Oxford, Spain**  
**Royo, Vicent, University of Valencia, Spain**

A process of demarcation of commons began in the Crown of Aragon from the second half of the 12th century, resulting in the creation of a specific legal term: 'empriu', defining the communal lands that could be used by rural and urban communities. The peasantry began a series of complaints to the King and the lords which crystallizes in achieving pasture and forest commons, stated from the mid-13th century in the general codes of the three political entities that formed the Crown of Aragon, namely the Usatges of Catalonia, the Fueros of Aragon and the Furs of Valencia. They all had a common thread: to decree the freedom to use the commons for all the inhabitants of each territory. But it did not avoid conflicts. For example, on the one hand the city of Valencia defended the freedom of pasture in the whole kingdom, as it was stated in the code of the Furs, but, on the other hand, lords and rural towns, zealous to close their respective lands, made access to commons difficult and tried to use them in an exclusive way. This paper shall analyse the definition and characterization of the term 'empriu' in the different legal codes of the Crown of Aragon, trying to understand its influence on the organization of the landscape. It shall also explore the historical evolution of the use of commons between 13th and 15th centuries.

### 4.6.2. Managing the Commons: The role of the elites in the uses of common lands in the Midlands of the kingdom of Valencia during the Middle Ages

**Aparisi, Frederic, University of Valencia, Spain**  
**Esquilache, Ferran, University of Valencia, Spain**

This paper tries to analyse the role of the leading sectors of the communities in the uses and management of the commons from the observatory of the Midlands region in the late medieval kingdom of Valencia. We shall differentiate between lord's and King's lands and, moreover, between Muslim and Christian communities. The Muslim people that populated this area had a large freedom over the common lands and mobility of the livestock, but they lost their rights after the Christian conquest of the 13th century. The lords privatized the use of the common lands, forcing their vassals, either Muslim or Christian, to pay rents. On the other hand, in the King's lands, Christian communities had a major freedom to use the commons. Here the local councils were responsible for regulating their purposes and the elites ruled these institutions, managing the common lands in accordance with their own interests. Because of that, in the towns where livestock activities acquired certain economic importance, the local leading families legislated allowing the presence of flocks in the farming areas. In contrast, in the communities where livestock activities were marginal, the local legislation intensively protected the crops and flocks were banned from stubbles. Grazing areas were maintained not for foreigner flocks but for the local ones. To sum up, in this paper we seek to determine the role of the social structure in the management of the commons in the Midlands of the kingdom of Valencia between the 13th and the 15th century.

### 4.6.3. The common denominator: The regulation of the community of users within the Campine area during the 16th century

**De Keyzer, Maïka, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

An obscure genesis is that of the community of users or the commoners within early modern Europe. Who belonged to the community and could profit from the gains from the commons and who did not? Even though countless micro studies have contributed to a map of Europe envisaging millions of different varieties of common pool institutions and communities of users, the causal factors behind the formation of a closed or open type of common, are difficult to grasp. Therefore one specific micro study, namely of a selection of rural communities within the late medieval Campine area, has been conducted to tackle this issue. The Campine area was not only one of the last remaining regions within the urbanised Low Countries, where vast common waste lands and meadows survived until the 19th century, they also retained a remarkable open access regime, despite rising population densities, commercial push and pull factors from the surrounding cities and the presence of large tenant farmers who could have profited from either privatising or monopolising the commons for their own commercial goals. By combining purely quantifiable sources concerning the demographic, economic and social background of this peasant society with juridical records, a perspective on the stakeholder's interests and goals concerning the Campine commons could be deduced. There it will be stated that this type of access regime and use rights were the result of a kind of social equilibrium between the most important stakeholders within the Campine area, the tenant farmers, independent peasants and cottagers.

### 4.6.4. A new Mezzogiorno? Exploring the diverse and dynamic paths towards the inequitable distribution of property in Southern Italy through an examination of institutions for the collective management of resources in Apulia, 1600-1900

**Curtis, Daniel R., Utrecht University, Netherlands**

Today Southern Italy is more economically disadvantaged than Northern Italy with some of the poorest social and economic infrastructures in Western Europe. Scholars have for a long time been interested in the causes of this. An older international scholarship of ethnographers and anthropologists up to the 1980s crystallised in place a negative perception of Southern Italy, emphasizing concepts such as latifundia, inequality, a lack of 'civic consciousness', tradition, feudalism, conservatism, and even 'backwardness'. This story has now been challenged by a more recent historical scholarship written mainly in Italian emphasizing how the pre-industrial Mezzogiorno was in fact economically dynamic supported by a diverse array of institutional structures. In this paper the two stories are brought together and shown not to be mutually oppositional. It is suggested that inequality in the distribution of property was both a general phenomenon (especially in the agro-town areas) and had long historical roots in the Mezzogiorno, but there was no one 'Southern' path towards inequality. By focusing on the Royal Customhouse of Naples and collective institutions for managing resources in Apulia, it is confirmed that the institutional roots and origins of this inequality was quite diverse and dynamic – likely varying across Southern Italy and the Mediterranean. On the plains of Northern Apulia, inequality was crystallised in place by a collective agricultural system which served the interests of mercantile elites far away in Naples.

#### Participants

##### Aparisi Romero, Frederic

Frederic Aparisi Romero took his BA (2005) and Mphil in Medieval History (2008) at the University of Valencia. He has been lecturer at the Cardenal Herrera University of Valencia (2011-2012) and now is writing his PhD 'From the Countryside to the City. Raising and consolidation of the Valencian Rural Elite (14th-15th Centuries)'. He has written several books on local history and has also contributed the three volumes book 'Hug de Cardona. Col·lecció Documental (1407-1482)'. He has published over fifteen book chapters and papers in different peer reviewed journals such as 'Saitabi' or 'Medievalismo'.

##### Baydal, Vicent

Vicent Baydal is currently Research Associate at the History Faculty of the University of Oxford and the Corpus Christi College. He presented his PhD thesis on 'Tax systems, relations of power and collective identity in the kingdom of Valencia, c. 1250-c. 1365' at the Pompeu Fabra University in 2011. He has published over thirty book chapters and articles in peer reviewed journals and is author of four books, including the translation into Japanese of the chronicle of James I of Aragon and a monograph on the crusade of James II against Almeria in 1309.

##### Curtis, Daniel R.

Daniel R. Curtis has spent the past three years at the Research Institute for History and Culture at Utrecht University, where he defended his PhD in 2012 entitled 'Pre-industrial societies and strategies for the exploitation of resources. A theoretical framework for understanding why some settlements are resilient and some settlements are vulnerable to crisis'. He is interested in testing the impact of inequality in the distribution of property and power on societal resilience, and has recent publications in the Journal of Medieval History and Continuity and Change.

##### De Keyzer, Maïka

Maïka de Keyzer is preparing her PhD thesis about 'The struggle for the commons in the late medieval Campine area' under the supervision of Professor Tim Soens at the University of Antwerp. She is actually interested in the study of rural history, communitarian institutions and the origins of inequality.

##### Royo, Vicent

Vicent Royo took his BA (2008) and Mphil in Medieval History (2009) at the University of Valencia. He is currently writing his PhD about legal conflicts in the kingdom of Valencia between the 13th and 15th centuries. He has published two books and is author of over twenty articles in Spanish, Catalan and French. He is interested in the organization and the social structures of the rural towns in the later middle ages.



Panel

## 4.7. The evolution of productivity in agriculture, 16th to 19th century: the case of Germany

**Panel organiser: Pfister, Ulrich, University of Münster, Germany**

The session presents novel research on the evolution of agricultural productivity in regions poorly covered by earlier work. In addition it aims at different approaches at measuring productivity in agricultural history relative to the type of information they yield, their precision and their potential to cover long periods of time. Beyond conventional input-output ratios this includes measures for labor productivity, land productivity and, if possible, total factor productivity. New data series produced by the contributions render it possible to analyze the impact of variables that affected productivity growth in the long run, such as the man-land ratio, institutional shocks and market development associated with changes in demand. In particular, contributions address the following major issues: (1) To what extent did the land reforms of the early nineteenth century affect productivity in agriculture? (2) Were there changes in productivity levels before the early nineteenth century and what were their determinants?

**Chair: Svensson, Patrick, Lund University, Sweden**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1030 – 1200 // Session 4 – Room A 019

### 4.7.1. Land rental values in north-western German in a European context, c. 1600–1920

Paper

**Bracht, Johannes, University of Münster, Germany**

The paper presents the first long term series of land rental values for Germany. Following an indirect approach deflated leasehold prices from different regions in Westphalia (north-western Germany) are interpreted as an indicator for land productivity. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of methodological aspects of the index construction and deflation. The second part places the institutional setting of leasehold ownership in the specific context of the north-western Germany. The third part discusses the long-term trajectory of the real land rent with respect to influences of changes in the man-land-ratio, of urbanization and of climatic factors. The final analysis draws a comparison between this index and indexes for France and England provided by R. Allen, G. Clark and P. Hoffman and to define north-western Germany's position relative to agricultural development in a wider context until c. 1920.

### 4.7.2. Agricultural development in a low-wage industrial setting: Saxony, c. 1790–1830

Paper

**Kopsidis, Michael, Leibniz-Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe (IAMO), Halle (Saale), Germany**

**Pfister, Ulrich, University of Münster, Germany**

The characteristics of regional paths of industrialization had a deep impact on agricultural development during early industrialization in Germany. From 1840 rising incomes in the course of a "high wage – low energy cost" industrialization based on coal and steel and a rapid urbanization triggered a demand driven agricultural revolution in Northwest Germany. In contrast, Saxony, whose early industrialization c. 1800-1860 followed a "low wage – high energy cost strategy" based on textile production and slow urbanization. The low level and slow growth of income meant that up to 1830 the adaptation of agricultural innovations neither followed demand impulses transmitted through markets, and neither did they facilitate inter-regional specialization according to comparative advantage. Rather, regional agriculture accommodated to population growth by expanding the cultivation of subsistence crops, mainly potatoes and oats, probably at the detriment of animal husbandry. Whereas the increase of sown area indicates an intensification of land use, yield ratios remained at best stable between the early 1790s and the late 1820s. Hence, local supply could barely cope with population growth, and since grain market integration did not evolve over time imports did not compensate for the shortcomings of domestic production. Our evidence of a deteriorating food standard goes a long way toward explaining the decline of the biological standard of living during early industrialization.

### 4.7.3. Labour productivity in agriculture: Germany, 1500–1850

Paper

**Pfister, Ulrich, University of Münster, Germany**

The study uses novel datasets on real wages, prices, urbanization and population size to carry out an indirect estimate of agricultural output for key years between 1500 and 1850 by way of a consumption function (Allen 2000). Average labour productivity in agriculture is derived by dividing output through rural population. Major findings are as follows: (1) Up to 1650 average labour productivity fluctuated inversely with population. This corresponds to a Malthusian economy with no technological progress. (2) During the first half of the eighteenth century labour productivity began to grow, and after probable stagnation during the second half of the eighteenth century growth accelerated during the first half of the nineteenth century. As industrialization began in Germany only around 1840 this finding implies that sustained agricultural growth set in well before the end of the pre-industrial era and also before the implementation of agrarian reform. Other work shows that the early eighteenth century was characterized by an integration of grain markets and a steepening of urban hierarchy. Thus, Smithian growth appears to lie beneath the onset of productivity growth after 1700.

#### Participants

##### Bracht, Johannes

PhD in history, University of Münster 2009. Current position: Research Fellow, University of Münster. Principal research interests: Credit and saving in nineteenth-century rural society, agriculture and agricultural productivity 1600-1900, proto-industry.

##### Kopsidis, Michael

Michael Kopsidis obtained his PhD in economics at the University of Münster in 1994. He is Senior Researcher at the Leibniz-Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe (IAMO), Halle (Saale), Germany. He works on agricultural growth and peasants in market integration processes in 19th and 20th centuries central, eastern and south-eastern Europe.

##### Pfister, Ulrich

PhD in history, University of Zürich 1984. Current position: Full professor in economic and social history, University of Münster (since 1996). Principal research interests: Aggregate development of the German economy, c. 1500-1871.

##### Svensson, Patrick

PhD in Economic History, Lund University 2001. Current position: Tenured Associate Professor, Dept. Economic History, University of Lund (since 2010). Principal research interests: The first agricultural revolution in Sweden, 18th and 19th c., and its social and economic consequences.



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<b>Agro-Food Chains in the First World War</b> Panel organiser: Langthaler, Ernst Chair: Langthaler, Ernst	<b>5.1.1. The Heroic Age of Food Control in Britain, 1917-18</b> Martin, John	<b>5.1.2. New Zealand and the United Kingdom's „Atlantic Orientation“ during World War One</b> Watson, James	<b>5.1.3. Food Provisioning and Culinary Recommendations in Belgium during the First World War</b> Segers, Yves	<b>5.1.4. Famine in Lebanon: the Bloodiest Episode of the First World War</b> Pitts, Graham	<b>Panel 5.1</b> Room A-126
<b>Intensification of animal husbandry in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Part II</b> Panel organiser: Jonasson, Maren Chair: Martiin, Carin	<b>5.2.1. Cattle husbandry and breeding in Northern Italy (19th-early 20th century): the search for improvement</b> Fumi, Gianpiero	<b>5.2.2. Agromania and Animal husbandry: The rise and decline of large-scale animal husbandry in Hungary in the 18-19th centuries</b> Kürti, László	<b>5.2.3. Dutch Cows under the Mediterranean Sun: Friesian Cattle and the Formation of a Dairy Herd in Barcelona, 1865-1936</b> Hernández Adell, Ismael	<b>5.2.4. Manors and the regulations on milk trade in Tampere</b> Mäntylä, Mirja	<b>Panel 5.2</b> Room A-119
<b>Social networks in rural society</b> Panel organiser: Fertig, Christine Chair: Mathieu, Jon	<b>5.3.1. Pyrenean households. Power, family and land</b> Deering, Dermot	<b>5.3.2. Social Networks and Classes in Northwestern Germany, 18th and 19th centuries</b> Fertig, Christine	<b>5.3.3. Sexuality, Networks, Social and Political Change in a rural Society. Western Valais (Switzerland) in the 18th and 19th centuries</b> Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro	<b>5.3.4. Landholding and Kinship Networks in Nineteenth-Century Minas Gerais, Brazil</b> Mendes, Fabio Faria	<b>Panel 5.3</b> Room A-122
<b>Ruling the Commons. Part II</b> Panel organiser: De Moor, Tine Alfani, Guido Chair: De Moor, Tine	<b>5.4.1. Managing the commons in unequal societies. The case of Lombard Alps in XVIIIth century</b> Mocrelli, Luca	<b>5.4.2. Who, when, how and how much: The transformation of common property rights in alpine farming in early modern and modern times</b> Landolt, Gabriela	<b>5.4.3. Village Federations. Institutional diversity and polycentric governance in northern Spain (Navarre, 14th-20th centuries)</b> Laborda Peman, Miguel Lana-Berasain, Jose-Miguel	<b>5.4.4. From total State to anarchical market. Lessons from the past for a collective action approach – the Albanian mountainous commons</b> Bernard, Claire Lerin, Francois Hoxha, Valter	<b>Panel 5.4</b> Room A 201
<b>Rural Elites: towards a comparative history of rural elites in pre-modern Europe, Part II</b> Panel organiser: Soens, Tim Thoen, Erik Chair: Thoen, Erik	<b>5.5.1. Coqs de villages or ugly ducklings? Tenant farmers and their role in late medieval village communities: the Campine area (Low Countries)</b> Van Onacker, Eline	<b>5.5.2. Between the countryside and the city. Rural Elites in the Midlands of Valencia in the 15th Century</b> Aparisi, Frederic	<b>5.5.3. Rural elites in transition? Local upper classes in western Tyrol and Vorarlberg 1750-1850</b> Kasper, Michael	<b>5.5.4. Rural „bourgeoisie“ in the 18th century Low Countries?</b> Vermoesen, Reinoud	<b>Panel 5.5</b> Room A 027
<b>Cotton, Race, and Labor in the Post-Civil War South</b> Panel organiser: Whyne, Jeannie Chair: Hahn, Steven	<b>5.6.1. The King is Dead: The Culture of Cotton in Memphis, Tennessee</b> Giesen, James	<b>5.6.2. Capturing Cotton's Metropolis: The Struggle for Political Control of Memphis Government, 1865-1900</b> Whyne, Jeannie	<b>5.6.3. The Politics of Rural Violence in Comparative Perspective: South Carolina vs. Sicily in the late 1860s</b> Dal Lago, Enrico	<b>5.6.4. Challenging the Southern Elite: Small White Farmers' Visions for a New and Segregated Rural South</b> Herbin-Triant, Elizabeth	<b>Panel 5.6</b> Room A 022
<b>Transforming Village Culture: Village Halls and Cultural Centres in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Part I</b> Panel organiser: Musat, Raluca Chair: Burchardt, Jeremy	<b>5.7.1. The Cultural Propaganda of the Ploughmen's Front and the Role of the Cultural Guides in Communist Romania (1945-1953)</b> Radu, Sorin	<b>5.7.2. An Institutional Approach toward the Transformation of Countryside: the Collective Farms and Cultural Centers in the Communist Romania</b> Micu, Cornel	<b>5.7.3. Comment</b> Burchardt, Jeremy		<b>Panel 5.7</b> Room A 019
<b>Agricultural exports and economic growth during the first wave of globalisation, 1850-1929. Part II</b> Panel organiser: Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra Pinilla, Vicente Chair: Brassley, Paul	<b>5.8.1. The impact of export's booms on the structure of land tenure: the case of tobacco in Montes de María (Colombia), 1850-1917</b> Colmenares, Santiago	<b>5.8.2. Agro-climate suitability and comparative advantage in Mexico's agricultural exports during the first export era (1870-1929)</b> Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra	<b>5.8.3. Tobacco exports and economic growth in Greece (ca 1900-1940)</b> Petmezas, Socrates		<b>Panel 5.8</b> Room A 024

## 5.1. Agro-Food Chains in the First World War

Panel organiser: Langthaler, Ernst, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria



The First World War marks the beginning of the 'short twentieth century' as the 'age of extremes' (Eric Hobsbawm). Though this European conflict is mainly seen as an industrial war, agricultural resources such as food were most decisive. Avner Offer's "The First World War. An Agrarian Interpretation" (1989) which adopts both international (with an emphasis on Britain and Germany) and inter-sectoral perspectives (production as well as consumption issues) provides a starting point for the current discussion on this topic. Accordingly, the session's aim is twofold: first, to overcome the divide between agricultural and food history by assessing the 'agro-food chain' from the locations of production to the locations of consumption; second, to overcome the 'methodological nationalism' by comparisons and connections between different country cases. The papers focus on food production, distribution and consumption, the associated regulatory mechanisms and the everyday experiences of food producers and consumers in selected regions and countries.

Chair: Langthaler, Ernst, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1300 – 1500 // Session 5 – Room A-126

### 5.1.1. The Heroic Age of Food Control in Britain, 1917-18

Martin, John, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK

The strategic significance of agriculture in wartime was finally recognised by the government in 1917. Under the terms of the 1917 Corn Production Act the state guaranteed prices for the arable farmer as well as ensuring a minimum wage for farm workers. A corollary of this legislation was that for those who owned and occupied the land they were to act as 'trustees' of the nation. This programme of reform was widely hailed as a triumph in terms of the compact it established between agriculture and the nation. As a corollary to this the state intervened in the food distribution process to ensure a more equitable system. Despite the country's pre-war dependence on imported food these combined initiatives ensured that the British population was not forced to endure the food shortages and malnutrition which undermined the morale of many of the other combatants engulfed in what was the world's greatest military conflict. The aim of this paper is to reappraise the achievements of Britain's pioneering experiment in food control.



### 5.1.2. New Zealand and the United Kingdom's „Atlantic Orientation“ during World War One

Watson, James, Massey University, New Zealand

Avner Offer's 1989 book "The First World War: An Agrarian Interpretation" describes how in the early years of the twentieth century British strategy for any future war with Germany came to rest on the combination of a naval blockade against Germany and the security of the United Kingdom's own seaborne food and raw material supplies. Offer termed the latter part of the strategy the 'Atlantic orientation'. This paper argues that due to a growing shortage of shipping during the First World War, Britain's importation of agricultural supplies indeed developed an 'Atlantic orientation', being drawn from the Americas rather than from the more distant Pacific dominions of Australasia. William Massey, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, was obliged to confess that, as regards his own country's contribution to the war effort, 'men were wanted more than supplies'. Focussing on New Zealand, the paper outlines the great difficulties this created both during and immediately after the war, and the tensions it created between the governments in Wellington and London.

### 5.1.3. Food Provisioning and Culinary Recommendations in Belgium during the First World War

Segers, Yves, Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History, University of Leuven, Belgium

For the Belgian economy and the food situation the outbreak of the First World War had significant and dramatic consequences. For instance, more than 80% of the necessary bread wheat was imported at that time. The available food stocks shrank rapidly; food shortages and disorder threatened occupied Belgium. That is why a group of businessmen set up initiatives to organize food supply and established the Nationaal Hulp- en Voedingscomité (NHVC, National Support and Food Committee). For more than four years, the NHVC regulated and controlled the entire food chain, from production over processing and distribution to consumption. This paper wants to evaluate the role of the NHVC during the war. Firstly, we describe the main goals and the food policy of the NHVC, and its relation with the German occupier. Secondly, we analyse the food advises from the NHVC and particularly from its agricultural section. Housewives got recommendations how to prepare healthy and above all cheap meals with the available, but scarce foodstuffs. We analyse what kind of recommendations were given by the NHVC. Was there a difference between recommendations addressed towards town or country people, between housewives from lower and upper social classes? Moreover, we confront the official publications and guidelines of the NHVC with similar publications from doctors, food experts and women's organizations. Thirdly, we confront these food recommendations with daily practices. Using diaries and other personal documents we sketch a picture 'from below' of the daily food situation during wartime.

### 5.1.4. Famine in Lebanon: the Bloodiest Episode of the First World War

Pitts, Graham, Georgetown University, USA

Nearly a third of the Lebanese population starved to death during the First World War. My paper seeks to unlock the complex causal factors behind their tragedy by relying on a global and environmental framework in order to contribute to a larger agrarian interpretation of the war. While most work on the war focuses on the European theater, the Lebanese suffered more losses per capita than any other nation involved in the conflict. My research in Ottoman, Lebanese, French and U.S. archives will allow me to weigh the global diplomatic and environmental context of the famine. Correspondence between French and British diplomats strongly suggests that their respective administrations were content to let the famine worsen in order to blame 'the Turks' and gain political traction from the unpopularity of the Turks. In turn, the historical record has placed most of the blame on the Ottoman Administration, while the reality is significantly more nuanced. Enhanced propulsion of warships, driven by the intensive exploitation of fossil fuels by the ships steam engine underpinned the ability of the French and British navies to maintain a blockade of Lebanon's coast for more than three years. Such a complete blockade would have been impossible in the nineteenth century. This new, modern environmental reality also featured networks of provisioning that had grown long with global economic integration, leaving the Lebanese particularly vulnerable to any disruption in shipping networks.

#### Participants

##### Langthaler, Ernst

Ernst Langthaler has studied Economic and Social History at the University of Vienna (MA 1995, PhD 2000, Habilitation 2010). He was Visiting Professor at the Universities of Innsbruck and Vienna and is currently Director of the Institute of Rural History in St. Pölten and Secretary of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO). His interests cover agricultural and food history since 1800, regional and global history since 1800 and historical-anthropological theory.

##### Martin, John

John Martin is Reader in Agrarian history at De Montfort University, Leicester. His main research interest is the impact of government policies on British agriculture and the countryside since the 1930s. His publications include "The Development of Modern Agriculture: British Farming Since 1931" (author, 2000) "The Encyclopaedia of British Rural Sports" (co-editor, 2004) and "The Frontline of Freedom" (co-editor, 2007). In his role of Research Associate, he contributed 54 articles to the "Oxford Dictionary of National Biography" (2004).

##### Pitts, Graham

Graham Pitts is a PhD Candidate in Georgetown University's History Department.

His dissertation project relies on research in Lebanese, Ottoman, British, French and American archives.

##### Segers, Yves

Yves Segers is professor of Rural History and director of the Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History at the University of Leuven (Belgium) and professor of Economic History at Hogeschool-Universiteit Brussel (HUB). He published about agriculture, the countryside and food systems in Belgium and Europe since 1750.

##### Watson, James

James Watson is Associate Professor in History at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. His research interests lie largely in examining aspects of the relationship between New Zealand and the United Kingdom. He has a particular interest in the drivers and effects of technological change. In 2005 he won an Ig Nobel Award ('for work that makes people laugh and then makes them think') for his article 'The Significance of Mr. Richard Buckley's Exploding Trousers: Reflections on an Aspect of Technological Change in New Zealand Farming between the World Wars', *Agricultural History*, 78:3 (2004), pp. 346-60.

## 5.2. Intensification of animal husbandry in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Part II

**Panel organiser: Jonasson, Maren, University of Abo Akademi, Finland**

In this panel the innovations and new scientific methods concerning horse- and stockbreeding, dairy farming and milk trade c. 1830 to c. 1920 will be discussed. Special attention is given to case studies and local applications of these innovations and methods, but contributors will discuss the themes in broader perspectives as well, e.g. Nordic, European or global. The central aim of the panel is to link national and local case studies on breeding of domestic animals and on intensification of animal husbandry to more general trends of rationalization, professionalization and the development of science. The decline in the profitability of grain-growing and years of bad crop in the latter half of the 1800s forced many farmers to change their line of production and direct their energies towards a more intensified form of animal husbandry. In Finland, for instance, the so-called 'hunger years' in the late 1860s have been seen as a turning-point in this process, and parallel cases can be found in other European countries. The change of line in production, the rapid technical development and the commercialization of agriculture accentuated the position of cows and horses as the most significant domestic animals. The period c. 1830 to c. 1920 can in many respects be seen as the formative years of organized food and milk control, veterinary medicine and of studbook and herdbook systems, but many of the initiatives and measures taken needed adjustment and re-evaluation later on. This nuanced process of selecting the 'right path' within the different areas of breeding and animal production will be of interest in this panel. Part II of the panel will explore cattle husbandry in Northern Italy, the rise and decline of large-scale animal husbandry in Hungary, Friesian cattle in Barcelona and regulations on milk trade in Finland, whereas Part I focuses on livestock expositions in the United States, horse-breeding in Finland and a revolutionary French invention that spread across the world.

**Chair: Martiin, Carin, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala, Sweden**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1300 – 1500 // Session 5 – Room A-119

### 5.2.1. Cattle husbandry and breeding in Northern Italy (19th-early 20th century): the search for improvement

**Fumi, Gianpiero, Catholic University of Milan, Italy**

In the 19th century animal husbandry in Italy suffered some common problems: confusion of races, lack of specialization, scarce feeding and low productivity, recurrent animal diseases and epizootics. The foundation of the earlier schools of veterinary medicine at the beginning of the century was a push for change. They encouraged the development of scientific methods within animal husbandry and the spread of veterinarians, a new kind of practitioner, scientifically educated, vested with public duties and clearly distinct from farriers and other practical men. From the middle of the 19th until the early 20th century, Italy experienced a continuing expansion of cattle husbandry. In this period the scientific and technical acquisitions of hygiene and human nutrition science overlapped with the stricter requirements dictated by the food industry. Especially in the Po Valley a new point of view on animal husbandry came from pioneers and specialized institutions (deposits of breeding animals, national and international zootechnical exhibitions, herdbooks, experimental stations for animal diseases). A big step forward was the attempt to improve the cattle genetically by means of imported bulls (from Switzerland, the Low Countries, Denmark, Great Britain, France, etc.) and their cross with local races. The paper aims at re-evaluating the seemingly "exogenous" nature of innovation in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although elaborated outside the farm, it strongly depended on farmers' interests, capabilities and expectations interpreted by technicians, scientists and practitioners operating inside the private and public institutions.

### 5.2.2. Agromania and Animal husbandry: The rise and decline of large-scale animal husbandry in Hungary in the 18-19th centuries

**Kürti, László, University of Miskolc, Hungary**

In this presentation I discuss the changing nature of animal husbandry in the Hungarian Great Plain during the nineteenth century. I focus on the territory known as Little Cumania (Kiskunság) and the Jászság and argue that after 1745 a brand new form of animal husbandry developed resulting from the Habsburg policy of land leasing. Depopulated during the Ottoman rule, a large part of central Hungary was turned into royal property. Following the expulsion of the Turkish forces, repossessed land automatically became royal property of the Habsburg state. The state allowed several towns to lease land and begin animal husbandry. Herding mostly cattle, horses and sheep, towns developed a unique form of economy and life on these frontier territories. My aim is to show how

this large-scale animal breeding developed and subsequently how it facilitated the formation of new settlements. Finally, I argue that by the mid-19th century international political economy created a new situation forcing the abandonment of herding and the development of intensive grain production.

### 5.2.3. Dutch Cows under the Mediterranean Sun: Friesian Cattle and the Formation of a Dairy Herd in Barcelona, 1865-1936

**Hernández Adell, Ismael, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain**

Unlike other European countries, Spanish agricultural and economic historiography has paid little attention to the behaviour of dairy cattle between 1850s and 1930s, a situation that does not correspond to the high economic impact that this sector has had in Spain throughout the twentieth century. Sources indicate that by 1936 some parts of the country had established an exclusively dairy cattle herd, formed mainly by Dutch cattle. This feature of the sector, the existence of a specialized dairy herd, was the result of a long process of transformation in farming that began in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In this process, major cities played a central role in the introduction of Dutch cows for milk production. The paper studies the case of Barcelona for two reasons. First, Barcelona was an important urban and industrial centre in the late nineteenth century and secondly, during the first third of the twentieth century staged a steady increase in the consumption of cow's milk. This was possible because the introduction of Dutch cows in the territory of the city and nearby districts. The analysis is divided into three sections: (1) number, geographical distribution and yielding characteristics of Spanish cattle; (2) innovation process in Spanish cattle through the importation of Dutch Friesian cattle and acclimatization problems that faced Dutch cattle breeders in the Mediterranean context; (3) results of the introduction of Dutch Friesian cattle in the location of livestock, milk yield and consumption of fluid milk.

### 5.2.4. Manors and the regulations on milk trade in Tampere

**Mäntylä, Mirja, University of Tampere, Finland**

At the turn of the twentieth century there were still several manors in the immediate surroundings of Tampere, the largest industrial town in Finland at the time (about 30,000 inhabitants). These manors were specialized in milk production and in their modern brick cowsheds there were 100–300 cows, the milk of which was sold to Tampere. I study the role and the significance of manors concerning the milk trade and food control in Tampere in the late 1800s and early 1900s. I will ask how the owners of manor houses influenced the food control and dairy trade rules of the town and how they reacted to bovine tuberculosis, which was believed to be passed on to humans by milk. In the 1890s many significant changes concerning the milk trade in Tampere took place. The Food Control Station began to operate and the municipal regulations concerning the trade of groceries came into force. It is also evident that concerning the bovine tuberculosis municipal authorities were trying to extend their control to the cowsheds of large dairy farms, far beyond the administrative borders of the town. However, the interests of big producers and town authorities were much the same when it came to adulteration and the quality of milk. The large farms also co-operated with the authorities of the town. Norms and rules on quality, classification and trade of milk were created largely as a result of negotiation between the different parties.

#### Participants

##### Fumi, Gianpiero

Gianpiero Fumi is Professor of Economic History at the Catholic University of Milan, Faculty of Economic. His research in agricultural history deals with various topics, such as the diffusion of agronomic knowledge and publishing in modern Italy, education, cattle breeding and markets, as well as agrarian policy in modern Italy.

##### Hernández Adell, Ismael

Ismael Hernández Adell obtained his Ph.D. in Economic History at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) in 2012 with a dissertation on the production and consumption of milk in Spain between 1865 and 1936. His research focuses on how environmental, agrarian and livestock conditions of Spain determined the supply of milk and provides new data on milk consumption among different population groups. He is assistant researcher at the Economic History Unit of the UAB and his research interests are: food history; farming and agricultural innovations; spread of new patterns of food consumption; technological innovation and agri-food industry.

##### Jonasson, Maren

Maren Jonasson is a Ph.D. student at the Department of Nordic history, at the University of Abo Akademi in Finland. Her main fields of scholarly interest include agricultural meetings and expositions in the Nordic countries in the 19th century and modern textual scholarship. She is currently working as editor-in-chief of the trilingual editing and publishing project, *The Collected Works of Anders Chydenius, 1729–1803*.

##### Kürti, László

László Kürti is a social anthropologist (PhD, University of Massachusetts, 1989). He has taught anthropology at The American University in Washington DC, and the

Eötvös University in Budapest, and presently teaches at the University of Miskolc, Hungary. He has conducted fieldwork in North America, Romania and Hungary. His English-language books include: *The Remote Borderland* (2001), *Youth and the state in Hungary* (2002), and he has served as co-editor for *Beyond Borders* (1996), *Working Images* (2004) and *Every Day's a Festival: Diversity on Show* (2011). From 2001 to 2006 he was secretary of the European Association of Social Anthropologists.

##### Mäntylä, Mirja

Mirja Mäntylä is a doctoral student in history at the University of Tampere, Finland. Her research interests are the history of dwelling, constructed and lived spaces, country houses and the connections between urban and rural. Her current research project is a Ph.D. dissertation on the country houses or manors in the surroundings of Tampere and their contacts with the economical, social and political life of the town at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

##### Martiin, Carin

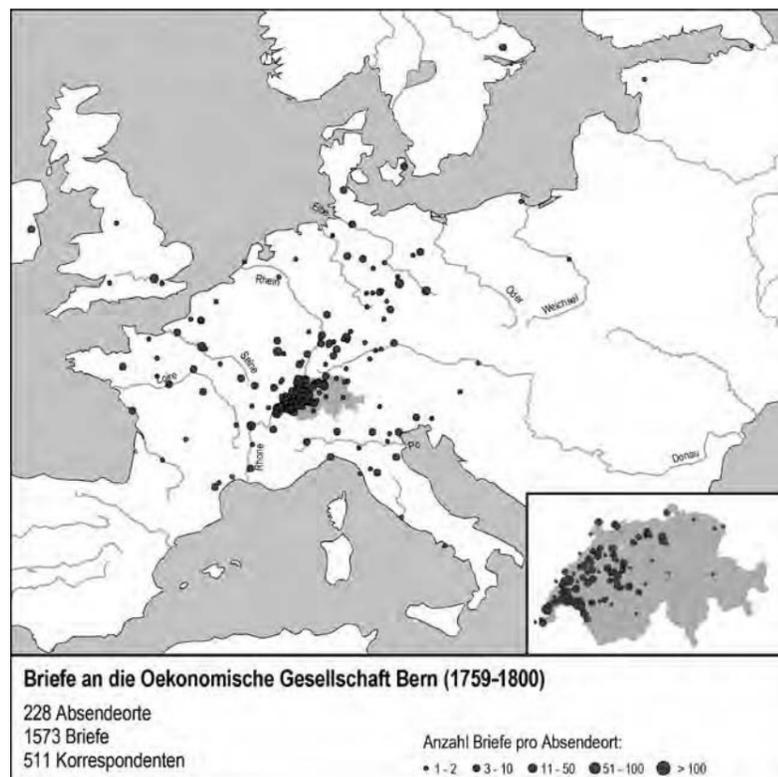
Carin Martiin is Associate Professor in Agrarian History in the Department of Economics at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala, Sweden. She is an agronomist, PhD in Agrarian History and docent in Economic History. Among the publications are the textbook *'The World of Agricultural Economics: An introduction'* (Routledge, April 2013) and articles in Brassley, Segers, Van Molle 'War, Agriculture, and Food' (Routledge 2012), *Rural History* (2010) and *Agricultural History Review* (2008). Her research interests include cattle husbandry and dairy production, and 20th century agricultural politics in Sweden and internationally.

### 5.3. Social networks in rural society

**Panel organiser: Fertig, Christine, University of Muenster, Germany**

The panel brings together scholars who research social networks in rural society. Social network analysis has become an important tool of researching different kinds of societies in humanities during the recent years. It provides both theoretical foundations as advanced methodology to analyse relational structures of society. In the panel, different questions will be approached, from networks of kinship and godparentage, integration and segregation of local societies, class building, formation of political milieus, demographic and social reproduction, to organization of collective work. The major objective of this panel is to present research that applies social network analysis in different historical contexts.

**Chair: Mathieu, Jon, University of Luzern, Switzerland**



Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1300 – 1500 // Session 5 – Room A-122

### 5.3.1. Pyrenean households. Power, family and land

**Deering, Dermot, University College Cork, Ireland**

The success or failure of a household enterprise in a Pyrenean village community depended on strategic alliances between households in the villages. There was large range of tasks needed to be carried out over the course of an agricultural year if a household was to succeed. The tasks were diverse and labour intensive. Before the advent of mechanization and the intensification of agriculture, el mano de obra, the number of bodies needed to carry out a myriad of tasks during the agricultural calendar was large. Family members knew their roles well in advance of commencement of work. Common or routine chores such as the maintenance of access roads, preparing the fields for ploughing in spring, the variety of task connection with the harvesting all necessitated large amounts of people. Though families could be large in the period before out migration to urban took place from the 1960s onwards, one must bear in mind that cycle of marriages and births and tragic accidents often presented households with a shortfall as adults ensured the continuity of the family enterprise. In this paper I will examine the ways in which strategic alliances were formed between families in villages or across to other villages and entered into reciprocal arrangements which could last for generations. These relationships of mutual benefit did place demands on family heads to align themselves socially as well as economically and I will trace the way in which this shaped the social relationships in villages. I will explore how these relationships panned out using the example of two villages from El Serrablo district, Alto Aragon.

### 5.3.2. Social Networks and Classes in Northwestern Germany, 18th and 19th centuries

**Fertig, Christine, University of Muenster, Germany**

In the 19th century, class society emerged not only in industrial districts, but also in the countryside. Two drivers have been identified to explain the development from peasant society to class society: First, it has been claimed that the growth of protoindustrial production in several European regions increased the cleavage between land holders and landless people. Second, population growth put more pressure on the propertied to maintain resources, which were getting scarcer in this process. In response, they started to restrict their social networks to people of similar social standing, preferentially to relatives. Both concepts make statements about the relevance of social relations, especially about marriage relations between people of different social standing. However, there has been very little systematic research on social networks beyond the scope of occasional examples or aggregated data. The paper examines the emergence of social classes in rural society by analysing social networks of relatives and godparents. It shows that formal social network analysis can provide for new perspectives and leads to stronger evidence on the formation of rural society. The paper compares two parishes in Westphalia, a Prussian province in northwestern Germany. We can explore family reconstitutions, complemented by data on godparent relations, land holding, credit, and farm transfer contracts.

### 5.3.3. Sexuality, Networks, Social and Political Change in a rural Society. Western Valais (Switzerland) in the 18th and 19th centuries

**Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro, University of Lausanne, Switzerland**

Illicit sexuality has often been interpreted as a problem of the lower classes, mostly as a symptom of crisis or as a consequence of legal obstacles to marriage. In contrast, the sublimation of sexual impulses is typically interpreted as a motor of civilization, capitalism and economic change. My paper, based on a micro-historical approach to social networks, questions these interpretations, showing that social milieus characterized by a tolerant sexual morality played an important political role. They were the social foundations of reformist political factions that contributed to a significant democratization in the Swiss canton of Valais. In this deeply Catholic region, during the 18th and 19th century significantly more children were conceived before marriage and out of wedlock in opposition milieus, than among conservative groups. Comparable networks were also tied to demographic change at the end of the 18th century, to the penetration of tourism in the alpine region and to the emergence of new economic activities in the late 19th century. From this point of view non-marital sexuality was a highly subversive force and clearly tied to innovative ways of behaviour, both among the social elites and the common people. This paper will focus on an Alpine valley: the Val de Bagnes, a mountain region where we can rely on excellent sources on local families. Our results can partly be compared with other communities in Western Valais and in other Swiss regions.

### 5.3.4. Landholding and Kinship Networks in Nineteenth-Century Minas Gerais, Brazil

**Mendes, Fabio Faria, Universidade Federal de Viçosa, Brazil**

This paper discusses some preliminary results from ongoing research on kinship and inheritance practices in nineteenth century Minas Gerais, Brazil. The unity of analysis is the rural parish of Piranga, at the southeast Minas Gerais, from 1780 to 1880. Piranga valley was one of the first sites of gold-mining at the end of the seventeenth century. In the last decades of the eighteenth century the region transitioned to an economy centered on farming and ranching to supply food staples to regional markets. We use land records and probate inventories to explore patterns of inequality in land property, networks of kin and neighbours, and inheritance practices not prescribed by the Luso-Brazilian Succession Law. We also analyze the overlapping of kin, marriage and godparent networks with the economic strategies of large farmers and smallholders.

#### Participants

##### Deering, Dermot

Dermot Deering is a recently retired secondary school teacher of Geography and History. He is now embarking on a PhD on Rural and Social history of a Spanish upland region. He has been Director of the Irish Environmental Network and has been active in creating its Tree Cover Policy. He has contributed articles in local environmental publication, the Local Planet, and an educational publication for the Irish Department of Education. His interest of research lies at the interface between landscapes and the social systems in which rural communities operate.

##### Fertig, Christine

Christine Fertig is assistant professor in social and economic history at the University Muenster, Germany. Her research fields include rural history, historical social network analysis, history of the family, kinship and godparentage. Recent publications: Familie, verwandtschaftliche Netzwerke und Klassenbildung im ländlichen Westfalen, 1750-1874 (Stuttgart 2012); "Rural Society and Social Networks in Nineteenth-Century Westphalia: The Role of Godparenting in social mobility", Journal of Interdisciplinary History 39 (2009), S. 497-522.

##### Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro

Sandro Guzzi-Heeb is professor in Early Modern History at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. His research fields include the history of social and political conflicts, the history of the family, of kinship and of sexuality. Recent publications: „Spiritual Kin-

ship, Political Mobilization and Social Cooperation: A Swiss Alpine Valley in the 18th and 19th Century", in : Guido Alfani, Vincent Gourdon (éds.), "Spiritual kinship in Europe, 1500-1900", Basingstoke: Palgrave-McMillan 2012, 183-203.

##### Mathieu, Jon

Jon Mathieu is professor of history at the University of Lucerne, Switzerland. He was the founding director of the "Istituto di Storia delle Alpi" at the Università della Svizzera italiana and has published widely about mountain regions in the modern period.

##### Mendes, Fabio Faria

Fabio Faria Mendes is associate professor at the History Department at the Federal University of Viçosa. BA in History from the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (1988), MA in Political Science (Political Science and Sociology) by the Brazilian Education - SBI / IUPERJ (1992) and Ph.D. in Political Science (Political Science and Sociology) by the Brazilian education - SBI / IUPERJ (1997). His research interests are on the border between History and Social Sciences, acting on the following topics: historical sociology, family history, historical demography, social network analysis, social mobility and inequality in historical perspective.

## 5.4. Ruling the Commons. Part II

**Panel organiser: De Moor, Tine, Utrecht University, Netherlands; Alfani, Guido, Bocconi University, Italy**

Commons are again a hot topic, in particular in scientific disciplines other than history. Whereas since the late 1960s they were perceived from a negative point of view, this perception seems to have changed recently, due to the work of Ostrom (Nobel Prize in 2009) and due to the economic and social crisis, which enforces the call for new models of governance, other than market and state-based models. The input of historiographical knowledge in the debate is still limited but nevertheless very important as only the study of the long-term evolution of institutions for collective action such as commons can help us to understand why they might be viable, and more resilient, alternatives to other forms of resource governance. In the two sessions we focus mainly on the way in which commons were internally organized and how the commoners adapted their institution to the changing circumstances. Two misunderstandings that are still alive in some parts of the social sciences are the supposed lack of internal organization and the idea that commons are accessible to all as in an open access would be the case. In three papers the internal organization in particular in the form of regulation will receive special attention, and this for different countries in Europe and periods since the late Middle Ages. Several of the presented papers use a new methodology that is currently being developed as part of an international project (Utrecht-Pamplona-Lancaster) whereby for a substantial number of cases the regulation of commons is analysed and compared over time according to a collectively set-up analysis framework. Related to the issue of access to the commons, several papers will focus on the ways resources were divided within the commons and how inequality influenced the functioning of the commons. In fact, only rarely were rights over the commons equally distributed among all the households or all the individuals of a community. Instead, different categories with unequal access could exist, or the community could be split between those who enjoyed the rights to the common resources, and those who did not. These distinctions created conflict within the community and generated specific issues of governance and control. Sometimes, unequal rights were one of the reasons leading to the progressive erosion of the commons, or even to their final disappearance.

**Chair: De Moor, Tine, Utrecht University, Netherlands**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1300 – 1500 // Session 5 – Room A 201

### 5.4.1. Managing the commons in unequal societies. The case of Lombard Alps in XVIIIth century

**Mocarelli, Luca, Milano Bicocca University, Italy**

It is well known that commons played and play a leading role in mountain economies since the most important natural resources – pastures, meadows, woods, water – belonged and belong to the communities and were and are used by the inhabitants. My paper will deal with the managing of commons in Lombard Alps in the XVIIIth century stressing the features of the local societies. That means that I am interested in how unequal societies, such as those of mountain areas, managed the commons. In the Lombard Alps we can find a double inequality regarding the use of common resources. First of all we find a clear divide between the “antichi originari” (inhabitants settled there at least for a century) who had access to the commons and the “forestieri” (strangers) who had not. Secondly there was also a great income inequality between originari and forestieri and among the same originari. The paper will focus on the way in which such a social and economic structure affected the managing of the commons, with special regards to the access and use of pastures and woods, and will demonstrate that in many cases the collective use of commons was not the best solution in terms of equality.

### 5.4.2. Who, when, how and how much: The transformation of common property rights in alpine farming in early modern and modern times

**Landolt, Gabriela, University of Bern, Switzerland**

The paper examines how the common-property system regarding the use of alpine pastures in a mountain village in the canton Graubünden has evolved and changed over time. However, the use of the alpine pastures is strongly interrelated with the individual seasonal activities and transhumance practices as well as with collective rights concerning common and private property in the valley, which therefore also need to be considered. The research is based on ethnographic data resulting from oral history interviews (going back to the early 20th century), on the analysis of written alp- and pasture regulations dating from 1805 until today and on secondary historical literature enriched by selected court records from the 15th to the 18th century. By applying Jean Ensminger's model of institutional change (Ensminger 1992) I argue that the interaction between external (such as relative prices, agrarian policies or population growth) and internal factors (ideology, bargaining power, institutions, organizations), rather than a single dominant fac-

tor (North 2005) determine the transformation process and that this process is far from being linear and does not necessarily end in all property rights being privatized as suggested by Demsetz (1967).

### 5.4.3. Village Federations. Institutional diversity and polycentric governance in northern Spain (Navarre, 14th-20th centuries)

**Laborda Peman, Miguel, Utrecht University, Netherlands**  
**Lana-Berasain, Jose-Miguel, Public University of Navarre, Spain**

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the analysis of nested governance of common-pool resources from a long-term perspective. Our main research questions are: How was nesting articulated in pre-industrial societies? Which were their advantages and risks? To answer them, we analyse two historical case studies of nested regimes. In particular, the Valley of Roncal and the Sierra of Lokiz, both of them situated in Navarre, northern Spain, arranged across several levels the management and use of grazing pastures and forests already by the 14th century.

### 5.4.4. From total State to anarchical market. Lessons from the past for a collective action approach – the Albanian mountainous commons

**Bernard, Claire, Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Montpellier, France**  
**Lerin, Francois, Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Montpellier, France**  
**Hoxha, Valter, Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Montpellier, France**

Medicinal and Aromatic Plants (MAPs) is an important sector of the agrarian economy today in Albania, counting for approximately M\$25 exports, 60 000 collectors, various localized value chains and first transformation industries. Wild MAPs collection mainly occurs in common mountainous pasture and forest lands, and was based on traditional uses in pastoral and medicinal local practices. The real economic take off and massive collection of the resource occurred during the communist regime, to fulfill the need of export based cash-flows. It was a total State organized system structured by cooperatives and State farms. After the regime collapse, the MAPs sector was basically driven by commercial forces and markets. This drastic change is, for the theory of collective action of great interest, because neither one system nor the other totally abolished the existence of the commons as commons. Our communication will highlight major institutional problems related to the management of commons throughout the conventions and agreements organizing the MAPs collection. An historical (and yet not done) analysis of these two antagonist systems, based on field studies for the contemporary situation and on Albanian archives for the past periods (1860-1991) is of great interest for today's challenges. Both in terms of rural development and agro-biodiversity conservation, there is a need to find innovative ways for a collective action to sustainably rule these commons. Neither State nor markets are able to deal with identified pressures against MAPs resources.

#### Participants

##### Alfani, Guido

Guido Alfani is Associate Professor of Economic History at Bocconi University, Italy and Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow, UK. He is a member of Dondeña Centre for Research on Social Dynamics and chief editor of the journal *Popolazione e Storia*. His research interests include economic inequality, social alliance systems (particularly godparenthood), historical demography (particularly epidemics and famines). He is the Principal Investigator of the ERC-funded project EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800.

##### Bernard, Claire

Claire Bernard is a graduate from the Paris School of International Affairs (2009) and AgroParisTech (2011). Claire Bernard has started a PhD in Environmental Management (2012), dealing with biodiversity conservation and valorization. Her intervention-research on a development project in Northern Albania, funded by the French Global Environmental Facility, seeks to understand what it takes in terms of strategic actions to trigger an environmentally sound development in disadvantaged territories.

##### De Moor, Tine

Tine De Moor is Professor of “Institutions for Collective Action in Historical Perspective” at the Department for Social and Economic History of Utrecht University. Her research combines extensive empirical research and analysis with modeling and a strongly theoretical framework. She is an executive board member of The International Association for the Study of the Commons, and co-founder of the peer-reviewed open-access International Journal of the Commons. Currently she is in charge of several projects on institutions for collective action, of which one is an ERC Starting Grant ([www.collective-action.info](http://www.collective-action.info)).

##### Hoxha, Valter

Valter Hoxha holds an engineer degree in Agrarian Economy and Policy from the Agricultural University of Tirana (2008). He later specialized in rural areas development and innovation with the Master of Science at the Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Montpellier. He is currently writing a PhD thesis in Geography and Spatial Planning at the University of Paul Valéry, Montpellier III, focussing on the conserving and valorization of biodiversity, in the case of medicinal and aromatic plants collection in Albania.

##### Laborda Peman, Miguel

Miguel Laborda holds a BA in Law (2009) and a BA in Business Management (2009) from the University of Zaragoza, Spain. In 2010, he graduated from the LSE (MSc. Political Economy of Late Development). In October 2011 he joined the ERC Project

“United We Stand” as PhD candidate. He studies the emergence and long-term dynamics of corporate collective action in pre-industrial Europe. His interests include global economic history, long-term economic growth and the political economy of development, particularly the debate on the deeper determinants of growth and the Great Divergence.

##### Lana-Berasain, Jose-Miguel

In 1997, José-Miguel Lana-Berasain successfully defended his doctoral thesis on agricultural changes and property relationships in the southern part of Navarre (19th-20th centuries) at the University of Zaragoza. After 1997, he worked at the Public University of Navarre, first at the Department of Geography and History (1997-2001), later on (2001-current) with the Department of Economics. From 2010 on, he has been appointed as Profesor Titular at UPNA. He was member of the Council of the Spanish Society of Agrarian History (2002-2009) and president of the Geronimo de Uztariz Institute for Economic and Social History (2001-2005).

##### Landolt, Gabriela

Gabriela Landolt is a doctoral student at the Institute for Social Anthropology, University of Berne, Switzerland. Her main research interests are the analysis of institutional change in the context of common pool resource management in the Swiss alpine pasture management under special consideration of power relations and ideology.

##### Lerin, Francois

François Lerin is a social scientist and senior scientific administrator with the Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Montpellier, a division of the Centre International de Hautes Études Agronomiques Méditerranéennes (CIEAM). He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Paris X-Nanterre. His primary research topic is the multi-scale analysis of international agro-environmental programs and local implementation contexts, with a focus on pastoralism and agro-biodiversity. He has conducted field work in the Balkan countries and the south of France, and is currently coordinator of the BiodivBalkans project.

##### Mocarelli, Luca

Luca Mocarelli is full professor of economic history at Milano Bicocca University, Faculty of Economics. He is treasurer and member of IAUH board (Italian Association for Urban History) and President of IAAH (International Association for Alpine History). He has worked extensively on urban and regional economy with special regard to early modern Lombardy. His recent works deal with the building sector in Milan (18th -20th centuries), commons in mountain areas, and labour history.

## 5.5. Rural Elites: towards a comparative history of rural elites in pre-modern Europe, Part II

**Panel organiser: Soens, Tim, University of Antwerp, Belgium; Thoen, Erik, Ghent University, Belgium**

In contrast to urban historians who often discern a rather homogenous 'bourgeois' elite-model throughout much of pre-modern Europe, historians of rural society are usually more hesitating in defining something as the rural elite. Recent studies tend to stress the striking regional divergences in the organization of agriculture and society, which persisted well beyond the middle of the 19th century. Elite groups existed in peasant smallholding economies with a strong communal organization, as well as in areas of 'grand' commercial farming, but it remains to be questioned whether these elites had much in common, except local predominance. Can we find common denominators of rural elites throughout different agro-systems in pre-modern Europe? And do we see an increasing convergence of these elites from the later middle ages to the beginning of the 19th century, perhaps influenced by non-rural – urban bourgeois or state-bound– models of social interaction, economic and political dominance and cultural behaviour? In 2009/2010 two major comparative research projects on Rural Elites in pre-industrial Europe were initiated. On the one hand the Rural Elites in a Changing Society project was funded by the Flemish Research Foundation and framed within the CORN-Comparative History of the North Sea Area research network. This project studied regional divergences in the organization and dynamics of village elites in the pre-modern Low Countries by linking them to equally regionally divergent patterns of rural commercialization. On the other hand, the project Ländliche Eliten, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, united specialists from Oldenburg University, archives and museums in a collaborative effort to study the life and literary culture of the northwest German peasant-bourgeois elite from the late 17th century to the early 19th century. The goal of this session is not only to present and compare the results of both major research projects so far, but also to reflect on the regional diversity of rural elites in pre-modern Europe and the (im)possibility of constructing encompassing typologies of rural elites. By comparing elite configurations in different regions of Europe, this session will be able to assess the impact of variations in economic commercialization; state power; local lordship; the proximity and influence of cities; legal traditions (e.g. inheritance systems) and the social coherence of village communities on the nature and reproduction of rural elites.

**Chair: Thoen, Erik, Ghent University, Belgium**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1300 – 1500 // Session 5 – Room A 027

### 5.5.1. Coqs de villages or ugly ducklings? Tenant farmers and their role in late medieval village communities: the Campine area (Low Countries)

**Van Onacker, Eline, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

Tenant farmers have been at the core of rural historiography. Their – presupposed – commercial and progressive attitude made them a fascinating object of study. Their coqs de village status, their dominance of village life on an economic and political level only further enhanced this historiographical fascination. But tenant farms were not confined to commercially oriented regions in which they dominated everything and everybody around them. Tenant farms were also a presence in some peasant societies, characterised by smallholders and the extreme importance of commons. How did tenant farms function in a society dominated and designed by peasants, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? The case-study chosen for this study is the Campine area, a sandy peasant-dominated region in the Low Countries, in the proximity of sixteenth century metropolis Antwerp. This region was home to several tenant farms, mainly owned by the powerful abbey of Tongerlo. To what extent did these tenant farmers dominate and control village life, on a political and on an economic level? How often did they fill in village offices, for example as village aldermen? How should we understand their economic relationship with their fellow-villagers? Did the Campine tenant farmers create dependency through labour or credit relations, as was the case in more commercial regions or was their economic impact rather limited? So to sum it up, were the Campine tenant farmers the pivot of village communities or were they rather a presence at the verges of Campine society?

### 5.5.2. Between the countryside and the city. Rural Elites in the Midlands of Valencia in the 15th Century

**Aparisi Romero, Frederic, University of Valencia, Spain**

The main aim of this paper is to offer a general picture of the rural elite of the Midlands of the kingdom of Valencia during the

15th century according to their economic activities and their strategies for social promotion. The wealthier families of the rural communities benefited not only from the consolidation of the regional economic system but also from the integration of the kingdom in the international trade networks. Thanks to a hierarchized urban net, the market was not a stranger to these families. In relation with this, we will try to analyse the influence of the cities and towns. What kind of attraction did the urban world exercise over the leading families of the rural communities? Was it confined to economic aspects or can we assume that the bourgeois and even the noble families became the example to emulate, in a cultural way as well? If this is true, did the rural elite adopt specific patterns of consumption, different from the rest of the members of the rural community? And did the difference in standards of living separate the well-to-do families from the rest of the village community? Finally, it should be questioned what these well-to-do families had in common with the rest of the European rural elites in this period.

### 5.5.3. Rural elites in transition? Local upper classes in western Tyrol and Vorarlberg 1750-1850

**Kasper, Michael, University of Innsbruck, Austria**

The elites in the peasant society in central-alpine villages, markets and agricultural towns are the focus in this paper – also the question how the prevailing "rulers" circumvented with social and political changes around 1800. A central role in the definition of local elites always plays the question of the distribution of power in the regional rural societies. The ones can be called elites who shape the key social areas and influence the progress of the society. It examines, who were the elites in rural areas and how their political functions, offices and careers, their family structures and their marriage patterns looked like. The local elites of the rural area can be reconstructed on the basis of financial circumstances, the professional backgrounds, of the political activities and lifestyle. Between these factors often particularly close relationships can be stated, because sufficient funds were often an important basis for the access to public office. With this basic information in a further step changes in lifestyles, patterns of thought and behavior can be detected, and the people can be placed in a social, kinship and family context. Using these data, finally, conclusions on values, attitudes, structures and social transformations in alpine, rural areas in the modern age can be drawn. Tyrol and Vorarlberg were jointly selected as the study area, because there were numerous connections and similarities between the two regions around 1800. Thus, both regions, each having an independent parliament, were managed by the Gubernium in Innsbruck.

### 5.5.4. Rural „bourgeoisie“ in the 18th century Low Countries?

**Vermoesen, Reinoud, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

This contribution will shed some light on the late early modern networks of the rural elites of both peasant dominated and market orientated regions in the (Southern) Low Countries. In the former region, large farmers were a minority group of households embedded in a sea of peasants, whereas in the latter area, tenant arable farmers dominated the local scene. It has already been established that farmers in peasant regions played an important role in the factor markets, alongside their dominant position in local circuits of reciprocal exchange. In addition, their colleagues of the tenant farms were almost fully engaged with the factor markets. Therefore both categories held key positions in the flows between countryside and the omnipresent urban network. In this study the credit and commodity flows between the farmer categories and the urban network will be investigated. From this actor perspective, albeit modest in scope, this study will elaborate on the important debate on the widening commercialization of the early modern economy. How can we label these flows between the farmers and the urban network: entrenched in anonymous markets? Or rather based on symbiotic alliances with townsmen?

#### Participants

##### Aparisi Romero, Frederic

Frederic Aparisi Romero, BA (2005) and Mphil (2008) by the University of Valencia. From January of 2011 to August of 2012 he has been lecturer in the University CEU Cardenal Herrera. He is currently finishing his PhD thesis with the title "From the Countryside to the City. Raising and consolidation of the Valencian Rural Elite (14th-15th Centuries)".

##### Kasper, Michael

Michael Kasper, Teacher Training in "History, Social Studies, Civics" and "Geography and Economics" at the University of Innsbruck; Doctoral studies in history at the University of Innsbruck; Director of the Montafon Museums and Research Assistant at the University of Innsbruck, Department of History and European Ethnology; Research Focus: Regional History of Western Austria (Tyrol, Vorarlberg and surrounding areas), social history of rural areas, agrarian history, oral history.

##### Soens, Tim

Tim Soens is Associate Professor of Medieval and Environmental History at the University of Antwerp (Belgium). He has studied Medieval History at the University of Ghent, where he obtained his PhD in 2006, investigating water management and the interaction of man and nature in coastal Flanders (1300-1600AD). Within the Antwerp Department of History, Tim Soens has developed a new research line 'Environment and Power', concentrating on the historical relationship between human societies and

the natural environment, and the way this interaction was steered by evolving power constellations and formal and informal institutions.

##### Thoen, Erik

Erik Thoen is professor of rural and environmental history at Ghent University (Belgium). He is a specialist of pre-modern agriculture and rural society in North Western Europe, and founder and chair of the CORN - Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area - Research Network.

##### Van Onacker, Eline

Eline Van Onacker is scientific collaborator at Department of History of the University of Antwerp, Belgium. Framed within a comparative research project on rural elites in the later Middle Ages, supervised by Erik Thoen (Ghent University) and Tim Soens (University of Antwerp), she is currently finishing her PhD on rural elites in the Campine Area.

##### Vermoesen, Reinoud

Reinoud Vermoesen is guest lecturer and collaborator at the Centre for Urban History, University of Antwerp. In 2008 he obtained his PhD at the same University with a thesis on the commercial networks, production and consumption strategies of rural households in Early Modern Inland Flanders.

## 5.6. Cotton, Race, and Labor in the Post-Civil War South

**Panel organiser: Whayne, Jeannie, University of Arkansas, USA**

In the post-Civil War U.S. South and in post-unification southern Italy, the traditional elites' most pressing challenge was the need to reformulate either race or labor relations, or both, as they confronted a large and politically active free population, and also, in some areas, a large number of immigrants, determined to assert their rights, either as laborers or as citizens. At the same time, the elites faced a daunting challenge in maintaining a continuity vis-à-vis the identification of their power with the connection to the cotton or citrus industries' alternating fortunes. This panel looks at these challenges to the power of the landed elites and to the reshaping of their identity in the process, in different regions of the U.S. South and southern Italy. Especially in South Carolina and Sicily, violence erupted as a direct consequence of these challenges, in one case through Ku Klux Klan actions, in the other case through proto-Mafia activities. In North Carolina, landless farmers challenged elite control by attempting to impose segregation in the countryside in order to distinguish themselves from black sharecroppers and thus improve their own status. In Memphis, Tennessee, meanwhile, a race riot reflected a collision between African American and Irish immigrants, the two main groups challenging the elites' power. However, within a few years a fragile and surprising political alliance developed between them until the infamous yellow fever epidemic of 1878 enabled the cotton elite to reassert control. Here, as in much of the U.S. South, the elite's power after the Civil War continued to be based largely on the connection to cotton as a means of maintaining their ascendancy, even in the face of the declining importance of the crop. Despite some inevitable differences between the case-studies, in both the U.S. South and southern Italy, violence was the premier factor that allowed the elites to maintain political control through intimidation of rural laborers. At the same time, cultural control, reinforced through connections to cotton in one case and to citrus in the other case, often supplemented violence as a means for the elite to maintain their power. This panel contrasts how American and southern Italian elites and laborers alike responded to rural and agrarian upheaval in the later decades of the nineteenth century, and then demonstrates how, in the twentieth century, the loosening of King Cotton's grip on the American economy altered elites' own hold on southern society.

**Chair: Hahn, Steven, University of Pennsylvania, USA**

**Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1300 – 1500 // Session 5 – Room A 022**

### 5.6.1. The King is Dead: The Culture of Cotton in Memphis, Tennessee

**Giesen, James, Mississippi State University, Starkville, USA**

From the mid-nineteenth century, through the upheaval of the American Civil War, until the mid-twentieth century, Memphis, Tennessee served as one of the most important shipping and marketing centers for the cotton industry. Culturally, the city fused its identity to the crop. Politically and economically, its most powerful forces, whether politicians, social organizations, companies, or culture brokers, were those trading on their connection to cotton, not only to the crop itself. But what happened when cotton production and marketing shifted away from the city? This paper will explore the demise of cotton from the city's economy with an eye toward how its citizens and business interests maintained its cultural claim to the crop in the years that followed. It will show through an examination of Cotton, Incorporated, the Cotton Jubilee festival and parade, and popular portrayals of the crop and plantation landscapes, how Memphis was able to cling to its identity in a time of vast economic and racial changes in the city and region.

### 5.6.2. Capturing Cotton's Metropolis: The Struggle for Political Control of Memphis Government, 1865-1900

**Whayne, Jeannie, University of Arkansas, USA**

In the context of a changing racial and ethnic configuration in the late nineteenth century, this paper provides an analysis of the political and economic development of Memphis, Tennessee, a city that became the largest inland cotton center in the Mid-South region by 1860. The position of Memphis on the Mississippi River was an advantage but also presented the city with devastating environmental problems. The analysis pivots around three things: the riot of 1866 led by Irish working class men (and Irish police) against the freed people of Memphis; the tenuous coalition of black and Irish voters in the 1870s which elected an Irish mayor; and the ability of the white cotton elite to seize control of city government after the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1878. The success of the cotton elite to defeat an unusual alliance between African Americans and Irish immigrants preceded formal disfranchisement statutes in Tennessee. This paper will contribute to the growing literature of disfranchisement in southern cities but also place it in the context of a struggle for power complicated by a disease-related environmental issue. Furthermore, the cotton elite's success in

seizing control of city government enabled them to influence the Corps of Engineers and the United States Congress, in securing a substantial appropriation to remedy problems along the city's waterfront caused by the growing severity of floods in the second half of the nineteenth century, an environmental problem that plagued the city's cotton economy well into the twentieth century.

### 5.6.3. The Politics of Rural Violence in Comparative Perspective: South Carolina vs. Sicily in the late 1860s

**Dal Lago, Enrico, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland**

An increasing number of scholars have examined the period of Reconstruction in the post-Civil War U.S. South in comparative perspective with contemporary socio-economic and political developments in other countries (Peter Kolchin, Rebecca Scott, and Steven Hahn). Studies on the nineteenth-century U.S. South and southern Italy have hinted at the possibility of comparing social and labour relations in the countryside of two heavily agricultural regions that by the second half of the 1860s had been either reincorporated or newly incorporated into unified nation states through the U.S. Civil War and through Italian national unification. This paper compares the Reconstruction U.S. South with post-unification Southern Italy by investigating violent practices of labour control in the cotton-producing regions of upcountry South Carolina and in the citrus-growing regions of coastal western Sicily. In one case, labour control through violence led to the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, while in the other case it led to the beginning of proto-Mafia activities. Sustained comparison of the two case-studies shows clearly that, even though different in a number of ways, both types of violence ultimately had among their aims that of maintaining the political status quo through intimidation of rural labourers. While in upcountry South Carolina violence and intimidation served the purpose of controlling African American labour by keeping it in the cotton plantations and farms, in western Sicily the same tactics served the purpose of keeping many Sicilian casual and day labourers in the citrus fields.

### 5.6.4. Challenging the Southern Elite: Small White Farmers' Visions for a New and Segregated Rural South

**Herbin-Triant, Elizabeth, St. John's University, New York, USA**

In the decades between the Civil War and Great Depression, a labor system based on the exploitation of African-American and white farm workers flourished in the rural U.S. South, benefiting the planter and merchant elite. Small white farmers, unhappy with this system, envisioned a different one – one wherein they might rise in status to become yeomen. They imagined a number of economic, social, and political benefits would accompany their elevation in position. Many believed that the way to achieve this higher status was by distancing themselves from their African-American neighbors. To this end, a number of these farmers embraced an unsuccessful campaign to bring segregation to the North Carolina countryside in 1913-1915. Opposed by the white elite, this campaign failed. This paper uses the conflict over rural segregation to explore two competing views of what Southern society should be. There was more to the conflict over rural segregation than elite whites wanting access to black workers and middling whites not wanting black farmers around to compete with them. Indeed, the two groups had very different ideas about who should own land and who should participate in government. For small white farmers, rural segregation was part of a larger plan to build a countryside of tightly-knit, democratic white yeoman communities. Elite whites had a very different vision for the rural South. This case study illuminates the relationship between North Carolina's white elite and small white farmers, revealing just how tenuous the bonds that linked whites together were in the "solid South."

#### Participants

##### Dal Lago, Enrico

Enrico Dal Lago, Lecturer in American History at the National University of Ireland, Galway, received his PhD in History from University College London (UCL). He is the author of *Agrarian Elites: American Slaveholders and Southern Italian Landowners, 1815-1861* (2005) and of *American Slavery, Atlantic Slavery, and Beyond: The U.S. 'Peculiar Institution' in International Perspective* (2012), and co-editor and contributor of four additional books. His forthcoming monograph is entitled *William Lloyd Garrison and Giuseppe Mazzini: Abolition, Democracy, and Radical Reform* (2013).

##### Giesen, James

James C. Giesen is an associate professor of history at Mississippi State University, in Starkville, Mississippi. He also serves as director of The Center for the History of Agriculture, Science, and the Environment in the South (CHASES) and as executive secretary of the Agricultural History Society. His book, *Boll Weevil Blues: Cotton, Myth, and Power in the American South* (University of Chicago Press, 2011) won the 2012 Deep South Book Prize. He has also won awards for articles in *Environmental History* and *Agricultural History*. His new project is a long-term cultural history of cotton in the United States.

##### Hahn, Steven

Steven Hahn is the Roy F. and Jeannette P. Nichols Professor History at the University of Pennsylvania and author of *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (1983), which received both the Allan Nevins Prize of the Society of American Historians and the Frederick Jackson Turner Award of the Organization of American Historians. Also among his many

publications is *A Nation Under our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (2004) which received several awards, including the Pulitzer Prize in History.

##### Herbin-Triant, Elizabeth

Elizabeth Herbin-Triant is an Assistant Professor in the History Department at St. John's University in New York City. She received her degrees from Harvard University (AB) and Columbia University (PhD), and held a postdoctoral fellowship in Agrarian Studies at Yale University. Herbin-Triant is completing a manuscript entitled *"Great Rural Civilization" for White Southerners: Agrarianism and Rural Segregationist Ideology in the American South*. This manuscript argues that segregationist thinking in the Southern countryside developed independently from urban segregation, and grew out of a different tradition – agrarianism.

##### Whayne, Jeannie

Jeannie Whayne is professor of history at the University of Arkansas and vice president/president elect of the Agricultural History Society. She has published eleven books, including *Delta Empire: Lee Wilson and the Transformation of Agriculture in the New South* (2011), which won the John G. Ragsdale Award from the Arkansas Historical Association. Whayne has had fellowships at the Smithsonian Institution and at the Carter Woodson Institute at the University of Virginia. She is currently researching a book on the development of Memphis, Tennessee into the largest inland cotton center in the world by the mid 19th century.



Panel

## 5.7. Transforming Village Culture: Village Halls and Cultural Centres in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Part I

**Panel organiser: Musat, Raluca, New Europe College, Romania**

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, village cultural centres appeared across numerous countries in Europe and beyond. Known under a wide range of names – for example the village or community hall (UK), rural civic centre (US), foyer culturel (France), Volksheim (Austria), Halkevleri (Turkey), and cāmin cultural (Romania) – these new institutions of village life were part of a global process of rural transformation aimed at integrating peasants into the modern world whilst preserving local cultures and traditions. Often founded by urban or rural elites, the state, voluntary associations or religious organisations, these institutions aimed to re-centre rural life around new practices and moral values that were often exogenous to the rural community itself. Despite their different uses and agendas, the presence of these institutions in so many counties indicates both an international interest in the development of the rural world through culture and wider transformations in leisure practices in the countryside. This panel brings together papers that look at houses of culture or cultural centres at the meeting points of local, regional, national and global history in different geographical and political contexts. Papers will deal with: Who founded village cultural centres and what agenda or ideological underpinning did they have (social, political, religious, or economic)? How they were used and by whom? What role did they play in various types of ‘civilising missions’ (for example state-driven, religious, rural development, etc)? What role they played in processes of social or demographic change? How were village cultural centres places in which folk cultures or other identities were preserved, revived or transformed? What definitions of rural culture arose from the establishment of village cultural centres? Participants are also invited to discuss not only the content, but also the form and aesthetics of village cultural centres, as new additions to the rural built environment, as part of rural planning schemes, but also as ways of re-organising existing buildings or spaces. Finally, we encourage discussions on the international and transnational dimension of this phenomenon, possibly engaging with as the role of these institutions in rural development, hygiene and modernisation from the point of view of international or global organisations.

**Chair: Burchardt, Jeremy, University of Reading, UK**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1300 – 1500 // Session 5 – Room A 019

### 5.7.1. The Cultural Propaganda of the Ploughmen’s Front and the Role of the Cultural Guides in Communist Romania (1945-1953)

Paper

**Radu, Sorin, Lucian Blaga University, Romania**

The main task of Ploughmen’s Front was to implement the Communist ideology in the rural environment, facilitating the process of comunization of the Romanian villages, where the Communists were extremely unpopular. The propaganda, using large apparatus of propagandists and agitators, attacked from all directions the souls and minds of Romanians, trying to transform them into obedient citizens, in people always ready to accept the rules imposed by the communist power, if not with joy, at least with passivity and indifference, and also into active, loyal people to the new regime. The communist propaganda and agitation, including that of the Ploughmen’s Front, gave great importance to the ideological education of their own cadres and activists with the purpose to transform them into an elite loyal to the party. In communist Romania at the end of 40s and the beginning of the 50s, there appeared a new type of propagandist: “the cultural guide”. This was a party servant educated at the school of cadres with the aim to organize and supervise activities of cultural propaganda in the countryside. The peasantry had to be convinced to participate to the cultural events, festivals and socials. It was of great importance for the cadres responsible with propaganda to promote such festive moments in countryside life, to control the strategies and methods by which those events were capitalized.

### 5.7.2. An Institutional Approach toward the Transformation of Countryside: the Collective Farms and Cultural Centers in the Communist Romania

Paper

**Micu, Cornel, Danubius University, Romania**

The presentation will focus on a rural region in South-Eastern part of Romania, namely the Bordei Verde commune, which I studied as I was working at my PhD project. The village cultural center or “cāmin cultural” appeared in Bordei Verde together with the collective farm during the 50s. Both were new institutions that competed with the more traditional ones such as the church, the tavern and the mayor’s office. They represented and attempted to transform the local culture and social relations according to the ideological line of the communist regime. Yet, in the case of the cultural center, it also represented a first attempt to politically mobilize the villagers and to gain their support during the sensitive decade in which the collectivization took place. The relation between the cultural center and the collective farm was imbalanced, with the last one representing the most important socialization space in the village. This was in accordance with the dominant Marxist ideology, which emphasized the role of economic structures and the need to change them in order to transform the society as a whole. Nevertheless, the cultural center in Bordei Verde survived after 1989 and remained a cultural hub for youngsters and adults. In this presentation I will focus on the institutional relation between the cultural center and the collective farm, in an attempt to determine which aspects of the daily life they shaped.

### 5.7.3. Comment

Paper

**Burchardt, Jeremy, University of Reading, UK**

#### Participants

**Burchardt, Jeremy**

Dr Jeremy Burchardt is a lecturer in history in the Department of History at the University of Reading and is currently chair of the Interwar Rural History Research Group. His research focuses on the social and cultural history of the countryside in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially leisure and rural social relations, and attitudes to the countryside. He is the author of *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873* (2002) and *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change* (2002), and co-editor, with Paul Brassley and Lynne Thompson, of *The English Countryside between the Wars: Regeneration or Decline* (2006).

**Musat, Raluca**

Raluca Musat is a postdoctoral fellow at New Europe College in Bucharest. She completed a PhD in History at University College London in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, where she taught European history and sociology. Her current research deals with the relationship between the development of the social sciences and rural modernisation processes in interwar Europe.

**Micu, Cornel**

Cornel Micu is assistant Professor at “Danubius” University, Romania. His fields of

interest are social and economic history, the transformation of social structures following europeanization, urbanization from a historical perspective and agricultural history. He has a PhD from the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena, Germany and has been a fellow of the New Europe College in Bucharest and Imre Kertesz Kolleg in Jena and worked in several projects regarding the rural and political history of Romania. His current research topics are the policies of rural systematization and urbanization in communist Romania and Bulgaria.

**Radu, Sorin**

Sorin Radu is Associate Professor at the “Lucian Blaga” University of Sibiu. His research interests are in the history of electoral systems and history of communism in Romania. He is the author of several volumes, such as: *Electoralul din România în anii democrației parlamentare (1919-1937)* [Romanian Electorate during Parliamentary Democracy (1919-1937)], 2004; *Modernizarea sistemului electoral din România (1866-1937)* [Modernization of the Electoral System in Romania (1866-1937)], 2005; *Ploughmen’s Front. Documents*, vol I (1944-1947), vol II (1948-1951), 2011 (in collaboration with V. Ciobanu and N. Georgescu).

## 5.8. Agricultural exports and economic growth during the first wave of globalisation, 1850-1929. Part II

Panel organiser: Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra, El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico; Pinilla, Vicente, Universidad de Zaragoza, Zaragoza, Spain



Chair: Brassley, Paul, University of Exeter, UK

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1300 – 1500 // Session 5 – Room A 024

### 5.8.1. The impact of export booms on the structure of land tenure: the case of tobacco in Montes de María (Colombia), 1850-1917

Colmenares, Santiago, Universitat Pompeu i Fabra, Spain

During the so-called first globalization (1850-1914), Latin American countries specialized in the export of primary products. One of the issues raised by this configuration of Latin American economies is the effect of commercial agriculture over land property and distribution of land. In this paper we seek to explore the connection between land ownership and agricultural exports for the case

During the first wave of globalization (1850-1929), many countries participated in international trade mainly as exporters of primary products and importers of manufactured goods. The consequences of such participation have been the subject of much controversy in the economic literature over the past decades. Nowadays, the predominant although not exclusive view is that these countries had a favorable opportunity for economic development, at least from the middle of the nineteenth century up to the collapse of international trade following the 1929 crash. This opportunity consisted of developing an export sector that specialized in the production of primary products to supply the rapidly growing markets of the industrialized countries. The contribution of such specialization to their economic development varied greatly, depending on very diverse factors, with its overall effect being influenced by the relative importance of the export sector to the rest of the national economy. In this context, the purpose of this panel is to analyze cases of countries or groups of countries that fit into this typology.

of the Caribbean region of Colombia, specifically the tobacco-growing sub-region, Montes de María. In previous work I have identified that under the conditions of the late-nineteenth century European tobacco market, only those regions of Latin America where peasants had relatively free access to land, combining the cultivation of tobacco with subsistence crops, became competitive in those markets. However, this does not mean that the 'tobacco-type' agrarian structure configured a static landscape characterized exclusively by smallholdings. The main hypothesis of the paper is that in the case of Montes de María, the process of capital accumulation brought about by the export of tobacco was translated into a process of land accumulation by a certain class of prosperous peasants, traders and foreign merchant houses. I present new quantitative data on land holdings by different social classes, prices of the land, and distribution of incomes among peasants and traders derived from the tobacco business, in order to support this hypothesis.

### 5.8.2. Agro-climate suitability and comparative advantage in Mexico's agricultural exports during the first export era (1870-1929)

Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra, El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico

During the first globalization, about 25 percent of Mexico's exports consisted of agricultural products. Their importance was twofold. First, they represented a more profitable alternative to traditional agriculture, showing higher productivity and providing higher wages and spillovers upon the rest of the local or regional economy. Second, they were considerably diversified, including about twenty products that originated in as many regions within the country. Sometimes, their significance at the local or regional scope was much higher than what is suggested by their overall share in Mexico's export basket. By 1930, 67 percent of the Mexican population lived in the countryside; however agriculture contributed only 14 percent to GDP. Export agriculture represented a rather small share of total agricultural product, but grew at more than triple the rate of traditional agriculture (a yearly average rate of 4.7% against 1.5% between 1895 and 1910). Because of its slow growth and its backward technological traits, traditional agriculture was a huge burden for Mexico's economic development. Had export agriculture expanded more than it did, the contribution of the rural sector to Mexico's economic growth would have been larger than it was. The purpose of this paper is to assess, for a sample of agricultural export activities, the potential for expansion provided by the natural resource endowment of the country, and more specifically, by its agro-climate suitability (ACS) for the production of those crops with the technological traits prevailing at that time.

### 5.8.3. Tobacco exports and economic growth in Greece (ca 1900-1940)

Petmezas, Socrates, University of Crete, Greece

Oriental tobacco was a high value labour-intensive agricultural export from the Ottoman Balkans (1900-1912) and the basic exported good from Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey (countries that divided the former Ottoman exporting provinces between themselves) in the Interwar period. A large part of the total value of Greek exports and GDP, of rural and urban employment and industrial processing was directly depending on the world demand of tobacco, and the 1929 depression heavily influenced social and economic equilibria in Greece and the neighbouring oriental-tobacco-exporting countries (Bulgaria and Turkey). Clearing treaties (with Germany) and the re-structuring of the commercial-export sector (both in terms of cutting down the cost of processing – i.e. wages – and squeezing profits/commissions of the commercial intermediaries) was part of the answer in Greece. In the long run changes in the demand side condemned small-size and low-productivity producers. After 1945, tobacco never again resumed its place as prime export locomotive of the Greek economy and the large scale rural emigration wave towards Central and Northern Europe in the 1960s marked the end of the intensive oriental-tobacco production and exports.

#### Participants

**Brassley, Paul**

Senior Research Fellow in the University of Exeter, and a former chair of the British Agricultural History Society. His research interests lie in British agricultural history. He is author of several books and numerous papers in academic journals on these issues. He is co-editor of the book *War, Agriculture and Food Rural Europe from the 1930s to the 1950s* (Routledge, 2012).

**Colmenares, Santiago**

MA, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Teacher Assistant at the University Pompeu Fabra and PhD candidate in Economic History at University of Barcelona. He recently received an honorary mention in the Ramón Carande Prize 2013 (Spanish Economic History Association), with the paper "La inserción de economías regionales periféricas al mercado mundial: América Latina en el mercado mundial de tabaco, 1850-1900". He has translated into Spanish a book containing a collection of the most outstanding articles of Jeffrey G. Williamson (Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2012). He has published two book chapters on the economic history of Colombia.

**Kuntz-Ficker, Sandra**

Professor of Economic History at El Colegio de México. She has been Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Chicago, and the University of California at San Diego; Tinker Visiting Professor at Stanford University and at the University of Texas at Austin, and is currently a National Fellow in the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Her research work deals with the economic history of Mexico from the mid nineteenth

to the mid twentieth century, particularly with topics related to the economic impact of railroads, Mexico's foreign trade and commercial policy, and Mexico's economic development during the first globalization.

**Petmezas, Socrates**

Socrates Petmezas teaches economic and social history in the University of Crete and is also a collaborating faculty member of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies -FoRTH. He has published widely on the history of Modern Greece and the Ottoman Empire (17th-20th centuries). His research interests focus on proto-industrialization, agricultural history and the cultural history of nationalism in Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans.

**Pinilla, Vicente**

Ph.D. in Economics, University of Zaragoza 1990. Professor in Economic History at the University of Zaragoza, Spain. His research interests lie in international trade in agricultural products, Spanish agricultural production and migration. He is author of several books and numerous papers in academic journals on these issues. His latest book is *Peaceful Surrender. The depopulation of rural Spain in the twentieth century* (with F. Collantes) (2011). He held appointments at the University of Bristol, London School of Economics, University of California at Davis, University of Maastricht and Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<p><b>Authority, agency, autonomy? Change for rural women in Europe 1850-1914</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Clear, Caitriona</p> <p>Chair: Clear, Caitriona</p>	<p><b>6.1.1. Public Women in Rural Ireland: Exploring the West, 1880-1918.</b> Clancy, Mary</p>	<p><b>6.1.2. Women, farm and family 1850-1922.</b> Clear, Caitriona</p>	<p><b>6.1.3. Comment</b> Verdon, Nicola</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.1</b> Room A-126</p>	
<p><b>The Great Outdoors - 150 years of mountain sports and tourism in the Alps. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Barton, Susan</p> <p>Chair: Roche, Clare</p>	<p><b>6.2.1. Löwenplatz in Lucerne – a factory for tourist photographs</b> Bürgi, Andreas</p>	<p><b>6.2.2. The symbiotic relationship between tourism and winter sports</b> Barton, Susan</p>	<p><b>6.2.3. Alpine Communities as Entrepreneurs: The Cultural Capital of „Backwardness“ and the Coercion of Urban Alpinists, 1890-1914</b> Anderson, Ben</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.2</b> Room A-119</p>	
<p><b>Protest(ing) Rural Heritages: Land and Community Memory. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Griffin, Carl; Jones, Roy; Robertson, Iain</p> <p>Chair: Robertson, Iain</p>	<p><b>6.3.1. Folklore, Collective Memory and Popular Protest in Seventeenth-Century Forest of Dean</b> Sandall, Simon</p>	<p><b>6.3.2. Landscapes of Conflict and Commemoration: Mousehold Heath, Norfolk</b> Whyte, Nicola</p>	<p><b>6.3.3. Community Memories of Protest History in Rural England: Forgetting, Un-forgetting and the Politics of „Instant History“</b> Griffin, Carl</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.3</b> Room A-122</p>	
<p><b>Peasants and their relationship to land. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Béaur, Gérard; Congost, Rosa</p> <p>Chair: Congost, Rosa</p>	<p><b>6.4.1. Land ownership, an unattainable horizon for French peasants in the early modern and modern periods?</b> Béaur, Gérard</p>	<p><b>6.4.2. Retaining possession of the family farm and the interference of the Swiss State (19th-21st centuries)</b> Head-König, Anne-Lise</p>	<p><b>6.4.3. „If my brother sold the farm in the future I'd probably be the first one trying to buy it back off him“: an exploration of the relationship between non-inheritors and land in Irish farming families.</b> Cassidy, Anne</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.4</b> Room A 201</p>	
<p><b>Conflict and Negotiating Conflict in Pre-Modern Rural Societies. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Muller, Miriam</p> <p>Chair: Muller, Miriam</p>	<p><b>6.5.1. Fighting Drainage: local resistance to wetland drainage across the North Sea Area</b> Soens, Tim</p>	<p><b>6.5.2. The common denominator: Institutions of collective action as the result of continuous negotiation between various stakeholders within the Campine area (Southern Low Countries, 14th to 16th centuries)</b> De Keyzer, Maika</p>	<p><b>6.5.3. Conflict Correspondence and the medial structure of late medieval rural lordship</b> Schuerch, Isabelle</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.5</b> Room A 027</p>	
<p><b>Agricultural politics in Europe between World War II and 1957. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Martini, Carin; Pan-Montojo, Juan</p> <p>Chair: Brassley, Paul</p>	<p><b>6.6.1. Agriculture and agricultural policies in Spain (1939 - 1959)</b> Fernández Prieto, Lourenzo; Cabana Iglesia, Ana; Díaz Geada, Alba; Freire Cedeira, Araceli; Lanero Táboas, Daniel; Soto Fernández, David</p>	<p><b>6.6.2. Changing Colors: the Green Law of 1955 and the Integration of German Peasants</b> Gerhard, Gesine</p>	<p><b>6.6.3. International recommendations and national decisions: Portuguese agriculture policies after WWII</b> Freire, Dulce</p>	<p><b>6.6.4. Agricultural politics in the Netherlands from WWII till 1957</b> Schuurman, Anton</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.6</b> Room A 022</p>
<p><b>Social movements and popular political participation in rural societies. Part I: 14th to 19th century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro; Brassart, Laurent</p> <p>Chair: Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro</p>	<p><b>6.7.1. A Failed Political Movement? The 1381 Peasants' Revolt in Rural Cambridgeshire</b> Xu, Mingjie</p>	<p><b>6.7.2. Political Participation in Early Modern Rural Switzerland and Germany</b> Würgler, Andreas</p>	<p><b>6.7.3. Social Conflicts and Rural State-Building: Popular Political Participation in Pre-Constitutional South-West Germany</b> Grüne, Niels</p>	<p><b>6.7.4. Popular political actors and their communities during the French Revolution</b> Brassart, Laurent</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.7</b> Room A 019</p>
<p><b>Reproduction and Production: Sex and Gender in Rural Economies</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Bächli, Beat</p> <p>Chair: Joris, Elisabeth</p>	<p><b>6.8.1. A women's domain? Sex and gender in poultry breeding</b> Heitholt, Ulrike</p>	<p><b>6.8.2. From Numan to Texel: A century of science in Dutch sheep breeding</b> Oldenburger, Jesper</p>	<p><b>6.8.3. The Organization of Pig Breeding: from women's towards men's business</b> van der Laan, Steven</p>	<p><b>6.8.4. Sex, Gender, and Cattle Breeding. An Outline for a Symmetrical Anthropology of Animal (Re-)Production.</b> Bächli, Beat</p>	<p><b>Panel 6.8</b> Room A 024</p>



## 6.1. Authority, agency, autonomy? Change for rural women in Europe 1850-1914

Panel

**Panel organiser:** Clear, Caitriona, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland

The rural 'world' has often been portrayed as an unchanging 'past' from which women (and men) had to 'emerge' before they could reach 'freedom' (economic, social and political). This panel includes research papers on the changes which actually happened to (and were brought about by) rural girls and women who lived in the countryside in this period between the political upheavals of the mid-nineteenth century and the outbreak of the First World War. Did the commercialization of agriculture offer new opportunities to females, or take older customary privileges from them? How did increased contact with the town and with townspeople affect rural girls and women? Was the introduction of compulsory school attendance a burden or an opportunity for them? And what kind of rural women took up the opportunities to be more involved with local government/voluntary organizations – public life, in short? And whatever about authority, which we know many rural females to have enjoyed, do concepts like 'autonomy' and 'agency' have any meaning for rural females in these changing times? Must we be always aware of that other 'a' – altruism as defined by French rural historian Tessie P. Liu – as the origin of rural females' power, or was this familial context for the exercise of authority becoming less important over this 70-year period?

**Chair:** Clear, Caitriona, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1515 – 1645 // Session 5 – Room A 024

### 6.1.1. Public Women in Rural Ireland: Exploring the West, 1880-1918.

Paper

**Clancy, Mary, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland**

This paper looks at how rural conditions generated strands of private and public effort, thus positioning girls and women in complex public view. It will analyse, in particular, the establishing of local relief industries (such as lace, knitting, basket-making, nursing) and the election of women to Poor Law positions. Essentially, the paper argues that rural Ireland offered an accommodating, though politically complex, space to women at this time of transitional imperial and gender political power.

### 6.1.2. Women, farm and family 1850-1922.

Paper

**Clear, Caitriona, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland**

Looking at farmers in their own right, farmers' wives and other 'assisting relatives', servants and the dwindling though still noticeable number of female day labourers, this paper is a contribution to the long-running and ongoing historical argument (Rhodes, Bourke, Daly, Lee, Segalen, Liu, Sarti, Hufton, Maynes) about whether women's economic power on the land expanded or declined in these changing times, in a transnational context.

### 6.1.3. Comment

Paper

**Verdon, Nicola, Sheffield Hallam University, UK**

#### Participants

**Clancy, Mary**

Mary Clancy lectures in history at the Women's Studies Centre, Galway. A founder member of Galway Labour History Group, she is also an active committee member of Athena: Advanced Thematic Network in Women's Studies in Europe. Her publications include 'Aspects of women's contribution to Oireachtas debate 1922-1937, in: M. Luddy & C. Murphy (eds.) Women Surviving: aspects of women's history in nineteenth & twentieth-century Ireland (Dublin 1990); 'Women of the west campaigning for the vote in early 20c Galway 1911-1915' in L. Ryan & M. Ward (eds) Irish Women and the Vote (Dublin 2007).

**Clear, Caitriona**

Caitriona Clear lectures in modern history at NUI, Galway; her publications include Nuns in Nineteenth-century Ireland (Dublin 1987), Women of the house: women's household work in Ireland 1926-61 (Dublin 2000) and Social Change and Everyday Life in Ireland 1850-1922 (Manchester 2007). She has also published on other aspects of women's history, on the history of homelessness and on oral history method and practice.

**Verdon, Nicola**

Nicola Verdon is Reader in History. She has broad interests in social and economic history of the British countryside since 1750, with special reference to gendered patterns of employment, family and domestic life, poverty and household economies.

## 6.2. The Great Outdoors - 150 years of mountain sports and tourism in the Alps. Part I

**Panel organiser: Barton, Susan, International Centre for Sports History and Culture, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK**

The year 2013 will be the 150th anniversary of popular tourism by the British in Switzerland. In 1863 the English tourism entrepreneur Thomas Cook organised his first tour of Switzerland, vividly documented by Jemima Morrell in her journal published a century later. Tourists visited remote locations in the rural Alps which entailed physical exertion in order to be rewarded by the joy of experiencing spectacular and wondrous mountain scenery. Less than two years later the first winter guests began to arrive, in St Moritz and Davos. Although already popular with grand tourists, the 1860s marked the beginning of tourism in the Alps. In celebration of this century and a half, this panel will examine the role played by tourism and outdoor activities, such as the search for health in spas and sanatoria, mountaineering, hiking and winter sports in the rural alpine environment. Mountain landscapes provide locations for leisure, sport and tourism. The rural environment is itself a commodity to be consumed and enjoyed by visitors who contribute to local economies. Tourism provided new opportunities for employment in the hospitality, construction, travel and leisure industries as well as cultural exchanges and technological transfer. Tourism has both changed and helped conserve the landscape. As early as the 1890s, concerns were being raised about the impact of railway building on the landscape and the increase of visitor numbers they would bring. Mountain railways, ski lifts and other tourism infrastructure, the erosion of footpaths, the collection of minerals and flora and disturbance of habitats by increasing numbers of visitors all had an impact on visual amenity and sensitive ecosystems, not to mention the effect on traditional cultures. Papers in this panel will discuss the history of leisure, sport and tourism in the mountains, with a particular focus on Switzerland.

**Chair: Roche, Clare, Birkbeck, University of London, UK**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1515 – 1645 // Session 6 – Room A-119

### 6.2.1. Löwenplatz in Lucerne – a factory for tourist photographs

**Bürgi, Andreas, Department of History, University of Lucerne, Switzerland**

Industrial quarters came into existence in many Swiss cities in the 19th century. Their equivalent in Lucerne is the Tourismusmeile, literally the 'Tourism Mile' with its Lion Monument (1821), Glacier Gardens (1873), Bourbaki Panorama (1899), Alpineum Museum (1901, previously Meyer's Diorama from 1856 onwards), and Stauffer's Museum of stuffed Swiss animals (1859-1888); in 1902 the 'Internationales Kriegs- und Friedensmuseum' (International Museum of War and Peace) opened. This district provides Lucerne with a unique urban feature. No other towns or cities in Switzerland or in the Alpine region have a specific district like this, with such densely packed selection of specially created tourist attractions. Construction and expansion of the Tourism Mile was only possible with modern financing models, the latest technology, established tourism infrastructures and media processes and content that appealed to the tastes of a broad public. The paper represents the institutions of the Lucerne Tourismusmeile and shows the broad techniques and strategies of exhibiting (and thus selling) Switzerland: Geological and glacial formations and structures of Switzerland, Ice Age, prehistory and the then newly discovered romanticism of lake dwellings, alpine fauna and flora, breathtaking sceneries in the Alps in dioramas and panoramas, engineering and railway construction under most difficult conditions (St Gotthard Tunnel), Swiss virtues, such as bravery, reliability and loyalty, humanitarianism and the engagement for the soldiers on the battlefields (Switzerland as depository for the Geneva Convention).

### 6.2.2. The symbiotic relationship between tourism and winter sports

**Barton, Susan, International Centre for Sports History and Culture, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK**

Tourists in Switzerland, influenced by the culture of English public schools played a major role in the formation of Swiss alpine resorts from the 1860s onwards. By creating Outdoor Amusement Committees based in major hotels and resort-wide clubs for tobogganing, ice-skating, curling and later bobsleighbing and skiing, these tourists played a key role in the transition of alpine communities from mountaineering and health centres into winter sports resorts, open all year round. Technology transfer and infrastructural development, particularly in transport and the hospitality industries facilitated the growth of these resorts and also of sporting competition within and between them. In the early 20th century, competition organised by the Olympic movement beginning with ice-skating at the 1908 London Games followed by the introduction of ice-hockey in Antwerp in 1920 and then a separate Winter Olympics from 1924 created a two-fold legacy: an increased awareness of and participation in winter sports and a growth in tourism in mountain resorts as participation extended beyond privileged elites.

### 6.2.3. Alpine Communities as Entrepreneurs: The Cultural Capital of „Backwardness“ and the Coercion of Urban Alpinists, 1890-1914

**Anderson, Ben, Keele University, UK**

Of the vast network of huts and paths in Eastern Alps, the vast majority were planned and built in the decades around 1900. This paper challenges assumptions that we should equate the funding, planning and narrative of these developments among urban Alpine associations with control over this radical Alpine intervention. Instead, it suggests that local Alpine communities were able to mobilise narratives of cultural, economic and national 'development', in order to compel further investment in the Alpine terrain by urban Alpinists. Huts and paths were not, as sometimes assumed, an investment with a sound financial return. However, by the late 19th century, they did fulfil numerous important cultural roles. Huts and paths were portrayed as expanding Deutschtum into the Southern Alps and as promoting national identity through 'joint work' between Alpine communities and their 'Flachland' counterparts. Constructions were portrayed as philanthropic urban interventions in the economic development of the 'backward' German-speaking Alps. Likewise, the network was described as a tool of liberal democratisation, to the chagrin of elite Alpinists who voiced concerns about the destruction of Alpine 'wasteland', prefiguring a later rhetoric of Heimatschutz. As urban Alpinists became increasingly reluctant to invest in the Alpine terrain after 1900, Alpine communities drew upon these interwoven cultural tropes to demand further construction from already heavily-indebted urban Alpine associations. In doing so, the paper challenges assumptions of urban aggression and rural passivity in developing spaces beyond the city.



#### Participants

##### Anderson, Ben

Ben Anderson is a Lecturer in Twentieth-Century European History at the University of Keele. He is interested in the changing fabric of urban leisure cultures during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In particular, he examines what happened when urban cultures emerged in rural spaces, how and why conflicts emerged amongst those involved, and what this can tell us about both urban and rural societies. He has recently published in journals of Urban History (2011), Cultural Geography (2012), and is currently preparing a monograph entitled Urban Natures: Mountain Leisure and City Lives in England and Germany, 1885-1914.

##### Barton, Susan

Dr Susan Barton is an honorary research fellow in the International Centre for Sports History and Culture at De Montfort University in Leicester. She has a wide range of interests in social history and her publications include work on knitted textile industry, working-class tourism, the British seaside, package holidays in Spain, sport and learning disability, tourism development in Switzerland and winter sports. Her current project is an investigation into the Winter Olympics up to 1948 and their sporting and touristic legacies. Her books include 'Healthy Living in the Alps – the origins of winter tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914'.

##### Bürgi, Andreas

Dr Andreas Bürgi studied German, Philosophy and History of Art in Zurich and Berlin. He completed his doctorate with a thesis on German-language travel reportage in the 18th century and subsequently worked on several SNRF research projects: co-editor of the complete works of Ulrich Bräker; project leader and editor of the project "Franz Ludwig Pfyffer's 'Relief der Urschweiz' (Relief of Central Switzerland)"; final editing of and edition of Julie Bondeli's letters. Main research interests: Switzerland in the 18th century; the history of spatial perception; the history of surveying; the history of travel and 18th century travel literature.

##### Roche, Clare

A first class history degree from Birkbeck in 2007 developed into a fascination with the long nineteenth century and a particular interest in the history of women, medicine and science. A Masters at Cambridge University in History and Philosophy of Science & Medicine consolidated this and led to the discovery of female mountaineers who appeared to transgress the prevailing medical, scientific and social view of middle-class women. I am currently a doctoral student at Birkbeck researching this group of women. For over thirty years I have been, and continue to work as a physiotherapist.



Panel

## 6.3. Protest(ing) Rural Heritages: Land and Community Memory. Part II

**Panel organiser:** Griffin, Carl, University of Sussex, UK; Jones, Roy, Curtin University, Australia; Robertson, Iain, University of Gloucestershire, UK

Acts of protest linger long in community memory, the protest invariably a pivotal moment in shifting social relations. Equally, protest can also be conceived of as representing a catastrophic breakdown in social relations, a low point for the community, something therefore to be erased and forgotten. This tension is also experienced in profoundly dialectical ways: rural elites invariably wanting the commemoration of protest past to be suppressed, while protestors often want the act of protest – and the events that led to the protest – to be written in the rural landscape forever. Conversely, attempts to put particular places under the ‘protection’ of heritage organisations and law can also lead to resistance from those members of the community whose lives the inscription will delimit. Drawing on recent attempts to think through the ways in which protest is commemorated ‘from below’ and work in memory studies, this session seeks to examine these complex relationship in a variety of different conceptual, spatial and temporal contexts. Papers explore how past rural protests are used to revivify resistance in the present; the selective memories of communities in commemorating past struggles; or, battles over attempts to celebrate previous protests. In conclusion, the session asks why some rural protests are actively remembered and others not – and why community memories of some protests are actively subjugated – as well as how acts of commemoration and ‘protection’ can in themselves provoke protests in a variety of forms.

**Chair:** Robertson, Iain, University of Gloucestershire, UK

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1515 – 1645 // Session 6 –Room A-122

### 6.3.1. Folklore, Collective Memory and Popular Protest in Seventeenth-Century Forest of Dean

**Sandall, Simon, University of Winchester, UK**

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this marginal region became central to the designs of the Crown and other capital interests. The consequent assault on Forest custom provoked a series of disturbances which seriously tested the power of local authorities. Two of these incidents were notable for their invocation of folkloric tropes. The first was on the part of concerned authorities, while the second was an expression of the solidarities which underwrote the most threatening resistance in 1631. These allusions were very different in their nature but my paper suggests that both were drawn from a shared cultural repertoire representing an epistemological world in which folkloric references were imbued with political significance at all levels of the social scale. This type of folk culture also, it is argued, helped to transmit these values and traditions of protest from one generation to the next. In the context of early seventeenth-century England, these two episodes illustrate the continuing and multivalent political relevance of folkloric language and action to those at all social levels.

### 6.3.2. Landscapes of Conflict and Commemoration: Mousehold Heath, Norfolk

**Whyte, Nicola, University of Exeter, UK**

This paper will investigate the ways individuals and communities have imagined, appropriated and reworked the past in the early modern period. Taking inspiration from recent archaeological research on the ‘uses of the past in the past’ and ‘life-histories of monuments’ it attempts to historicise the relationship between memory, place and landscape. In so doing it re-evaluates Pierre Nora’s argument that ‘sites of memory’ function as ‘embodiments of a memorial consciousness’ for the modern age. Discussion will focus on a late sixteenth-century map of Mousehold Heath, a large tract of common ground located on the outskirts of the city of Norwich (Norfolk). The map depicts an elite narrative of the past and a ‘national history’ charting the suppression of various protest movements, the physical traces of which were still apparently to be found in the landscape. Alongside and often entangled with this elite perception, the documentary evidence also reveals rich insights into local, non-elite memories and narratives of landscape and place. These offer counter views of the meaning and significance of the physical imprint of the past on the land, and reveal Mousehold Heath to be a field of composite and conflicting memories, that were nonetheless marked by a profound and long history of violence and protest.

### 6.3.3. Community Memories of Protest History in Rural England: Forgetting, Un-forgetting and the Politics of „Instant History“

**Griffin, Carl, University of Sussex, UK**

How events are remembered and commemorated has assumed a central position in recent historical analysis. In part, this reflects the challenge of the so-called linguistic turn with its attendant emphases on the work that language does in structuring our understandings of the past, and the allied influence of post-structuralist thought with its twin codas of questioning official narratives and our ability to truly represent ‘the past’. Academic histories have tended to focus on memorialisation – the casting into stone – as well as official celebrations, and the unpacking of the work of History, the ‘official’ telling of events in national stories. What has not been subjected to scrutiny is the memory work done by communities, specifically the way in which protests of the recent past were selectively invoked and just as selectively ‘forgotten’. The paper attempts not to answer how this was done, but instead to offer some thoughts on the forms these memory plays took in the communities of southern England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It pays particular attention to the ways in which dramatic events were re-presented, including food rioting, the Swing Riots of 1830, and even incendiarism. In so doing it argues that memory work was a key component of sustaining the community. Remembering – selectively, unevenly, politically – was what underpinned community cohesion. It was that which was called upon in making judgements when the agrarian equipoise was threatened.

#### Participants

**Griffin, Carl**

Senior Lecturer in Human Geography. Author of *The Rural War: Captain Swing and the Politics of Protest* (Manchester University Press, 2012) and *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700-1850* (Palgrave, 2014).

**Jones, Roy**

Emeritus Professor of Geography. Author (with Brian Shaw) of *Geographies of Australian Heritages: Loving a Sunburnt Country?* (Ashgate, 2007) and *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the Periphery* (Ashgate, 1997).

**Robertson, Iain**

Senior Lecturer in History. Author of *Heritage from Below* (Ashgate, 2012) and *The Later Highland Land Wars* (Ashgate, 2013, forthcoming).

**Sandall, Simon**

Lecturer in History. Author of ‘Custom, Memory and the Operation of Power in Seventeenth-Century Forest of Dean’, in F. Williamson (ed.), *Locating agency: space, power and popular politics* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010) and *Custom and Popular Memory in the Forest of Dean, c. 1550 - 1832* (Boydell and Brewer, forthcoming).

**Whyte, Nicola**

Senior Lecturer in History. Author of *Inhabiting the Landscape: Place, Custom and Memory, 1500 – 1800* (Windgather Press at Oxbow, 2009) and ‘Custodians of Memory: Women and Custom in Rural England c.1550-1700’, *Cultural and Social History* (2011).

## 6.4. Peasants and their relationship to land. Part II

**Panel organiser:** Béaur, Gérard, Centre de Recherches Historiques, GDRI CRICEC, CNRS & EHESS, Paris, France; Congost, Rosa, Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, University of Girona, Spain



In some current representations of European Rural Societies, the relationship of peasants to land is dominated by the idea of a visceral attachment; not only regarding property rights, which are seen as stable and hardly changing, but also the attachment to individual farms of those who work them. Beyond its economic worth, the social and symbolic value of land was crucial, and therefore its transmission to the next generation constituted a priority and marked a key stage in the lifecycle and identity of peasant families. This attachment largely determined social behaviour. It provoked harsh competition and also enforced complex processes of negotiation in order to ensure the continuity of the farm. In the end, the sale of a plot of land or the abandonment of a farm were always considered to be trials that must be avoided at all costs. The loss of an exploitation was an unbearable drama, even more so when the accumulation of land was achieved at the cost of considerable sacrifices, and the transmission from generation to generation of the family's land had become a moral obligation. In these circumstances, the land market would be modest, indeed, almost paralyzed were it not for the expropriation of land caused by continued financial pressure on indebted peasants. These are issues we must discuss. What did the possession of land represent for the farmers of different regions, both yesterday and today?

How far is the image we have today merely a product of the triumph of agrarian individualism? How could families ensure by themselves their reproduction through inheritance or marriage, and how great have changes in their decision-making processes been under the impact of recent economic and social upheavals? Were peasants really motivated by a passion for "their" land, or rather did they treat it as any other part of their capital? Did they see it as a simple work tool, or did they crave landed property? Was the attachment to land that we assume existed a reality, or, rather, is it the reflection of "our own" relationship to property and to the "family's goods"? In what ways did the relationship between peasants and land in different societies produce significant changes in property rights to land, and thus, in social relationships as a whole, that is to say, in the society itself? This panel is organised under the auspices of the CRH and GDRI CRICEC.

**Chair:** Congost, Rosa, Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, University of Girona, Spain

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1515 – 1645 // Session 6 – Room A 201

### 6.4.1. Land ownership, an unattainable horizon for French peasants in the early modern and modern periods?

**Béaur, Gérard, Centre de Recherches Historiques, GDRI CRICEC, CNRS & EHESS, Paris, France**

This paper criticizes three common assumptions that characterize, in a caricatural way, the relationship between French peasants and their land. The first is that until perfect, absolute ownership emerged in the French Revolution, the tenant was in no way a land

owner; in the struggles to introduce a Civil Code and enclosures during the period leading up to that change, criticism of confused property rights was a key economic argument. The second assumption, which partly contradicts the first, is the belief that the history of peasant property is the story of a long and ongoing expropriation by the big landowners, the so-called *rentiers du sol*, so land-hungry that they were ready to drive the population into debt in order to achieve their aims. Finally, the third assumption is that the peasant was so deeply attached to his property that except when farms were transmitted through inheritance and succession, land scarcely changed hands at all, and that when it did circulate, it only did so through exchanges that were not real market transactions. We will show, first, that peasants occupying land were, from very early on, its real owners, and that the overlaying of rights over the land was by no means a handicap for them; second, that the constant decline of peasant property, as well as creditors' greed for land, are two recurring historiographical myths; and, lastly, that there was, from an early date, an active land market that could compete with other forms of property circulation, and that consequently it is impossible to place exchanges of land outside the sphere of economic activities.

### 6.4.2. Retaining possession of the family farm and the interference of the Swiss State (19th-21st centuries)

**Head-König, Anne-Lise, University of Geneva, Switzerland**

Significant legal changes have taken place in Switzerland since the 19th century and this occurred especially at the beginning of the 20th century when the 29 legal inheritance systems were replaced by a Federal Code tending to privilege the family farm before other forms of farming by favouring intergenerational transfers and impartible inheritance. In the middle of the 20th century, however, the influence of three main inheritance systems (impartible, partible and pseudo-egalitarian) was still evident in the farm structure existing in the various cantons since these systems were deeply rooted in the relevant geographical, economic and cultural contexts. Far more than changes in the legal system, it was rather modifications in agricultural policy which brought about a certain convergence in the different successional practices. State institutions exerted a growing influence with their system of support payments based on strict rules such as the minimal size of a farm, compulsory age at retirement for the elderly farmer and requirements in respect of professional training etc. In order to retain the viability of their farms, however, farmers were obliged to complement their resources with off-farm work so that an increasing proportion of farms were worked part-time. To adapt to market demand farm size also had to increase and non-family land had to be leased. This explains the development of land tenure legislation in the second half of the 20th century.

### 6.4.3. „If my brother sold the farm in the future I'd probably be the first one trying to buy it back off him“: an exploration of the relationship between non-inheritors and land in Irish farming families.

**Cassidy, Anne, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland**

This research is carried out with a cohort of young Irish university students from farming families who through embracing education have developed a pathway that takes them away from agriculture. Although few will inherit, their attitude to the land is important since a smooth transfer of the holding depends in part upon their cooperation. The findings show that relationships with the land are dominated by emotional responses that are shadowed by duty and obligation rather than perceptions around its value as a capital asset. There is a strong desire to see the land retained within the family either by a sibling who is regarded as the 'natural' farmer or in absence of this option they are often willing to take ownership on themselves rather than see it sold. The response to this is gendered with many male participants struggling with a profound sense of responsibility not only to take the land but also to farm it, while their female counterparts are more likely to distance themselves from a functional relationship even were they to take possession of the land. The predominant wish to see the land kept in the family at almost any cost is based in part on the farm's capacity to act as a repository of personal, parental and historical memories as well as its symbolic representation of their intergenerational endurance. The research highlights that even while the number of active family farms in Ireland continues to decline the sale of land in Ireland is unlikely to increase in the near future.

#### Participants

##### Béaur, Gérard

Specialist of rural and economic history, Gérard Béaur is Directeur de Recherches at CNRS and Directeur d'Etudes at EHESS (Paris, France). He is member of the Centre de Recherches Historiques and he was director of this unit of research from 2002 to 2010. He was Chair of the COST Action A35 Progressore and he is director of the GDRI (International Research Network, CNRS) CRICEC (Crises and Changes in the European Countryside). He is director of the series Rural History in Europe (Brepols) and he is actually co-editing a volume of this series about Property rights, land markets and economic growth.

##### Cassidy, Anne

Anne Cassidy is a final year PhD student in the National University of Ireland, Galway. Her research focuses on the experience of growing up on Irish family farms and its impact on the transition to adulthood for a cohort of university students who will not become farmers. She has a BA in Sociological and Political Studies and History and an MA in Community Development. Her research interests include rural youth sociology, belonging, research methodologies and rural development.

##### Congost, Rosa

Senior researcher at the Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, Rosa Congost teaches at Facultat de Lletres in Universitat de Girona as Professor of the Economic History Department. She was vice-chair of the Cost Action A35 Progressore and she is vice-chair of EURHO. Her research interests cover the history of landed property and agrarian social relations. She has co-edited the volume about Contexts of Property in Europe. The social embeddedness of property rights in land in historical perspective. She is director of the programme Impoverishment and enrichment processes in rural societies: a way of studying social dynamics in History.

##### Head-König, Anne-Lise

Anne-Lise Head-König is professor emerita of economic and social history at the University of Geneva. She is currently co-editor of the periodical *Histoire des Alpes/Storia delle Alpi/Geschichte der Alpen*. She is also a member of the scientific board of the Swiss rural History Society. Her research focuses on rural and especially mountain societies with an emphasis on farm transfers, collective property, the labour market and migration. Her most recent publication, edited in collaboration with Péter Pozsgai is *Inheritance Practices, Marriage Strategies and Household Formation in European Rural Societies*, Turnhout, Brepols Publisher, 2012.



Panel

## 6.5. Conflict and Negotiating Conflict in Pre-Modern Rural Societies. Part I

**Panel organiser: Muller, Miriam, University of Birmingham, UK**

This panel will examine questions regarding the nature of different types of conflicts rural societies experienced in their communities, and how they dealt with, negotiated and resolved these conflicts. Traditionally conflict in rural communities in medieval society in particular has typically been associated with conflict between lords and peasants. While the papers in this panel will explore conflict between communities and authorities, like lordship, they will also consider intra-communal strife. There is a strong theme in some of the papers in this panel of communal relationships to water, including the exploitation of the sea, and the communal maintenance of drainage and embankments, as well as conflicts over common land. A main purpose of this panel is to examine issues of communal dispute comparatively. To this end the papers in this panel will span from the medieval into the early modern. Since communities located in such marshland or coastal areas might have faced similar topographical circumstances, which required comparable economic solutions, including drainage work and the exploitation of similar local natural resources, such comparative explorations can be particularly fruitful.

**Chair: Muller, Miriam, University of Birmingham, UK**

**Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1515 – 1645 // Session 6 – Room A 027**

### 6.5.1. Fighting Drainage: local resistance to wetland drainage across the North Sea Area

Paper

**Soens, Tim, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

Starting in the later Middle Ages thousands of hectares of coastal and inland wetland marshes have been drained and reclaimed by non-local investors increasingly backed by state power. One of the characteristics shared by many of these projects, is the fierce resistance by local communities they seem to provoke. This resistance, ranging from law suits to physical violence, has been alternatively interpreted as reflecting backwardness and conservatism of the rural population resisting land improvement. With the exception of the work of Salvatore Ciriaco, comparative research on pre-modern drainage remains scarce. In this paper we aim to explore regional divergences in the occurrence, motivations, instruments and success-rate of local resistance against drainage projects.

### 6.5.2. The common denominator: Institutions of collective action as the result of continuous negotiation between various stakeholders within the Campine area (Southern Low Countries, 14th to 16th centuries)

Paper

**De Keyzer, Maika, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

Commons are often portrayed as a product of the emergence of institutions for corporate collective action, which tried to cope with exogenous factors such as population growth and commercial threats. During this so called 'Silent revolution' individuals grouped together and formed collective institutions which emerged during the high Middle Ages. These individuals decided to act together and therefore fend off harmful evolutions (De Moor, 2011). Normative sources often tend to hide tensions and conflicts behind a discourse of unity and continuity, while economic sources depict a completely dehumanised society. Discord and tensions were omnipresent in medieval communities. Conflicts are expressions of communities evolving, negotiating and expressing their particular interests. By analysing the court records of the Council of Brabant, the sovereign court of Brabant, it will be stated that the institutions and regulations for collective action were not the result of a constant harmony and converging interests within society. Stakeholders within one community or between communities often had conflicting interests and tried to change the local practices or even the entire normative blue print of the common pool institutions. However, none of the stakeholders was powerful enough to wipe the slate clean and impose their claims or interests on the other members of the Campine societies. This way the institutions and regulations for collective action were a negotiated compromise which was the best option for all parties involved.

### 6.5.3. Conflict Correspondence and the medial structure of late medieval rural lordship

Paper

**Schuerch, Isabelle, University of Zurich, Switzerland**

This paper aims to look at the way conflicts were negotiated through the use of letters. The letters in question are missives, official letters that formed part of late medieval lordship communication. A closer look at these missives shows that rural conflicts over mills, fishing, grazing and custom rights were regularly treated in these documents. The main purpose of these letters was to structure conflict; they organised who had to meet whom, when and where. The disputes were then settled at arbitration dates appointed by the parties involved. These missives were often written replies to requests from locals, whereas the bishop's role in these conflicts consisted less in enforcing particular lordship rights but rather in channelling and processing local disputes, which aimed at mutual agreement and de-escalation.

#### Participants

##### **De Keyzer, Maika**

Maika de Keyzer is currently completing her PhD project entitled 'The struggle for the commons in the late medieval Campine area: an unexplored field'.

##### **Muller, Miriam**

Miriam Muller is a lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Birmingham. She teaches on a range of subjects relating to social and economic history of later Medieval Europe, including the impact of the Black Death. Her research interests centre around peasant communities, primarily of later medieval England. She has a particular interest in social structures, and developments in the lord-peasant relationship. She is also very interested in gender, and the position of women in the medieval village.

##### **Schuerch, Isabelle**

Isabelle Schuerch was employed as an assistant at the Department of History (Chair of Prof. Dr. Simon Teuscher, Medieval History) in Zurich until 2010. Since 2008 she has

been working on a PhD thesis on Power and Information. Missives as Media of Lordship in the Late Middle Ages which now forms part of the interdisciplinary National Centre of Competence in Research 'Mediality' at the University of Zurich. Her research interests include media history, social practices of lordship and new approaches to regional and rural history.

##### **Soens, Tim**

Tim Soens is Associate Professor of Medieval and Environmental History at the University of Antwerp. He has studied Medieval History at the University of Ghent, where he has obtained his PhD in 2006, investigating water management and the interaction of man and nature in coastal Flanders in the medieval and early modern period. At Antwerp Tim has developed a new research line 'Environment and Power', concentrating on the historical relationship between human societies and their natural environment.

## 6.6. Agricultural politics in Europe between World War II and 1957. Part II

**Panel organiser: Martiin, Carin, Agrarian History, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden; Pan-Montojo, Juan, Departamento de Historia Contemporánea, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain**

The session is a two-part panel with contributors representing various parts of Europe. The overall aim is to discuss and compare agricultural politics in the early years just after World War II, and the two panels will bring international and national approaches together in a comparative perspective. Beginning in 1945, or even with the Hot Springs Conference in 1943, and ending in the late 1950s before the creation of CAP, the session will highlight times and processes that have often been overshadowed by wartime food and farming, and by the introduction of the CAP. More than a decade passed in between, however; a decade that saw new political climates, the emergence of the Cold War, and the implementation of new national agricultural programmes in many European countries. Early post-war agriculture can be studied from an international perspective that brings to the forefront the international context of the 1940s and 1950s; the reorganisation of food exchanges; bilateral agreements, and agrarian policies, including the development of the FAO and the programmes designed within the framework of the Marshall Plan. Post-war agriculture can also be examined from the national perspective by looking at national food production, structural policies, and market regulations. Agricultural policies cannot, however, be analysed without taking into account more general political factors: the new understanding of socio-political integration and the role of farmers/peasants after the experience of the 1930's and the war; the electoral realities of various political forces and the reshaping of political coalitions in European democracies; the ruralist discourse of Southern-European authoritarian regimes; and the position of peasant parties in "popular democracies". Among the many issues to discuss are: When and how were agricultural programmes worked out? What were their short and long-term purposes? What role did agricultural organisations and factors play in the political coalitions after the war? What was the impact of pre-war plans, war-related agricultural problems and the Marshall Plan at the international, national and local level? What were the technological trends and policies across Europe and how did the US influence these trends? How did agricultural productivity, food supply and nutritional standards change during the first decade after the war? Did newly introduced policies favour agriculture, or were industry and urbanization given priority at the expense of farming and rural societies?

**Chair: Brassley, Paul, Centre for Rural Policy Research, University of Exeter, UK**

**Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1515 – 1645 // Session 6 – Room A 022**

### 6.6.1. Agriculture and agricultural policies in Spain (1939 - 1959)

**Fernández Prieto, Lourenzo, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain**  
**Cabana Iglesia, Ana; Díaz Geada, Alba; Freire Cedeira, Araceli; Lanero Táboas, Daniel; Soto Fernández, David**

The aim of this paper is to explain, compare and discuss the francoist agrarian policy from the beginning of the regime to the economic reforms implemented at the end of the 1950s (Plan de Estabilidad/Stabilizing Programme). We will examine the agricultural sector as a whole (production and productivity statistics; prices; labour markets; most important policies (settlement policy, market regulations?) and the environmental conditions. We will pay special attention to the technological framework (state innovation system and its post-war development) and to the well known self sufficiency policies as well as the new agrarian models imported from the USA fitting in very well with the post-fascist European paradigm. However, we would also like to analyse the social and political conditions, i.e. the dictatorship's attempts in order to obtain the socio political integration of peasants after the democratic experience of the 1930s and the 'trauma' of Civil war; the new institutional structures created for their categorizing; the rural resistences against francoist agricultural policies, etc. Therefore, the main objective of the paper is to provide a general (but original) overview on the evolution of the Spanish agricultural sector and rural world over the period to answer an outstanding question: Did new policies introduced from abroad improve agriculture and rural life or were thought to give pre-eminence to industry and urban inhabitants?

### 6.6.2. Changing Colors: the Green Law of 1955 and the Integration of German Peasants

**Gerhard, Gesine, University of the Pacific, California, USA**

Over the last decade, historians have scrutinized agricultural politics during the Nazi era. The relationship between the "Green"

and the "Brown" has been analyzed carefully and light has been shed on the role played by the agricultural sector during the Third Reich. The process of European economic integration that started in the late 1950s has also received considerable scholarly attention. The implementation of a supra-national economic community marked the beginning of a new era for agricultural politics. The most dramatic changes for German peasants, however, occurred in the decade between the end of the Second World War and the start of European economic integration. Small farms disappeared in great numbers, tractors and machinery replaced horses, peasants became industrial workers, and life styles in the countryside were altered. This paper will examine these dramatic changes in the context of postwar West German society. It will analyze how the new agricultural programs were worked out, what role agricultural organizations played in the process and how the transformation occurred without major social conflict or political radicalization.

### 6.6.3. International recommendations and national decisions: Portuguese agriculture policies after World War II

**Freire, Dulce, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal**

After World War II, Portugal continued to be ruled by the fascist dictatorship, that had been instituted in the 30s. But, alongside with democratic regimes, Portugal participated actively in international organizations and programs that emerged after the war. The country became a member of the FAO in 1946, and the OEEC in 1948 (when joined the Marshall Plan). As the two organizations gave special attention to agriculture and development, this paper aims to assess the impact of international recommendations in the formulation of national policies for the primary sector, during the decades of 40 and 50. This analysis contributes, firstly, to know the capacity of international organizations to influence the decisions of authoritarian governments and, secondly, to identify adaptation or resilience strategies adopted by dictatorship regime in a European context characterized by the consolidation of democratic values and international cooperation.

### 6.6.4. Agricultural politics in the Netherlands from World War II till 1957

**Schuurman, Anton, University of Wageningen, Netherlands**

Agricultural politics in the Netherlands from WWII till 1957 were a continuation of the policies since the Depression and the Second World War. In this contribution I will highlight the main institutional developments of this policy. This implies that I will describe the different institutional actors like the government, the rural organisations and the agrarian business community, and agrarian research and education. This period is particularly interesting because during the whole period Sicco Mansholt was the minister of agriculture. From 1958 till 1972 he would become the first agricultural commissioner of the European Economic Community. In this period the main goal was to make agriculture more efficient and productive. The main problem was the structure of agriculture with many small farms.

#### Participants

##### Brassley, Paul

Paul Brassley is a visiting Senior Research Fellow in the Centre for Rural Policy Research at the University of Exeter, UK. Since 2009 he has been working there on a project to investigate the process of technical change in English agriculture between 1935 and 1985. He has previously produced studies on rural issues in the Second World War, the interwar period, and the late nineteenth century. His most recent book (edited with Yves Segers and Leen Van Molle) is *War, Agriculture and Food: rural Europe from the 1930s to the 1950s* (Routledge, 2012).

##### Díaz Geada, Alba

Alba Diaz, PhD Student in HISTAGRA Research Group, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain.

##### Fernández Prieto, Lourenzo

Lourenzo Fernández-Prieto, Professor, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. Published: *Labregos con ciencia. Estado sociedade e innovación tecnolóxica na agricultura galega (1850-1939 ; El apagón tecnolóxico del franquismo. Papers in Historia Agraria, Studia Historica, Ayer, Historia Social, Recerques. Editor (2000) Terra e Progreso. Preparing Agriculture in the age of Fascism with J. Pan-Montojo & M. Cabo. Director of 10 research projects and 10 doctoral theses. Was Vice-president of Spanish Society of Agrarian History, and member of Revista de Historia Agraria editorial board. Postdoc at IHR (London), visiting professor at UCC (Ireland).*

##### Freire, Dulce

Dulce Freire is research fellow at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa. Degree in History and a PhD on Economic and Social Contemporary History. Research in Portuguese and Iberian rural and agricultural history, analyzing public policies and institutional frameworks, social movements, memory, technological innovation. Visiting scholar in the Institute of European Studies, University of California at Berkeley (2001), École de Hautes Études en Science Sociales (2005) and Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2006). Coordinates the research project: *Agriculture in Portugal: food, developing and sustainability (1870-2010)*.

##### Gerhard, Gesine

Gesine Gerhard is an associate professor of history at the University of the Pacific in California. She completed her dissertation at the University of Iowa in 2000. She earned a M.A. degree from Technical University Berlin, Germany. Her research focuses on German agricultural history, food studies and the connection between food policy and war. She is currently working on a book on food in the Third Reich.

##### Lanero Táboas, Daniel

Daniel Lanero got his PhD in History at the University of Santiago de Compostela. He

is currently postdoctoral researcher in the Department of Contemporary of the University of Santiago and Scientific Manager of HISTAGRA research Group. His fields of interest are Agrarian History and Social History of the Rural world from a comparative perspective, focusing on the Francoist dictatorship and the early years of the Democratic period. He has been invited researcher at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais of the University of Lisbon, the University of Bologna and the London School of Economics and Visiting fellow at King's College London. He has written or edited an ample number of publications in both Spanish and international journals and publishing houses.

##### Martiin, Carin

Carin Martiin is Associate Professor in Agrarian History in the Department of Economics at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala, Sweden. She is agronomist, PhD in Agrarian History and docent in Economic History. Among the publications are the textbook 'The World of Agricultural Economics: An introduction' (Routledge, April 2013) and articles in Brassley, Segers, Van Molle 'War, Agriculture, and Food' (Routledge 2012), *Rural History* (2010) and *Agricultural History Review* (2008). Her main research interests include cattle husbandry and dairy production, and 20th century agricultural politics in Sweden and internationally.

##### Pan-Montojo, Juan

Juan Pan-Montojo (1962), Graduate in Philosophy and Letters and Economics. PhD in Modern History (1992). Visiting researcher at the LSE, London, (1988), the New School for Social Research, New York, (1995), and the Friedrich-Alexander Universität of Erlangen-Nürnberg (2003). Since 1997 Associate Professor of Modern History at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Among others he has published *La bodega del mundo. La vid y el vino en España, 1800-1936* (1994), and *Apostolado, profesión y tecnología. Una historia de los ingenieros agrónomos en España* (2005). Currently the editor of the academic journal *Historia agraria*.

##### Schuurman, Anton

Anton Schuurman is associate professor at the Chair for Rural and environmental History from Wageningen University. He publishes on rural history and the history of consumption.

##### Soto Fernandez, David

David Soto holds a PhD in Contemporary History from the University of Santiago de Compostela with a thesis entitled "Productive transformations in contemporary Galician agriculture. From organic agriculture to the green revolution". In 2007 he became Associate Professor of Contemporary History at the University Pablo de Olavide of Seville. His main research focuses on the analysis of Agrarian History from the environmental perspective. His work has focused on the study of sustainability of agricultural systems and evolution of environmental conflicts.

## 6.7. Social movements and popular political participation in rural societies. Part I: 14th to 19th century

**Panel organiser: Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro, University of Lausanne, Switzerland; Brassart, Laurent, University of Lille, France**

Since the 1950s, great attention has been paid in Europe to the history of social conflicts, as crucial keys for understanding mechanisms of popular politics and culture. The problem of earlier studies was that violent conflicts were often seen as the main expression of popular politics, underestimating the complexity of the backgrounds of such spectacular outbreaks. Moreover, actors were mostly vaguely described as “crowds” or “mobs”, thus simplifying the articulation of different political interests in local life. Recent historiography has provided impulses to approach these crucial items. Still, several problems have to be resolved: on the one hand the question about the actors in popular movements, on the other hand the problem of the forms, places and instruments of popular political articulation, not only in special situations like revolts or elections, but in everyday life and in the long term. The aim of our panel is precisely to go in depth into some of these aspects, unravelling mechanism of popular participation in pre-modern states. To understand the logics of state-building and social conflicts, we need to take into account the involvement of working-class men and women in the political traditions, for example in communal councils and assemblies or parochial institutions. In fact, we observe that in many European regions working-class people largely participated in local politics, mainly in communal institutions, or in the religious life of their parish. Communities and district institutions were in this sense crucial elements of regional “States” – although frictions with larger territorial institutions can often be observed – as parishes are constitutive elements of the “Church”. When communities revolted against “the State”, it often meant a conflict within the State, rather than between “popular” and “elite” groups. In this sense we prefer speaking of “popular political participation” rather than of “popular politics”, since the interaction of popular and non-popular elements in local traditions is crucial to understand the articulation of political interests and the dynamics of protest movements. From a theoretical point of view, a better understanding of popular involvement at local level of early modern States appears to be an important key to interpret social movements and political evolutions. Our panel’s aim is to go deeper into this topic with contributions from different European countries.

**Chair: Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro, University of Lausanne, Switzerland**

**Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1515 – 1645 // Session 6 – Room A 019**

### 6.7.1. A Failed Political Movement? The 1381 Peasants’ Revolt in Rural Cambridgeshire

**Xu, Mingjie, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, UK**

The 1381 Peasants’ Revolt of England was primarily a political event. Like other pre-modern popular risings, it involved a large number of rebels fighting against the ruling class and represented the attempt of the mass to participate in politics by the means of violence. This paper attempts to reflect on the nature of the medieval popular uprising based on a local study on the revolt in rural Cambridgeshire. This paper considers particularly how rebels organized themselves. The sources reveal that many of the attacks were operated in bands. Whereas bands are shown to have been an efficient means of mounting attacks on targets in a number of cases, the power of most of the bands operating in Cambridgeshire was far more limited due much to their small size and the organization of the rebels appears more fragmented than being supposed previously. The targets of rebels’ attacks are also investigated in much detail. Although the rioters directed attacks overwhelmingly against members of the landed classes, only a limited number of landlords suffered violence. A clear pattern is that among the victims those gentry members performing social functions such as Justices of Peace, MPs and tax-collectors were easily exposed to trouble, whereas ecclesiastical landlords were left almost untouched. This fact shows the political nature of the revolt that local people were more concerned about the repressing policies of the government such as taxation and labour legislation than the general ‘suppression’ of the landed class.

### 6.7.2. Political Participation in Early Modern Rural Switzerland and Germany

**Würgler, Andreas, University of Berne, Switzerland**

This paper discusses the various forms how rural societies participated in early modern political decision-making and state-building. Forms of participation might have been events as social revolts and symbolic actions, practices as humble petitioning, or institutional procedures on different levels like communal and representative assemblies or legal proceedings. Attempts to participate in politics happened to be violent and symbolic, verbal and written, political and juridical. This paper aims to synthesize the results from recent

research in fields like rural revolts, petitioning, communalism, representative institutions and state-building “from below” and to discuss the impact of popular participation on Swiss and also German rural societies.

### 6.7.3. Social Conflicts and Rural State-Building: Popular Political Participation in Pre-Constitutional South-West Germany

**Grüne, Niels, University of Innsbruck, Austria**

Research on processes of domination in the late Ancien Régime has been significantly stimulated by the deconstruction of the absolutism model and by perspectives centred on actors and actions. With these paradigm changes, especially in discussions in the German-speaking world, the focus of classical social history on patterns of inequality and structural divergences of interest has been thrust into the background in favour of individualist and corporatist approaches. This paper, by contrast, explores the connectivity and explanatory power of analysing fields of collective tension in rural society within the framework of a communicative concept of state-building. As an example one major area of social conflict and different political interests in local life in the north of Baden (lower Neckar region) during the eighteenth century is illuminated: the management of communal resources and fees, which divided the village inhabitants along the lines of landholding categories. Particular attention is paid to the demand for order by village groups towards official agencies and to the type and acceptance of administrative interventions in the communal sphere. Generally, the failure of internal mechanisms of settlement proved to be a crucial motive in the densified communication between local society and higher authorities – through the multiplication of group petitions, commission investigations and local voting procedures, the main instruments of popular political articulation at that time.

### 6.7.4. Popular political actors and their communities during the French Revolution

**Brassart, Laurent, University of Lille, France**

Did the French Revolution change the political life of countrymen? On the one hand, a part of the historiography asserted the opposite for a long time (E. Weber), but some recent works question this affirmation (J.P. Jessenne, S. Guzzi-Heeb). On the other hand, the historians who were interested in the rural vote during the Revolution showed the importance of the community behaviour (Gueniffey, Edelstein, Crook). In spite of this last affirmation, the main objective of our communication will be to enlighten the rise of individualistic political behaviour within rural communities. We shall study the various strategies and the political tactics of some popular actors, chosen among villages of Northern France from the end of the 1780’s to 1795. How does their political consciousness appear? What is the room for maneuver of an individual actor coming from lower classes of society to influence the whole community? What is his repertoire d’action? From what we call “ego-documents” (self-writing documents) left by few popular actors and communities papers (communal councils, parochial institutions, Etat civil), we will try to study the evolutive interplay between these individualistic popular actors and their social and political environment during the French Revolution. We will focus as well on their local strategies to use the national information (news and laws) as their capacity to act. Obviously, the building of their social networks can’t be ignored to understand these “popular political participation” and the social and economical (agrarian) interest in their struggle will be highlighted.

#### Participants

##### Brassart, Laurent

Laurent Brassart is Associate Professor at the Université de Lille 3. He works about the history of the French state and countryside during the French Revolution. He has published as *Gouverner le local en Révolution. Etat, pouvoirs et mouvements collectifs en Picardie, 1790-1795*. (Paris, SER, 2013) and has edited with Jean-Pierre Jessenne and Nadine Vivier, *Clochemerle ou république villageoise? La conduite municipale des affaires villageoises en Europe, XVIII-XXe siècle* (Lille, Septentrion, 2012). He has been involved in numerous research projects which focus on rural popular politization, agricultural policies in Europa.

##### Guzzi-Heeb, Sandro

Sandro Guzzi-Heeb is professor (Maitre d’Enseignement et de Recherche) in Early Modern History at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. His research fields include the history of social and political conflicts, the history of the family, of kinship and of sexuality. Recent publications: “Sex, Politics, and Social Change in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries: Evidence from the Swiss Alps”. *Journal of Family History*, October 2011 36: 367-386.

##### Grüne, Niels

Niels Grüne is Assistant Professor at the University of Innsbruck, Institute of History and European Ethnology, Innrain 52d, 6020 Innsbruck, Austria. Resarch fields: political and social history of the early modern period and of the 19th century, economic

history, rural history, theories of social systems, political corruption in history. Recent publications: *Dorfgesellschaft – Konflikterfahrung – Partizipationskultur. Sozialer Wandel und politische Kommunikation in Landgemeinden der badischen Rheinpfalz (1720-1850)*, Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius 2011.

##### Würgler, Andreas

Andreas Würgler is a lecturer in Early Modern History at the University of Bern. His research includes the political and social history of revolts, the cultural history of media and comparative approaches to petitions and representative institutions. Publications: „Voices from among the ‘Silent Masses’: Humble Petitions and Social Conflicts in Early Modern Central Europe”, in: *International Review of Social History* 46 (2001), Supplement 9, p. 11-34.

##### Xu, Mingjie

Mingjie Xu, PhD Candidate in Medieval History, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, started studying the medieval history of England five years ago at the Wuhan University, China. In October 2010 he came to Cambridge to undertake a MPhil course in medieval history, working on the 1381 Revolt in Cambridgeshire. After finishing his master programme successfully in October 2011, he stayed in Cambridge to work for a Ph.D. in medieval history. Currently he is working on the economic and social history of late medieval England and especially on the 1381 Revolt in Cambridgeshire.

## 6.8. Reproduction and Production: Sex and Gender in Rural Economies

**Panel organiser: Bächli, Beat, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland**

Breeding, heredity, and (re)production are key concepts and practices in-between economy and the life sciences. Hence, animal and plant breeding are crucial for the history of “biotechnologies”. Whereas reproduction has become separated from production in industrial life, it is hard to imagine animal and plant production without reproduction in rural economies. There is still no milk without calves (regardless of their fate). Hence there were a lot of attempts to bring the logics of life in line with industrial ways of production. The utopia of industrial farming since the middle of the 19th century is to produce standardised organisms and reproductive substances that are liberated from the restrictions of season cycles. Practices and discourses in agricultural, industrial, political, and scientific communities are tightly connected. Not only disputes regarding the origins of female and male behaviour and sexuality circulated between different spheres, but also the development of animal, plant, and human reproductive technologies intermingled in many ways. A closer look into the history of animal breeding for example brings to light changing economies of attention relating to the female and the male part in (re)production. In cattle breeding, the technology of artificial insemination was more concerned with sires, today embryo transfer has directed more attention towards cows. The sex ratio is another crucial point in animal production. In the field of poultry farming, the sex ratio fundamentally differs from the ones in the production of other animals. Furthermore, chickens’ shorter reproduction cycle facilitated their industrialisation. Also regarding work organisation chicken belonged to another sphere than cows; they often used to be a women’s domain until the industrialisation of poultry farming progressed. Crucial questions in the panel will be: Who owned, marketised, and commodified organisms and reproductive substances? What attempts were there to separate production from reproduction in rural economies? What role did sex and gender play in these processes of disentanglement? Or to put it bluntly: Does it make sense, beside talking of animal’s and plant’s agency, to analyse animal and plant production in the frame of gender studies? Especially welcome are contributions taking as starting point archival sources and analysing them from a gender perspective.

**Chair: Joris, Elisabeth, Independent scholar, Switzerland**

Tuesday, 20 August 2013 // 1515 – 1645 // Session 6 – Room A 024

### 6.8.1. A women’s domain? Sex and gender in poultry breeding

**Heitholt, Ulrike, University of Bielefeld, Germany**

The issue of gender is of existential importance in contemporary commercial poultry breeding: The sex of the animals decides over life and death. Modern hybrid chickens are highly specialized to serve either for laying eggs or for providing meat. The male brothers of the laying hens, for example, are killed shortly after hatching as raising them as broilers is economically unviable. A precondition for this specialization in breeding is a method to determine the animals’ sex early on. The introduction of this method was a milestone in economic poultry breeding and eventually contributed to the commercial success since the 1960s. From a historical perspective, another dimension of gender in poultry breeding becomes the focus of interest: the gender of the breeders. In the early days of organized breeding in the mid-19th century, the sex of the animals was not as decisive as it is today. The chickens of one breed took care of both: hens laid eggs and roosters provided meat. Not enough, however, to be economically attractive for the farmers. Poultry was considered economically unviable, it served mainly as self-supply and was the domain of women on farms. What this meant for the poultry and what consequences this had on the development of commercial breeding is the focus of this contribution. First of all, the assignment of poultry to the sphere of women’s work points to a low appreciation: it was not taken seriously as an economic good. Thus, the initiatives for enhancing poultry breeding did not originate in agriculture but from the citizenry, merchants, entrepreneurs and the nobility.

### 6.8.2. From Numan to Texel: A century of science in Dutch sheep breeding

**Oldenburger, Jesper, University of Utrecht, Netherlands**

During the nineteenth century, the selective breeding of sheep in the Netherlands, especially when compared with neighboring countries, got off to a rather shaky and uncertain start. Early attempts to improve the Dutch indigenous herds with the famous Spanish Merino sheep all failed miserably and the Netherlands were miles away from being considered internationally important breeders of sheep. The Dutch Professor Alexander Numan (1780-1852) started, partly in response to these failed attempts, partly as a direct result of the policy of the Dutch King William I and partly from a personal moral conviction, with a large-scaled experiment to determine exactly how the indigenous sheep could and should be improved. Numan’s comparative approach, his thorough knowledge of the international literature and the fact that Numan during this time produced *De Veredelde Schaapteelt* (The Selective

Breeding of Sheep), a book which remained popular well into the early 20th century, make that these experiments are the start of a more scientific approach to the breeding of sheep. Furthermore, due to Numan’s preference for the international highly successful English breeds, these experiments also mark the beginning of a century of English influence on the Dutch indigenous sheep. This will eventually accumulate in the creation of the *Verbeterde Texelaar* (The Improved Texel) around 1912, which would become, and still is, an internationally highly influential and successful breed. Within this context I will, in line with the focus of this panel, pay particular attention to the changing ideas on the sex-based heredity of certain characteristics.

### 6.8.3. The Organization of Pig Breeding: from women’s towards men’s business

**van der Laan, Steven, University of Utrecht, Netherlands**

Until about 1850, no serious attempts were made to improve upon the Dutch pig breed. After 1850 things changed when wealthy landowners started to import foreign breeds, most notably English ones, to “ennoble” the Dutch native race. Instead of consistently improving the Dutch pigs, though, most pig-farmers enjoyed the short-term gains from the hybrid vigor obtained by crossbreeding the foreign breeds with the native race. In the early 1880s, farmers started to notice that the Dutch native pig had disappeared and was replaced by a mishmash of different crossbreeds. Yet, due to the agricultural crisis, pig farming was booming and large commercial slaughterhouses were created, which led farmers to sell their pigs for standardized prizes, without regard towards the quality of the meat. It is thus no surprise that these slaughterhouses were the first to take action by distributing purebred boars throughout the provinces of the Netherlands. Furthermore, they began paying more for pigs that yielded higher quality pork and threatened to cease their operations in regions in which farmers notoriously delivered inferior quality. This stimulated farmers enough to also take action. 1900 can be marked, more or less, as a start towards organized breeding. First, the creation of breeding-stations that kept a line of purebred pigs to crossbreed with whatever race or crossbreed farmers in the region held. Further, the establishment of the herd-books, which in part were a logical next step from the bookkeeping of the breeding-stations.

### 6.8.4. Sex, Gender, and Cattle Breeding. An Outline for a Symmetrical Anthropology of Animal (Re-)Production.

**Bächli, Beat, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland**

The role of sex is obvious for cattle (re-)production. As the breeders say “The sire is half the herd”. But why hasn’t yet anybody told us something about gender in animal breeding? Is it just because it doesn’t make sense to discriminate between biological sex and (cultural) gender in the realm of animals? In my presentation I will sketch the importance of sex and gender in animal (re-)production taking the example of cattle breeding in Switzerland. First, the study of sex hormones and the transplantation of glands – in human and veterinary medicine – served in the 1920s as an interface for debates about human and animal sexuality and reproduction. Did homosexuality or intersexuality (also) exist in the animal kingdom? Could only cows be infertile or also sires? Second, the reproductive technology of artificial insemination not only triggered discussions about sexually transmissible diseases and the importance of the male and the female part in cattle breeding, but also initiated discussions regarding the domestic animals’ “psychosexuality” in the 1950s. Third, the embryonic transfer developed in-between the farm and the clinic in the 1970s was important for the development of (human) in-vitro-fertilisation techniques and it was seen as a means to bring more “gender equality” to the cowhouse. In close interaction with this, the cow’s agency in the act of progeny was perceived as more important for fecundation than before.

#### Participants

##### Bächli, Beat

Beat Bächli studied history, sociology, and philosophy at the University of Zurich and holds a Ph.D. from the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology. After stays in Paris and Berlin, he was post-doc at Bielefeld University and leader of a junior research group at the centre for interdisciplinary research, Bielefeld. Today he is Research Associate at the Archives of Rural History in Bern, Switzerland, where he works on the scientisation and industrialisation of cattle breeding since the middle of the 19th century. He has published in the history of technology, the history of medicine, and the history of knowledge.

##### Heitholt, Ulrike

Ulrike Heitholt received a Master of Arts degree in literature, German literature studies and sociology from the University of Bielefeld where she also completed a Master’s degree in interdisciplinary media studies. After this, she worked as a research assistant at the Institute for Science and Technology Studies (IWT) at the University of Bielefeld. Ulrike Heitholt currently works at the Department of History at the University of Bielefeld, among other things on a project on the history of poultry breeding in the 19th/20th centuries.

##### Joris, Elisabeth

Elisabeth Joris received her doctorate from the University of Zurich. She was a co-founder of the group Critical Upper Valais and the opposition Valais publication *The*

Red Anneliese, as well as a co-editor of the feminist magazine *Olympe*. She has published numerous articles on women’s and gender history in Switzerland. In 1986, with Heidi Witzig, Dr. Joris published a pioneering collection of sources on women’s history in Switzerland.

##### Oldenburger, Jesper

Jesper Oldenburger is a Phd candidate in the NWO-project Scientific Innovation in Livestock Breeding in the Netherlands, 1900-2000. I started my Phd in September 2012 at the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands and I am supervised by Prof. Bert Theunissen. My dissertation will focus on the Dutch history of sheep breeding; on the origins and use of knowledge within this specific subculture and how change and innovation hopelessly failed or came to be.

##### van der Laan, Steven

I wrote my master thesis on the historical development of a nineteenth century atomic theory. While completing this story, I grasped the opportunity to apply for my current Phd on the history of pig breeding which is part of a larger NWO-project (Dutch Organization for Scientific Research). My research started in January 2013, therefore the results I have are still premature but I feel that I already have acquired several pieces to a fascinating story to tell.



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5
<p><b>Female Activism in Rural Civil Society: Women on Farms and in Agricultural Organisations in the Twentieth Century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Varley, Tony Moser, Peter</p> <p>Chair: Clear, Caitriona</p>	<p><b>7.1.1. An Irish Country Woman's Life: „Miss Nora“, a woman in a woman's world?</b> Byrne, Anne</p>	<p><b>7.1.2. On the margin of the centre? Comparing the activist careers of Elizabeth Bobbett in Ireland and Augusta Gillibert-Randin in Switzerland</b> Varley, Tony Moser, Peter</p>	<p><b>7.1.3. Agricultural Internationalism: the pioneering efforts of Louise Howard Years</b> Ribi Forclaz, Amalia</p>	<p><b>Panel 7.1</b> Room A-126</p>
<p><b>The Great Outdoors - 150 years of mountain sports and tourism in the Alps. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Barton, Susan</p> <p>Chair: Barton, Susan</p>	<p><b>7.2.1. The British attitude to mountain guides through the eyes of Elizabeth Le Blond (Burnaby/Main) (1860- 1934): mountaineer, photographer and writer</b> Armstrong, Madie</p>	<p><b>7.2.2. Enabling Women: the influence of the Alpine environment</b> Roche, Clare</p>		<p><b>Panel 7.2</b> Room A-119</p>
<p><b>Rural history and „reenactment history“: Challenges, questions, opportunities. Part I: Museums and beyond</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Sayre, Laura</p> <p>Chair: Martin, John</p>	<p><b>7.3.1. Where have all the farmers gone? Gone to living history's greener fields?</b> Reid, Debra</p>	<p><b>7.3.2. Reenactment, reconstruction and performance at the Museum of English Rural Life, 1951-1956</b> Douglas, Ollie Angus</p>	<p><b>7.3.3. Toys, trials and information technologies: Miniaturization and virtualization as reenactment</b> Sayre, Laura</p>	<p><b>Panel 7.3</b> Room A-122</p>
<p><b>Conflict and Negotiating Conflicts in Pre-Modern Rural Societies. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Muller, Miriam</p> <p>Chair: Van Bavel, Bas</p>	<p><b>7.4.1. Negotiating the common fields: making and breaking boundaries in Norfolk villages in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries</b> Whyte, Nicola</p>	<p><b>7.4.2. Irrigation and Rural Conflict in Medieval Iberia</b> Furio, Antoni</p>	<p><b>7.4.3. Water, boundaries, local economies and conflict in 13th and 14th century English villages</b> Muller, Miriam</p>	<p><b>Panel 7.4</b> Room A 201</p>
<p><b>Rural Russia: 1880s to present day</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Bruisch, Katja</p> <p>Chair: Katzer, Nikolaus</p>	<p><b>7.5.1. Where is the backward peasant? Regional crop yields on peasant and private land in Russia 1883-1913</b> Kopsidis, Michael Shilnikova, Irina Bruisch, Katja Bromley, Daniel W.</p>	<p><b>7.5.2. Russia's rural modernity and how it was sacrificed</b> Bruisch, Katja</p>	<p><b>7.5.3. From Heartland to Hinterland: Transformation of the Russian Countryside in the late Soviet and Post-Soviet Period</b> Nikulin, Alexander</p>	<p><b>Panel 7.5</b> Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Transforming Village Culture: Village Halls and Cultural Centres in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Musat, Raluca</p> <p>Chair: Burchardt, Jeremy</p>	<p><b>7.6.1. Village Halls, local leisure cultures and sense of place in 1930s Lakeland</b> Andrew, Rebecca</p>	<p><b>7.6.2. Landownership and Village Cultural Centres in Mid Nineteenth Century England</b> Holland, Sarah</p>	<p><b>7.6.3. New moralities, new peasants, new rituals: the place of folklore in the hearth and home of socialist culture</b> Urdea, Alexandra</p>	<p><b>Panel 7.6</b> Room A 022</p>



Panel

## 7.1. Female Activism in Rural Civil Society: Women on Farms and in Agricultural Organisations in the Twentieth Century

**Panel organiser: Varley, Tony, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland; Moser, Peter, Archives of Rural History Bern, Switzerland**

The crucial importance of the impacts women have made in agricultural and rural economies and societies has long been recognised. Yet their many and diverse contributions to agricultural organisations, farmers' parties and international agricultural organisations have been largely overlooked by historians. Such an omission has, if anything, tended to reproduce and even amplify the marginalisation of women in rural societies. In this panel we will consider the experience of women farmers and non-farmers in a variety of agricultural organisations. How did these relatively few, but often remarkably strong, women negotiate a way forward for themselves and their organisations? These questions can be studied by exploring the roles the women performed, the coping and survival strategies they devised and came to follow, and the activist 'careers' they came to carve out for themselves. Their experience can be further investigated by considering the impacts of their activism for themselves as individuals and for their families, for agricultural and rural women in the wider society and for the farmers' movements and international institutions in which they participated and to which they gave their time and energy.

**Chair: Clear, Caitriona, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland**

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 0900 – 1030 // Session 7 – Room A-126

### 7.1.1. An Irish Country Woman's Life: „Miss Nora“, a woman in a woman's world?

Paper

**Byrne, Anne, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland**

Socio-biography is a possible frame for the narration of rural history, sensitised to the complex intersections of self and social. What can we learn about individual capacity to live a life of one's own in tension with the family tradition of male farm ownership? Reflecting on the life projects of a single woman farm owner in Ireland, Nora Byrne (1895-1986) is positioned as the unlikely inheritor of a prosperous family farm, who pursues a career choice as a poultry instructress for the Department of Agriculture in the early 1920s and nurtures a life long involvement with a farm women's organization, the Irish Country Women's Association (the founding of which in 1922 is described by Ingham (2007) as having landmark significance for Irish women). What were the social, political, familial and personal factors at play that gave shape to her life and enabled her to live in a man's world? How important to her was her involvement with the Irish Country Women's Association and the politics and opportunities presented to engage in public life? The consequences of 'choosing' or 'having to choose differently' for Miss Nora, for the lives of those for whom she provided care, for the future of the family farm, and crucially for '...the experiences and politics of women's lives diversely lived' (Smyth 1989) are traced in the socio-biography of one woman's life in rural Ireland, in the first half of the twentieth century.

### 7.1.2. On the margin of the centre? Comparing the activist careers of Elizabeth Bobbett in Ireland and Augusta Gillibert-Randin in Switzerland

Paper

**Varley, Tony, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland**

**Moser, Peter, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland**

At first glance the histories of Elizabeth F. Bobbett (1899-1971) and Augusta Gillibert-Randin (1869-1940) appear to be strikingly different. Elizabeth Bobbett, the co-founder and General Secretary of the Irish Farmers' Federation from 1936-1955, became a leading activist in the male-dominated sphere of agricultural politics in 20th century Ireland. Augusta Gillibert-Randin, on the other hand, as the founder of the first female farmer producers' association in 1918, dedicated much of her activist career to the betterment of women in the Swiss agricultural sector by building bridges to women's organisations and feminist circles. Why Bobbett opted to throw in her lot with organised male farmers and Gillibert-Randin with farm women's organisations is the central question posed in this paper. In pursuit of answers we will discuss the two women's social backgrounds, their farming experience and their motivation for engaging in public life. We will further consider how farmers, farm women, agronomists, politicians and civil servants viewed the activism of Bobbett and Gillibert-Randin. By considering some theoretical approaches and the great variety of source material documenting their activism, the paper will conclude by identifying the advantages for rural historians in making women farmers and activists such as Bobbett and Gillibert-Randin more central to their narratives.

### 7.1.3. Agricultural Internationalism: the pioneering efforts of Louise Howard at the ILO in the Interwar Years

Paper

**Ribi Forclaz, Amalia, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland**

This paper focuses on the role played by Louise Howard in the International Labour Organisation in the interwar years. Between 1920 and 1930, Howard, a former lecturer in classics at Cambridge, was the head of the Agricultural Service of the ILO. Howard's career (or rather lack of it) within the organisation has important implications for the international history of women activists in agricultural organisations. Throughout her tenure, Howard battled with the organisation's bureaucracy to increase both financial support for and international expertise on marginalised agricultural questions. Howard particularly tried to promote the Agricultural Service's role as an international hub for the circulation of statistical data and information on social questions concerning agricultural labour. The paper analyses Howard's contribution to the internationalisation of rural social issues against the backdrop of growing concerns about agricultural production and rural welfare.

#### Participants

##### Byrne, Anne

Dr Anne Byrne is a sociologist at the National University of Ireland who writes on gender, identity, rurality, anthropological historiography, socio-biography and qualitative methodologies from a narrative inquiry frame. Founder of the Narrative Studies Group, Galway recent publications include (2012) Irish Journal of Sociology, 'Yours Sincerely: Letters and Lives' review article, Byrne, A. (2011) *Echanges épistolaires en anthropologie: l'enquête Harvard-Irlande/Letters in anthropological research: the Harvard-Irish Survey (1930-1936)* in *Ethnologie Française Irlande après Arensburg et Duilearga*, 4(2), 2452-252.

##### Clear, Caitriona

Caitriona Clear lectures in modern history at NUI, Galway; her publications include *Nuns in Nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin 1987), *Women of the house: women's household work in Ireland 1926-61* (Dublin: 2000) and *Social Change and Everyday Life in Ireland 1850-1922* (Manchester 2007). She has also published on other aspects of women's history, on the history of homelessness and on oral history method and practice.

##### Moser, Peter

Peter Moser is Director of the Archives of Rural History in Bern and President of the Swiss Rural History Society. Latest Publication: *Integration through Subordination*. The

*Politics of Agricultural Modernisation in Industrial Europe*, Brepols, 2013 (together with Tony Varley).

##### Ribi Forclaz, Amalia

Amalia Ribi Forclaz is currently a SNF Research Fellow at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva. Before joining the Institute she was a research fellow at the Karl Jaspers Centre in Heidelberg and a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Oxford, from where she also holds a PhD. Her first book *Humanitarian Imperialism. The Politics of Anti-Slavery Activism, 1880-1940* (in press at OUP) offers a new perspective on the history of anti-slavery organizations and their interaction with imperial politics. Her current research focuses on the transnational history of agricultural labour regulation, ca. 1930-1970.

##### Varley, Tony

Tony Varley is a senior lecturer in political science and sociology at the National University of Ireland, Galway. His research interests centre mainly on agrarian politics and rural social movements. Latest publication: *Integration through Subordination. The Politics of Agricultural Modernisation in Industrial Europe*, Brepols, Turnhout 2013 (together with Peter Moser).



Panel

## 7.2. The Great Outdoors – 150 years of mountain sports and tourism in the Alps. Part II

**Panel organiser: Barton, Susan, International Centre for Sports History and Culture, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK**

The year 2013 will be the 150th anniversary of popular tourism by the British in Switzerland. In 1863 the English tourism entrepreneur Thomas Cook organised his first tour of Switzerland, vividly documented by Jemima Morrell in her journal published a century later. Tourists visited remote locations in the rural Alps which entailed physical exertion in order to be rewarded by the joy of experiencing spectacular and wondrous mountain scenery. Less than two years later the first winter guests began to arrive, in St Moritz and Davos. Although already popular with grand tourists, the 1860s marked the beginning of tourism in the Alps. In celebration of this century and a half, this panel will examine the role played by tourism and outdoor activities, such as the search for health in spas and sanatoria, mountaineering, hiking and winter sports in the rural alpine environment. Mountain landscapes provide locations for leisure, sport and tourism. The rural environment is itself a commodity to be consumed and enjoyed by visitors who contribute to local economies. Tourism provided new opportunities for employment in the hospitality, construction, travel and leisure industries as well as cultural exchanges and technological transfer. Tourism has both changed and helped conserve the landscape. As early as the 1890s, concerns were being raised about the impact of railway building on the landscape and the increase of visitor numbers they would bring. Mountain railways, ski lifts and other tourism infrastructure, the erosion of footpaths, the collection of minerals and flora and disturbance of habitats by increasing numbers of visitors all had an impact on visual amenity and sensitive ecosystems, not to mention the effect on traditional cultures. Papers in this panel will discuss the history of leisure, sport and tourism in the mountains, with a particular focus on Switzerland.

**Chair: Barton, Susan, International Centre for Sports History and Culture, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK**

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 0900 – 1030 // Session 7 – Room A-119

### 7.2.1. The British attitude to mountain guides through the eyes of Elizabeth Le Blond (Burnaby/Main) (1860- 1934): mountaineer, photographer and writer

Paper

**Armstrong, Madie, International Centre for Sports History and Culture, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK**

British success in climbing the peaks of Switzerland was due to the knowledge and expertise of the mountain guides as well as the tenacity of the climbers. British Alpine literature gives some recognition to the guides, though they were not credited with first ascents. Female climbers often felt held back by the guides' attitude to women. Climbing between 1881 and 1903, the mountaineer Elizabeth Le Blond (Burnaby/Main) (1860-1934) succeeded in making several first winter ascents in Switzerland and 19 first ascents in Norway with a number of guides, in particular Joseph Imboden. She wrote five books on the mountains and the Alps where she lived from 1885 to 1900 and described climbing adventures and Alpine life that included details of the guides training and how the guides obtained their Führerbuch as well as hints on selecting a guide. Her aim was not only to relate her own exploits but also to show the potential visitor and novice mountaineer what to expect on their first trip to the mountains. This paper examines the guide/climber relationship through the eyes of Le Blond, her early achievements with Edouard Cupelin to whom she dedicated her first book and her climbing partnership with Joseph Imboden. Le Blond was not always complimentary and spoke plainly of the difficulties created by inadequate and ill-prepared climbers and guides. Her attitude is compared to that of other author-climbers to illustrate a British opinion of mountain guides.

### 7.2.2. Enabling Women: the influence of the Alpine environment

Paper

**Roche, Clare, Birkbeck, University of London, UK**

Middle-class women journeyed in increasing numbers to the Alps during the last half of the nineteenth century. Many of them walked and a substantial minority climbed; several became the first women to stand on top of the major Alpine summits, whilst a few made first ascents for either gender. They have received little attention from historians of any persuasion – culturally, socially or from the perspective of gender or leisure. The remote and rural nature of the Alps encouraged, even dictated, a different 'way of being' for all travellers who sought out the higher peaks and pastures. This paper considers the important part played by this particular environment in stimulating middle-class women to transgress the accepted codes of behaviour and dress normally associated with their social status. The immersion in a more rural, minimalist lifestyle – what the mountaineer and philosopher Phil Bartlett terms a 'return to the primitive' – enabled them to experience a physical and social freedom largely unavailable to them, at that time, in Britain. Ironically, the rural simplicity of the Alps had the power to reveal the hollow nature of contemporary gender assumptions, which more sophisticated society largely underlined.

#### Participants

##### Armstrong, Madie

Madie Armstrong is a PhD research student affiliated with the International Centre for Sport History and Culture at De Montfort University. She holds an MSc in Global Ethics from the University of Birmingham and a multifaceted career path including university research administration and development work in Senegal, West Africa. Her research examines the juxtaposition of the public/private persona in auto/biography and memoir through the life, writings and photography of Elizabeth Le Blond (1860-1934) mountaineer, photographer and first president of the Ladies Alpine Club.

##### Barton, Susan

Dr Susan Barton is an honorary research fellow in the International Centre for Sports History and Culture at De Montfort University in Leicester. She has a wide range of interests in social history and her publications include work on knitted textile industry, working-class tourism, the British seaside, package holidays in Spain, sport and

learning disability, tourism development in Switzerland and winter sports. Her current project is an investigation into the Winter Olympics up to 1948 and their sporting and touristic legacies. Her books include 'Healthy Living in the Alps – the origins of winter tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914'.

##### Roche, Clare

A first class history degree from Birkbeck in 2007 developed into a fascination with the long nineteenth century and a particular interest in the history of women, medicine and science. A masters at Cambridge University in History and Philosophy of Science & Medicine consolidated this and led to the discovery of female mountaineers who appeared to transgress the prevailing medical, scientific and social view of middle-class women. I am currently a doctoral student at Birkbeck researching this group of women. For over thirty years I have been, and continue to work as, a physiotherapist.

### 7.3. Rural history and „reenactment history“: Challenges, questions, opportunities. Part I: Museums and beyond

**Panel organiser: Sayre, Laura, National Institute for Agronomic Research, France**

This panel will bring together historians and others interested in “agricultural history reenactment” – defined here as projects and situations in which various aspects of agricultural heritage are explored, invoked or put to use for specific contemporary ends. Living history farms and other kinds of agricultural museums; “protected geographical indications” attached to specific foods and modes of production (Gruyère cheese, Welsh beef); antique tractor clubs and other enthusiasts’ groups, competitions and festivals; the preservation of traditional crop varieties and livestock breeds with an eye to future agricultural resilience; the reconstruction of traditional agricultural landscape systems within international rural development efforts; reality television series focused on traditional foods and farming practices – all these and more testify to the enduring appeal of at least certain elements of agricultural history for both popular and scholarly constituencies. Critical analysis of these phenomena, however, is spread across a variety of academic fields (public history, rural sociology, anthropology, archaeology, media studies), while the idea of “reenactment history” remains marginal within the academy, seemingly tainted by its association with popular entertainment. This panel proposes to rehabilitate a notion of agricultural history reenactment as a unifying framework for considering a wide variety of contemporary (or indeed historical) efforts to come to terms with, reinterpret or otherwise make use of the rural and agricultural past as a means of contending with the present (and future) of food and farming. As such, it will engage directly with the conference’s aim to discuss the future of rural history in an increasingly urbanized world: agricultural history reenactment appears to gain in popularity as the number of people directly engaged in agriculture falls, an inverse correlation that raises the stakes for historical integrity within reenactment projects. Questions to be addressed include: Why is agricultural history reenactment at once so popular and yet so curiously overlooked? What are its strengths and limitations as a means of constructing, contesting and conveying historical information? What role does agricultural history reenactment play in the maintenance of national and regional identities rooted in rural images, activities and landscapes?

**Chair: Martin, John, De Montfort University, UK**

**Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 0900 – 1030 // Session 7 – Room A-122**

#### 7.3.1. Where have all the farmers gone? Gone to living history’s greener fields?

**Reid, Debra, Eastern Illinois University, USA**

Museums that collect and preserve the tangible evidence of the rural past began in Europe at the same time that farm families left their fields. Many of those in the farm diaspora did not look back, but others’ hearts grew fonder for that past hard life. Some took steps to document their history and create venues to share it with the general public. Others understood the need to collect and preserve the tangible and intangible heritage as a means of protecting diversity and ensuring access to complex study collections. Living history farms resulted from national initiatives (Sweden’s Skansen), private investment (Henry Ford’s Greenfield Village), and local history enthusiasts. The living history farms that developed drew former farmers who could share their extinct lifestyle with their children and grandchildren. Visitors could get dirty in fields without having to work from sun up to sun down (from can see to can’t) for an uncertain return. The exhibits took the life-and-death gamble out of farming and thus, some argued, the reality. Yet, agricultural reenactments at living history farms helped preserve skills and processes otherwise lost. While agricultural reenactments allow staff and visitors to leave at any time and spare them the crisis of farm failure, living history farms find themselves at risk due to high operating costs and low rates of return. Living history farms can be, at once, too costly to maintain but too significant to close.

#### 7.3.2. Reenactment, reconstruction and performance at the Museum of English Rural Life, 1951-1956

**Douglas, Ollie Angus, Museum of English Rural Life, UK**

In 1950, in a letter supporting the establishment of the Museum of English Rural Life (MERL) at the University of Reading, historian and Vice-Chancellor Sir Frank Stenton commented on open-air museums. MERL was by comparison, he believed, to become a serious venture wherein curators would not dress in period costumes or play-act historical figures. These were not common tropes amongst the academic methods favoured by social historians at that time. Nevertheless, in direct contradiction, the years imme-

diately following the Museum’s founding in 1951 gave rise to numerous events of the very kind Stenton had decried. Costumed interactions at agricultural shows, set-piece segments on live television, and material experiments for the benefit of scholarly groups were all foregrounded during these early years. The curators were not simply reacting against the old guard or dressing up for the sake of it, nor were they attempting to pioneer public history approaches. Instead, their uses of reenactment, reconstruction, and performance were carefully targeted to achieve the principal goals of this fledgling institution; to salvage a way of life seen to be rapidly disappearing and to cement a technology-centred approach to exploring the English rural past. This paper explores the reenactment-style techniques applied during the first five years of MERL’s existence, and in shedding light on this example seeks to explore what we might mean by reenactment, reconstruction, and living history today.

#### 7.3.3. Toys, trials and information technologies: Miniaturization and virtualization as reenactment

**Sayre, Laura, National Institute for Agronomic Research, France**

Agricultural miniatures – carefully constructed scale models of agricultural implements – have a long and varied role within agricultural history. They have been used by inventors to test or communicate new designs; by manufacturers to facilitate sales; by researchers as experimental tools; as museum pieces and as collectors’ items; as sophisticated toys and as holotypes in support of patent registrations. Agricultural miniatures constitute a version of agricultural reenactment in that they can be understood either as a serious and reasonable or as a frivolous and inadequate substitute for the object or activity they represent. In recent years, miniaturization has been increasingly displaced by virtualization in the pursuit of simulated agricultural experience, again in a variety of contexts from agronomic research to public outreach to entertainment. This paper explores the status of miniaturization and virtualization within agricultural reenactment by considering a range of specific examples, from the Royal Society of Arts’ “Repository Museum” of prize-winning agricultural implement designs (on display in late 18th-century London), to the National Trust’s “MyFarm”, an online experiment in which participants were invited to vote on key farm management decisions at the Trust’s Wimpole Estate near Cambridge, to the various “farm simulator” computer games now available. I argue that the ambiguity of agricultural reenactment originates in part in the multiple meanings and uses of miniaturization and virtualization, asking to what extent role-playing and nostalgia may be intrinsic to agricultural experimentation and innovation.



#### Participants

**Douglas, Ollie Angus**

Oliver Douglas is a curator and researcher with over ten years experience working with ethnographic and rural collections. From 2001-2004 he worked at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford; he then completed his doctoral research at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford, taking up his current post as Assistant Curator at the Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, in 2009. His research focuses on the history of British folk museology and its intersections with anthropology, the history of collections, and the activities of homeland ethnographers, folklorists, and rural collectors of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

**Martin, John**

John Martin is Reader in Agrarian History at De Montfort University, Leicester. His main research interest is the impact of government policies on British agriculture and the countryside since the 1930s. His publications include *The Development of Modern Agriculture: British Farming Since 1931* (2000), *The Encyclopaedia of British Rural Sports* (co-editor, 2004), and *The Frontline of Freedom* (co-editor, 2007). He also contributed 54 articles to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). In 2012 he was a consultant for the BBC’s acclaimed eight-part ‘War-time Farm’ series, produced by Lion TV in association with the Open University.

**Reid, Debra**

Debra A. Reid is a professor of history at Eastern Illinois University. She grew up on a farm in southern Illinois and took degrees in historic preservation, history museum studies and history before earning her PhD at Texas A&M University. Her book *Reaping a Greater Harvest: African Americans, the Extension Service and Rural Reform in Jim Crow Texas* (2007) received the Fehrenbach Award from the Texas Historical Commission. She worked for nearly twenty years at historic sites and living history farms in Maine, Massachusetts, New York state, Texas, and Wisconsin before entering higher education full time.

**Sayre, Laura**

Laura Sayre is a post-doctoral fellow at the Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique, Science for Action and Development Department, based in Dijon, France. She holds a PhD in English from Princeton University, where her dissertation, *Farming by the Book: British Georgian in Prose and Practice, 1697-1820*, a study of 18th-century British agricultural writing, was awarded the Agricultural History Society’s Gilbert C. Fite Award. She is the co-editor of *Fields of Learning: The Student Farm Movement in North America* (2011), and is currently working on an edited book on agricultural reenactment history.



Panel

## 7.4. Conflict and Negotiating Conflicts in Pre-Modern Rural Societies. Part II

Panel organiser: Muller, Miriam, University of Birmingham, UK

This panel will examine questions regarding the nature of different types of conflicts rural societies experienced in their communities, and how they dealt with, negotiated and resolved these conflicts. Traditionally conflict in rural communities in medieval society in particular has typically been associated with conflict between lords and peasants. While the papers in this panel will explore conflict between communities and authorities, like lordship, they will also consider intra-communal strife. There is a strong theme in some of the papers in this panel of communal relationships to water, including the exploitation of the sea, and the communal maintenance of drainage and embankments, as well as conflicts over common land. A main purpose of this panel is to examine issues of communal dispute comparatively. To this end the papers in this panel will span from the medieval into the early modern. Since communities located in such marshland or coastal areas might have faced similar topographical circumstances, which required comparable economic solutions, including drainage work and the exploitation of similar local natural resources, such comparative explorations can be particularly fruitful.

Chair: Van Bavel, Bas, University of Utrecht, Netherlands

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 0900 – 1030 // Session 7 – Room A 201

### 7.4.1. Negotiating the common fields: making and breaking boundaries in Norfolk villages in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries

Paper

Whyte, Nicola, University of Exeter, Great Britain

This paper examines the survival of common fields in Norfolk, well into the eighteenth century in some villages, as not so much the outcome of 'small men' holding fast to the customs of the common fields, but rather as the result of the appropriation and monopolisation of commonable grazing rights by landowners and their lessees engaged in large-scale sheep farming. While research has shown that open field farmers were innovative and productive, the apparent longevity of open field systems found in some parts of the county should not necessarily equate with a lack of aspiration among commoners to enclose. This paper considers the motivations behind the piecemeal enclosure of arable land as a form of resistance among tenant cultivators against the activities of landlords and flockmasters. Hostility to enclosure was not the exclusive preserve of dispossessed commoners, but was also found among lords and wealthy farmers determined to maintain access rights to commonable arable land held by tenant farmers, often of similar socio-economic status. This paper thus explores conflicting ideas about the most profitable way to use the land, and highlights how enclosed and open landscapes came to represent diverging social and cultural aspirations among landowners and tenant farmers.

### 7.4.2. Irrigation and Rural Conflict in Medieval Iberia

Paper

Furio, Antoni, University of Valencia, Spain

The Mediterranean Spain is a dry, arid, water scarce country. But the peasants from Mediterranean Iberia had to learn to fight against the water: against its scarcity and against its excess. The development of irrigation systems, implemented with the Arab conquest of the peninsula, made it possible to domesticate the water and to convert these arid lands and marshes near the coast in rich and feracious espases (huertas). In addition to vertical confrontations between peasants and lords for control and use of water (particularly the confrontation between the mill and the irrigation), horizontal clashes between peasant communities located upstream or downstream of rivers also took place. The disputes, solved by specialized courts, also negotiated the use of water by several proceedings, such as the division of time, or splitting water into measurable amounts, in order to avoid confrontation. Within the community itself, the distribution of water generated tensions between users, while the maintenance and conservation of the water network contributed to the community cohesion. In the ancient kingdom of Valencia irrigation was introduced by the Arabs before the year Thousand, and many of the institutions and practices that have governed social practices of irrigation after the feudal conquest in the thirteenth century date back to the Muslim period. Moreover, some courts to judge conflicts between irrigators have reached us today.

### 7.4.3. Water, boundaries, local economies and conflict in 13th and 14th century English villages

Paper

Muller, Miriam, University of Birmingham, UK

This paper will examine the importance of water in social relationships comparatively at two manors in later medieval England. One was a coastal manor in Norfolk and one a manor situated in a river valley in Wiltshire. In both manors water played important roles in the local economy, by providing waterways, delineating boundaries, by offering various economic resources – as power for water-mills, fulling mills, or providing fish (both river and sea), and through drainage in the Norfolk manor. As such water was frequently the focal point for conflict, both between peasants and between lords and peasants. This paper will explore aspects of these conflicts and how these conflicts were solved.

#### Participants

##### Furio, Antoni

Antoni Furio is professor in medieval history at the University of Valencia. His research interests are in the field of rural history, peasants, lordship, economic growth and social change, and standards of living and patterns of consumption.

##### Muller, Miriam

Miriam is a lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Birmingham. She teaches on a range of subjects relating to social and economic history of later Medieval Europe, including the impact of the Black Death. Her research interests centre around peasant communities, primarily of later medieval England. She has a particular interest in social structures, and developments in the lord-peasant relationship. She is also very interested in gender, and the position of women in the medieval village.

##### Van Bavel, Bas

Bas van Bavel is professor of Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages and head of the section of Economic and Social History at Utrecht University. His main research interests include long-run changes and divergences in economic and social development and long-run institutional change, mainly in a comparative perspective.

##### Whyte, Nicola

Nicola Whyte is a lecturer at the University of Exeter. Her PhD thesis formed the basis of her first book, *Inhabiting the Landscape: Place, Custom and Memory 1500-1800* (2009). She has since worked with Professor Andy Wood (UEA) as his Research Assistant on an AHRC funded project investigating custom and popular memory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 2008 she was awarded a two year Early Career Fellowship by the Leverhulme Trust to carry out research on 'Landscape, Memory and Identity in Early Modern Wales'.



## 7.5. Rural Russia: 1880s to present day

**Panel organiser:** Bruisch, Katja, German Historical Institute Moscow, Russia

Although until the 1930s Russia was predominantly agrarian and a comparably high share of its population maintained close ties to agriculture throughout the Soviet period, there is a lack of historical investigation on the country's rural regions. While there are studies on the far-reaching attempts of transforming the Russian countryside by the central state, 19th and 20th century rural Russia keeps standing in the shadow of its urban counterpart. If any, it was framed within the narrative of "Russian backwardness" or the idea of a Russian "Sonderweg". The historical investigation of the village thereby often served as a means to explain the country's failure in becoming a modern nation. Bringing together approaches from the field of Russian history and from a methodologically advanced economic history this panel seeks to discuss, how the country fits within a pan-European picture of rural development during the 19th and 20th centuries.

**Chair:** Katzer, Nikolaus, German Historical Institute Moscow, Russia

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 0900 – 1030 // Session 7 – Room A 027

### 7.5.1. Where is the backward peasant? Regional crop yields on peasant and private land in Russia 1883-1913

**Kopsidis, Michael, Leibniz-Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe, Halle/Saale, Germany**  
**Shilnikova, Irina, Higher School of Economics Moscow, Russia**  
**Bruisch, Katja, German Historical Institute Moscow, Russia**  
**Bromley, Daniel W., University of Wisconsin, USA**

This paper deals with agricultural growth rates in late Imperial Russia. Based upon a comprehensive micro-level data set on agricultural crop yields between 1883 and 1913 it provides insight into the regional differences of agricultural growth and the development prospects of peasant agriculture before WWI. Making use of the fact that, unique in Europe, contemporary Russian statistics distinguished between "privately owned" and "peasant" land, we test, whether peasant agriculture, which in wide parts of European Russia was communally organized, can be regarded as an obstacle for agricultural growth. In a broader sense, the paper seeks to challenge the stereotype of peasant backwardness, which allegedly made Russia an exceptional case within pan-European development trends during the era of industrialization.

### 7.5.2. Russia's rural modernity and how it was sacrificed

**Bruisch, Katja, German Historical Institute Moscow, Russia**

This paper attempts to show, that the history of rural areas is also a history of how these are intellectually and ideologically approached. It explores, how the idea of a "rural modernity", based on market-oriented family production, cooperatives and local self-government, was at first integrated in early 20th century policy-making and how it was sacrificed for an industrial and urban vision of modernity in the late 1920s.

### 7.5.3. From Heartland to Hinterland: Transformation of the Russian Countryside in the late Soviet and Post-Soviet Period

**Nikulin, Alexander, Center for Agrarian Studies, Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Moscow, Russia**

The paper deals with the main stages of rural transformation between 1960 and 2010. It analyzes the evolution of the Russian countryside not only from above, from the point of view of Soviet and post-Soviet policy makers, but also from below in terms of the everyday behaviour of rural inhabitants. Special attention is given to regional differences in the transformation of the Russian countryside.

#### Participants

**Bromley, Daniel W.**

Professor (Emeritus), University of Wisconsin, and Visiting Professor, Humboldt University-Berlin. He is a Fellow of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists, and of the Agricultural and Applied Economics Association.

**Bruisch, Katja**

PhD in History, Research fellow at the German Historical Institute Moscow. Studied Eastern European History and Economics in Berlin, Kazan and Goettingen. Worked on Russian agricultural experts in the early 20th century.

**Katzer, Nikolaus**

Director of the German Historical Institute Moscow and Professor at Helmut Schmidt University Hamburg. His primary research interests are modern Russian history, with a particular focus on the political, cultural and social history of the early twentieth century, the Russian Civil War and the Brezhnev period. Current project: The history of the Soviet countryside from the 1960s to the 1980s.

**Kopsidis, Michael**

Senior Researcher at the Leibniz-Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe (IAMO), Halle/Saale, Germany. He works on agricultural growth and peasants in market integration processes during the 19th and 20th centuries in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

**Nikulin, Alexander**

PhD in Economics, MA in Sociology, Director of the Centre for Agrarian Studies, Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration. Research interests: historical sociology, economic sociology, agrarian sociology. Initiator of many international field research projects in the Russian countryside. Visiting fellow at the universities of Oxford and Manchester (GB), Yale (USA), Frankfurt (Germany) as well as at the Institute of Social Anthropology in Halle (Germany).

**Shilnikova, Irina**

PhD in History, Associate Professor at the Higher School of Economics Moscow, Department of Theoretical Economics. Research interests: Russian economic history, labor history, business history, Tsarist Russian agrarian history, cliometrics.

## 7.6. Transforming Village Culture: Village Halls and Cultural Centres in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Part II

**Panel organiser: Musat, Raluca, New Europe College, Romania**

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, village cultural centres appeared across numerous countries in Europe and beyond. Known under a wide range of names – for example the village or community hall (UK), rural civic centre (US), foyer culturel (France), Volksheim (Austria), Halkevleri (Turkey), and cāmin cultural (Romania) – these new institutions of village life were part of a global process of rural transformation aimed at integrating peasants into the modern world whilst preserving local cultures and traditions. Often founded by urban or rural elites, the state, voluntary associations or religious organisations, these institutions aimed to re-centre rural life around new practices and moral values that were often exogenous to the rural community itself. Despite their different uses and agendas, the presence of these institutions in so many counties indicates both an international interest in the development of the rural world through culture and wider transformations in leisure practices in the countryside. This panel brings together papers that look at houses of culture or cultural centres at the meeting points of local, regional, national and global history in different geographical and political contexts. Papers will deal with: Who founded village cultural centres and what agenda or ideological underpinning did they have (social, political, religious, or economic)? How they were used and by whom? What role did they play in various types of ‘civilising missions’ (for example state-driven, religious, rural development, etc)? What role they played in processes of social or demographic change? How were village cultural centres places in which folk cultures or other identities were preserved, revived or transformed? What definitions of rural culture arose from the establishment of village cultural centres? Participants are also invited to discuss not only the content, but also the form and aesthetics of village cultural centres, as new additions to the rural built environment, as part of rural planning schemes, but also as ways of re-organising existing buildings or spaces. Finally, we encourage discussions on the international and transnational dimension of this phenomenon, possibly engaging with as the role of these institutions in rural development, hygiene and modernisation from the point of view of international or global organisations.

**Chair: Burchardt, Jeremy, University of Reading, UK**

**Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 0900 – 1030 // Session 7 – Room A 022**

### 7.6.1. Village Halls, local leisure cultures and sense of place in 1930s Lakeland

**Andrew, Rebecca, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK**

This paper explores the central role village halls played in local leisure culture throughout the 1930s, in Lakeland, a region in the Lake District. Existing work identifies village halls as an important focus for rural communities in the inter-war years and suggests that such venues encouraged the spread of popular culture in the countryside. In contrast, this paper argues that village halls could also serve a rather different function, reinforcing both older leisure patterns and existing social structures. The absence of commercial leisure venues in Lakeland meant that village halls were important cultural spaces where local communities could express their difference, maintaining ‘authentic’, traditional leisure habits. Activities held in these venues, such as social dancing and dialect plays, were self-consciously used to illustrate Lakeland’s connections to the past. Although village halls were a frequent focus for small, localised gatherings, visitors, such as tourists, were often present at larger events, which allowed communities in Lakeland to project a particular sense of place to outsiders. This paper links this localised sense of place with the broader moral geography of the countryside, which was evident in the 1930s. These experiences are contextualised by wider national debates about leisure and the countryside, drawing on oral history testimony and evidence from the local press, to illustrate the role village halls played in the construction of local leisure identities in Lakeland.

### 7.6.2. Landownership and Village Cultural Centres in Mid Nineteenth Century England

**Holland, Sarah, Sheffield Hallam University, UK**

This paper argues that the physical and ideological “cultural centres” of some rural communities were in fact interchangeable, with villagers occupying church, chapel, school, and other private and public spaces to fulfill multiple objectives (social, economic, cultural, religious, educational). Therefore, the absence of a purpose built village hall in mid nineteenth century rural England did not equate to moribund village culture. Evidence from the detailed analysis of case study villages in South Yorkshire, England demonstrates the complexities of village culture and re-evaluates the role of landownership in rural life. The way in which landowners used existing cultural centres, such as the church, school and public house, as vehicles for social control and community cohesion by expanding the cultural remit of these institutions is examined. Possible motives for the reliance on existing institutions are also

discussed. In addition to the motivation provided by landowners, the ascendancy of the tenant as contributor to village culture through active participation is evaluated. Comparisons are made between villages with and without dominant landowners, in order to further re-evaluate the role of landownership in rural life. Interconnections between places and spaces during this period are also considered, examining the concepts of individual and collective experiences of village culture, and of cultural centres as forums for the exchange of ideas and knowledge, as well as opportunities for leisure

### 7.6.3. New moralities, new peasants, new rituals: the place of folklore in the heart and home of socialist culture

**Urdea, Alexandra, Goldsmiths College, University of London, UK**

This paper is concerned with the role that the House of Culture - Cāmin Cultural - was meant to play in the dissemination of communist ideology in the Romanian countryside. I will be looking at the specific forms of ritual and culture that communist ideology was imbibed with when disseminated in the villages. I identify the important role that folklore played in embodying the moralities and aspirations of the communist regime, in a form that peasants could find it easy to identify with. Throughout the paper I will also look at the effects of these attempts in the village of Vranceaia, by looking at the meanings associated there with the House of Culture. While looking closely at the propaganda associated with the house of culture, I am using Yurchak’s notion of the ‘performative dimensions of seemingly “wooden discourse”’ to see how the communist propaganda demands might have been interpreted and understood by the people they were aimed for.



#### Participants

**Andrew, Rebecca**

Rebecca Andrew is based in the Manchester Centre for Regional History at Manchester Metropolitan University, where she completed her PhD, *The Leisure Identities of Rural Youth: Tradition, Change and Sense of Place in Lakeland, 1930s to the early 1950s*. Her thesis used oral history testimony to examine the leisure activities of young countrymen and women and highlighted how their experiences were shaped by a strong sense of tradition and awareness of the Lakeland landscape. Her research interests include the history of youth, rural communities, popular culture, and local and regional identities.

**Burchardt, Jeremy**

Dr Jeremy Burchardt is a lecturer in history in the Department of History at the University of Reading and is currently chair of the Interwar Rural History Research Group. His research focuses on the social and cultural history of the countryside in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially leisure and rural social relations, and attitudes to the countryside. He is the author of *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873* (2002) and *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change* (2002), and co-editor, with Paul Brassley and Lynne Thompson, of *The English Countryside between the Wars: Regeneration or Decline* (2006).

**Holland, Sarah**

Sarah Holland is a PhD student at Sheffield Hallam University. Her thesis examines rural communities in the mid nineteenth century against the theoretical context of D Mills, reevaluating the role of landownership and the ‘open-close’ paradigm. She

has delivered papers at various conferences and universities including the British Agricultural History Society and the Social History Society. She teaches at Sheffield Hallam University, including a module that examines the relationship between historical research, academic history and public history. Her public engagement work includes teaching adults and special needs groups.

**Musat, Raluca**

Raluca Musat is a postdoctoral fellow at New Europe College in Bucharest. She completed a PhD in History at University College London in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, where she taught European history and sociology. Her current research deals with the relationship between the development of the social sciences and rural modernisation processes in interwar Europe.

**Urdea, Alexandra**

Alexandra Urdea’s research interests revolve around the construction of identity at both a national or individual level. Both my past research on mass media and my current focus on material culture explore then notion of memory and identity in what constitutes lieux de mémoire and other kinds of landmarks through which we define ourselves. In 2009 I was awarded an MA degree in Central and South East European Studies, University College London. My dissertation was an analysis of advertising and mass media material revealing “The self-stigmatizing dimension of the Romanian national identity”.



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<p><b>Gender and other diversities. The empirical, scholarly, written and tacit knowledge and its transfers in plantology, ecology and agriculture (Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century)</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Rippmann Tauber, Dorothee</p> <p>Chair: van der Burg, Margreet</p>	<p><b>8.1.1. „...quod terra est mater et sol est pater plantarum“. Bartholomäus Anglicus' Book of Plants</b> Rippmann Tauber, Dorothee</p>	<p><b>8.1.2. Diversity of media – diversity of gender and social strata</b> Schlude, Ursula</p>	<p><b>8.1.3. Deviant Concepts of Knowledge: Women Pioneers in Organic Farming and Gardening</b> Spieker, Ira Schmitt, Mathilde</p>	<p><b>8.1.4. „For the Edification of the Common People“: The Parish Library in Eighteenth-Century England</b> Allen, David</p>	<p><b>Panel 8.1</b> Room A-126</p>
<p><b>Social and economic convergences and divergences in the rural world: the Alpine space (16th-19th Century)</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Lorenzetti, Luigi; Mocarelli, Luca</p> <p>Chair: Mocarelli, Luca</p>	<p><b>8.2.1. Territorial systems and political idioms: diverging pathways in the Western Alps</b> Albera, Dionigi</p>	<p><b>8.2.2. Notes on the Rural World in the Alpine valleys of Lombardy (18th–19th Centuries)</b> Tedeschi, Paolo</p>	<p><b>8.2.3. Continuity and change: economy and institutions in the rural space in Friuli and Trentino-Tyrol (16th-19th Century)</b> Bonoldi, Andrea</p>	<p><b>8.2.4. Rural economy in the Julian Alps: a Slovenian model?</b> Panjek, Aleksander</p>	<p><b>Panel 8.2</b> Room A-119</p>
<p><b>Rural history and „reenactment history“: Challenges, questions, opportunities. Part II: Rural development and oral history projects</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Sayre, Laura</p> <p>Chair: Sayre, Laura</p>	<p><b>8.3.1. Agro-sylvo-pastoralism in Albania: From past to present</b> Bernard, Claire Lerin, François</p>	<p><b>8.3.2. Meadows and pastures in the Italian Alps: New opportunities for traditional agricultural systems</b> Lorenzini, Claudio Ambrosoli, Mauro</p>	<p><b>8.3.3. „Rude, rough and lawless“: Reinterpreting the field woman's story through scholarly research and performance art</b> Hunt, Abigail Martin, Nicola Blair, Annie</p>	<p><b>8.3.4. Landscape and Youth: An oral history project on local knowledge and landscape</b> Strohmeier, Gerhard Sieber, Andrea</p>	<p><b>Panel 8.3</b> Room A-122</p>
<p><b>Land rights and rural development in the non-European world in the long 20th century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Vanhaute, Eric</p> <p>Chair: Langthaler, Ernst</p>	<p><b>8.4.1. Regressive rights to personhood and property on the Canadian Prairies, 1870 to 1910</b> Ward, Tony</p>	<p><b>8.4.2. Social Structure and Land Reforms in the Yangzi Delta between 1940 and 1980</b> Wang, Yang (John)</p>	<p><b>8.4.3. Global land commodification, national land reform and communal land tenure in Carangas (Bolivia, 19th-20th centuries)</b> Cottyn, Hanne</p>		<p><b>Panel 8.4</b> Room A 201</p>
<p><b>Crises, fluctuations, land-use changes and their long term consequences 1300-1870. Multidisciplinary approaches</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Morell, Mats; Isacson, Maths</p> <p>Chair: Morell, Mats</p>	<p><b>8.5.1. Agricultural and social responses to the Black Death in Sweden</b> Lagerås, Per</p>	<p><b>8.5.2. The agrarian household as a social-ecological system</b> Lennartsson, Tommy</p>	<p><b>8.5.3. Settlement and desertion processes in the Northern Harz region</b> Küntzel, Thomas</p>	<p><b>8.5.4. Pre-industrial agrarian households' adaptations to harvest crises and fluctuations: a social-ecological approach</b> Dahlström, Anna Isacson, Maths</p>	<p><b>Panel 8.5</b> Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Cadastral sources from Scandinavia as gateway to Rural History</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Dam, Peder</p> <p>Chair: Rasmussen, Carsten</p>	<p><b>8.6.1. The total registration of farms in Sweden 1530–1630</b> Karsvall, Olof</p>	<p><b>8.6.2. Old Swedish geometrical maps</b> Tollin, Clas</p>	<p><b>8.6.3. Danish land registers</b> Dam, Peder</p>	<p><b>8.6.4. Finding agrarian capitalism in Norway c. 1500–1800</b> Dorum, Knut</p>	<p><b>Panel 8.6</b> Room A 022</p>
<p><b>Rural Resilience to Disaster: explaining regional divergences (Middle Ages – c. 1850). Part I: Epizootics</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Soens, Tim</p> <p>Chair: Soens, Tim</p>	<p><b>8.7.1. Power, Economics and the Seasons. Local Differences in the Perception of Cattle Plagues in 18th Century Schleswig and Holstein</b> Huenniger, Dominik</p>	<p><b>8.7.2. God's Hand striking the Netherlands? The Dutch response to Cattle Plague in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries</b> Looijesteijn, Henk Van Leeuwen, Marco H.D.</p>	<p><b>8.7.3. Explaining regional variations in the impact of rinderpest. Flanders and Brabant in the 18th century</b> Van Roosbroeck, Filip</p>	<p><b>8.7.4. Tradition, Judgment, and Response: Combatting Cattle Plague during an Era of Disaster</b> Sundberg, Adam</p>	<p><b>Panel 8.7</b> Room A 019</p>

## 8.1. Gender and other diversities. The empirical, scholarly, written and tacit knowledge and its transfers in plantology, ecology and agriculture (Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century)

**Panel organiser: Rippmann Tauber, Dorothee, University of Zurich, Switzerland**

Up to now the importance of women in the history of agricultural science has been mostly neglected. A further academic lacuna is the study of 'male' and 'female' in the concepts of natural philosophy and agricultural science. In the panel, the characteristics of female knowledge and the conditions of knowledge acquisition and transfer are looked at under the aspects of gender and gender difference. The focus is on three time-periods. In the beginning, the Encyclopedia of Bartholomew of England (13th century), the manuscripts of which were distributed widely in Europe, shall serve as an example to introduce a theory of the interaction of male and female principles in the macro- and microcosms with which the author explained the life cycle of plants. This explanatory model survived in parts up until the establishment of the modern natural sciences and further into alternative "unscholarly" circles. Secondly, using the example of German high-ranking noble women it can be shown that the sixteenth-century princely court was a 'site of knowledge' in which agricultural and economic practice went hand in hand with the development of theoretical knowledge. These noblewomen could actively further agricultural progress in the manorial oeconomia. We can study the knowledge of a Dresden noblewoman, her interest in agricultural progress and her experiences in practical agriculture through different sources, in contexts of variedly transmitted communication. Thirdly the panel discusses the "passion and profession" of the female pioneers of organic farming in Europe. The importance and the role of women in the history of organic farming is a field into which more academic research is desirable. This lacuna is due to the fact that the historiography of science too has focused on the success stories of "great men", further to the institutionalisation and academisation of organic farming and thus also a changed estimation of knowledge and the definition of academic research in general. There were an astonishing number of women taking part in the development of organic farming in the formative years of its development. What standing did these first-generation female agricultural pioneers have in the "scientific community"? What do their research biographies and achievements look like? Awareness of natural cycles, the interactions and mutual dependency of earth, plants, animals and humans and the emphasis on the fundamental importance of soil fertility have been basic principles of organic farming since its beginnings.

**Chair: van der Burg, Margreet, Wageningen University, Netherlands**

**Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 8 – Room A-126**

### 8.1.1. „...quod terra est mater et sol est pater plantarum“. Bartholomäus Anglicus' Book of Plants

**Rippmann Tauber, Dorothee, University of Zurich, Switzerland**

Of the Encyclopaedias of the 13th century, Bartholomäus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, widely distributed in the Middle Ages and Early Modernity, is the subject of discussion in this paper. The 17th book *De plantis et herbis*, discusses the Being, Growth and Decay of plants as part of living nature and image of creation. The text, usually analysed for assistance to prayer and moral and theological teachings, shall now be looked at regarding ecology and agrarian history. The hypothesis: The author is reflecting the environment with its ecosystem as well as the results of human ecology and the man's colonisational intervention with nature, through the medium of the encyclopaedia. In the talk, the terminology with which Bartholomäus describes his botanical material is discussed. He uses binary oppositions to illustrate the propagation and growth of the plants. He explains the distribution of seed and the principle of procreation through extrinsic macrocosmic powers, the characteristics of the *anima vegetabilis*, the species and biodiversity, and the comparison of wild and cultivated plants (*silvaticus / domesticus, hortensis*). Bartholomäus judges certain gardening techniques such as grafting to be positive, as long as the domestication transmutes bad natural characteristics into good ones. The question remains, whether there was an interdependency between scholarly transmission of knowledge and the agrarian practice in the age of the deforestation and colonisation of land.

### 8.1.2. Diversity of media – diversity of gender and social strata

**Schlude, Ursula, Associated with the Institute for Saxonian History and Cultural Anthropology (ISGV), Dresden, Germany**

European agrarian knowledge seems to be 'scientific' from around 1800, when it was transformed into an academic discipline. This is significant from the perspective of both gender and social history, since the production of agrarian knowledge thus appears as a

qualitatively new, 'male'-connoted, academic scientific practice. The printed agronomic texts of classical antiquity and its reception by humanist scholars (16th century) as well as the printed Hausvater (paterfamilias) literature (17th/18th centuries) are regarded as proto-scientific (male) contributions. Viewed from this perspective, the agrarian practice of earlier periods appears in a less favourable light, namely as the unchanging application of "traditional" knowledge. Using archival sources from the sixteenth-century electoral court at Dresden, it is possible to demonstrate that handwritten notes and oral communication were more relevant for scientific practice than the printed agronomic texts, which seem to have been of more interest to (male) philologists and moralists. Given the existence of handwritten communication (letters, reports, rescripts, monographs, geomantic inquiry), it appears likely that people – including peasant people and women – were seeking quite formal scientific information at an earlier date than has been assumed thus far.

### 8.1.3. Deviant Concepts of Knowledge: Women Pioneers in Organic Farming and Gardening

**Spieker, Ira, Institute of Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology, Dresden, Germany**

**Schmitt, Mathilde, Institut für Interdisziplinäre Gebirgsforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Innsbruck, Austria**

There were an astonishing number of women taking part in the development of organic farming and gardening during its initial phases in the early 20th century. The reasons for the intensive participation lay presumably in their passion for a sound environment and food. Furthermore, during this stage it was possible to gather experience, implicit knowledge and scientific data in the field of organic agriculture "at home", in the garden, the kitchen or on window sills. The fact that there was little professionalism with respect to teaching, research and consulting activities in the field made it also possible for women without academic backgrounds and credentials to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. This paper is based on our research on women pioneers in organic farming which started in 2002 with a research project entitled "Passion and Profession. Women Pioneers in Organic Agriculture". The key objective is to trace down, evaluate and establish the achievements of women during the various phases in which organic agriculture crystallized and record their contributions to the development of the theories and methods employed. The paper focusses on the various research approaches and contexts to clarify how gender parameters influenced knowledge concepts which can be characterized by review and experimental development of collected knowledge under local conditions; tacit knowledge and empathy; great need for the dissemination of knowledge; disregard of research results.

### 8.1.4. „For the Edification of the Common People“: The Parish Library in Eighteenth-Century England

**Allen, David, University of St. Andrews, UK**

The paper takes as its subject the rural parish library in eighteenth-century England. It will consider the impact of mechanisms for providing access to books and facilitating reading within rural communities, demonstrating the importance of lending libraries for the dissemination of knowledge in a society that enjoyed relatively high levels of literacy but which was in this period also experiencing increasing social dislocation and economic change as agrarian systems were being radically transformed. Among the issues I shall discuss are how far these institutions were either elite-imposed or alternatively were actually led and shaped to some degree by genuine public demand; the extent to which parish libraries, despite their ostensibly religious intent, assisted in much broader forms of cultural diffusion, including relevant technical knowledge for rural readers in the fields of law and agriculture as well as other bodies of learning such as historical writing and imaginative literature; what we can say about how parish libraries served the needs of different groups of rural readers including women in particular; and the ways in which book culture and the circulation of printed texts, in developing shared beliefs, assumptions and understanding (religious, cultural, political, scientific) across the widely-scattered and still largely rural population of eighteenth-century England, assisted in the formation of coherent public identities in this period.

#### Participants

##### Allan, David

David Allan is Reader in History at the University of St Andrews. He has held visiting fellowships at Yale, Harvard and the Huntington Library and his research focuses on the cultural and intellectual history of early modern Britain. He is the author of eight books, including *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (2008) and *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (2010).

##### Rippmann Tauber, Dorothee

Dorothee Rippmann Tauber, Prof. Dr phil., MAS, Historian and Archaeologist. Researches on town-country-relations, the life in rural society, and on gender relations. Other fields of research: The history of food and drink and environmental history; the interdisciplinary history of garden and plants (archaeology and history). Teaches medieval history at the University of Zurich/Switzerland since 2004. Studied History, Prehistory, Medieval Archaeology, and Museology at the University of Basel.

##### Schlude, Ursula

Ursula Schlude, M. A., is a free lance historian, associated with the Institute for Saxonian History and Cultural Anthropology (ISGV), Dresden, Germany. Studied philosophy, Russian philology and social history at the University of Konstanz. Worked in various research projects (Oral History, History of photography and media, Russian History, Early Modern Agrarian and Gender History). Author and director of various documentary films for the German Public TV (Agrarian History, Russian History, Early Modern Gender History).

##### Schmitt, Mathilde

Mathilde Schmitt, Dr. Sociology and Dipl. Ing. Agricultural Science, worked as researcher and guest professor at Humboldt University, Berlin, and at the Universities of Essen, Goettingen, Innsbruck and Mount Holyoke (USA). Senior scientist at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Mountain Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Innsbruck since 2008. Special interests: gender studies, rural sociology, agriculture, food & sustainability, inter- and transdisciplinarity.

##### Spieker, Ira

Dr. Ira Spieker, Institute of Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology Studies at the University of Göttingen: Cultural Anthropology, Medieval and Modern History, and Media Studies. Worked at the Open-Air Museum Detmold, the Institute of Rural Development (University of Göttingen) and the Institute of Cultural Anthropology / European Ethnology (University of Göttingen and Jena). Research areas: Rural history, Gender & Science, Migration studies, popular culture.

##### van der Burg, Margreet

Dr. Margreet van der Burg is rural gender historian at Wageningen University, NL. She published several books and many articles on rural women within agricultural and rural modernisation programming with respect to labour, education, extension, self-organisation, representation, and agricultural research. From NL, she first broadened her view to Europe and the western world, and expanded the last decade to global and transnational change. She served as chair and board member in organisations on women's history, rural women's studies and agricultural or rural history, and is now on the editorial board of *Agricultural History*.

## 8.2. Social and economic convergences and divergences in the rural world: the Alpine space (16th-19th Century)

**Panel organiser: Lorenzetti, Luigi, Università della Svizzera Italiana, Switzerland; Mocarelli, Luca, University of Milano-Bicocca, Italy**

Over the last years, several studies have highlighted the role of political factors in the development of specific social and economic pathways in the Alpine area. Besides influencing ways of organising and managing resources, political and power relations within territorial systems may also have defined several solutions through which local communities and national structures have ensured their production processes. Through a comparative approach, this session aims at comparing some characteristics of the social and economic structures of some areas of the Alpine area from a historiographical point of view. The aim is to verify the existence of regional models specific to the economic structures of the rural context and linked to power relations structuring the territory. In this context, four main areas can be outlined, referring to four political contexts whose characteristics have significantly influenced the regional territorial system: a) the western one, under the influence of Duchy of Savoy and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont valleys, Valle d'Aosta region, French valley of Savoy), b) the central one under the Swiss influence (Ticino and Valtellina regions), and Hispanic-Austrian influence (Como, Brescia and Bergamo valleys), and c) the eastern one, under the influence of Venice and Habsburg Monarchy (Trentino-Alto Adige, Friuli, Tyrol, Slovenia). Between the 16th and 19th century, these different areas are characterised by political pathways with alternating phases of convergence and divergence, from the political and institutional organisation point of view, as well as power relations between the State and local communities. This session aims at investigating the role of these contexts in the definition and development of the economy in the Alpine rural world. This analysis is articulated around several elements which are at the intersection between the political, economic and social sphere, and can therefore contribute to providing a pattern and understanding potential regional economic and productive models. In particular, we would like to highlight a) the regional characteristics of different forms of property and any transformation they underwent in time; b) their influence on regional productive systems; c) the relationship between the economy and the development of pluriactivity forms; d) the productive conversion models in relation to changes in regional political and economic organisation; e) the penetration of a credit economy in rural economy and its coming into contact with the agriculture economy and real estate.

**Chair: Mocarelli, Luca, University of Milano-Bicocca, Italy**

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 8 – Room A-119

### 8.2.1. Territorial systems and political idioms: diverging pathways in the Western Alps

**Albera, Dionigi, University of Aix-Marseille, France**

This paper will explore the role of power relations in the structuring of territorial systems in the Western Alps, focusing on the period between the 16th and the 19th centuries. More specifically, it will examine the political framework of the relationship between local territories and the state. A general model concerning the refraction of the political and juridical idioms on the productive and reproductive processes at a local scale can thereby be established. In order to define regional (and sub-regional) models, the paper will compare the evolution of the areas under the influence of the Duchy of Savoy and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont valleys, Aosta Valley, Savoy) with that experienced by the Alpine regions belonging to the French Kingdom. This comparison will allow the identification of two clearly distinct configurations by showing several divergences in changes in the political and administrative situation of local territories within state dynamics. The final part of the paper will argue that these different experiences influenced demographic, economic and social transformations at the local level, giving birth to the development of discrete pathways in the Western Alps.

### 8.2.2. Notes on the Rural World in the Alpine valleys of Lombardy (18th–19th Centuries)

**Tedeschi, Paolo, University of Milano-Bicocca, Italy**

The aim of this paper is to illustrate some aspects of the rural world in the Alpine valleys of Lombardy during the 18th and 19th centuries. Although this region belonged to three different States (the Austrian Empire, the Republic of Venice and the Swiss Con-

federation) until 1797, the characteristics of the rural economy were similar. Nevertheless, at the end of the 18th century, the French invasion changed the political context: all Lombard valleys were included in the Cisalpine Republic and their new administrative status was established during the Napoleonic age and the Congress of Vienna. This partially influenced the productive systems and the economy of the Alpine valleys because the French and Austrian governments decided to promote the sale of public land and other real estate which was closely linked to the agricultural sector, such as hay lofts, cattle sheds, stock rooms and flour mills. The process of privatisation did not improve the yields of land and created environmental problems where new private owners over-exploited their new properties. A subsequent change was the decision by the Italian government to eliminate most of the ecclesiastic institutions that financed small landowners and manufactures, reducing loans for Alpine agriculture and industry.

### 8.2.3. Continuity and change: economy and institutions in the rural space in Friuli and Trentino-Tyrol (16th-19th Century)

**Bonoldi, Andrea, University of Trento, Italy**

In early modern times, economies of Tyrol and Friulian mountains were characterized by the presence of activities related to the exploitation and marketing of local resources (agriculture, livestock, forestry, mining) and of a wide range of services: trade and migration of skilled workers. In both contexts, during the nineteenth century, this model was compromised by the deep transformations of the production and exchange, which led to their marginalisation. During the Restoration, in Friuli and Tyrol, there was a progressive penetration of the legal and administrative principles of the modern state which significantly affected both the spaces of self-government and the institutions regulating economic activities. These historical processes affected contexts whose institutional bases were quite different. After the end of the Napoleonic hegemony in Europe, both territories passed under the sovereignty of the Habsburgs. In Tyrol the large transformations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries inserted themselves in the groove of a partial administrative and institutional continuity; in the mountains of Friuli, on the other hand, with the fall of the Venetian Republic, the change was significant. The aim of our study is to evaluate, in a comparative perspective, the evolution of the relationship between economics and institutions in Tyrol and in the mountains of Friuli between 16th and 19th Centuries.

### 8.2.4. Rural economy in the Julian Alps: a Slovenian model?

**Panjek, Aleksander, University of Primorska, Slovenia**

The paper deals with the part of the Eastern Alps named Julian Alps that from the 16th to the 19th century were Habsburg territory and are nowadays in Slovenia. A striking characteristic of the region is that the early modern peasant economy structurally integrated agricultural with non-agricultural income sources. This feature is comparable to other Alpine areas, but in our case the peasants show a larger variety of additional activities. The paper first presents the fundamental characteristics of the political and institutional organisation and of the power relations structuring the territory (State, feudal lords, rural communities). Then it discusses the rural economic structure, paying particular attention to the following points, highlighted within this session: a) the forms of property; b) their influence on the economic structure and productive system; c) the relationship between the economy and the development of pluriactivity forms. The role of the 'specific' feudal context in defining the rural economy in the Julian Alps is then discussed. The paper proposes the definition of "integrated rural economy" for a system characterized by a structural integration of agricultural and different non-agricultural sources of income in the rural population as a whole as well as within the peasant households (integrated peasant economy), and presents the characteristics of this area to the necessary comparison with other South-Alpine regional realities.

#### Participants

##### Albera, Dionigi

Dionigi Albera is Research Director of IDEMEC (Institut d'ethnologie méditerranéenne, européenne et comparative) at the CNRS and the University of Aix-Marseille. His research fields touch the alpine and mediterranean areas, focusing on anthropological theories of complex societies, on family and kinship systems, on migratory phenomena and social mobility. In 2011 he published the volume *Au fil des générations – Terre, pouvoir et parenté dans l'Europe alpine (XIVe –XXe siècles)*, Grenoble, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble.

##### Bonoldi, Andrea

Andrea Bonoldi is researcher in economic history at the University of Trento. He is member of the editorial staff of the review "Geschichte und Region / Storia e regione" and "Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche". Research interests are the development processes in the Alps during the Contemporary and Modern Age with a particular attention for fairs and merchants nets and for the industrial and financial dynamics in the Tyrolean area as well. In 2012 he published with Maurizio Cau, *Il territorio trentino nella storia europea, Vol. 4: L'età contemporanea*, Trento, FBK Press.

##### Lorenzetti, Luigi

Luigi Lorenzetti is professor at the Università della Svizzera Italiana where he coordinates the Laboratorio die Storia delle Alpi. He is a member of the editorial staff of "Histoire des Alpes - Storia delle Alpi - Geschichte der Alpen". His research fields are Economic and Social History of the Alps and the Swiss Historical Demography. He has published many articles on family systems, migration practices, credit and land markets in the southalpine area in Modern and Contemporary Age. In 2010 he published the Volume: *Destini periferici. Modernizzazione, risorse e mercati in Ticino, Vallese e Valtellina 1850-1930*, Udine, Forum editrice.

##### Mocarelli, Luca

Luca Mocarelli is Professor of Economic and Social History at the University of Milano-Bicocca. His research fields are the environmental History and its resources, the History of tourism, the Economic History of Towns and the industrial history of the Lombard valleys in Modern Age. Since 2012 he is president of the International Society for Alpine History. In 2002 he edited the volume *Tra identità e integrazione. La Lombardia nella macroregione alpina dello sviluppo economico europeo (secoli XVII-XX)*, Milano, Franco Angeli.

##### Panjek, Aleksander

Aleksander Panjek is associated professor at the University of Primorska. Central fields of his research work include economic and social history of the Modern Area and Contemporary History. His research interest include various topics, especially urban and rural history, the agricultural economy and the society of the Old Order. In 2002 he published the volume *Terra di confine. Agricoltura e traffici tra le Alpi e l'Adriatico: la contea di Gorizia nel Seicento*, Mariano del Friuli, Ed. della Laguna.

##### Tedeschi, Paolo

Paolo Tedeschi is Researcher at the Faculty of Economics at the University of Milano-Bicocca. His researches are related with the economic and institutional History of Europe in contemporary Age and the economic history of alpine areas. He dedicated many studies to the economic systems, the relations between production and credit and the land market in rural Lombardy in Modern Age. In 2006 he published the volume: *I frutti negati: assetti fondiari, modelli organizzativi, produzioni e mercati agricoli nel Bresciano durante l'età della Restaurazione (1814-1859)*, Brescia, Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana.

### 8.3. Rural history and „reenactment history“: Challenges, questions, opportunities. Part II: Rural development and oral history projects

**Panel organiser:** Sayre, Laura, National Institute for Agronomic Research, France

This panel brings together historians and others interested in “agricultural history reenactment” – defined here as projects and situations in which various aspects of agricultural heritage are explored, invoked or put to use for specific contemporary ends. Living history farms and other kinds of agricultural museums; “protected geographical indications” attached to specific foods and modes of production (Gruyère cheese, Welsh beef); antique tractor clubs and other enthusiasts’ groups, competitions and festivals; the preservation of traditional crop varieties and livestock breeds with an eye to future agricultural resilience; the reconstruction of traditional agricultural landscape systems within international rural development efforts; reality television series focused on traditional foods and farming practices – all these and more testify to the enduring appeal of at least certain elements of agricultural history for both popular and scholarly constituencies. Critical analysis of these phenomena, however, is spread across a variety of academic fields (public history, rural sociology, anthropology, archaeology, media studies), while the idea of “reenactment history” remains marginal within the academy, seemingly tainted by its association with popular entertainment. This panel proposes to rehabilitate a notion of agricultural history reenactment as a unifying framework for considering a wide variety of contemporary (or indeed historical) efforts to come to terms with, reinterpret or otherwise make use of the rural and agricultural past as a means of contending with the present (and future) of food and farming. As such, it will engage directly with the conference’s aim to discuss the future of rural history in an increasingly urbanized world: agricultural history reenactment appears to gain in popularity as the number of people directly engaged in agriculture falls, an inverse correlation that raises the stakes for historical integrity within reenactment projects. Questions to be addressed include: Why is agricultural history reenactment at once so popular and yet so curiously overlooked? What are its strengths and limitations as a means of constructing, contesting and conveying historical information? What role does agricultural history reenactment play in the maintenance of national and regional identities rooted in rural images, activities and landscapes?

**Chair:** Sayre, Laura, National Institute for Agronomic Research, France

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 8 – Room A-122

#### 8.3.1. Agro-sylvo-pastoralism in Albania: From past to present

**Bernard, Claire, Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Montpellier, France**

**Lerin, François, Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Montpellier, France**

Agro-sylvo-pastoralism in the Balkan countries, and especially in Albania, is a crucial issue for regional rural development, agricultural policy and biodiversity conservation. These Mediterranean countries once possessed large pastoral resources and low productivity forests. Sustainable use of these resources and the maintenance of traditional agrarian systems are under pressure due to shifts toward market-oriented agriculture, more intensive modes of production and rural depopulation, in turn leading to the abandonment of land and pastoral practices, afforestation and a loss of agro-biodiversity. In Albania, pastoral systems are disappearing after a period of profound change linked to agricultural modernisation under the communist regime. Nevertheless, a variety of fragmentary agro-sylvo-pastoral systems survive. Our paper makes an evaluation of the literature on pastoralism in Albania as part of a larger project seeking to identify and develop agro-biodiversity products in Albania. An understanding of landscape variations in association with social and political history (including land-use policies) enables a broader view of contemporary Albania’s agro-sylvo-pastoral activities. Our goal is to use historical sources to identify the remaining attributes, tangible and intangible, of earlier agro-sylvo-pastoral systems now embedded in new contexts. Recognition of the cultural origins of agro-biodiversity, based on historical studies, may encourage the use of alternative approaches to biodiversity conservation, including the post-modern reinvention of traditional land management activities linked to specific products.

#### 8.3.2. Meadows and pastures in the Italian Alps: New opportunities for traditional agricultural systems

**Lorenzini, Claudio, University of Udine, Italy**

**Ambrosoli, Mauro, University of Udine, Italy**

Agricultural changes in Italy during the 20th century have been studied from a variety of research perspectives, including those of cultural, economic, social and environmental history. Still, these studies rarely consider the “reenactment” phenomena currently



at work within Italian agricultural production. This paper seeks to analyze the continuous and discontinuous features of livestock management systems and transhumance in the Italian Alps. Summer Alpine pasture is one of the most peculiar and ancient forms of transhumance, and is still practiced throughout the Alpine space, particularly for cows. At the same time, dairy farm management in this region has seen remarkable changes in recent decades, including a shift toward artisanal cheese production in which producers seek to provide high-quality products in combination with the tourist attractions of the mountains. The growing interest among young people in Alpine dairying is both a cause and a consequence of these changes: today, shepherding is for many people a choice in the face of economic crisis, instead of a constraint, as it was in the past. Contemporary transformations have been studied not so much by historians as from other perspectives, including anthropology and documentary filmmaking. The outcome is a “constructed” image of the Alps and of the shepherd’s work, with roots in ancient practices, one of the reasons claimed for the choices of young shepherds. These transformations find references and influences both in the establishment of ethnographic museums in the Alps and in critical consumers’ movements such as Slow Food.

#### 8.3.3. „Rude, rough and lawless“: Reinterpreting the field woman’s story through scholarly research and performance art

**Hunt, Abigail, University Centre Peterborough, UK**

**Martin, Nicola, University Centre Peterborough, UK**

**Blair, Annie, University Centre Peterborough, UK**

In November 2012 we were approached by an Education Officer at the East of England Showground looking for contributors to an educational program titled ‘Grow your own Potatoes’. The program will offer Peterborough primary school children the opportunity to find out where the potatoes they eat come from, how they are grown and harvested, and how they are processed in local factories. We proposed a live performance exploring women’s roles in the growing and harvesting of potato crops, based on historical

research carried out by Abi Hunt for her doctoral thesis. The thesis argued that women working in agricultural gangs during the 19th and 20th centuries, including those working the Lincolnshire potato crops, were a “hidden workforce”, necessary to the agricultural economy but largely ignored due to disapproval of physical labor in mixed-sex groups. As a result, female gang workers’ stories went largely unrecorded and certain assumptions about their behavior and character became an accepted historical narrative. The research sought to address this issue through the use of non-traditional approaches to historical research. The performance challenges traditional ideas about female agricultural gang workers, seeking to communicate this new historical narrative to primary school children. Our paper will reflect on this experience, including: 1) background on the historical research; 2) reflections on the creative process of turning historical writing into an engaging performance; 3) an examination of the impact of the performance on the audience’s perception of the past.

Paper

### 8.3.4. Landscape and Youth: An oral history project on local knowledge and landscape

**Strohmeier, Gerhard, Alps-Adria University Klagenfurt, Austria**

**Sieber, Andrea, Alps-Adria University Klagenfurt, Austria**

“Landscape and Youth” focuses on the relationship between local knowledge and landscape with regard to the cultivation and manufacturing of flax in the Lesachtal, Austria. Very little traditional knowledge about flax has been documented in written form in this area, although flax was an important element of subsistence farming here up until the 1960s. Remnants of this form of land use are still visible today, such as the Brechlstube and the oil mill in Maria Luggau. Oral history interviews offer a way to resituate these landscape elements within the local cultural history of the Lesachtal. This paper describes a project in which students from the Neue Mittelschule Lesachtal and the HLW Hermagor were instructed in oral history techniques, and then interviewed older local inhabitants about the traditional cultivation and processing of flax and its significance in daily rural life. The interviews were used to reconstruct the spatio-temporal dynamics of land use and its socio-economic context. The students also used the interviews to create self-guided audio tours for the region, which provide an acoustic archive of hands-on agricultural know-how with regard to flax, support further socio-scientific investigation of the landscape and have practical value for locals and tourists. A documentary film has also been produced. Flax is now cultivated at the local monastery garden and crafting techniques have been revitalised for demonstration at the Brechlstube. The resulting interactions between humans and landscape will be analysed with regard to cultural and group-specific meaning in the context of place-identity.

#### Participants

**Ambrosoli, Mauro**

Mauro Ambrosoli is a professor of modern history at the University of Udine, where he was also director of the history department from 2001 to 2011. He is the author of *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350 to 1850* (1997), among many other publications. His research has ranged from textile markets in early modern Piedmont to political and scientific networks in the Napoleonic era. More recently he has been studying agricultural modernization, with particular attention to the transformation of European commons and the spread of urban green belt orchards and commercial vegetable gardens.

**Bernard, Claire**

Claire Bernard holds degrees from the Paris School of International Affairs (2009) and AgroParisTech (2011), and is currently working on a PhD in Environmental Management, with a focus on biodiversity conservation and enhancement. Her intervention-research on a development project in Northern Albania, funded by the French Global Environmental Facility, seeks to understand what strategic actions are needed to support environmentally sound development in disadvantaged areas.

**Blair, Annie**

Annie Blair has been a Performing Arts university lecturer. She gained a first-class Honours degree from Anglia Ruskin University, and then completed an MA in Research in Education with the Institute for Education at Warwick University in 2011. In 2006 she spent a year as a specialist theatre workshop practitioner for the Peterborough and Fenland MIND charity, and in recent years has undertaken drama project work for the National Health Service and other institutions. Her interests include student engagement, life-long learning, community theatre, theatre-in-education, and oral story-telling.

**Hunt, Abigail**

Abigail Hunt has a degree in Archaeology from the University of Liverpool, a Post Graduate Diploma in Heritage Studies from Nottingham Trent University, and a PGCE from the University of Northampton. She submitted her PhD thesis to the University of Lincoln in January 2013. Abigail Hunt worked in museums and heritage tourism for eight years, specializing in project management before joining the University Centre Peterborough five years ago. She is currently the Higher Education Manager at the Centre. Her research areas are modern agricultural history and the teaching of transferable skills in both the learning environment and the workplace.

**Lerin, François**

François Lerin is a social scientist and senior scientific administrator with the Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Montpellier, a division of the Centre International de Hautes Études Agronomiques Méditerranéennes. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Paris X-Nanterre. His primary research topic is the multi-scale analysis of international agro-environmental programs and local implementation contexts, with a focus on pastoralism and agro-biodiversity. He has conducted field work in the Balkan countries and the south of France, and is currently coordinator of the BiodivBalkans project.

**Lorenzini, Claudio**

Claudio Lorenzini is a researcher in Early Modern History at the University of Udine, where he previously received a degree in Cultural Heritage Preservation (with a thesis in cultural anthropology) and a PhD in history (with a thesis on the timber trade in the western Alps during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). In 2006-07 he was a field researcher with the “Kinship and Social Security” project coordinated by the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology; in 2008, he participated in the National Register of Historical Rural Landscapes project coordinated by the University of Florence.

**Sayre, Laura**

Laura Sayre is a post-doctoral fellow at the Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique, Science for Action and Development Department, based in Dijon, France. She holds a PhD in English from Princeton University, where her dissertation, *Farming by the Book: British Georgian in Prose and Practice, 1697-1820*, a study of eighteenth-century British agricultural writing, was awarded the Agricultural History Society’s Gilbert C. Fite Award. She is the co-editor of *Fields of Learning: The Student Farm Movement in North America* (2011), and is currently working on an edited book on agricultural reenactment history.

**Strohmeier, Gerhard**

Gerhard Strohmeier is a regional and urban sociologist and vice-director of the Institute of Intervention Research and Cultural Sustainability at Alps-Adria University Klagenfurt in Vienna. From 2002 to 2012 he was head of the Institute for City, Region and Spatial Development at Alps-Adria University Klagenfurt. He has held international fellowships in Australia, Sweden and the United States and has played a leading role in a number of major interdisciplinary research initiatives focused on cultural landscapes, including the Landscape and Youth project.





Panel

## 8.4. Land rights and rural development in the non-European world in the long 20th century

**Panel organiser: Vanhaute, Eric, Ghent University, Belgium**

Land has always been a pivotal means of production in rural societies. Access to land, its exploitation and cultivation has generated income for the big majority of mankind. Also, land has always been much more than an economic asset. Historians have documented extensively the political, cultural and social importance of land. In this session we aim to explore further the role of land in the survival strategies of peasantries. More in particular, the role of land as a bargaining tool for intergenerational wealth distribution will be examined. In divergent societies, from medieval England to 20th-century central Africa, land acts as an important tool for securing welfare for the elderly. Ownership of land enables them to exchange their property rights or rights of access for material assistance. Maintenance or support contracts between older and younger social groups based on the exchange of land rights are found in many rural societies. Next to formal agreements, land rights are also used to claim assistance from family members. Early modern European farm servants as well as international migrants in the 20th century remit part of their wages to their parents to secure inheritance of land. Peasant land rights thus act as a powerful tool to secure welfare entitlements. Some of the themes we explore during this session are: a) the development and nature of maintenance agreements in rural societies, b) the informal use of land to secure assistance from family members, c) the relationship between patterns of landownership and systems of welfare provisioning/poor relief.

**Chair: Langthaler, Ernst, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria**

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 8 – Room A 201

Paper

### 8.4.1. Regressive rights to personhood and property on the Canadian Prairies, 1870 to 1910

**Ward, Tony, Department of Economics, Brock University, Canada**

As the last vestiges of peasantry in the old western world ended, a new form of peasantry was imposed on the aboriginal populations of the New World. In the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, aboriginal populations were pushed from their ancestral lands to make way for incomers from Europe. First Nations peoples in Canada were subject to the 'Indian Act' of 1876, enacted without their representation. They were forced onto reservations, where they became wards of the Crown, with fewer rights and more restrictions than the incoming settlers. This paper examines the socio-economic position of First Nations people on the Ca-

nadian Prairies during the early years of European settlement, to analyse the origins of the extensive problems the aboriginals face today. These are in many ways similar to those of peasants in European countries during the Middle Ages — in some ways the Canadian aboriginals were in an even worse situation. Their main source of sustenance, the bison, was effectively extinct, so they had to develop new sources of food. Agricultural output from European peasants was not obstructed, they were able to buy any implements they could use profitably, and they could sell surplus production. The activities of the First Nations peoples, though, were at the whim of 'Indian Agents', with aboriginals unable to carry out any economic activity – buying or selling – without the permission of the Agent. Aboriginals had to carry passes just to leave the reservation.

### 8.4.2. Social Structure and Land Reforms in the Yangzi Delta between 1940 and 1980

**Wang, Yang, Ghent University, Belgium**

In this paper, I investigate China's social change between 1940 and 1980 from the perspective of the land system. China's rural economy has been facing continuous difficulties. The framework of successive land reforms has failed to give enough support for the small-scale peasant economy (household-based peasant economy). I focus on the systems of access to land and property of land in relation to the social power relations within rural societies in the Yangzi Delta.

### 8.4.3. Global land commodification, national land reform and communal land tenure in Carangas (Bolivia, 19th-20th centuries)

**Cottyn, Hanne, History Department, Ghent University, Belgium**

To date, the Carangas region (Oruro Department, Bolivia) remains one of the largest areas in the Central Andes where privatization pressures never managed to replace the communal land tenure system maintained by indigenous peasants. This has left a major mark on the region's historical trajectory. However, the formalization of land rights by legal state structures tends to push complementary community arrangements into a false dualist private-collective framework. Through a combination of detailed archival and field work results with a *longue durée* analysis, this research assesses the course of land titling procedures antecedent and subsequent to Bolivia's 1953 land reform. Over the last 500 years, the communities of Carangas have safeguarded a relatively high degree of autonomy by recurrently asserting collective land titles as a crucial negotiation tool towards governmental and intermediary actors. Particular attention is drawn to how Bolivia's most dramatic episode in land reform in the late 19th century failed to make its entrance in Carangas. Subsequently, this research examines the outcome of the mutual shaping between community-based land administration and successive reform projects in a region that has remained at the frontier of world-historical land commodification

#### Participants

**Cottyn, Hanne**

PhD Researcher, History Department, Ghent University Research Group CCC: Communities / Comparisons / Connections.

**Langthaler, Ernst**

Ernst Langthaler has studied Economic and Social History at the University of Vienna (MA 1995, PhD 2000, Habilitation 2010). He was Visiting Professor at the Universities of Innsbruck and Vienna and is currently Director of the Institute of Rural History in St. Pölten and Secretary of the European Rural History Organisation (EURHO). His interests cover agricultural and food history since 1800, regional and global history since 1800 and historical-anthropological theory.

**Vanhaute, Eric**

Eric Vanhaute is professor of economic and social history and world history at Ghent University, Belgium. He is head of the cross departmental research group CCC – Communities-Comparisons-Connections at Ghent University (<http://www.ccc.ugent.be>). He coordinates the collaborative research project "Trajectories of peasant transformation. A comparative and global research into the decline and disappearance of peasantries, 1500-2000". He is member of the board of the International Research Community CORN Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area.

**Wang, Yang (John)**

PhD Researcher, History Department, Ghent University Research Group CCC: Communities / Comparisons / Connections.

**Ward, Tony**

Associate Professor, Department of Tourism and Environment, Department of Economics, Brock University, Canada

## 8.5. Crises, fluctuations, land-use changes and their long term consequences 1300-1870. Multidisciplinary approaches

**Panel organiser: Morell, Mats, Stockholm University, Sweden; Isacson, Maths, Uppsala University, Sweden**

This panel discusses multidisciplinary approaches to the problem of resilience of systems of land-use and social reproduction in pre-industrial agrarian societies. We are interested in how pre-industrial agrarian households interacted with the society and the nature from which they acquired ecosystem services they needed to secure their livelihoods and to socially reproduce themselves. The panel is focussing on periods of crisis and fluctuation (induced by climate, market, or demographic upheaval related to pestilence), the way agrarian societies adapted to such phenomena and how their pattern of land-use and social reproduction was affected. On the micro level we are interested in the agency of households: how they, within given social structures, acted in response to, or in anticipation of fluctuations and what the short and long term effects of their actions were, socially and ecologically. We are interested in whether the system of land-use and social sustention households were involved in was resilient or not, i.e. whether (and how) households managed to adapt their land-use, so it could offer the ecosystem services needed, without evocating ecological or social imbalances threatening further functioning of the land-use pattern. Attention needs to be paid to the household's social position, the power and market relations it was involved in, its duties, its possibilities to command recourses (e.g. labour power) and the power relations within the households, (related to gender and generation). For such micro studies a historical and biological reading of various archival sources, peasant diaries, cadastral maps, tax-records, etc., may be employed along with pollen analysis and field studies. On the macro level we are interested in studies of how severe crises – the Black Death is the paramount case, but there are also early modern examples right up to the 19th century – affects land-use and settlement structures and how this land-use development is related to the demographic change as well as to nutritional standards. Here archival material can be combined with archaeological, palaeoecological and osteological analyses

**Chair: Morell, Mats, Stockholm University, Sweden**

**Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 8 – Room A 027**

### 8.5.1. Agricultural and social responses to the Black Death in Sweden

**Lagerås, Per, Swedish National Heritage Board, Lund, Sweden**

Research on the late-medieval crisis in Sweden has so far mainly been based on the historical records. In a project in progress – The archaeology and ecology of collapse: social and agricultural change following the Black Death in Sweden – a multidisciplinary approach is applied, based on interpretations of palaeoecological and archaeological records. A large set of pollen data from more than 30 sites is used to study changes in vegetation and agricultural land use. The results reveal significant changes due to farm abandonment during the 14th and 15th centuries, in particular in marginal upland areas. Decreasing cereal-pollen percentages indicate the abandonment of arable fields, while the relationship between grass-land pollen and tree pollen seems to indicate a relatively restricted reforestation on former pastures. The latter is important for an understanding of the role of animal husbandry in a time of population decline, and may reflect social strategies to handle an excess of land but shortage of labour. Another empirical basis for the project is a set of bioarchaeological data of human skeletons from medieval cemeteries. Approx. 2000 individuals are interpreted in terms of stature as an indication of the biological standard of living. In addition, a selection of individuals from before and after the Black Death is analysed for stable isotopes of nitrogen and carbon in order to reveal possible changes in nutritional status. The new results and interpretations will be presented and discussed in relation to the current historical knowledge.

### 8.5.2. The agrarian household as a social-ecological system

**Lennartsson, Tommy, Swedish Biodiversity Centre, Uppsala, Sweden**

Before introduction of fossil fuels and fertilisers, agriculture was largely based on local ecosystem resources. The subsistence of an agrarian household also depended on socio-economic variables such as microeconomic and macroeconomic conditions, societal structure, and local social relations, including the household's internal gender structure. Few studies have addressed the question of how multiple variables simultaneously provided the arena for farmers. In this study we apply a social-ecological framework on an early 19th century Swedish agrarian household, as described through the detailed diary by the farmer and parish priest J. F. Muncktell (1764-1848). The household is viewed as a dynamic system in which the household acts across ecological, economic, and social domains, and across different spatial, temporal, and organisational scales within each domain. When reading the diary we focus on variables and activities important for the resilience of the subsistence system against biophysical and socio-economic variation. Muncktell's description of the household's potentials, problems, and activities indicates four important, interlinked, domains:

ecosystem resources, economy, social network, and labour. The household's economy seems to encourage a farming system with intense rye production which suffers from deficit of pasture and hay. This deficit in the ecological domain is handled by improving the ecosystem resources, but also through actions in the social-network and the labour domains. Based on this information we discuss the sustainability of the household's subsistence system.

### 8.5.3. Settlement and desertion processes in the Northern Harz region

**Küntzel, Thomas, Regierungspräsidium Karlsruhe, Germany**

In 2004/2005 large-scale excavations took place between Blankenburg and Quedlinburg in Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany, preceding a road building. Several medieval villages could be investigated, especially the large village Marsleben north of Quedlinburg. The documented remains were reconstructed in a project located at the Anhalt University of Applied Sciences in Dessau, called „OSCAR“ (Open Settlement and Communication and Research Platform“. Alongside the work with the archaeological remains, the historical development of settlements in the vicinity of Quedlinburg was investigated. The region is characterized by highly fertile soils and large villages, which nearly look like small towns. This was proved by the excavations, which brought into evidence the impressive houses the farmers lived in. But in the 14th and 15th centuries most of the settlements were deserted, which is highlighted by a registry of parish taxes of the bishopric of Halberstadt. Only few villages survived. The area, the deserted villages were located in, today forms the municipality district of Quedlinburg. In the Middle ages, it belonged to the royal chapter of Quedlinburg. But the town-community of Quedlinburg acquired the sovereignty by mortgage. In 1477 the abbess not only regained the privileges by subduing the community, but also the desertion process stopped. The paper will throw light on the different causes of the process and how they are illustrated by the excavations on the B6n Highway

### 8.5.4. Pre-industrial agrarian households' adaptations to harvest crises and fluctuations: a social-ecological approach

**Dahlström, Anna, Swedish Biodiversity Centre, Uppsala, Sweden**

**Isacson, Maths, Uppsala University, Sweden**

The subsistence of pre-industrial agrarian households depended on local ecosystem resources and a number of socio-economic variables, including relations to markets, conditions for land tenure and social relations. This paper investigates, for a sample of households in East central Sweden, activities, which were developed in order to handle climatic variation and severe harvest crises. These activities could imply modification in the households' land use system as well as their behaviour vis-à-vis markets or their local social relations. The activities expressed strategies, which de facto aimed at making the subsistence system of the households resilient to biophysical and socio-economic variation. We focus on both direct crises measures ('shock-absorbers') and adaptations and planning which anticipated weather fluctuations, known to be immanent in the households' environment. Furthermore we recognize the by-effects of some of the measures taken: A solution to shortfall in one respect could produce deficits in another. We study seven households of varying social standing, either situated in forested areas, with a market relation to ironworks for which they produced charcoal and transport services, or in the plains where grain surpluses for sale normally were produced. In several cases, the procurement of winter fodder for the animals was a weak point. We combine local price series, official harvest notifications, cadastral maps, enclosure act, various parish accounts but foremost rely on detailed diaries from the farmer households involved. The fluctuations in 1797-1812 and severe crises in 1844/46 and 1867/68 are focused upon.

#### Participants

**Dahlström, Anna**

Anna Dahlström received her PhD in agrarian history in 2007 with a thesis about grazing pressure in Sweden 1600-1850, addressing questions on biodiversity in semi-natural pastures. With a background in biology, her research combines agrarian history and ecology with questions derived from both disciplines. Among her publications is *Managing biodiversity rich hay meadows in the EU: a comparison of Swedish and Romanian grasslands* (Environmental conservation, in press, with Ana Maria Iuga and Tommy Lennartsson) and *Wolves in the early nineteenth century county of Jönköping, Sweden* (Environment and History, accepted, with Örjan Kardell).

**Isacson, Maths**

Maths Isacson professor in Economic History at Uppsala University since 1996. He wrote his doctoral thesis on economic development and social stratification among the peasantry in a Swedish parish during the 18th and 19th century. Since then he has been doing research about proto-industrialisation, work and environment, industrial transition, industrial heritage and modern agriculture. Among his publications is *The Agricultural History of Sweden V, 1945-2000* and a chapter about the period 1945-2000 in *The Agrarian History of Sweden* (both together with Iréne A. Flygare).

**Küntzel, Thomas**

Thomas Küntzel studied History and Ethnology at universities in Göttingen, Tübingen and Kiel. In 2000 he finished his M.A. with a study on deserted central European towns. In 1997 he joined the excavation team in Nienover. With Dr. Sonja König he wrote a dissertation on the archaeological contexts documented in Nienover. Later he engaged in archaeological projects in several city centres, former towns, monasteries, on the reconstruction of medieval villages („OSCAR“, University of Applied Sciences Anhalt, Dessau) and prehistoric and medieval landscapes (LIDAR-Scan Naumburg, Welterbe an Saale und Unstrut).

**Lagerås, Per**

Per Lagerås is a palaeoecologist and holds a research position at the Swedish National Heritage Board in Lund. He has a PhD in Quaternary geology from Lund University and is appointed Assoc. Prof. at the Dept. of Agricultural History, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala. His research focuses on long-term agricultural history and cultural landscape development. Among his publications is the book *The Ecology of Expansion and Abandonment: Medieval and Post-Medieval Land-use and settlement Dynamics in a Landscape Perspective* (2007).

**Lennartsson, Tommy**

Tommy Lennartsson is Researcher at the Swedish Biodiversity Centre and Assoc. Prof. in Conservation Biology, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. His research focus are applied biodiversity conservation questions in a historical-ecological perspective, and the forming and use of ecosystem resources in historical subsistence systems. Both historical, archaeological, and ethnological sources are used to derive the historical land use. Among his publications are *Biodiversity and traditional land use in south-central Sweden - the significance of timing of management.* (Environment and History, with A. Dahlström, J. Wissman and I. Frycklund).

**Morell, Mats**

Mats Morell received his PhD in Economic History from Uppsala University in 1987 on a doctoral thesis on Food consumption in Sweden in the 17th to the 19th century. Since 2010 he is professor of Economic History at Stockholm University. His research focuses on early modern and recent rural history of Scandinavia. Among his publications is *The Agricultural History of Sweden IV, 1870-1945* (in Swedish). He is co-editor and co-author of *The Agrarian History of Sweden 4000 BC to 2000 AD* and has been editor of the *Scandinavian Economic History Review*.



Panel

## 8.6. Cadastral sources from Scandinavia as gateway to Rural History

**Panel organiser: Dam, Peder, University of Copenhagen, Denmark**

Denmark, Norway and Sweden including attached countries such as Finland, the Baltic countries, Pomerania and Schleswig-Holstein have rich collections of nationwide cadastral sources. Unique cadastres (matriklar, jordeböcker and similar) and large-scale maps were created by strong and centralized administrations in the 16th and 17th century, primary for taxation purposes and for managing the large royal estates. They provide a unique insight and valuation of the pre modern agrarian landscape and society. Thousands of individual settlements, and even single strips of land, can be analyzed and compared. These Scandinavian sources are perhaps the most fruitful historical sources of its kind. Still, many questions are unanswered and several possible historical analyses have never been done because of the size and complexity of the sources. The aim of this panel is to discuss the background and origin of various cadastral and similar sources of 16th and 17th century, as well as the challenges and potential in using the sources in historical analysis. The following topics are raised: a) Political and historical background of the sources, b) The characteristics of the sources and c) Challenges and potential in historical analysis and examples of such analysis.

**Chair: Rasmussen, Carsten Porskrog, Aarhus University, Denmark**

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 8 – Room A 022

Paper

### 8.6.1. The total registration of farms in Sweden 1530–1630

**Karsvall, Olof, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden**

In the 1530s a central register was created in Sweden, the Crown's cadastres (Kronans kordeböcker) following the leadership of King Gustav I. This work was further refined during the 1540s under the direction of German assistants, with detailed specifications of the annual land-taxes applied to individual farms, registered by category of land ownership. Surprisingly, despite the Reformation (introduced 1527) the late medieval distinction between tenants belonging to the church and monasteries remained. Therefore the cadastres also enable further retrogressive studies of the late medieval condition. Generally, Sweden appears to have been sparsely

populated and inhabited, with few towns and few large farms (demesne). Instead single farms or smaller hamlet of 2-4 farms reappear. The Crown only constituted 5 % of the land by early 1600s. A high proportion of farms (45 %) were freeholders, which separate Sweden from other countries in Europe at the time, although tenants were in majority in the central and southern provinces. By 1560 basically all farms across the country had been registered, estimated to 65 000–70 000 farms or holdings (Heckscher 1935, Larsson 1985). Fortunately, most of the cadastres are preserved today. The first series 1530–1630 comprises 7 000 cadastres (Finland not included): in total, hundreds of thousands of data on farms. Since last year the entire collection is digitally available through the Swedish National Archives (National archives, Kammarkarkivet, Landskapshandlingar).

### 8.6.2. Old Swedish geometrical maps

**Tollin, Clas, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden**

Sweden has a unique collection of large scale maps from the 1630es on. These maps show in detail the agrarian landscape at the time including the building tofts, the land use distribution in arable land, hay meadows, paddocks and so on. Even line elements like fences, roads and boundaries are registried. Together with the map there is a text description (Notarum Explicatio) consisting of cameral and economic data. There are for instance figures over the size of arable land and harvest of hay for each farm. Besides there notations of the quality of the soil, type of grassland, hop gardens, water mills, fishing sites and other items. No other country in the world has a nearly as comprehensive, coherent and systematic large scale mapping from 1600's first half. In total there are maps from more than 12,000 hamlets, villages and single farms in Sweden, before the Treaty of Brömsebro 1645. Since 2010 all maps and transcribed texts are available as open access on the Web. There is also a connected data base called GEORG with statistics, quantitative and qualitative data also available as open access. [www.riksarkivet.se/georg](http://www.riksarkivet.se/georg)

### 8.6.3. Danish land registers

**Dam, Peder, University of Copenhagen, Denmark**

After yet another lost war (1657-1660) against the contemporary superpower, Sweden, the need for a new danish taxation system of the agrarian population arose. In the 1660s information of each farms land rent, e.g. type and amount of natural goods paid by the tenants to their landlords, was collected and from this the taxes were then subsequently fixed. Twenty years later in the 1680s a new taxation was carried out: every strip of cultivated land was measured and valued, and furthermore a rougher estimation of the non-cultivated areas such as grasslands, forests, heaths and moors were carried out. Finally, all values and estimates were calculated, converted and summarized for each farm, resulting in the total valuation in one uniform unit. These two land registers are huge, even for a European standards, and furthermore they were carried out systematic for each farm in the Kingdom of Denmark. They can provide us with a unique and detailed picture of the physical landscape, of the land ownership and of the settlement structure before the agrarian reforms dramatically changed it all. Both registers have been subject to digitization and mapping in GIS the last decade.

### 8.6.4. Finding agrarian capitalism in Norway c. 1500–1800

**Dørum, Knut, University of Agder, Norway**

The point of departure of this article is the research on agrarian capitalism in Norway in c. 1500–1800 based on cadastres and deeds. It has been a widespread opinion that the Norwegian farming prior to 1800 had no commercial potential. A common suggestion is that the climate conditions, the scattered population and the scarcity of arable land constituted major obstacles to any development of livestock and cereal production for sale, markets and consumers. There were no or at least extremely weak foundations for any capitalistic element in the peasants' farming, neither in the landed estates owned by burghers and state officials nor in the demesne land held by the nobility. The nobility had reached the edge of extinction, while the burghers and the state officials only succeeded to a minor extent in acquiring large and coherent landed estates and even less geographically concentrated estates. Their landed estates were scattered around over a wide area, and the higher estates were seldom interested in commercial use of their landed properties. Furthermore, the social distribution of land properties also left little room for large-scale production. In the 17th century the numerous peasants owned 40 per cent of the landed estates, and their share increased to two-thirds around 1820. This paper seeks to examine to which degree the mentioned description fits into the historical reality of Norway c. 1500-1800.

#### Participants

**Dam, Peder**  
PhD / PostDoc Department of History SAXO-Institute Copenhagen University, Denmark. [www.ku.dk](http://www.ku.dk).

**Dørum, Knut**  
Professor, Department of Religion, Philosophy and History Humanities and Education University of Agder, Norway.

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**Rasmussen, Carsten Porskrog**  
Associate professor, Docent History Department Department of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, Denmark. [www.au.dk](http://www.au.dk).

**Tollin, Clas**  
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## 8.7. Rural Resilience to Disaster: explaining regional divergences (Middle Ages – c. 1850). Part I: Epizootics

**Panel organiser: Soens, Tim, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

Over the past decade an increased number of historical studies have focused on the impact of natural and man-made disasters in the past. Although a lot of attention has been paid to both the impact of disaster, and human adaptation and mitigation strategies, most studies fail to explain why similar 'shocks' often had a completely different impact in different regions and periods. Framed within the CORN-Research programme, a systematic effort to compare and explain structural regional divergences in resilience to disaster on the pre-1850 countryside has been initiated. For different types of rural disaster, we want to assess the impact of regional divergences in (A) "Institutions": regional differences in risk-coping institutions and policies; (B) "inequalities": the social spread of risk, linked to overall social (im)balances in the region; (C) "Envirotech": regional divergences in the development of technological answers to disaster; (D.) "Discourses": contemporary discourses and perceptions of disaster and their agency on the impact of disaster and (E) "Market development": the capacity of regional markets to cushion the effects of natural disasters on prices and thus to alleviate their impact on material welfare. In the first session, we want to explain divergences in the impact of epizootics, from the interrelated sheep- and cattle 'panzootic' of 1315-1321 to the successive waves of 'rinderpest' in the 18th century, by relating them to regional divergences in farming practices, social relations, and state or local policies. Especially for eighteenth-century outbreaks of rinderpest, detailed investigations have revealed the considerable regional variation in both impact of and responses to the disease. Preventative slaughter was instated in some areas (England; the Austrian Netherlands) but failed in others (France; the Dutch Republic). Concurrently, during the eighteenth century as during the Great Cattle Plague of the fourteenth century there were marked regional differences in cattle mortality. Historians have noted links with, among other factors, cattle density and geographical isolation, but as yet no comparative study has been made of this divergent mortality. Nevertheless, such a study could help clarify, for instance, the relative importance of state intervention versus socio-economic structure in determining the impact of epizootics. Conversely, divergent experiences of cattle diseases might have led to very different medical attitudes, perceptions of risk, or ways of mitigating their impact.

**Chair: Soens, Tim, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1100 – 1300 // Session 8 – Room A 019

### 8.7.1. Power, Economics and the Seasons. Local Differences in the Perception of Cattle Plagues in 18th Century Schleswig and Holstein

**Huenniger, Dominik, University of Goettingen, Germany**

The impact of cattle plagues on society in Early Modern Europe was – like today - immense. Containment policies and strategies of coping with epizootics have been varied and were discussed controversially. This paper will use the reactions and measures of local farmers, artisans, physicians and administrators in 18th century Northern Germany in analyzing different strategies and concerns. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, geographically located between the Baltic and the North Sea, are especially suited for the panel's focus on regional differences, because economical practices as well as power relations and property rights varied considerably. Parallel to the recent research on the history of epidemics from the point of view of the social and cultural history of medicine and its focus on the "framing of diseases", the interests and behaviour of different actors and their ways of communicating in times of crises will be examined.

### 8.7.2. God's Hand striking the Netherlands? The Dutch response to Cattle Plague in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

**Looijesteijn, Henk, International Institute of Social History, Netherlands**

**Van Leeuwen, Marco H.D., University of Utrecht, Netherlands**

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Netherlands were hit several times, at long intervals, by swiftly spreading outbreaks of cattle-plague, severely impacting on Dutch husbandry and the rural economy. The central issue we will address in this paper will be how differences in the virulence and the tactics to fight the spread of cattle plague in the Netherlands were connected with and influenced by changing technological, social-cultural, political and institutional factors. In addition we will look at how one perceived

the risk at the time and tried to contain it, how and why one tried to prevent the outbreak and spread of Cattle Plague, if, how and why one tried to come up with insurance arrangements and other forms of damage control.

### 8.7.3. Explaining regional variations in the impact of rinderpest. Flanders and Brabant in the 18th century

**Van Roosbroeck, Filip, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

Historians studying the 18th century rinderpest epizootics in a variety of countries, such as England or the Dutch Republic, have long noted that outbreaks seem to have been particularly intense and lethal in regions specializing in cattle breeding or dairy farming. While this seems manifestly plausible — the combination of short incubation period, high contagiousness over short distances and dramatic symptoms make rinderpest a disease that can very quickly spread through a dense population while reaching high rates of mortality and morbidity — there is as yet no systematic and quantitative comparison of rinderpest outbreaks in different regions. In this paper, such a comparison will be conducted for two distinct regions in present-day Belgium: the Campine, to the east of Antwerp, characterised by peasant smallholders, and Coastal Flanders, dominated by large commercial holdings. Using annual data from taxation records as well as more detailed information gathered during the 1769 - 1785 epizootic, it is argued that there were significant differences in both the short-term behaviour of outbreaks as well as the long-term impact of rinderpest. These differences are explained with reference to socio-economic differences between agrosystems. The implications for the efficacy of government policy and attitudes towards rinderpest are also discussed.

### 8.7.4. Tradition, Judgment, and Response: Combatting Cattle Plague during an Era of Disaster

**Sundberg, Adam, University of Kansas, USA**

The history of eighteenth century cattle plague in the Netherlands is often interpreted as a process of gradual adaptation leading to an eventual, successful eradication of the disease. This type of positivist analysis privileges modernist assumptions about progress relating to the eventual development of veterinary science and medicine. Seen in this light, Dutch responses to rinderpest epidemics were relatively ineffectual and static. While rinderpest did eventually prompt a reevaluation of disease in the Netherlands much as it did in other European countries, historians often treat the Dutch case as one of political indecision and conservative, rural aversion to developing techniques including slaughter and inoculation. The Dutch example must be reevaluated in view of the context of the era rather than eventual outcomes. Rinderpest was not simply an independent epidemic, but part of a larger series of disasters that affected the Netherlands in the eighteenth century. Dutch governmental, religious, and personal documents attest to the perceived connectedness of these disasters. These documents also reveal an active interest in understanding and combatting the disease whether by traditional remedies, spiritual solutions, or novel innovations. This project investigates Dutch political, cultural, and economic responses to cattle plague given the perception and interpretation of disease in the eighteenth century, their foundation in the histories and traditional means of understanding environmental change, and in view of a larger period of eighteenth century disaster.

#### Participants

**Huenniger, Dominik**

Dr. Dominik Huenniger is a cultural historian with special interest in 18th century environmental and medical history as well as the history of universities. After studying History, English and Psychology at the Universities of Kiel and Hull, he obtained a PhD from the University of Goettingen with a thesis on the cultural history of epizootics in 18th century Northern Europe. In Goettingen, Dominik Huenniger held a scholarship of the PhD programme on "Interdisciplinary Environmental History". Since October 2012 he is managing director of the Lichtenberg-Kolleg - Goettingen's Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

**Looijesteijn, Henk**

Henk Looijesteijn (1973) specializes in the history of the Dutch Republic in an international and global perspective. He obtained his doctorate from the European University Institute in Florence, for his thesis on the Dutch radical social and religious thinker Pieter Plockhoy (ca. 1620-1664). Currently he is a postdoc researcher on the GIGA-project at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, studying among others how and why private benefactors founded almshouses for the elderly. He also organized the first international comparative conference on almshouses as a specific charitable institution.

**Soens, Tim**

Tim Soens is Associate Professor of Medieval and Environmental History at the University of Antwerp (Belgium). He studied Medieval History at the University of Ghent, where he obtained his PhD in 2006, investigating water management and the interaction of man and nature in coastal Flanders (1300-1600). Within the Antwerp Department of History, Tim Soens has developed a new research line 'Environment and Power', concentrating on the historical relationship between human societies and the natural environment, and the way this interaction was steered by evolving power constellations and formal and informal institutions.

**Sundberg, Adam**

Adam Sundberg received his BA in history from Truman State University (2007) and his MA from the University of Kansas (2011). He is currently working toward his PhD under Gregory Cushman. Sundberg's work focuses on Dutch environmental history, historical GIS, and the history of climate. He is a fellow in KU's NSF IGERT program; an interdisciplinary climate change research and training group. From 2011-2012, he was a Fulbright scholar to the Netherlands working with Petra van Dam at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam on a dissertation focusing on Dutch response to environmental and cultural change in the eighteenth century.

**Van Leeuwen, Marco H.D.**

Marco H.D. van Leeuwen is professor of historical sociology in Utrecht, and honorary research fellow at the International Institute of Social History. He studied history in Amsterdam (MA cum laude 1985) and sociology in Utrecht (PhD cum laude 1990). He holds the ERC Advanced Investigator Grant 'Towards Open Societies? Trends, Variations and Driving Forces of Intergenerational Social Mobility in Europe over the Past Three Centuries'. His chosen field is social inequality world wide from 1500 to the present.

**Van Roosbroeck, Filip**

After graduating from the Vrije Universiteit Brussel in 2009 with an MA in History, Filip Van Roosbroeck (1987) went on to read for an MSc in the History of Science, Medicine and Technology at the University of Oxford. Currently, he is working on an FWO-funded Ph.D. project at the University of Antwerp about the rinderpest epizootic of 1769 - 1785. Particular points of interest are divergent experiences of rinderpest in various agro-systems, and medical views among the peasantry.



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<p><b>Land- and credit-market participation and inequality - a self-sustaining process?</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Limberger, Michael De Vijlder, Nicolas</p> <p>Chair: Limberger, Michael</p>	<p><b>9.1.1. Rural credit, peasant land market and inequality in Eastern Spain in the late Middle Ages. The kingdom of Valencia, 14th-15th centuries</b></p> <p>Furió, Antoni</p>	<p><b>9.1.2. The „Interessegulden“ of 1635 – Styria's First Tax on Credit Transactions</b></p> <p>Khull-Kholwald, Martin</p>	<p><b>9.1.3. Land markets in Early Modern Inland Flanders and Brabant. Two contrasting experiences?</b></p> <p>De Vijlder, Nicolas</p>	<p><b>9.1.4. Integrated rural economy in Early Modern Western Slovenia</b></p> <p>Panjek, Aleksander</p>	<p><b>Panel 9.1</b> Room A-126</p>
<p><b>Nature control and land use in flood areas</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Takahashi, Motoyasu Yamauchi, Futoshi</p> <p>Chair: Yamauchi, Futoshi</p>	<p><b>9.2.1. Communal Organisations in the English Fen-edge Area: for a Study of Historical Parallel and Contrast with the Warichi (Land Distribution) System in Echigo, Japan</b></p> <p>Takahashi, Motoyasu</p>	<p><b>9.2.2. Nature control and land use in flood areas: a case study of Naka-go-ya, Nishi-kanbara, Niigata, Japan</b></p> <p>Yamauchi, Futoshi Murayama, Yoshiyuki</p>	<p><b>9.2.3. Governance System of Flood Control in Tokugawa Japan: a case study on the coexisting system of human beings and nature in Echigo Plain</b></p> <p>Hasebe, Hiroshi</p>		<p><b>Panel 9.2</b> Room A-119</p>
<p><b>The economic enlightenment and beyond. Collecting, evaluating and spreading knowledge to exploit agrarian resources, 1750-1850</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Dauser, Regina; Stuber, Martin; Popplow, Marcus</p> <p>Chair: Popplow, Marcus</p>	<p><b>9.3.1. Hands-on Agriculture. Conceptualizing the Empirical in German Agricultural Enlightenment</b></p> <p>Lehmbrock, Verena</p>	<p><b>9.3.2. The more Information – the more Expertise? Collecting, Evaluating, and Implementing advanced Agrarian Knowledge in the Electoral Palatinate, c. 1776-1800</b></p> <p>Dauser, Regina</p>	<p><b>9.3.3. From „Pflanz-Gart“ to „Stammregister“ – On the history of knowledge of fruit cultivation in the canton of Bern</b></p> <p>Stuber, Martin</p>	<p><b>9.3.4. From mobilizing knowledge, to sustained productivity growth? Agricultural prizes in Geneva during the long 19th century</b></p> <p>Wenger, Sylvain</p>	<p><b>Panel 9.3</b> Room A-122</p>
<p><b>Wetland reclamation in Early Modern Europe</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Van Cruyningen, Piet</p> <p>Chair: Hoyle, Richard W.</p>	<p><b>9.4.1. Managing the risks of drainage. A micro-perspective on risk assessment in early modern Flemish drainage projects</b></p> <p>Soens, Tim De Graef, Pieter</p>	<p><b>9.4.2. Dutch investors and the drainage of Hatfield Chase, 1626-1656</b></p> <p>van Cruyningen, Piet</p>	<p><b>9.4.3. Draining the coastal marshes of North West Norfolk. The Le Stranges of Hunstanton, 1604-1724</b></p> <p>Griffiths, Elizabeth</p>		<p><b>Panel 9.4</b> Room A 201</p>
<p><b>Rural Resilience to Disaster. Part II: Warfare</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: van Bavel, Bas</p> <p>Chair: van Bavel, Bas</p>	<p><b>9.5.1. The impact of the Italian Wars (1494-1559) on the rural areas of northern Italy</b></p> <p>Alfani, Guido Di Tullio, Matteo</p>	<p><b>9.5.2. The effects of military destruction in late medieval Flanders: explaining regional differences</b></p> <p>Erik Thoen; Kristof Dombrecht; Lies Vervae; Tim Soens</p>	<p><b>9.5.3. Venetian rural communities during the „Italian Wars“: Institutional evolution and tightness of the rural economic system</b></p> <p>Ongaro, Giulio</p>	<p><b>9.5.4. Rurality and Warfare: Portugal in the context of the Peninsular War (1807-1811)</b></p> <p>Couceiro, Pedro</p>	<p><b>Panel 9.5</b> Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Long-term effects of agrarian crisis and agrarian depressions on commercial networks (1750-2000)</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Herment, Laurent</p> <p>Chair: Chatriot, Alain</p>	<p><b>9.6.1. The Great Depression and the Greek rural economy: agrarian crisis and rural production's commercialisation</b></p> <p>Brégianni, Catherine</p>	<p><b>9.6.2. Harvest crises and dearth crises: a comparison of the causes and effects of the food crises of the 1840s and 1850s in Belgium</b></p> <p>Ronsijn, Wouter</p>	<p><b>9.6.3. What about subsistence crisis in the middle of nineteenth century in England?</b></p> <p>Herment, Laurent</p>		<p><b>Panel 9.6</b> Room A 022</p>
<p><b>Knowledge networks in rural Europe, 1700-2000. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Segers, Yves</p> <p>Chair: Fernández Prieto, Lourenzo</p>	<p><b>9.7.1. Knowledge networks in rural Europe: theories, concepts and historiographies</b></p> <p>Segers, Yves Van Molle, Leen</p>	<p><b>9.7.2. Agrarian press and its contribution to technical change in Galicia, 1900-1975</b></p> <p>Cabo Villaverde, Miguel</p>	<p><b>9.7.3. Diffusion of agricultural science and technologies: the innovation system in Galicia (Spain), 1880 – 1936</b></p> <p>Fernández Prieto, Lourenzo Soto Fernandez, David Cabo Villaverde, Miguel Lanero Táboas, Daniel</p>	<p><b>9.7.4. Technical change and knowledge networks in Great Britain 1945-1980s</b></p> <p>Brassley, Paul</p>	<p><b>Panel 9.7</b> Room A 019</p>



## Panel 9.1. Land- and credit-market participation and inequality - a self-sustaining process?

**Panel organiser:** Limberger, Michael, Ghent University, Belgium; De Vijlder, Nicolas, Ghent University, Belgium

From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, two parallel evolutions gave shape to (new) economic and social structures on the European countryside. First, a redistribution of property between social groups occurred. Although the same general tendencies existed across Europe, this process showed vast regional differences in speed as well as in effect. Second, factor markets for land, credit and labour came into existence. These markets were in part the cause (as for the land and credit market) and the result (as for the labour market) of the aforementioned redistribution. Within the current rural historiography, both evolutions are well researched as illustrated by recently published overviews (B. van Bavel and R. Hoyle 2010 and I. Devos, T. Lambrecht and E. Vanhoute 2011). However, the processes and mechanisms of how asset management and market participation could lead to increased inequality within society remains much less studied. Furthermore a pan-European view on how participation on the land market (either voluntary or through indirect coercion) could fasten the redistribution of property and bolster new interdependency relations is almost absent. In this session we attempt to fill up at least part of this lacuna. We bring together researchers who are working on market participation of economic actors and are revealing the structural mechanisms behind their actions. Both qualitative and quantitative research will be presented and thus both judicial and economic sources and methodologies will be incorporated. Furthermore, a comparative approach in both time and space, will be adopted, both in methodology and case-studies. Therefore, we should be able to uncover recurring mechanisms and patterns across Europe throughout the Ancien Régime. A preparatory workshop was organised at Ghent University in April 2013. Goal of this meeting is to enable the participants of the panel to present preliminary research, compare methodological approaches and (if necessary) refine research questions. This approach will facilitate comparability of the research results during the conference itself. This session will be organised in collaboration with the CORN-research network (<http://www.corn.ugent.be>) and the EED-research (<http://www.eed.ugent.be>) group at Ghent University.

**Chair:** Limberger, Michael, Ghent University, Belgium

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1400 – 1600 // Session 9 – Room A-126

## Paper 9.1.1. Rural credit, peasant land market and inequality in Eastern Spain in the late Middle Ages. The kingdom of Valencia, 14th-15th centuries

**Furió, Antoni, University of Valencia, Spain**

This paper analyzes the factors behind this transformation of the property relations in the kingdom of Valencia, in the East of Spain between the 13th and the 15th century. The kingdom of Valencia was conquered by Christian kings in the framework of the re-

conquista. Christian settlers were granted landholdings of an average size of 9 ha. By the fifteenth century the average size of the landholdings had decreased however to less than 5 ha and the landed property was distributed on a highly unequal basis. Among the factors of this transition we can count a considerable population growth, the practice of partible inheritance, the rise of land and credit markets and a high mobility of the population.

## 9.1.2. The „Interessegulden“ of 1635 – Styria’s First Tax on Credit Transactions

**Khull-Kholwald, Martin, University of Graz, Austria**

In 1537 the Styrian assembly of the estates for the first time discussed about imposing a tax on credit transactions. Almost 100 years later the first tax on credit transactions was successfully established in Styria. The intensive political discussion about a tax on credit transactions proves that credit was much more commonly used in Styrian rural areas than expected. Lending money on interest was considered to generate income. The Styrian nobility was engaged in gaining its share in this market. Analyzing Styria’s first tax on credit transactions helped to define the level of market participation of the different acting groups on the credit market. The “Interessegulden” revealed the market shares of single creditors. Being able to lend money offered the chance to grab power. The examples of noblemen lending money on interest to their tenants displayed an important mechanism meant to strengthen the power of the lord over his subjects. Tenants had to pay rent and installments. Due to this fact, the economic inequality between lord and tenants increased. Tax evasion is the reason why the declared amount of credit must be considered to be the minimum amount of money invested into credit transactions in Styria. The legal framework of the “Interessegulden” offered several ways to avoid taxation. Especially taxpayers who negotiated with the Styrian bureaucracy and tried to reduce their dues by using legal means, give us an insight into the structural mechanisms of the Styrian credit market.

## 9.1.3. Land markets in Early Modern Inland Flanders and Brabant. Two contrasting experiences?

**De Vijlder, Nicolas, Ghent University, Belgium**

The development of factor markets during the transition from the Middle Ages into the early modern period was of crucial importance for long term economic growth. However, especially in the Southern Low Countries, the land market remains understudied. In this paper I focus on the late sixteenth-century rural land market, using two case-studies each consisting of three parishes. A first case-study is formed by the parishes of Sleidinge and Evergem situated inland-Flanders near the city of Ghent. The second case-study comprises the parishes St-Kathelijne Lombek, Wambeek and Ternat and is located about ten kilometers from Brussels. Our preliminary research garnered several interesting results. Although both case-studies are part of the larger agrosystem of Inland Flanders, market activity (type of plots sold, average acreage sold, yearly turnover etc...) differed greatly between the two regions. Our analysis shows that these contrasting experiences can be explained by a combination of institutional, socio-economic and geographical factors.

## 9.1.4. Integrated rural economy in Early Modern Western Slovenia

**Panjek, Aleksander, University of Primorska, Slovenia**

The paper concentrates on the region of western Slovenia, a mountain area comprising Alpine and sub-alpine as well as Karstic environments. A striking characteristic of the region under observation is that the early modern peasant economy structurally integrated agricultural with non-agricultural income sources, especially from trade, transport and smuggling. Research on the market-oriented activities of the rural population in the Eastern Alps clearly show their tight connection with forms of credit based on land as a source of financing. On this basis, the paper proposes the definition of “integrated rural economy” for a system characterized by a structural integration of agricultural and different non-agricultural sources of income (both from the secondary and tertiary sectors) in the rural population as a whole as well as within the peasant households (integrated peasant economy). The paper addresses the following question: What prompted the western Slovenian peasants toward what appears to have been, as I expressed in an earlier work, a “general mobilization on the market”? And, in relation to this: “Which were the forms of market participation? The last part of the paper is dedicated to a systematization of the different activities within an integrated rural economy. In relation to these, some considerations about rural credit practice are made. The next question is: “What is the relation between market-oriented activities and the social stratification within rural society?”

### Participants

#### De Vijlder, Nicolas

Nicolas De Vijlder is a Ph. D. student at Ghent University. He is a bursary in the framework of the research project: A comparative study of the rural land market in the Southern Low Countries from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century

#### Furió, Antoni

Antoni Furió (Sueca, 1958) is full professor of Medieval History at the University of Valencia and head of the University Publications Service. He is chief editor of the review *L’Espanya*. And member of the editorial boards of several scientific reviews: *Revista d’Història Medieval i Pasajes*, *El Contemporani* (Barcelona), *Requerques* (Barcelona), *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* (CSIC, Barcelona), *Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval* (Buenos Aires), *Continuity and Change* (Cambridge) and *Hispania* (del CSIC, Madrid). His principal lines of research in medieval history are: rural history and financial and fiscal history of the XIIIth- XVth centuries.

#### Khull-Kholwald, Martin

Martin Khull-Kholwald made his PhD. in the framework of a research project funded by

the National Bank of Austria on the role of credit in the financial economy of Styria at the beginning of the early modern period. He is now focussing on credit and land markets.

#### Limberger, Michael

Michael Limberger studied at the University of Vienna, and the European University Institute in Florence. He received his PhD. from Antwerp University with a thesis on sixteenth-century Antwerp and its rural surroundings. He is teaching Economic and World History of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period.

#### Panjek, Aleksander

Aleksander Panjek graduated in history University of Trieste in 1994 and received his Ph.D. degree in economic history from the University of Bari in 1999. He is currently employed by the University of Primorska, where he has been working as a senior research associate at the Science and Research Centre and as an associate professor at the Faculty of Humanities. Central fields of his research work include Economic and Social History of the Modern Era and Contemporary History.



## 9.2. Nature control and land use in flood areas

**Panel organiser:** Takahashi, Motoyasu, University of Ehime, Japan; Yamauchi, Futoshi, Kyoto Sangyo University, Japan

This panel session aims to examine the characteristics of nature control and land use in the areas where there were frequent floods in the early modern period, when it was difficult for the contemporary techniques to control the nature. Early modern Japan had a widespread land use system, so called wari-chi, in particular in the areas where floods often occurred. This land use system divided the land into allotments according to the degree of rights to the land. The village land was under the common control of the village. The division was generally changed by lot every so many years. This session investigates nature control through the regional social structure and governance structure in frequent flood areas focusing on Nishi-kanbara hundred, Niigata. We also analyse the relationship between the regional natural environment and the wari-chi, as well as the characteristics of land use there. For the international comparison, this session attempts to include papers of other frequent flood occurring areas in European countries.

**Chair:** Yamauchi, Futoshi, Kyoto Sangyo University, Japan

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1400 – 1600 // Session 9 – Room A-119

### 9.2.1. Communal Organisations in the English Fen-edge Area: for a Study of Historical Parallel and Contrast with the Warichi (Land Distribution) System in Echigo, Japan

**Takahashi, Motoyasu, University of Ehime, Japan**

This paper introduces a new perspective, that of communalism, in order to discuss the natural environment and resources in the field of social and economic history. This research group has been engaged in the 'parallel and contrast' study of two rural societies of England and Japan in the period of the formation of the market economy, in other words the 'early modern' period. This study has chosen two village societies namely Willingham, Cambs., U. K. and Kami-shiojiri, Nagano, Japan. It comprehensively analyses the changes in the ordinary daily productive activities and the development of these communities' responses to extra-ordinary natural disasters and the famines that often followed. Work in each research field has shown that social and economic organisations revealed their communality in the course of everyday life and there are very similar features which unite all the different activities carried out in times of natural disaster. The floods and other disasters severely affected the villagers and studying these events also reveals the responses of the landlords and governments to such overwhelming circumstances. Here, applying such findings into another Japanese village, Naka-go-ya, Niigata, the communalism will be proven, in particular the land distribution system named 'Warichi'. The literal meaning of 'warichi' is the practice of changing the land that was to be cultivated by taking turn or by drawing lots. The use of the commons in the two villages is comparable as the purpose was the protection of the natural resources.

### 9.2.2. Nature control and land use in flood areas: a case study of Naka-go-ya, Nishi-kanbara, Niigata, Japan

**Yamauchi, Futoshi, Kyoto Sangyo University, Japan**  
**Murayama, Yoshiyuki, University of Yamagata, Japan**

The Naka-go-ya village on Nishi-kanbara Niigatae in Japan where we will take up the case in this report was a farming village. It was located in the flood prone area and had suffered from disasters for several years. Moreover, this village experienced frequently bad harvests. Furthermore, it had a special land holding system, the so called wari-chi system. This land holding system divided the land into allotments according to the degree of rights to the land. The village land was under the common control of the village. The division was generally changed by lot every so many years. The landholder drew for the land which they owned for several years. It should be assumed that this land holding system was based on the village people's knowledge and experience which tried to absorb the individual damage by dividing it equally. However, this land holding system was inefficient for farming because the land which the landholders owned was scattered throughout the village by small plots. On the other hand, the number of landholders was on the decline and the gap among landowners has widened by buying and selling the rights to the land in the nineteenth century. In this paper we would like to consider not only the land ownership but also the reality of farming, continuity of household and human relationships in the village livelihood.

### 9.2.3. Governance System of Flood Control in Tokugawa Japan: a case study on the coexisting system of human beings and nature in Echigo Plain

**Hasebe, Hiroshi, University of Tohoku, Japan**

This paper explains and certifies the historical character of the co-existing system between human life and natural disaster in the Tokugawa Era. People's thoughts and stances against the natural hazard (flood) were peculiar and different from our own age. They considered the natural disasters as the acceptable or the submit-to in general. Of course they made efforts to prevent and control the flood of the river within their engineering technology. Rivers were not only the hazardous promoters but also the "mother of the grace". People received various benefits from their rivers and they thought rivers were the treasure box of the land. They called the flood as the fulfilled water (Mansui) and called the flood control as the water protection (Bousui). The open levee was the damage acceptable and coexisting technology for them. The modern essential idea of flood control is, on the contrary, the very containment by the modern engineering technology like the concreting. Modern flood control, therefore, is performed through engineering projects by the state. This change disconnected many traditional channels of local people participating in the flood control. This paper describes this peculiar governance system by using local historical sources concerning flood control of the Shinano River.

#### Participants

##### Hasebe, Hiroshi

M.A. and Ph.D. (Economics, Tohoku University). Professor (since 1999), Japanese Economic History, Graduate School of Economics and Management, Tohoku University. Books and Articles: 'Some comments for the comparative study of the le', (Matsuyama, 2013), 'From The Goningumi To The Kokai, Historical Case Study of Neighbourhood Association in the Sendai City' (2003), many other articles and 9 book-publications on Japanese economic history (See the Official Site of H.HASEBE).

##### Murayama, Yoshiyuki

M.A. and Ph.D. (Geography, Tohoku University). Professor (since 2009), Geography and Education for Disaster Prevention, Graduate School of Teacher Training, Yamagata University. Books and Articles: Hazard and geographical conditions for Tenpo lean harvest in Kami-Shiojiri village, Ueda. (in Hasebe et al. ed. Tokyo, 2010).

##### Takahashi, Motoyasu

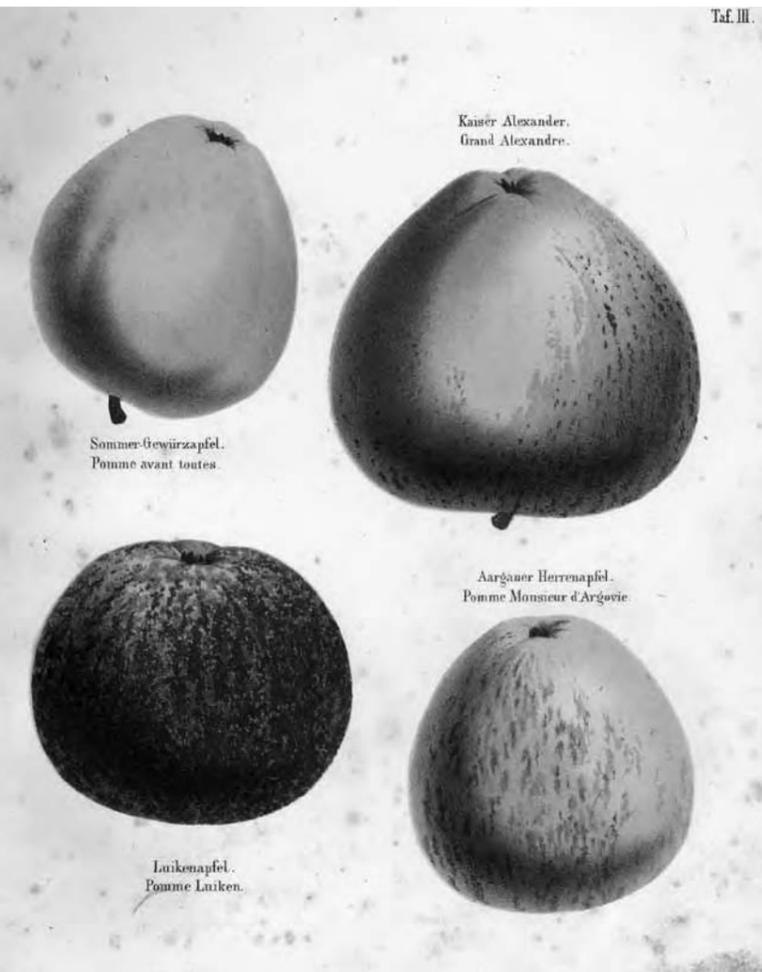
M.A. and Ph.D. (Economics, Tohoku University). Professor (since 2004), Western Economic History, Comparative Economic System Course, Department of Comprehensive Policy Making, Faculty of Law and Letters. Books and Articles: Finding 'le' in Western Society: Historical empirical study for the paralleling and contrasting between Japan and Europe (Matsuyama, 2013); Village Inheritance in Early Modern England (Matsuyama, 2003); 'Family Continuity in England and Japan', Continuity and Change, 22/1(2007).

##### Yamauchi, Futoshi

M. A. and Ph. D. (Economics, Tohoku University). Professor (since 2006), Faculty of Economics, Kyoto Sangyo University. Books and Articles: The effects of Tenpo lean harvest the land ownership and land use in Kami-Shiojiri village, Ueda. (in Hasebe et al. ed. Tokyo, 2010).

### 9.3. The economic enlightenment and beyond. Collecting, evaluating and spreading knowledge to exploit agrarian resources, 1750-1850

Panel organiser: Dauser, Regina, University of Augsburg, Germany; Stuber, Martin, University of Bern, Switzerland; Popplow, Marcus, University of Salzburg, Austria



This panel starts from the assumption that recent methodological approaches towards a “history of knowledge” can be fruitfully employed in rural history, in the sense of investigating a panorama of interacting layers of knowledge each shaped by particular traditions, media and institutions. In rural history, this approach is not only applicable to the modern period, but especially to the transitional phase between 1750 and 1850. Since the mid-eighteenth century – and thus preceding what is usually termed the emergence of “agrarian science” –, a practice-oriented strain of the enlightenment, comprising administration officials, scholars, clergymen and landowners, engaged in collecting, evaluating and spreading what they viewed as advanced agrarian knowledge. The term “economic enlightenment” highlights these activities for increasing the provisioning with agrarian resources. While in Britain, this movement has been quite well researched under the label “improvers”, its activities on the European continent, which in many respects continued far into the nineteenth century, have received much less attention. The panel explores, with regard to methodological issues as well as with regard to case studies, the activities of the promoters of the “economic enlighten-

ment” in gaining, transferring, implementing agrarian knowledge – and also in giving it a new reputation in comparison to ‘established’ learned disciplines.

Chair: Popplow, Marcus, University of Salzburg, Austria

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1400 – 1600 // Session 9 – Room A-122

### 9.3.1. Hands-on Agriculture. Conceptualizing the Empirical in German Agricultural Enlightenment

Lehmbrock, Verena, University of Jena, Germany

Notions of the empirical can be linked with a crucial feature of German agricultural discourse during the long 18th century. On the one hand, pointing to long-term experience and a direct connection to the land could serve as a selling point on numerous book titles. On the other hand, there was harsh polemical resistance throughout the century against practice-oriented strategies to achieve agricultural improvement. Contemporary sources suggest that contact with the soil was seen as a lowly practice heavily loaded with cultural bias and that for learned protagonists it therefore entailed certain risks of exclusion from polite discourse. Nevertheless, we find that physical acquaintance with the land became a more and more indispensable claim amongst agricultural improvers. Drawing from statements of peasant farmers, academics, landlords (Gutsbesitzer) and state officials I intend to elaborate on those ambivalent evaluations of the empirical as a source for agricultural knowledge. Considering the economical Enlightenment as an arena for epistemological struggle, I would furthermore argue that it represents a showcase for the entanglement of social and epistemic factors in intellectual history.

### 9.3.2. The more Information – the more Expertise? Collecting, Evaluating, and Implementing advanced Agrarian Knowledge in the Electoral Palatinate, c. 1776-1800

Dauser, Regina, University of Augsburg, Germany

Using the example of the reign of Karl Theodor, Elector Palatine (1724-1799), the paper will discuss the conditions, opportunities, and also constraints of governmental initiative to improve agrarian practice. From 1776 onwards, improving the quality of tobacco grown in the Palatinate became an important project for the electoral government as there was no more American tobacco available because of the War of Independence. Thus, good profit seemed to be possible. Being highly dependent on the expertise of others – local experts and such from abroad, local authorities and elites, but also peasant farmers –, the government had to decide on ways of collecting relevant information, on criteria for evaluating diverse and sometimes contrasting concepts as inadequate or promising for augmenting tobacco quality, and eventually on the creation of a stock of knowledge becoming the basis of electoral orders. The ways of collecting information, generating knowledge, making and promoting decisions on concrete measures were rather different according to the groups of experts they took into account. Thus, communications history in a methodological point of view is densely intertwined with notions of a history of knowledge and will therefore be examined in the second part of the paper.

### 9.3.3. From „Pflantz-Gart“ to „Stammregister“ – On the history of knowledge of fruit cultivation in the canton of Bern

Stuber, Martin, University of Bern, Switzerland

Among the efforts for the improvement of agricultural productivity, the cultivation of useful plants is particularly at the center of the Economic Enlightenment. In contrast to fodder and textile plants, cereals and potatoes, fruit trees are not included among its favoured subjects. This may be considered as astonishing in view of the significance that fruit has acquired in the contemporary diet. Be that as it may, efforts to improve fruit cultivation go back to even before the classical period of the Economic Enlightenment. The example of Bern in particular is suited to such an analysis over the Longue durée that covers the time from Daniel Rhagor's «Pflantz-Gart» (1639) to the «Register of varieties of excellent species of pome fruits for the canton of Bern» (Stammregister, 1865). From the perspective of the history of knowledge, the connections between scholarly knowledge and local experience on the one hand and the changing actors in these knowledge systems on the other hand are of special interest here.

### 9.3.4. From mobilizing knowledge to sustained productivity growth? Agricultural prizes in Geneva during the long 19th century

Wenger, Sylvain, University of Geneva, Switzerland

The growth of scientific and technical interaction in Western Europe during the long 19th century (c. 1750-1900) is generally described as part of the “Enlightenment movement”. A key institution in this movement are the industrial societies, which initiated a variety of operations and activities intended to promote the diffusion of different types of knowledge seen as useful for increased material welfare. Among the many activities were systems of prizes. Embedded within French territory, and surrounded by mountains, the Republic of Geneva was characterized by its small size and limited fertile land, making agricultural productivity a source of constant concern. Against this background, the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Agriculture (established in 1776) offered almost 120 prizes between 1776 and 1875, of which about a third was aimed at stimulating the improvement of farming and livestock practices. While it remains difficult to assess the direct impact of the prizes on agricultural productivity, their existence shows the willingness to facilitate the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge useful for productive purposes. My proposal is to examine the issue of prizes, as they figured in the Society of Arts of Geneva in a long term perspective. In doing so, I seek to obtain a better understanding of the concerns and preoccupations with regard to agriculture in the Geneva region, and to place the initiatives of the Society of Arts in the broader context of diffusion and organization of knowledge in Europe in the long 19th century, sometimes called the “industrial enlightenment”.

#### Participants

##### Dauser, Regina

Regina Dauser received her PhD (2005) and her degree of Habilitation (2012) from the University of Augsburg, Germany. From 2006 to 2011, she worked as a research assistant at the chair for Early Modern History at the University of Augsburg. Currently, she is member of scientific staff at the same chair. Her research focuses on early modern communications history, the history of the European states system, history of knowledge, history of the economic enlightenment. Conference-related publications: Grenzen und „Kontaktzonen“. Rekonfigurationen von Wissensräumen zwischen Frankreich und den deutschen Ländern 1700–1850 (co-editor, 2012).

##### Lehmbrock, Verena

Verena Lehmbrock is a PhD candidate at the Institute of the History of Medicine, Science, and Technology at the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, Germany. She studied at the Universities of Paris, Berlin and Nottingham, and graduated in Philosophy and Early Modern and Modern History at the Humboldt University of Berlin. Before entering the Jena Graduate School “Laboratory of the Enlightenment” in 2009 she worked as a PR consultant for the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research. Currently she is a research fellow at the Research Center for Social and Cultural Studies in Gotha/Erfurt.

##### Popplow, Marcus

Ph. D. (University of Bremen); research scholar at the Max-Planck-Institute for the His-

tory of Science (Berlin), the BTU Cottbus, and Salzburg University; long-term experience as an independent scholar (research, teaching, and popular science activities); Visiting Professorships at Stuttgart and Salzburg University; member of the editorial board of the scientific journal Technikgeschichte; fields of interest: History of Technology, the Environment and related knowledge systems, in particular in the early modern period; conference-related publications: Landschaften agrarisch-ökonomischen Wissens (editor, 2010).

##### Stuber, Martin

Martin Stuber, Ph.D. (1996), is associated with the Institute of History at the University of Bern. He has published widely on the history of forestry, the network-based scholarly communication and the production of useful knowledge in the 18th and 19th century; in particular, he explored Albrecht von Haller and the Bernese Economic Society (Oekonomische Gesellschaft).

##### Wenger, Sylvain

Sylvain Wenger is a PhD candidate at the Paul Bairoch Institute of economic history, University of Geneva. His research focuses on institutional change and the mobilization of technological knowledge in industrializing Western Switzerland. He is particularly interested in operations implemented by technical societies to promote industrial development, and the exchange of technical information through correspondence and travels.

## 9.4. Wetland reclamation in Early Modern Europe

**Panel organiser: Van Cruyningen, Piet, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands, The Hague, Netherlands**

From the late Middle Ages, wetland reclamation schemes more and more became large-scale capitalist enterprises, dominated by urban investors and often actively promoted by state officials. All over Europe, thousands of hectares of wetlands were drained and embanked, implying a huge investment of capital, often gathered on a national or even international level. This led to significant changes in the landscape, in society and economy and in power relations in wetland areas and it required the development of new organizational and financial methods. The session aims at analyzing the causes and consequences of such large-scale wetland reclamations. Several issues can be raised: Who were the investors and what were their reasons for investing? Speculation or long-term investment? Can we call the investment of urban capital in land reclamation *trahison de la bourgeoisie* or was it simply a matter of having a diversified investment portfolio? What about the church, gentry and the aristocracy, could they still play a role in land reclamation? Another issue concerns the way capital was raised and the reclamation scheme was organized. In the Low Countries companies were formed in which investors could buy shares. Did this happen elsewhere too? Did the investors only use their own capital or was money also borrowed? Drainage and embankment projects could yield high profits, but also implied high risks. Why were some projects financially rewarding, and why did others turn into bankruptcy? What were the consequences of reclamation for the economy and society of the reclaimed area? Did reclamation lead to more inequality because of the destruction of wetland resources that before were available to the poor? Wetland reclamation also often had unintended consequences for the landscape, both within and outside the reclaimed area. Reclamation could lead to shrinking of the soil, to changes in the outfall of rivers or higher floods that could threaten the reclaimed land and adjacent areas. How did people cope with these problems?

**Chair: Hoyle, Richard W., University of Reading, UK**

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1400 – 1600 // Session 9 – Room A 201

### 9.4.1. Managing the risks of drainage. A micro-perspective on risk assessment in early modern Flemish drainage projects

**Soens, Tim, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

**De Graef, Pieter, University of Antwerp, Belgium**

Early Modern drainage projects were both highly capital intensive and risky enterprises. Besides the environmental risk of flooding, early modern drainage consortia also faced a range of other risks, most notably financial ones, like shortage of capital or free-riding of participants postponing financial contributions to the project. Furthermore, local resistance to drainage was often very high, because of the highly contested redistribution of property rights involved in every drainage project. Finally, the actual pay-off for the drainers primarily depended on the agricultural output, which was uncertain itself. Based on the financial records of a mid-17th century drainage project in Early Modern Flanders – the Kallo-Polder near Antwerp – this paper argues that risk assessment in early modern reclamation projects was based on a clever combination of speculation on the one hand and risk limitation on the other hand. The latter was obtained through the permanent effort by leading investors to transform an inherently speculative undertaking into a (more) secure one based on their profound acquaintance with financial markets and state-of-the-art financial techniques. Furthermore, they also managed to externalise part of the risk to the local community, the general public and less well-to-do investors. As such the financial history of drainage projects can never be written without taken into account their social history.

### 9.4.2. Dutch investors and the drainage of Hatfield Chase, 1626-1656

**van Cruyningen, Piet, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands, The Hague, Netherlands**

The drainage of Hatfield Chase, starting in 1626, by Cornelius Vermuyden and a group of Dutch investors, has always been considered a conspicuous financial failure because of high costs caused by litigation and commoner riots. Documents preserved in archives of some of the investors, however, show that this was not the only cause of the failure. The Dutch were unable or unwilling to export institutions they had developed in their home country for the smooth implementation of drainage schemes. This caused confusion and conflicts among Vermuyden and the participants, which added to the financial problems of the enterprise. The paper aims at explaining why exportation of efficient institutions failed. Finally the question is raised whether the drainage of Hatfield Chase really was such a financial debacle by comparing it with similar Dutch projects.

### 9.4.3. Draining the coastal marshes of North West Norfolk. The Le Stranges of Hunstanton, 1604-1724

**Griffiths, Elizabeth, University of Exeter, UK**

Wetland reclamation in seventeenth century Norfolk is invariably associated with the schemes initiated by the Crown to drain the Fenlands when syndicates of great landowners ventured their capital in risky projects. This paper focuses on the much neglected coastal marshes of north Norfolk where gentry landowners continued to carry out piecemeal schemes. The subject is the Le Strange family and their marshes at Hunstanton, Holme and Heacham. Sir Hamon Le Strange, who inherited his estate in 1604, was an 'Adventurer' and lost £500 on the drainage of Boston Fen. His son, Sir Nicholas was more circumspect and concentrated on the local scene, starting work on the drainage of Hunstanton Marsh in 1633; he carefully recorded the entire process in a series of farming notebooks, four of which survive. These books provide technical detail, explain the organisation and purpose of the venture, and include complex tables of his financial management. The overall context and the profitability of the enterprise can be assessed through the meticulous accounts of his mother, Lady Alice Le Strange. A particular feature of the books is that they were devised as manuals to instruct and guide future generations. Like his mother, Sir Nicholas understood the need to create and hand down knowledge to ensure their projects were protected and sustained. Records from the 1680s to the 1720s indicate the success of this strategy showing descendants using the information.



#### Participants

**De Graef, Pieter**

I am currently working on a PhD dissertation at the University of Antwerp. This project deals with the importance and social distribution of urban organic waste and industrial residual products as fertiliser in the core region of the Flemish husbandry (Inland Flanders) in the 17th and 18th centuries. For my master thesis, I studied risk-taking and market-oriented farm strategies of pioneer farmers in the newly embanked polder of Kallo (2nd half of the 17th century), thereby nuancing the differences between tenant farmers and owner-occupiers and arguing that the specific context of the new polder has explanatory value.

**Griffiths, Elizabeth**

Elizabeth Griffiths is an honorary research fellow at the University of Exeter.

**Hoyle, Richard W.**

Richard Hoyle is professor of Rural History at the University of Reading, UK, and is editor of *Agricultural History Review*. Currently he also serves as President of EURHO. His research interests lie mainly in the early modern period, but he enjoys trespassing on other people's territory too.

**Soens, Tim**

Tim Soens is Associate Professor of Medieval and Environmental History at the University of Antwerp (Belgium). He obtained his PhD at the University of Ghent in 2006, investigating water management and the interaction of man and nature in coastal Flanders in the medieval and early modern period. Within the Antwerp Department of History, he has developed a new research line 'Environment and Power', concentrating on the historical relationship between human societies and the natural environment, and the way this interaction was steered by evolving power constellations and formal and informal institutions.

**van Cruyningen, Piet**

Piet van Cruyningen is researcher at Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands and senior researcher at Wageningen University, Rural and Environmental History Group. He has published on Dutch rural history and is currently involved in research on water authorities in the early modern period.

## 9.5. Rural Resilience to Disaster. Part II: Warfare

Panel organiser: van Bavel, Bas, Utrecht University, Netherlands



Warfare often caused destruction of crops and capital goods, grave losses in livestock, a decline in agricultural production, and the disruption of food trade. This session analyzes what responses were applied by war-hit rural societies. One aspect is the application of institutional instruments, including lease arrangements, customary deductions and investment schemes, and how these enabled them to cope with the effects, or not, especially in the long run. A main question is whether regions characterized by market-oriented tenant farmers and big landlords, through the variables investigated, were better able to cope with adverse effects of war than peasant societies with strong communal organizations. A similar question pertains to the role of the state, for instance by way of its fiscal and administrative arrangements. Again, the long-term perspective will also allow us to analyze how war affected the institutional organization. Did it stimulate institutional innovation, and did institutional changes in their turn positively or negatively affect economy and society? Economic recovery may be measured by the develop-

ment of lease prices, output figures or wealth assessments. Another aspect which is covered is the changes in the social distribution of wealth, which may be seriously affected by the effects of war, and how these changes affected the potential of these regions for recovery. For instance, did the availability of resources and wealth, and its distribution, allow for technological responses to the destructions of war, or not?

Chair: van Bavel, Bas, Utrecht University, Netherlands

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1400 – 1600 // Session 9 – Room A 027

### 9.5.1. The impact of the Italian Wars (1494-1559) on the rural areas of northern Italy

Alfani, Guido, Bocconi University, Italy

Di Tullio, Matteo, Bocconi University, Italy

The Italian Wars (1494-1559) mark a turning point in Early Modern Italian history. Traditional historiography underlined their political-institutional significance, as a final outcome of the Wars was that some of the main Italian states lost their independence falling under a "foreign" domination. Recent historiography has focused instead on the economic, social, demographic and cultural consequences of the Italian Wars. This contribution will analyze their economic consequences (which cannot be understood without considering all the other aspects mentioned above) for the rural areas of northern Italy. This is an innovating perspective, as past research has been done mostly on the consequences for the cities. An overall view will be presented, with reference to different areas. The case of the Geradadda, a boundary area between the State of Milan and the Republic of Venice, will be analysed in particular detail. We will show that local societies were not inactive in the face of episodes of war, or in the face of socio-economic changes triggered by wars. On the contrary, they organised ways in which they could co-operate in defence of local resources, for example by developing innovating credit systems and encouraging a process of redistribution, albeit not an egalitarian one.

### 9.5.2. The effects of military destruction in late medieval Flanders: explaining regional differences

Erik Thoen, Ghent University, Belgium; Kristof Dombrecht, Ghent University, Belgium; Lies Vervaet, Ghent University, Belgium; Tim Soens, University of Antwerp, Belgium

Everywhere in Europe, during the Old Régime, military destruction of capital (land and crops) was part of daily life and this was also true in the former County of Flanders during the late middle ages. However, in the longer term the consequences of wars were even within Flanders different from one area to another. Indeed, in the areas where long term structural changes took place, the wars speeded up the structural long-term changes of the society that were not only caused by wars. This can be demonstrated when coastal Flanders is compared to inland Flanders. In coastal Flanders, from the 14th century on, ecological problems due to a structural overpopulation in the classic middle ages was slowly destroying the peasant society. Here war destruction was much more catastrophic in the long term than in inland Flanders where a 'stronger commercial peasant society' had developed which could overcome military destruction. In the structurally weaker area of coastal Flanders on the other hand, only a smaller elite could survive with support of absentee landowners; here wars had more important long term consequences.

### 9.5.3. Venetian rural communities during the „Italian Wars“: Institutional evolution and tightness of the rural economic system

Ongaro, Giulio, University of Verona, Italy

In 1517 the Republic of Venice finally completed the reconquest of its mainland dominion after the catastrophic War of Cambrai (1509-1517). This war highlighted the importance for the safety of Venice itself the logistical and financial support from rural communities. Their desire for autonomy from the dominion's cities married with government needs to produce two consequences. First, they were more extensively and actively involved in the management of state military apparatus and direct taxation. Second, this involvement developed into formal recognition in the mid sixteenth century with the birth of the Corpi Territoriali, institutions each representing the rural communities of a whole province (contado). As well as managing military and fiscal obligations directly, they achieved a partial, gradual but significant erosion of urban control over the countryside, including a progressive rebalancing of the sharing of those obligations. War represented the driving force in these institutional and administrative changes, but a key role was played by the economic weight achieved by the leading contado towns and villages, mostly with a marked commercial and manufacturing profile. They bore the impact of the war and managed to take advantage of it by their stance in satisfying effectively the Republic's military and fiscal needs. The analysis of the account books of a community which was among the promoters of the Corpo Territoriale of Vicenza can help shed light on how this occurred, illustrating the action undertaken by rural institutions in this situation and the role played by an emerging rural bourgeoisie.

### 9.5.4. Rurality and Warfare: Portugal in the context of the Peninsular War (1807-1811)

Couceiro, Pedro, Institute of Polytechnic Bragança, Portugal

This paper aims to analyze the impact of the state of war experienced by rural populations during the Napoleonic wars that Portugal suffered between 1807-1811, a period known as the Peninsular War. The repercussions of this sequence of armed events could not have been more traumatic. In fact, the French invasions of Portugal appear as a violent hurricane that devastated the whole country and, directly or indirectly, have shaken the structures of the Ancien Régime. Firstly, because they voted the kingdom to a governance problem, relegating to the local power the mission of organizing the defense and protection of populations; secondly, because it meant a huge economic constraint. The depopulation of rural communities caused the rupture of economic and commercial relations between cities and the countryside, and at the same time, it increased the number of the discontent among various sectors of society. These adverse effects extended themselves to the whole territory, and contrary to what might be expected, the isolation of rural communities did not serve as protection. It rather caused a greater exposure of the rural heritage and therefore greater vulnerability of their populations affected by the passage and fixation of the armies.

#### Participants

##### Alfani, Guido

Guido Alfani is Associate Professor of Economic History at Bocconi University, Italy and Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow, UK. He is a member of Dondega Centre for Research on Social Dynamics and chief editor of the journal *Popolazione e Storia*. His research interests include economic inequality, social alliance systems, historical demography (particularly epidemics and famines). He is the principal investigator of the ERC-funded project EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800.

##### Couceiro, Pedro

Pedro Couceiro is PhD student in History, University of Porto. Current position: Lecturer in the Department of Social Sciences at The School of Education of the Polytechnic Institute of Bragança (Portugal). Principal research interests: political and social history of the late modern period.

##### Di Tullio, Matteo

Matteo Di Tullio: PhD in social and economic history from Bocconi University (Milan, Italy) 2010. Current position: Post-doc researcher at Bocconi University, as member of the ERC project EINITE-Economic Inequality Across Italy and Europe.

##### Ongaro, Giulio

Giulio Ongaro (University of Verona) studied at "Ca' Foscari" University, Venice, where he obtained a Master's degree in modern history (2011), grade 110/110 with laude. Current position: PhD candidate in Economic History, University of Verona (2011-2014). Principal research interests: Military history, economic history and rural history of the Early Modern period (Northern Italy).

##### Thoen, Erik

Erik Thoen is professor of rural and environmental history at Ghent University (Belgium). He is a specialist of pre-modern agriculture and rural society in North Western Europe, and founder and chair of the CORN - Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area - Research Network.

##### van Bavel, Bas

Bas van Bavel is professor of Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages and head of the section of Economic and Social History at Utrecht University. His main research interests include long-run changes and divergences in economic and social development and long-run institutional change, mainly in a comparative perspective.

## 9.6. Long-term effects of agrarian crisis and agrarian depressions on commercial networks (1750-2000)

Panel organiser: Herment, Laurent, GDRI, CRICEC and EHESS CRH, Paris, France



Agrarian crises provoked significant and important historical works for 50 years. Their effects on demography, migration, productive systems, land market, etc. were studied in various context over times and places. Furthermore, the different national historiographies studied shifts of commercial networks during agrarian crisis. But, even though they did not ignore the shift of international commercial networks during agrarian crises, these networks seemed to be only a kind of adjustment tools which could solve, or could not, temporary crisis. From another point of view, the different European and non-European historiographies are very concerned by normal international commercial networks. If agrarian crisis caused massive shifts in agrarian systems, it is likely they sometimes caused long-term shifts in international commercial networks for consumer countries but also for producer countries. It is often supposed that the technological improvements in transportation or political decisions (the repeal of the Corn Law for example) were the first and foremost causes for the emergence of a new organisation for provisioning Europe in wheat and livestock from the middle of the nineteenth century on. But it would be possible that agrarian crisis during this period had led to the emergence of new

networks and speed up technological improvements. In some cases, it is not possible to invoke technological improvements or political choices to explain the emergence of new commercial networks but only a specific agrarian crisis which disrupt the former commercial networks. Phylloxera, for example, determined the growth of production of grapes in Greece. From another point of view, long-term depression seemed to be also turning point and sparked new opportunities for some areas or on the contrary lead to the backwardness of production in some other areas. At last, it is possible that short-term or long-term agrarian crisis created new long-term market opportunities during the nineteenth century but also in previous periods, for which it is impossible to invoke major technological changes and in later periods, for which improvements in commercial networks were inseparable from technological improvements. The aim of this session is to investigate the potential link between emergence of new international commercial networks and agrarian crises in various contexts and periods. The session will deal with the transnational commercial networks between countries of the whole Europe, North-America and South-America, for two centuries.

Chair: Chatriot, Alain, CNRS, Centre de recherche historique, Paris, France

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1400 – 1600 // Session 9 – Room A 022

### 9.6.1. The Great Depression and the Greek rural economy: agrarian crisis and rural production's commercialisation

Brégianni, Catherine, Greek Modern History Research Centre, Academy of Athens, Greece

According to the League of Nations (SDN, 1931) agrarian crisis had in the early 30's a generalised negative influence in the European economies, highlighted by the considerable fall of agricultural products' prices. It is to be noted that Great Depression initially appeared in Europe as a severe agrarian crisis. This paper will focus on the Greek interwar rural economy; as interwar Greece was primary a rural country, the crisis affected its foreign trade balance. Commercialised products (mainly olive oil and tobacco) faced a considerable decrease of their prices. In general, between the years 1929-1931 a significant decline of the Greek agricultural production took place, primary in terms of value and secondly of volume. In terms of everyday life, the agrarian crises had a great influence on the rural population, as it is described by State's sources. The international context, and the financial crisis, forced the Greek State to re-orientate its agricultural policy; in the framework of an increasing protectionism, agricultural production was orientated to the internal market, while wheat cultivation was supported by technical and institutional interventions. On the other hand, export trade was based on clearing agreements. In the late 30's an increase was achieved in agricultural output, according to the official statistical data. Nevertheless, the growing lending of the farmers and the "bankruptcy" of the cooperative movement give a different picture of the situation in Greek rural areas.

### 9.6.2. Harvest crises and dearth crises: a comparison of the causes and effects of the food crises of the 1840s and 1850s in Belgium

Ronsijn, Wouter, Ghent University, EED Research group, Belgium

The 1840s and 1850s were both decades of food crisis in Belgium. Judging from grain price developments, the crises of the 1840s and 1850s, together with that of 1817, were among the worst of the entire nineteenth century. However, looking at developments in harvest output in both decades, the 1850s appear much less as a decade of food crisis. High prices and poor harvests clearly co-occurred in the 1840s, but not in the 1850s. The causes and effects of the food crisis of 1845-1847 in Belgium are well understood, while the food crisis of the 1850s has received much less attention up to now. It seems that the food crisis of the 1850s was more a dearth crisis than a harvest crisis, where market disturbances provide a better explanation for the high grain prices than harvest results. The aim of this paper is twofold: first, to understand the differences in causes and effects of the crises of the 1840s and 1850s, and secondly, to use these different crises as a point of departure to reflect upon long term transformations in the grain trade in Belgium in the nineteenth century.

### 9.6.3. What about subsistence crisis in the middle of nineteenth century in England?

Herment, Laurent, GDRI CRICEC EHESS CRH, France

The aim of this work is to investigate the wheat market in England during the period 1853-1857. This period is characterised by a very deep crisis in Europe (Sweden, France, Belgium and Spain). For example, in France the harvest shortfall was about 20% in 1853. It seems that this crisis did not affect England. As Bruce Campbell and Cormac O'Grada quoted recently "by the eve of the Industrial Revolution, England had become effectively famine-free". In fact there was no famine at all in France during this period but a very high level of price of all staple foodstuffs (wheat, meat, vines, etc.). If countries so different as France, and Sweden were affected by a very deep harvest crisis it is very unlikely that this crisis did not affect England at all. At the moment, I am looking for some information in Hereford and Kent archives about the wheat, barley and oats markets during this period. The aim of this work is not to produce a new price data series but to investigate the trend of transactions on local British market and to examine the perception of foreign trade over the year 1853-1856 during the Crimean war which disturbed the international market for wheat.

#### Participants

##### Brégianni, Catherine

Senior Researcher, Modern Greek History Research Center / Academy of Athens and Scientific Collaborator at the Bank of Greece (Historical Archives, Museum and Art Collections Department). 2012 she was affiliated to the Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. Academic Tutor Hellenic Open University (2001-2011). Books on Rural History: Les Banques, l'agriculture et l'Etat. Stratégies de crédit et politique agraire en Grèce, de 1861 à 1940, Septentrion, 2001, PHD thesis. Agricultural cooperatives in South and Central Europe, 19th-20th century: a comparative approach, introduction and editor with H. Gardikas, Athens, Academy of Athens, forthcoming.

##### Chatriot, Alain

Ph.D. EHESS 2001. Books : La démocratie sociale à la française. L'Expérience du Conseil national économique 1924-1940, Paris: La Découverte, 2002. CHATRIOT A., CHESSEL M.-E., HILTON M. eds.: The Consumer Expert : Associations and Professionals in Consumer Society, London: Ashgate, 2006. DAUMAS J.-C., CHATRIOT A., FRABOULET D., FRIDENSON P., JOLY H. eds. : Dictionnaire historique des patrons français, Paris: Flammarion, 2010. CHATRIOT A., LEBLANC E., LYNCH E. eds. : Organiser les marchés agricoles. Le temps des fondateurs. Des années 1930 aux années 1950, Paris: Armand Colin, 2012.

##### Herment, Laurent

Ph.D. 2009: Prix de thèse d'histoire économique 2011: l'Association Française d'Histoire Economique et BNP-Paribas. Book: Les fruits du partage. Petits paysans du Bassin Parisien au XIXe siècle, 2012. He published on the economics of French agricultural development during the nineteenth century. More recently his interests have turned to agricultural economic history of the North-West of Europe (nineteenth century and first half of twentieth century), with a particular focus on land use, and productivity and market.

##### Ronsijn, Wouter

Wouter Ronsijn (1982) obtained his PhD in History at Ghent University in 2011 with a dissertation on the role of urban weekly markets in Flemish rural society between 1750 and 1900. Before, he published the book De kadasterkaarten van Popp: een sleutel tot uw lokale geschiedenis, a guide on the possibilities of cadastral documents for local historical research. He currently works at the Sociology department of the Free University of Brussels on the HISSTAT project, for which a database with local and/or individual statistical data is compiled.

## 9.7. Knowledge networks in rural Europe, 1700-2000. Part I

**Panel organiser: Segers, Yves, Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History, University of Leuven, Belgium**

The diffusion of various forms of knowledge and know-how in the countryside, both to increase agricultural production and food quality and to improve the quality of rural life, was without any doubt one of the most striking processes of change in the rural areas of Europe during the last three centuries. However, regions, farming communities and farming families had unequal access to locally and externally generated knowledge, as well as unequal abilities to produce and acquire new knowledge through formal and informal networks such as learning by doing, schooling, extension programmes, media, etc. These two sessions, organised under the same umbrella, aim at unravelling the development of what can be called “agricultural and rural knowledge networks” in Europe. Both sessions will address the production and diffusion of agricultural science and agricultural technology. Changing agricultural knowledge and techniques were one of the principal reasons for the increases in agricultural output that occurred since the eighteenth century. Many of the technical changes resulted from the activities of governments, scientists and commercial firms outside the agricultural industry itself. Others came from pioneering farmers. Guiding questions for these sessions are: How did these knowledge networks operate: top-down, bottom-up or two-way communication? What was the role of public and private actors (government, state agronomists, farmers’ organisations, commercial firms, media, the church, etc.)? Who had access to which knowledge? To whom was the available information addressed (men, women, youth; professional farmers or rural dwellers)? Which knowledge was adopted or rejected and why? How efficient was the degree of agricultural extension initiatives? Did inclusion or exclusion from knowledge networks influence power structures? Which channels were used to diffuse knowledge (education, newspapers, radio, films, television, journals, books, lectures, advertisements, expositions, agricultural shows, etc.)? To what extent was knowledge, generated outside Europe, imported in Europe, for instance from the U.S. and European colonies? Or vice versa? To what extent did knowledge networks globalise? These sessions are organised by Paul Brassley (University of Exeter), Yves Segers and Leen Van Molle (University of Leuven), Daniel Lanero and Lourenzo Fernández Prieto (University of Santiago de Compostela), in cooperation with the CORN network.

**Chair: Fernández Prieto, Lourenzo, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain**

Wednesday, 21 August 2013 // 1400 – 1600 // Session 9 – Room A 019

### 9.7.1. Knowledge networks in rural Europe: theories, concepts and historiographies

**Segers, Yves, Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History, University of Leuven, Belgium**  
**Van Molle, Leen, Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History, University of Leuven, Belgium**

Knowing is very vague a concept, although it seems to refer much more to the city than to the rural environment, to theory than to daily practices, and to those who produce science and transmit its derivatives via intensive educational programs than to the doings and dealings of the masses. But historical research has undermined this rather static and top down understanding of knowledge. Its production and circulation are never detached enterprises, but socially situated and intentional. What is recognized as knowledge has perhaps less to do with facts and proofs, than with interaction, communication in time and space, negotiation and creative methods of transmission. The introduction to both sessions regarding knowledge in the countryside wants in the first place to focus on recent theories, interpretative models and concepts that can help to elucidate the mechanisms of knowledge diffusion in rural Europe in the past, such as the theory of the ‘two cultures’, the diffusionist model, the actor-network theory, and the concepts of ‘trading zones’, ‘cultural amphibians’ and ‘cross-border workers’. In the second place, it aims at introducing the reflection on the sites of rural knowledge, its bearers (individuals, groups, institutions, media,...) and consumers, and the informal and formal structures that shape its networks.

### 9.7.2. Agrarian press and its contribution to technical change in Galicia, 1900-1975

**Cabo Villaverde, Miguel, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain**

An astonishing number of periodicals was published in Galicia during the first third of the XXth century targeting the rural population. They played a key role in the political, cultural and socio-economic transformation of the countryside. Historians everywhere use this press as source but they seldom regard it as a subject on its own. This paper will deal mostly with the agrarian press, meaning press edited by agrarian organizations or aiming the peasantry as primary target, but we will also pay attention to the role played by journals published by state institutions and its interaction with the former. Both were trying to make a breakthrough in a milieu

where illiteracy and oral tradition still had an important weight, so that these periodicals had to find resources and an appropriate style to overcome the cultural gap. The Civil War of 1936-1939 dramatically changed the conditions under which the agrarian press had thrived and under the Francoist regime just a handful survived and almost all of the publications targeting the rural folk were State-sponsored. The agrarian press had an impact in many fields (educational, political, modelling a new image of the peasantry...) but our paper will focus on aspects regarding technical change. By offering a common ground to technicians and farmers, these journals helped both of them to overcome their mutual mistrust and so made a significant contribution to the spread of innovations in the countryside.

### 9.7.3. Diffusion of agricultural science and technologies: the innovation system in Galicia (Spain), 1880-1936

**Fernández Prieto, Lourenzo, HISTAGRA Research Group, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain**  
**Soto Fernandez, David, University Pablo de Olavide Sevilla, Spain**  
**Cabo Villaverde, Miguel, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain**  
**Lanero Táboas, Daniel, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain**

The aim of this paper is to analyse how the Spanish agrarian innovation system was built between 1880 and 1936 (Spanish Civil War starting point), paying special attention to its implementation in Galician rural world (Northwest Spain). We will specifically focus on the Technological Advice System (how it worked at that time) and in which way innovations were “received” by peasants. Galician agriculture showed important increases in productivity during this period that confirm the spread of new techniques in a seemingly traditional agrarian economy. Peasants headed this process, defying some of the assumptions of the technological innovation classical patterns. Our paper will deal with three main innovations: 1) Livestock breeding and the creation of a new cattle breed: “Galician red”; 2) The general adoption of threshing machines by Galician peasants in the framework of an agrarian economy based in livestock breeding and selling to national and international markets; 3) The Galician case as an example of pioneer diffusion of hybrid maize in Europe during the 1920s and 1930s.

### 9.7.4. Technical change and knowledge networks in Great Britain 1945-1980s

**Brassley, Paul, University of Exeter, UK**

It is widely recognized that the years between the end of the Second World War and the mid-1980s saw the introduction of a range of important new technologies into British agriculture – pesticides, new crop varieties, artificial insemination, mechanisation, for example - and the increased adoption of existing output-increasing technologies such as artificial fertilisers. The development and impact of these changes has been explored by several historians; what has not been so widely explored is the process by which farmers and farm workers became aware of new technologies and competent in their use. It was a multi-dimensional process involving a series of stages from the creation of a scientific infrastructure designed to produce technical change through to the eventual adoption and use of a new technology by the farmers and their employees. To connect the initial and final stages required a variety of educational, advisory, and communications systems involving considerable energy, expertise, and expenditure, and the efforts of large numbers of often highly trained workers. This paper seeks to explore the dimensions of this system in the United Kingdom and to consider its impact and efficiency. Was it an effectively organised network for producing rapid innovation and adoption, or a costly and bureaucratic appendage of the agricultural industry?

#### Participants

##### Brassley, Paul

Paul Brassley is a visiting Senior Research Fellow in the Centre for Rural Policy Research at the University of Exeter, UK. Since 2009 he has been working there on a project to investigate the process of technical change in English agriculture between 1935 and 1985. He has previously produced studies on rural issues in the Second World War, the interwar period, and the late nineteenth century. His most recent book (edited with Yves Segers and Leen Van Molle) is *War, Agriculture and Food: rural Europe from the 1930s to the 1950s* (Routledge, 2012).

##### Cabo Villaverde, Miguel

Miguel Cabo Villaverde is Lecturer at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain). He has co-chaired the Rural History network within the European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC) in 2002, 2004 and 2006. His main fields of interest are associations and collective action in the rural world, Spanish political history between 1874 and the Franco dictatorship, and nation-building processes. He has written a number of articles and books on these topics.

##### Fernández Prieto, Lourenzo

Professor Lourenzo Fernández Prieto is a member of the HISTAGRA Research Group, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain. He published about technological innovation in agriculture (1992): *Labregos con ciencia. Estado sociedade e innovación tecnolóxica na agricultura galega (1850-1939)*; about the Spanish state innovation system (2007): *El apagón tecnolóxico del franquismo*, and various papers about rural society changes in journals such as *Historia Agraria*, *Studia Historica*, *Ayer*, *Historia Social*, *Recerques*, *Grial*,... Preparing *Agriculture in the age of Fascism*, with Juan Pan-Montojo and Miguel Cabo.

##### Lanero Táboas, Daniel

Daniel Lanero got his PhD in History at the University of Santiago de Compostela. He is currently postdoctoral researcher in the Department of Contemporary of the University of Santiago and Scientific Manager of HISTAGRA research Group. His fields of

interest are Agrarian History and Social History of the Rural world from a comparative perspective, focusing on the Francoist dictatorship and the early years of the Democratic period. He has been invited researcher at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais of the University of Lisbon, the University of Bologna and the London School of Economics and Visiting fellow at King's College London. He has written or edited an ample number of publications in both Spanish and international journals and publishing houses.

##### Segers, Yves

Yves Segers is professor of rural history and director of the Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History at the University of Leuven, and professor of Economic History at Hogeschool-Universiteit Brussel (HUB). His research focuses on agricultural and rural history in Belgium and Europe since 1750 and the development of food systems.

##### Soto Fernandez, David

David Soto holds a PhD in Contemporary History from the University of Santiago de Compostela with a thesis entitled “Productive transformations in contemporary Galician agriculture. From organic agriculture to the green revolution”. In 2007 he became Associate Professor of Contemporary History at the University Pablo de Olavide of Seville. His main research focuses on the analysis of Agrarian History from the environmental perspective. His work has focused on the study of sustainability of agricultural systems and evolution of environmental conflicts.

##### Van Molle, Leen

Leen Van Molle is full professor of social history at the University of Leuven, Department of History, research group MoSa (Modernity & Society 1800-2000). She is chair person of the Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History, University of Leuven. Her research focuses on Belgian and comparative social history of Europe from 1800 to the present, especially rural history, the rural-urban divide, the construction of social identities, co-operative saving and lending, gender and the methodology of oral history. In 2005 she was visiting professor at the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<p><b>Knowledge networks in rural Europe, 1700-2000. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Segers, Yves</p> <p>Chair: Brassley, Paul</p>	<p><b>10.1.1. Agricultural literature in Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon countries c. 1700-1800</b> Myrdal, Janken</p>	<p><b>10.1.2. Julien Gabriel Sugy's agrarian knowledge</b> Herment, Laurent</p>	<p><b>10.1.3. Learning to farm: the diffusion of the agronomical knowledge in the Eastern Lombardy from the Napoleonic age to the WWI</b> Tedeschi, Paolo</p>	<p><b>10.1.4. The contribution of human capital to agricultural growth in Germany, 1870-1939. Research strategy</b> Albers, Hakon</p>	<p><b>Panel 10.1</b> Room A-126</p>
<p><b>Imagining the Rural: The Politics of Rural Representation</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Hartman, Rebecca</p> <p>Chair: Ineichen, Martina</p>	<p><b>10.2.1. „Look in her Eyes“: Cultural, Political and Personal Constructions of Dorothea Lange's „Migrant Mother“</b> Cannon, Brian</p>	<p><b>10.2.2. The Aesthetics of Improvement in Rural Domestic Art and Architecture</b> Samson, Daniel</p>	<p><b>10.2.3. Toward an Indigenous Parkland: Saskatchewan Métis beyond the official story, in photograph and narrative</b> Andersen, Chris</p>	<p><b>10.2.4. Gender Implications in Representations of the Rural in 1950s Photo Reportages</b> Joris, Elisabeth</p>	<p><b>Panel 10.2</b> Room A-119</p>
<p><b>Innovation and change in European agriculture via the spread of new crops from the 16th to the 19th century. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Moriceau, Jean-Marc Olivier, Sylvain Chaussat, Alain-Gilles</p> <p>Chair: Moriceau, Jean-Marc</p>	<p><b>10.3.1. A plant for the planet : a contribution towards a world history of herba medica, alfalfa, luzerne</b> Ambrosoli, Mauro</p>	<p><b>10.3.2. Alfalfa in the agricultural manuals of the Eastern Mediterranean</b> Sopov, Aleksandar</p>	<p><b>10.3.3. Artificial pastures and tithes in Normandy (17-18th centuries)</b> Poncet, Fabrice</p>	<p><b>10.3.4. Spanish Broom in the changes of Southern France agriculture, from the 17th to the 19th century</b> Olivier, Sylvain</p>	<p><b>Panel 10.3</b> Room A-122</p>
<p><b>This land is not quite your land: tenancy and leaseholding in the pre-industrial period. Part I</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: González Agudo, David Vervaeet, Lies</p> <p>Chair: van Bavel, Bas J.P.</p>	<p><b>10.4.1. Long and short term tenancies. Catalonia and Valencia</b> Garrido, Samuel</p>	<p><b>10.4.2. Sharecropping leaseholds organized by village communities in pre-World War II Japan</b> Kanzaka, Junichi</p>	<p><b>10.4.3. Land rent and lease markets in Central Spain, 1500-1600</b> González Agudo, David</p>		<p><b>Panel 10.4</b> Room A 201</p>
<p><b>Towards a comparative approach to rural inequality in the transition debate</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Ryckbosch, Wouter Furio, Antoni</p> <p>Chair: Ryckbosch, Wouter</p>	<p><b>10.5.1. Long-term trends in economic inequality in rural areas. Central and northern Italy, fifteenth-eighteenth centuries</b> Alfani, Guido</p>	<p><b>10.5.2. Patterns of economic inequality in town and countryside: Holland and Flanders (15th-16th centuries)</b> Ryckbosch, Wouter</p>	<p><b>10.5.3. Comment</b> Furio, Antoni</p>		<p><b>Panel 10.5</b> Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Institutional encounters: European property rights in colonial contexts. Part I: Asia and Latin America</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Serrao, Jose Vicente</p> <p>Chair: Serrao, Jose Vicente</p>	<p><b>10.6.1. European property rights in colonial contexts: overview and topics for debate</b> Serrao, Jose Vicente</p>	<p><b>10.6.2. Constructing a legal language: the Landraad and the thombo in Dutch Colonial Sri Lanka</b> Seneviratne, Nadeera</p>	<p><b>10.6.3. Property rights and land use in the Portuguese Empire of the East, 16th-18th centuries</b> Münch Miranda, Susana</p>		<p><b>Panel 10.6</b> Room A 022</p>
<p><b>Co-operatives under authoritarian (socialist and capitalist) regimes in Europe in the 20th century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Varga, Zsuzsanna</p> <p>Chair: Swain, Nigel</p>	<p><b>10.7.1. The liberal, democratic and authoritarian regulation of co-operatives in Spain, 1906-1950</b> Pan-Montojo, Juan</p>	<p><b>10.7.2. Diverging roads from the Soviet kolkhoz-model inside and outside the Soviet Union</b> Jørgensen, Hans Varga, Zsuzsanna</p>	<p><b>10.7.3. Co-operatives, peasants and agriculture in fascist Italy: from self-organization to social control</b> Mignemi, Niccolò</p>	<p><b>10.7.4. The agrarian co-operatives and the policy of the Greek governments: from the enactment of the law of 1914 until the establishment of the compulsory co-operatives</b> Angelis-Dimakis, Dimitris</p>	<p><b>Panel 10.7</b> Room A 019</p>

## 10.1. Knowledge networks in rural Europe, 1700-2000. Part II

**Panel organiser: Segers, Yves, Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History, University of Leuven, Belgium**

The diffusion of various forms of knowledge and know-how in the countryside, both to increase agricultural production and food quality and to improve the quality of rural life, was without any doubt one of the most striking processes of change in the rural areas of Europe during the last three centuries. However, regions, farming communities and farming families had unequal access to locally and externally generated knowledge, as well as unequal abilities to produce and acquire new knowledge through formal and informal networks such as learning by doing, schooling, extension programmes, media, etc. These two sessions, organised under the same umbrella, aim at unravelling the development of what can be called “agricultural and rural knowledge networks” in Europe. Both sessions will address the production and diffusion of agricultural science and agricultural technology. Changing agricultural knowledge and techniques were one of the principal reasons for the increases in agricultural output that occurred since the eighteenth century. Many of the technical changes resulted from the activities of governments, scientists and commercial firms outside the agricultural industry itself. Others came from pioneering farmers. Guiding questions for these sessions are: How did these knowledge networks operate: top-down, bottom-up or two-way communication? What was the role of public and private actors (government, state agronomists, farmers’ organisations, commercial firms, media, the church, etc.)? Who had access to which knowledge? To whom was the available information addressed (men, women, youth; professional farmers or rural dwellers)? Which knowledge was adopted or rejected and why? How efficient was the degree of agricultural extension initiatives? Did inclusion or exclusion from knowledge networks influence power structures? Which channels were used to diffuse knowledge (education, newspapers, radio, films, television, journals, books, lectures, advertisements, expositions, agricultural shows, etc.)? To what extent was knowledge, generated outside Europe, imported in Europe, for instance from the U.S. and European colonies? Or vice versa? To what extent did knowledge networks globalise? These sessions are organised by Paul Brassley (University of Exeter), Yves Segers and Leen Van Molle (University of Leuven), Daniel Lanero and Lourenzo Fernandez Prieto (University of Santiago de Compostella), in cooperation with the CORN network.

**Chair: Brassley, Paul, University of Exeter, UK**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1000 – 1200 // Session 10 – Room A-126

### 10.1.1. Agricultural literature in Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon countries c. 1700-1800

**Myrdal, Janken, Section of Agrarian History, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden**

This paper presents statistics on the annual publication of agricultural literature in Scandinavia (Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark, Norway, Sweden-Finland, Iceland) and in Anglo-Saxon countries (England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, North America) during the 18th century. Two different types of databases are used. One includes every article based on two bibliographies for the Danish and Swedish kingdoms of the 18th century. These bibliographies are among the most extensive on this subject that we have from Europe. The second Database covers books on agriculture: the English Short Title Catalogue compared with the catalogue of the Swedish Royal Library. The number of articles (in Sweden) is ten times as large as the number of books, and the distribution according to subjects and over time somewhat different. Theoretically this investigation will be related to Jan Luiten van Zanden’s concept “knowledge economy” (Zanden: *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution*, 2009). Van Zanden uses overall numbers for literature. The intention here is to go much more into detail for one of the most important genres in economic literature of the 18th century. The topics that are discussed in these publications will be analyzed: when was plowing on the agenda; when did manure come into the focus of the discussion, etc? A preliminary discussion about the writers will also be made, and if possible which audience they tried to reach. As much of the literature was produced in learned societies, the question of “knowledge networks” is essential.

### 10.1.2. Julien Gabriel Sugy’s agrarian knowledge

**Herment, Laurent, EHESS-CRH, France**

The aim of this paper is to define the different levels of knowledge of a farmer of the Bassin Parisien in the first half of the nineteenth century. Julien Gabriel Sugy was born in Videlles at the end of 1806. He was married to Hortense Séverine Chartier on June, 21, 1830. After his marriage, he kept a diary for almost 30 years. The material is quite confusing and reflects the poor level of knowledge of Julien Gabriel. Despite this poor level, the diary is very interesting for two reasons. First, there are very few sources like this in the North of France during the first half of the nineteenth century. Second, Julien reported a lot of information at a variety of

levels. Some of these levels could reveal links with “savant knowledge” while others were linked with “popular knowledge”, etc. It seems that Julien quoted in his diary the information he collected from various sources as he read them. Furthermore, it is not possible to know exactly the schooling of Julien. In the first part of the paper we will try to better understand the social and economic background of Julien. In the second part we will determine the type of sources (religious, schooling, agronomic, popular, etc.) from which Julien gained his knowledge, and we will show that this diary is probably a way by which his knowledge has been spread.

### 10.1.3. Learning to farm: the diffusion of the agronomical knowledge in the Eastern Lombardy from the Napoleonic age to the WWI

**Tedeschi, Paolo, University of Milan Bicocca, Italy**

The paper illustrates how the diffusion of agrarian knowledge in the Eastern Lombard during the first half of the 19th century helped the development of production and yields in the countryside. Initially the diffusion of knowledge in agronomics and the improvement of agricultural sciences and technologies were based on the results of new experiments and studies made moreover by nobles and priests. Then new agrarian schools were founded for training of a new class of peasants having the knowledge to grow the yields of land through the use of the modern innovations (as agrarian machines, chemical fertilizers and hybrid seeds). At the end of the 19th century the Cattedra Ambulante was created too: it organized lectures, courses, evening classes, trainings and also some special itinerant offices where farmers and breeders received information and advices about all innovations in agronomics and zootechnology. The knowledge network concerning these innovations also promoted the relevance of the creation and diffusion of cooperatives in the countryside. The assemblies and conferences organized for their members were the occasion for illustrating the new productive system and agrarian machines. Furthermore, the cooperatives allowed peasants to buy seeds and fertilizers at a cheap price and they had the money for buying or renting new seeders, reapers, ploughing machines, etc. The knowledge network concerning agronomics gave information on innovations and it created the conditions for a better agronomical knowledge in the countryside: learning to improve farming and so crops and the quality of rural life.

### 10.1.4. The contribution of human capital to agricultural growth in Germany, 1870-1939. Research strategy

**Albers, Hakon, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany**

This research explores the importance of human capital for agricultural growth in Germany 1870-1939, and aims at contributing to the discussion on the shift to sustained growth. During 1800-1850, agricultural production grew 77%, and labor productivity in agriculture almost 30%. Kopsidis and Hockmann (2010) provide regional evidence. Grant (2009) finds a labor productivity growth of 1.5% per annum for 1880-1909. Human capital has not been considered as explanation, although agricultural winter schools (landwirtschaftliche Winterschulen) provide good reason to believe in human capital driven growth, which was possibly based on, or complemented by an Agricultural Enlightenment (I coined this term with reference to the Industrial Enlightenment according to Mokyr). There is a rise in people reached by agriculture specific knowledge, and the importance of winter schools in absolute numbers. Since the end of the nineteenth century Haushaltungsschulen existed, which focused on education of young women. Competing explanations focus market integration. Kopsidis doubts the relevance of institutions, namely the liberalization of serfdom (Bauernbefreiung) and trade liberalization. As production function estimation might be a limited approach in quantifying the contribution of knowledge, a qualitative analysis, which focuses on the quality of knowledge complements this exercise. A variable measuring human capital, e.g. number of pupils per county, shall be refined using weights deduced from analysis of taught knowledge.

#### Participants

##### Albers, Hakon

MSc candidate Agricultural Economics, Humboldt-University Berlin; Title of thesis: “Climate in production functions: an application to regional wheat yields in Germany”; 2009: BA History / Economics, University of Münster; May 2009 - December 2011 and May - September 2012: Student research assistant at the Institute of Social and Economic History, University of Münster.

##### Brassley, Paul

Paul Brassley is a visiting Senior Research Fellow in the Centre for Rural Policy Research at the University of Exeter, UK. Since 2009 he has been working there on a project to investigate the process of technical change in English agriculture between 1935 and 1985. He has previously produced studies on rural issues in the Second World War, the interwar period, and the late nineteenth century. His most recent book (edited with Yves Segers and Leen Van Molle) is *War, Agriculture and Food: rural Europe from the 1930s to the 1950s* (Routledge, 2012).

##### Herment, Laurent

Ph.D. 2009: Prix de thèse d’histoire économique 2011: l’Association Française d’Histoire Economique et BNP-Paribas. Book: *Les fruits du partage. Petits paysans du Bassin Parisien au XIXe siècle*, 2012. He published on the economics of French agricultural development during the nineteenth century. More recently his interests have turned to agricultural economic history of the North-West of Europe (nineteenth century and first half of twentieth century), with a particular focus on land use, and productivity and market.

##### Myrdal, Janken

Janken Myrdal is professor in agrarian history in Uppsala, Sweden. He has published on medieval history in general and agrarian history from the early medieval period until the nineteenth century. A main interest is the history of technology (cows and ploughs - but in a theoretical context). He also has written on economic cycles (as the crisis of the Late Medieval period). He was main editor for the five-volume *The Agrarian History of Sweden*, condensed into one volume in English in 2011. Currently he is working on a project about agricultural systems in Eurasia.

##### Segers, Yves

Yves Segers is professor of rural history and director of the Interfaculty Centre for Agrarian History at the University of Leuven, and professor of Economic History at Hogeschool-Universiteit Brussel (HUB). His research focuses on agricultural and rural history in Belgium and Europe since 1750 and the development of food systems.

##### Tedeschi, Paolo

Paolo Tedeschi is Assistant Professor at the University of Milan-Bicocca where he teaches Economic History and European Integration History. He also collaborates with the IACCHOS (Université Catholique de Louvain) and with the FLSHASE (University of Luxembourg). His recent research and publications concern: the economic history of the Lombardy (18th-20th centuries) and in particular the development of the agriculture and the changes in the economy of Alpine valleys: the role of the European economic institutions and policies (particularly the CAP) from the sixties to the eighties.



**Panel** 10.2. Imagining the Rural: The Politics of Rural Representation

**Panel organiser:** Hartman, Rebecca, Eastern Oregon University, USA

Cultural production – documentary photography, painting, literature, architecture – has been critical to the ways in which ‘the rural’ has been imagined, defined and experienced. This panel explores the theme of the culturally produced ‘rural’ and the ways in which those representations of the rural are deployed for policy and political purposes, used to construct narratives of aesthetics, designed to ‘document’ notions of authenticity or nationalism, or consumed and displayed by urban and country dwellers alike.

Questions addressed are: How have depictions of the rural communicated, constructed, and contested ideologies of class, national history, and/or the state? How did these depictions intersect with, reflect or affect the lives of rural peoples? What transnational comparisons of the culturally produced rural might deepen our understandings of rural history? In keeping with the goal of this conference to consider the question of defining rural history, and asking how it can be narrated, the panel offers an opportunity to explore from a historical perspective a question that may be at the center of reflecting upon how rural history is narrated – does examining the ways in which a society ascribes meaning to the rural through cultural production provide insights into that society, particularly as it continues to urbanize?

**Chair:** Ineichen, Martina, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1000 – 1200 // Session 10 – Room A-119

**Paper** 10.2.1. „Look in her Eyes“: Cultural, Political and Personal Constructions of Dorothea Lange’s „Migrant Mother“

**Cannon, Brian, Brigham Young University, USA**

This paper analyzes the iconic place one particular photograph holds in the American imagination of the Great Depression, and explores the complex ways in which diverse Americans have constructed particular meanings through the use of “Migrant Mother”.

10.2.2. The Aesthetics of Improvement in Rural Domestic Art and Architecture

Paper

**Samson, Daniel, Brock University, Canada**

The discourse of improvement both transformed and reproduced key liberal and physiocratic ideas on the place of agriculture in modern political economy. All major Anglo-American writers on improvement picked up on a particular aesthetic. Drawing upon an English patrician ideal, improvement writers crafted images of the proper relations within the rural household, the tasteful ordering of landed property and the role of the family patriarch in governing his realm. Nineteenth century British North American painters created domestic, private art for the rural elite which illustrated, literally, that idealized vision of country life. Not only did these images appropriate that traditional, physiocratic ideal of agriculture as an ancient and honourable activity, but they also contributed to fostering liberal notions of the individual, the patriarchal family and a political economy of improvement that would, with time, more fully embrace the market and social change.

10.2.3. Toward an Indigenous Parkland: Saskatchewan Métis beyond the official story, in photograph and narrative

Paper

**Andersen, Chris, University of Alberta, Canada**

Canadian research on 20th century Métis (one of three Indigenous peoples recognized in Canada’s constitution) has, when it has dared to explore it at all, tended to depict Métis communities – always rural – as developmentally stunted and morally defunct. Much of the information used to produce narratives about these communities took the form of official reports that empirically documented the apparent truth about these communities. Using photographs and interviews from Métis themselves, this presentation seeks to provide a more complex alternative to such official narratives. Not simply to counter official discussions about developmental or moral “lag” but rather, to open up a whole world of how rural life in the Parkland was negotiated by its inhabitants as Métis community members attempted to fit themselves into the changing political economies of rural twentieth century western Canada.

10.2.4. Gender Implications in Representations of the Rural in 1950s Photo Reportages

Paper

**Joris, Elisabeth, Independent scholar, Switzerland**

The alpine and pre-alpine world are some of the most common subjects used in Swiss photo reportages. As a genre, they are of a documentary character. Much more, however, they have served as projections by readers from more urban surroundings. This means that photo reportages even from the 1950’s have influenced Switzerland’s self-image and its outside image like hardly any other medium has done. In my report, I specifically focus on the gender implications of this Swiss self-image as conveyed by photo reportages. There is no rigid dichotomy of publicity versus privacy evoked by assigning femininity to the private domain and masculinity to the public domain in pictures of the rural world formed by agriculture and stock breeding. Nevertheless, social conditions marked by gender specific hierarchy are mirrored in the design, the use and the appropriation of space. What is dominant in the photo reportages is, however, the dichotomy of urbanity and rurality characterized by gender stereotypes. The consolidated idea of sharing a common destiny involving mountains and valleys was upheld in war-spared Switzerland even after 1945. Many photo reportages continued to breed a static image of rural life. They showed, in particular, women in traditional costumes representing the tranquil image of a world hardly changing. Just as important are, however, photo reportages inspired by the tradition of social reportage dating back to the 1930’s, documenting poverty and the social divide within the rural population.

**Participants**

**Andersen, Chris**

Chris Andersen is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Native Studies at the University of Alberta. He is currently Associate Dean (Research) and the Director of the Rupertsland Centre for Metis Research. His research interests focus on the classification of the Metis in the Canadian courts and census and he has two books coming out. The first is titled “Metis”: Canada’s Misrecognition of an Indigenous People and is being published with the University of British Columbia Press. The second, with Magje Walter, is titled Indigenous Statistics: an Indigenous Quantitative Methodology, and is being published by Left Coast Press.

geographies. She is currently working on a project tracing the history of mobile home parks in the United States.

**Ineichen, Martina**

Martina Ineichen is a scientific collaborator at the Archives of Rural History in Berne. She studied History, Human Geography and Gender Studies at the University of Basel. Together with Roman K. Abt, Katja Hürlimann and Bertrand Forclaz she is currently working on the edition of the traverse-thematic volume Economy in rural areas to be issued in June 2014.

**Cannon, Brian**

Brian Q. Cannon is Professor of History and Director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, USA. He specializes in the history of the rural American West. He received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is past president of the Agricultural History Society and the author of over two dozen articles and two books: Remaking the Agrarian Dream: New Deal Rural Resettlement in the Mountain West and Reopening the Frontier: Homesteading in the Modern West.

**Joris, Elisabeth**

Elisabeth Joris received her doctorate from the University of Zurich. She was a co-founder of the group Critical Upper Valais and the opposition Valais publication The Red Anneliese, as well as a co-editor of the feminist magazine Olympe. She has published numerous articles on women’s and gender history in Switzerland. In 1986, with Heidi Witzig, Dr. Joris published a pioneering collection of sources on women’s history in Switzerland.

**Hartman, Rebecca**

Rebecca Hartman is an Associate Professor of History at Eastern Oregon University. Her research areas are twentieth-century US women and gender, with a focus on rural

**Samson, Daniel**

Daniel Samson teaches in the Department of History at Brock University in Ontario, Canada. He is the author of numerous books and articles on Canadian rural and agrarian history.



Panel

## 10.3. Innovation and change in European agriculture via the spread of new crops from the 16th to the 19th century. Part I

**Panel organiser: Moriceau, Jean-Marc, University of Caen, France; Olivier, Sylvain, University of Caen and University of Perpignan, France; Chaussat, Alain-Gilles, University of Caen, France**

The development of new crops in Europe was a contributing factor to the numerous changes observed in European agriculture from the 16th to the 19th century. Some crops were unknown until cultivation. Others had already been present for a long time, but were introduced later into existing cropping systems. In such cases, the novelty doesn't lay in the plant itself, but in its increased use. The phrase "new crop" covers these two scenarios and concerns human food as well as fodder and non-alimentary uses. What was the impact of these new crops on existing farming systems? What were the contributing factors or obstacles to their propagation. Did these types of crops become established? Were these crops made durable? How did they affect the populations that cultivated them? This panel proposes to study the emergence, development and spread of these new crops. It may also include some methodological talks about the historical available sources and also the ways the change and the diffusion can be mapped.

**Chair: Moriceau, Jean-Marc, University of Caen, France**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1000 – 1200 // Session 10 – Room A-122

### 10.3.1. A plant for the planet : a contribution towards a world history of herba medica, alfalfa, luzerne

Paper

**Ambrosoli, Mauro, Professor at the University of Udine, Italy**

A lesson from Renaissance agriculture: from the humble beginnings of medieval confusion 32 millions of Hectars (79 millions of acres) of *Medicago* sp. are grown today in the world. Following Ambrosoli 1997 and 1999 which dealt with the historical diffusion of *Medicago* and *Trifolium* species in Western Europe 1350-1850, I will discuss the planet distribution of the *Medicago* sp. using a temporal and spatial approach with due attention to economic and social factors.

### 10.3.2. Alfalfa in the agricultural manuals of the Eastern Mediterranean

Paper

**Sopov, Aleksandar, University of Harvard, USA**

The story of alfalfa in the Eastern Mediterranean has never been told before even though this area is known to have been facilitating the diffusion of plants between Asia, Europe and Africa. I will discuss the Mamluk and Ottoman agricultural manuals and attempt to provide an outlook on the place of alfalfa in the Late Medieval and the early Modern period in the Eastern Mediterranean. These agricultural manuals provide us with a glimpse into the intellectual world of the Eastern Mediterranean and the agricultural thinking within.

### 10.3.3. Artificial pastures and tithes in Normandy (17-18th centuries)

Paper

**Poncet, Fabrice, University of Caen, France**

Although Normandy is known for its permanent pastures (which expanded during the 17th and 18th centuries), certain areas also saw the spread of artificial pastures (sainfoin, clovers, alfalfa). This spread, which can be traced by observing the conflicts surrounding tithing, provides an interesting subject of study. The main theme of that work will be: Are the tithes a good way to perceive this change in agriculture? Is it possible to have in such a way a geography and a chronology of the spread or some details about the reasons why people used these plants. How relevant could these details be? Which difficulties stand between a cartography of the conflicts and a cartography of the spread in itself?

### 10.3.4. Spanish Broom in the changes of Southern France agriculture, from the 17th to the 19th century

Paper

**Olivier, Sylvain, University of Caen and University of Perpignan, France**

For many centuries, a wild-growing plant in Mediterranean countries, Spanish broom (*Spartium junceum* L.), has been exploited on account of its fibres, which could be used to make a rough fabric. Spanish Broom spontaneously spread all over many uncultivated lands, when the extent of fallow land grew up during the famous 17th century crisis. So, its increased use occurred from the 17th century in the Lodévois, a part of the province of Languedoc. Later, in the 18th and 19th centuries, it became a massive presence giving rise to new agricultural practices. It was integrated into crop rotations in parts of the Languedoc region of France, in order to make use of uncultivated areas. The increasing maintenance of this broom growing in the Lodévois during the modern period is involved in processes of complex cropping at the borders of the cultivated area. The exploitation of this plant, seemingly marginal, does indeed contribute in its own way to agricultural change from the eighteenth century onward.

#### Participants

##### **Ambrosoli, Mauro**

He has been active in many research topics. In the last decade, he looked at the agricultural modernization with particular attention to the transformation of European commons and the diffusion of a green belt of city orchards and commercial vegetable gardens (2002 and 2011). He contributed to various conferences, seminars and lectures in Italy, Belgium, England, France, USA. Academic career: professor of modern history at the Universities of Torino (Italy) (1976-1993) and Udine (Italy) (1994-2011). Director of the History Doctorate (2001-2011) at the University of Udine.

##### **Chaussat, Alain-Gilles**

Doctoral fellow (scholarship of county Basse-Normandie) at the University of Caen Basse-Normandie. Thesis supervised by Jean-Marc Moriceau of "The role of buckwheat in the history of populations, in the Massif armoricain and its fringes, 17th-19th centuries". Member of CRHQ, (UMR-6583) and "Pôle Rural" of Caen. Formation in Art history, Archeology and History (University, Paris X). Member of the board HSR (Association of Rural History and Society). Member of the board CRHQ (Centre for Research in quantitative history). Member of "Groupe Meule" (Collective project of research of millstones).

##### **Moriceau, Jean-Marc**

History Professor at the University of Caen Basse-Normandie. Member of IUF (University Institute of France). Chairman of HSR (Association of Rural History and Society). Chairman of « Pôle Rural » in Caen (Research group in rural history, geography and sociology).

##### **Olivier, Sylvain**

Dr Sylvain Olivier, teacher in a high school in Montpellier (France) and adjunct professor in history at the University of Perpignan (France). He works on the mediterranean agriculture and environment from the end of the Middle Ages to the 20th century. Ph.D. thesis (2012): "On the fringes of agricultural space.. Fallow lands and broom in the Lodévois (17th-19th century)" (supervised by Jean-Marc Moriceau, CRHQ-university of Caen).

##### **Poncet, Fabrice**

Teacher in a high school in Condé-sur-Noireau (Normandy) and doctoral fellow at the University of Caen Basse-Normandie. Thesis supervised by Jean-Marc Moriceau about agricultural specialization in Normandy from 15th to 19th century (commercialization and consumption of butter, cattle breeding, landscape transformations). Member of CRHQ, (UMR-6583) and «Pôle Rural» of Caen.

##### **Sopov, Aleksandar**

PhD Candidate, History Department and Middle East Studies, Harvard University. Dissertation Proposal: Production of Food in the Eastern Mediterranean during Ottoman Rule. He is a specialist in Ottoman history, European Environmental History and Early Islamic History. He studied in Macedonia, Turkey and United States. Junior fellow at Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (2011/2012), he has been a teaching assistant in Harvard.



Panel

## 10.4. This land is not quite your land: tenancy and leaseholding in the pre-industrial period. Part I

**Panel organiser:** González Agudo, David, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain; Vervae, Lies, Ghent University, Belgium

During the late middle ages and 16th century, the exploitation of landownership underwent drastic changes in various parts of Europe. These changes had long-range effects on the rural economy and on society, since they influenced the use rights to what was by far the most important production factor. Throughout this process, the emergence and spread of lease holding plays a pivotal role. According to the influential R. Brenner, lease holding played a key element in the emergence of agrarian capitalism. It implied that farmers no longer had direct access to the land, but instead were forced to compete permanently with each other for leases on the land. As a result of the fierce competition, farmers were often forced to reduce costs, to increase market orientation and to specialize. In the longer run this led to a significant concentration of land and to the rise of large tenant farms, operated in a proto-capitalist way, increasingly using wage labor instead of family labor. Recently, B. van Bavel and Ph. Schofield modified the thesis of R. Brenner, stating that the impact of lease holding depended on the exact arrangement of the system and the social and economic context in which it emerged. This could lead to differential regional impacts. According to these historians, lease prices must also be understood within the regionally divergent outcomes. While most historians recognize the importance of lease holding, the bulk of attention is still going to the “capitalistic” form of lease holding, which first emerged in Northwest Europe. Consequently, other forms of lease holding in other regions need more attention. While landlords applied the system of leasehold to manage their land all around the world, the outcomes could be radically different from region to region. With these insights, historians no longer can consider lease prices as the outcome of simple supply and demand. Several socio-economic and institutional factors influenced price-making. Above all, the importance of lease prices cannot be underestimated because it is substantially determined the income of peasants, farmers and large landowners in the pre-industrial area.

**Chair:** van Bavel, Bas J.P., Utrecht University, Netherlands

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1000 – 1200 // Session 10 – Room A 201

### 10.4.1. Long and short term tenancies. Catalonia and Valencia

Paper

**Garrido, Samuel, University Jaume I, Spain**

Robert Brenner's argument concerning competition among tenants implies that the landlords often changed tenants. Yet, in many areas of Europe it seems to have been common for tenant families to occupy the farms they rented from one generation to the next. In this paper my aim is to study that phenomenon by comparing the events that took place in Spain between the final phase of the pre-industrial period and the 20th century in two types of agriculture with very different characteristics, namely, the farming on irrigated land in the Valencia Region and that carried out in the vineyards of Catalonia. In the first case the usual practice was to rely on lease contracts, which were theoretically very short-term agreements, although they were normally renewed year after year for extremely long periods of time. In some areas, the leases eventually became de facto (although not de jure) arrangements similar to emphyteusis, and this made it easier for tenants to buy land at low prices throughout the 20th century. In the Catalan districts predominated by viticulture, a very common type of contract was the *rabassa morta*, which was a combination of sharecropping and emphyteusis that ensured long-term stability for the tenant. From the late 19th century onwards, however, simple sharecropping tended to be used instead and many tenants were replaced. In this paper special attention will be paid to studying the factors that determined why what actually occurred was so different from what was initially set out in the contract.

### 10.4.2. Sharecropping leaseholds organized by village communities in pre-World War II Japan

Paper

**Kanzaka, Junichi, Soka University, Japan**

In the late Tokugawa period, many Japanese peasants cultivated fields under sharecropping leaseholds. Furthermore, the Meiji government gave ‘modern’ property rights to landlords and denied, in principle, the *ei-kosaku* or perpetual lease, which some peasants had enjoyed based on their former contribution to reclamation or more than 20 years of customary tenancy. The landlords obtained ‘modern’ ownership of land and still took as high a percentage of product as in the Tokugawa period. Therefore, many Japanese scholars questioned whether their agrarian regime was truly modern and examined the development of modern property rights and leaseholds in Europe as compared with Japan. Their arguments are valuable to a pioneer comparative study of European and non-European land ownership and tenancy. In this argument, the economists and historians indicated that Japanese peasants were constrained not only by the landlord but also by the norms and customs of village communities. The restrictions were supported by the villagers’ common belief that they were not allowed to trade their land at will because each plot of land belonged to the village as well as to each holder. These feudal and communal constraints are widely regarded as obstacles to modern economic growth. By contrast, however, Ishikawa and Hayami insisted that the Japanese sharecropping leaseholders advanced vernacular agricultural techniques and achieved high productivity. The Japanese experience of and debate over sharecropping, therefore, exemplifies a different type of economic development based on leasehold organized by village communities.

### 10.4.3. Land rent and lease markets in Central Spain, 1500-1600

Paper

**González Agudo, David, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain**

Land tenure institutions are essential elements for understanding economic performance. In the Early Modern period these institutions varied considerably at the regional level, yet regional-level data is exceedingly scarce. I build a database of land rent paid on 100 representative farm estates belonging to the Cathedral Chapters of Toledo and Sigüenza, in New Castile, between 1500 and 1600. Using information on location, identity of the renter and the type of contract, I study the effects of the legal status of the land and its mobility over time. In spite of large institutional contrasts between these two land leasing markets, their differences did not seem to exert a significant influence on economic performance: farmland rent increased more than 60 per cent. It is more likely that more geographically concentrated phenomena, like the growth of nearby cities (Madrid and Toledo), exercised a major influence by increasing mobility on lease transfers.

#### Participants

##### Garrido, Samuel

Profesor Titular de Historia e Instituciones Económicas, Department of Economics, University Jaume I, Castellón (Spain). Research interests: Institutions, agrarian contracts, agricultural cooperatives, common-pool resources, social capital, and collective action. He has published articles in journals including *Economic History Review*, *Explorations in Economic History*, *Historia Agraria*, *Agricultural History*, *Rural History*, *Research in Economic History* and *Revista de Historia Económica*.

##### González Agudo, David

Ph.D. student. Topics: Land rents, agricultural contracts, Early Modern Castile. Presentations: “Land rent and lease markets in Central Spain, 1500-1600” (poster), *Economic History Association 72nd Annual Meeting*, Vancouver, Canada, September 2012. “What price a roof? Housing and the cost of living in 16th-century Toledo” (with Mauricio Drelichman), *Economic History Society Annual Conference*, University of Oxford, 2012. Visiting positions: Department of History and Art History, Utrecht University, April-July 2012. Department of Economics, University of British Columbia, February-May 2011.

##### Kanzaka, Junichi

Junichi Kanzaka is a professor in economic history at Soka University, Japan. He has studied the agrarian history of medieval England. His publications include “Villein Rents in Thirteenth-Century England: An Analysis of the Hundred Rolls of 1279–1280”, *Economic History Review*, 60–4, 2002. He is also carrying out research comparing the agrarian history of England and Japan.

##### van Bavel, Bas J.P.

Bas van Bavel is professor of Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages and head of the section of Economic and Social History at Utrecht University. His main research interests include long-run changes and divergences in economic and social development and long-run institutional change, mainly in a comparative perspective.

##### Vervae, Lies

Lies Vervae is research assistant at the Department of History at Ghent University, Belgium. In her PhD, she investigates the estate management of the Saint John's Hospital of Bruges, one of the major landowners of Flanders (supervisor E. Thoen). She focuses on the organisation of the leasehold system and on the organisation of rural labour in late medieval Flanders.

## 10.5. Towards a comparative approach to rural inequality in the transition debate

Panel organiser: Ryckbosch, Wouter, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium; Furio, Antoni, Universidad de Valencia, Spain



In explaining the transition from an essentially feudal to a predominantly capitalist rural society during the late medieval and early modern period, the contributions of evolving social property relations, the development and spread of leasehold, and the emergence and expansion of factor markets have generally taken pride of place in the historiography of the past decades. By comparison, the social and economic differentiation within late medieval and early modern rural society has received considerably less attention, and has often been treated chiefly as a side-effect of evolving class relations, of shifting institutional structures of land ownership and tenure, and of the functioning of land and credit markets. Although several authors have suggested that the outcome and prior emergence of these important transitional dynamics were themselves contingent upon the degree of social differentiation and inequality present within pre-capitalist peasant societies, rural inequality has but rarely figured as an explanatory variable in the transition debate (exceptions are Hilton 1978; Whittle 2000; Byres 2006). The present session aims to develop a comparative empirical framework for exploring the roots, dynamics and outcomes of inter- as well as intra-class dif-

ferentiation and inequality in the countryside of late medieval and early modern Europe. The central question posed in this session is not only whether inequality in land holdings (such as patterns of morcellement or engrossment) – but also the social distribution of different components of both moveable and immovable wealth, of housing, livestock, and financial assets – could act either as an impediment or as conducive to growth and transition. In bringing together different, but systematically comparable case studies on rural inequality, differentiation and polarization, it is anticipated that the evidence on the evolution of social inequality in the countryside can be re-integrated into the overarching narratives on long-term trends in pre-industrial inequality – a historiography which remains predominantly informed by empirical evidence relating to urban social stratifications alone (Van Zanden 1995; Milanovic et al. 2011). To this aim, the present session intends to adopt a thoroughly comparative approach, dealing with both regions in Southern Europe and in the North Sea area, and commercial areas as well as regions dominated by peasant ‘survival’ modes of production. The session will be organised in collaboration with the CORN research network.

Chair: Ryckbosch, Wouter, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1000 – 1200 // Session 10 – Room A 027

### 10.5.1. Long-term trends in economic inequality in rural areas. Central and northern Italy, fifteenth-eighteenth centuries

Alfani, Guido, Bocconi University Milan, Italy

Most of what we know about economic inequality in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period relates to cities. This is partly the consequence of the more abundant sources available for cities compared to the countryside, but partly depends on the current preference of historians for urban environments. The unbalance needs to be redressed whenever possible, not only because in preindustrial times the vast majority of the population resided not in cities, but also because to properly measure the general levels of inequality over large areas, and to understand what those inequality levels really implied for the population, we cannot leave the country aside. This paper makes use of data collected in Italian archives by the ERC-funded research project EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800. This data, which comes from the exceptionally good and ancient sources available for Italy (the *estimi*, or property tax records), allows to reconstruct long-term tendencies in rural economic inequality, and also to proceed to urban-rural comparisons. Different areas of the Peninsula are considered, including the Canavese in Piedmont, the territory of Padua in Veneto, the Florentine domains, as well as some case studies from Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna.

### 10.5.2. Patterns of economic inequality in town and countryside: Holland and Flanders (15th-16th centuries)

Ryckbosch, Wouter, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

In this paper we attempt to map the differences and divergences in inequality patterns between two small towns and their surrounding countrysides in Holland and Flanders at the beginning of the early modern period. We use taxation records from the small town of Edam and the villages in its hinterland to study the development of inequality in Holland in the 15th and 16th centuries. We will pay particular attention to the timing and speed of the development of wealth differences, as well as the social distribution of moveable and immovable wealth, such as land, housing, livestock, and financial assets. In the case of Flanders, fiscal records from the second half of the 16th century will be used to reconstruct the social distribution of wealth and land holding in the secondary town of Courtrai and its surrounding villages. The results will be placed in the context of the divergent processes of commercialization which beset both Holland and Flanders during this period. By contrasting the level and patterns of inequality and town-country differences in a maritime region of Holland on the one hand and the peasant economy of inner Flanders on the other, we hope to provide new perspectives on regional variation in wealth differentiation. Since both towns and surrounding villages will be studied, a clear link will be established between existing literature on the development of urban inequality, and lesser-known rural developments.

### 10.5.3. Comment

Furio, Antoni, Universidad de Valencia, Spain

#### Participants

##### Alfani, Guido

Guido Alfani is Associate Professor of Economic History at Bocconi University, Italy and Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow, UK. He is a member of Dondeña Centre for Research on Social Dynamics and chief editor of the journal *Popolazione e Storia*. His research interests include economic inequality, social alliance systems, and historical demography. He is the Principal Investigator of the ERC-funded project EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800. His most recent book is *Calamities and the Economy in Renaissance Italy. The Grand Tour of the Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (Basingstoke: 2013).

##### Furio, Antoni

Antoni Furio is professor in medieval history at the University of Valencia. His research

interests are in the field of rural history, peasants, lordship, economic growth and social change, and standards of living and patterns of consumption.

##### Ryckbosch, Wouter

Wouter Ryckbosch is guest lecturer in Early Modern History at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium), and postdoctoral research fellow at Ghent University (Belgium). His research focuses on social structures and change during the early modern era and its relation to material culture and economic growth. In 2012 he successfully defended his PhD thesis, in which he questioned the close association between eighteenth-century consumer change on the one hand, and early modern economic and social ‘modernization’ on the other.

## 10.6. Institutional encounters: European property rights in colonial contexts. Part I: Asia and Latin America

**Panel organiser: Serrao, Jose Vicente, ISCTE-IUL Lisbon University Institute, Portugal**

Part of the European rural history has to be found elsewhere: In all those places around the world that came under the imperial and colonial rule of European powers between the 15th and the 20th century. This European colonial venture was not, of course, a single process, involving a variety of countries, chronologies, motivations and opportunities. The societies, institutions, economies and natural environments the Europeans found overseas, from North America to Australasia, were extremely varied too. But all the European empires were forced to face, at some point and to some degree, the need to regulate property rights over land resources. Very often, that issue arose at first as a mere response to pressing situations, like the need to take possession and re-allocate native lands to in-coming settlers, or the urgency to replace structures of power and tax-collecting left empty by the transfer of sovereignty to the European authorities. However, the rule over land and the regulation of property rights soon became a permanent and powerful tool of political and social control, of sovereignty claiming, of economic policy, of fiscal extraction, etc. On the other hand, seen 'from below', the reception and re-appropriation of these policies by the social actors on site generated very dynamic and complex processes of negotiation and conflict, for the colonial societies actually encompassed multiple interests, among them the pre-existing indigenous communities, with their own cultures, systems of social organization, institutions and property rights. The aim of this panel is to discuss the diversity of solutions adopted in dealing with property rights and the institutions regulating and enforcing them across the European overseas empires. How and what for were they conceived and how were they received and eventually re-arranged by the social players? To what degree did the European institutions change when transposed to colonial contexts? How did they shape the agrarian economies and the rural societies submitted to colonial rule? How did they survive the collapse of the European empires and to what extent did those processes influence the post-colonial economies and societies of these countries? These are some examples of questions addressed by the papers included in this panel, which is particularly concerned with the interaction between European and native institutions across time and space. It is a double panel, geographically organized, Part I devoted to Asia and Latin America, and Part II dealing with Africa.

**Chair: Serrao, Jose Vicente, ISCTE-IUL Lisbon University Institute, Portugal**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1000 – 1200 // Session 10 – Room A 022

### 10.6.1. European property rights in colonial contexts: overview and topics for debate

**Serrao, Jose Vicente, ISCTE-IUL Lisbon University Institute, Portugal**

An introduction to the panel, outlining the main issues at stake and pointing out some questions for the ensuing discussion.

### 10.6.2. Constructing a legal language: the Landraad and the thombo in Dutch Colonial Sri Lanka

**Seneviratne, Nadeera, University of Leiden, Netherlands**

During its administration of parts of Sri Lanka the Dutch East India Company (VOC) set up the Landraad, a court composed of European and native officials, in the eighteenth century. Its primary task was to hear civil cases and its primary tool the thombo or land register. The VOC wished to set down who could do what in which piece of land and what it could extract in return. This paper is a study of land rights in southern Sri Lanka, providing a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the types of possession recognised in the thombos. Local terms relating to land tenure such as paraveni, malapalu and nilapalu were adopted in the thombo, the Landraad and other official discussions. The thombo and the Landraad were in effect the legal mechanisms by which the conversion of land, whether collectively or individually held, into alienable title was sought to be consolidated. Dutch practices of surveying, indigenous land tenure, and existing and new practices of registering lands combined with a new institutional legal framework in which to settle disputes. Despite the complexities of the local land tenure system, the VOC attempted to enforce regulations that would create a neat, circumscribed system that followed specific legal procedures and written forms. The important role of the non-elite actors who appear in this study for the first time can also be seen. Their priorities and claims encountered those of foreign and local elites.

### 10.6.3. Property rights and land use in the Portuguese Empire of the East, 16th-18th centuries

**Münch Miranda, Susana, FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal**

In the 16th century, the Portuguese Estado da India was a commercial empire, which sought to control maritime trade routes in the Indian Ocean by a network of trading posts, seaports and fortresses scattered from East Africa to the South China Sea. During most of the sixteenth century, this system generated considerable revenues to the crown and land issues were not at the top of the Portuguese priorities, even if they became rulers of a few territories, such as Goa, Bassein and Daman (both in Gujarat), incorporated during the first half of the sixteenth century. Since these territories were already occupied and land use was regulated through a well-consolidated system of property rights, the Estado faced the challenge of adapting the preexisting system to the Portuguese legal tradition in order to achieve their own goals of colonization. The result was a system which kept features derived from Hindu and Muslim institutions merged with European institutions. This paper focuses more specifically on the case of Bassein, a territory ruled by the Portuguese from 1530s to the mid-1700s, as a case-study of this interaction between native and European institutions. It aims to outline an overview of the property rights system that evolved in Bassein during the Portuguese rule, which will highlight the role played by the emphyteusis and by the legal framework of the Crown's endowments. On another level, the paper also deals with changes this system underwent in the long run, due to its reception and re-appropriation by social actors.



#### Participants

**Münch Miranda, Susana**

Susana Münch Miranda is assistant professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. She holds a PhD degree in Portuguese Overseas History (2007). Her research focuses on the history of the Portuguese empire during the early modern period, mainly from an institutional and economic perspective. She recently published a book on the Economic History of Portugal 1143-2010 (Lisbon, Esfera dos Livros, 2011, with Pedro Lains and Leonor Freire Costa).

**Seneviratne, Nadeera**

Nadeera Seneviratne has an interest in colonial law and legal history, the Dutch East India Company and the history of early modern and modern South Asia. On a scholarship from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research, she is a PhD candidate at the Institute for History at the University of Leiden and will defend a thesis titled 'Negotiating Custom: A history of the Galle District Court (1740-1796)'. She received

her MPhil in the History of European Expansion and Globalisation from the University of Leiden in 2010 and a BA in History from the University of Colombo in 2007.

**Serrao, Jose Vicente**

Associate Professor of History at the Lisbon University Institute, former member of the MC of the 'Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies' (COST A35, 2005-2009) and co-founder of Rural RePort (Portuguese-speaking Network of Rural History). His fields of research and publication have been mainly the rural, economic, social and population history of Early Modern Portugal and Europe. More recently he is focusing his research and teaching on topics related to transnational, global and imperial history, leading currently two international research projects on property rights, territoriality and conflict in the Portuguese Empire.

## 10.7. Co-operatives under authoritarian (socialist and capitalist) regimes in Europe in the 20th century

**Panel organiser: Varga, Zsuzsanna, Lorand Eötvös University, Budapest, Hungary**

2012 was the International Year of Co-operatives. International years are declared by the United Nations to draw attention to and encourage action on major issues. Nowadays, when the global economic crisis is still deepening, the historical experience of the co-operative movement to a wide range of economic and social issues is getting more and more attention. After 1844 when the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers created the first successful co-operative, co-operatives began to expand, and contributed to poverty reduction, employment generation and social integration in various modes and at different paces. At Brighton conference, our colleague András Vári organised four panels on „co-operatives and rural society“. The participants of these panels were dealing with the developments in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. The focus of the panel is on the 20th century which was marked by the confrontation between dictatorial and democratic regimes. However, the dictatorial regimes could be characterized by two socio-economic models: capitalism and state socialism. The contributors to this panel aim at addressing comparative aspects of the co-operative movement under different types of dictatorships and democracies in Europe. To strengthen this viewpoint the following themes should be highlighted: the relationship of the co-operatives and the state, regulation of co-operatives, main fields of co-operatives's activities with special regard to the socio-economic and a socio-political functions, the role of co-operatives in crisis management.

**Chair: Swain, Nigel, University of Liverpool, UK**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1000 – 1200 // Session 10 – Room A 019

### 10.7.1. The liberal, democratic and authoritarian regulation of co-operatives in Spain, 1906-1950

**Pan-Montojo, Juan, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain**

Co-operative societies were first regulated in a very broad way in 1906 by the liberal monarchy. In the following years, there were new norms concerning their organisation even though the most regulated elements were the banking co-operatives and the fiscal benefits which had been foreseen in the initial regulation. The liberal regulation was replaced in 1931 by the democratic republic and the democratic regulation was changed in different laws at the beginning of the 1940's by the authoritarian francoist regime. Co-operatives, mainly agricultural co-operatives, seem to have been therefore a very sensitive issue for Spanish political elites and projects. In our paper we will try to analyse the different norms and their differences and to explain the reasons behind the reforms and changes as well as their consequences on the actual development of the rural co-operatives.

### 10.7.2. Diverging roads from the Soviet kolkhoz-model inside and outside the Soviet Union

**Jörgensen, Hans, Umeå University, Sweden**

**Varga, Zsuzsanna, Lorand Eötvös University, Budapest, Hungary**

The aim of this paper is to explore the reorganization and structure of agricultural production in Estonia and Hungary from the 1940s up to the late 1980s. This implies a comparison between the forced collectivization and the reorganization of farm-work and management following the Soviet-model. The rationale for the comparison is due to several factors. Estonia was forced to become an integral part of the USSR and a planned economy already in 1940. Hungary had sided with the losers in the WWII and it fell under the Soviet sphere of interest as the result of the preliminary agreements between the Allied Powers. Sovietization of political and economic life started in Hungary in the late 1940s. Both countries were thus subjugated to Soviet policies and oriented towards the CMEA-market. After Stalin's death, and especially from the late 1950s, both Estonia and Hungary started to deviate. As a consequence of the 1956 Revolution, Hungary was able to do this in a more formal way, while Estonia had to find ways of neglecting some of Moscow's orders through production on the private plots. We therefore want to investigate how the Estonian kolkhozes and the Hungarian co-operatives were able to deviate from the general Soviet agricultural policy ambitions. This necessitates that we consider specific national institutional legacies, the role of informal political resistance, management, and the long-term effects on the Soviet agricultural policy. In a Soviet bloc perspective, both countries also developed a more productive agricultural production system than others.

### 10.7.3. Co-operatives, peasants and agriculture in fascist Italy: from self-organization to social control

**Mignemi, Niccolò, EHESS, Paris, France**

At the beginning of 20th century, credit, labour and production rural co-operatives are largely developed in Italy. These initiatives were dominated by socialist and catholic political forces. To contrast this hegemony, fascist regime uses direct violence to attack movement's leaders and to destroy headquarters. But, after Mussolini takes the power in 1922, the strategy of repression becomes more and more preventive, strengthening authoritarian control over social and financial sources of co-operatives' autonomy. At the same time fascism is not ideologically adverse to co-operation, on the contrary it declares the necessity to focus on its technical and economic functions, against monopoly powers and for the moralization of free market conditions. Many ancient co-operatives try also to negotiate a survival strategy, but in 1925-1927, when dictatorship is reinforced and corporative regime installed, a unique national federation is created, claiming formal neutrality and assistance functions. Control and selection often dominate fascist attitude towards co-operation. During the Thirties, a large part of existing experiences is definitely closed, but some others find development opportunities: agricultural co-operatives take progressively the place of poor peasants' co-operatives. This dynamic explains how fascist regime participates in Italian capitalism reorganization process that in agriculture originates a dualistic development model where intensive farming coexists with peasant dependency. Co-operatives thus become instruments to manage social conflicts.

### 10.7.4. The agrarian co-operatives and the policy of the Greek governments: from the enactment of the law of 1914 until the establishment of the compulsory co-operatives

**Angelis-Dimakis, Dimitris, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain**

The objective of this paper is to study and interpret the policy of the Greek state toward co-operatives during the first decade of their operation. It will start by examining the beginning of establishing a legislative framework about co-operatives with the law of 1914 and will continue by presenting similar government initiatives (granting of agricultural credits through the National Bank, establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture, land reclamation works) focused on the modernization of the agricultural structures. It will attempt to examine how the Greek governments in the early years of the period under study have incorporated cooperatives and their basic functions (granting credit through cooperatives) in a wider redevelopment planning of rural areas. A turning point is the year 1922 and an attempt will be made to explore the effects of the arrival of 1,200,000 refugees in Greece (the majority of which settled in rural areas) on the delineation of government decisions on co-operatives and their organization. Through legislative initiatives such as the law of 1923 about the restoration of landless farmers, the enactment of compulsory cooperatives for the refugees and the legislative act about the supervision and control of cooperatives as well as through data regarding the number of co-operatives it will be attempted to illustrate the manner and degree of interaction between the refugees' problem and the cooperative movement.

#### Participants

##### Angelis-Dimakis, Dimitris

Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis (1985). Graduate in History and Master in European History with overall grade excellent (National and Capodestrian University of Athens, 2009). He has been awarded a four year scholarship for Doctoral Studies in European History and he is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Contemporary History of the Autonomous University of Madrid. He has several publications (in greek) and he has presented papers in conferences and workshops.

##### Jörgensen, Hans

Hans Jörgensen, Ph.D., (1961) is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Geography and Economic History, Umeå University, Sweden.

##### Mignemi, Niccolò

Niccolò Mignemi (1982). Graduate in Economics and Social Sciences (Bocconi University, Milan) and PhD in History and Civilization (EHESS, Paris 2012). He works on peasant studies and agricultural co-operatives in Italy and France in the 20th century. He has published the book «Nel regno della fame. Il mondo contadino italiano fra gli anni Trenta e gli anni Cinquanta» (Rome, 2010) on Italian peasantry between the 1930s and the 1950s. He is member of the CRH-ERHIMOR (Équipe de Recherches pour l'Histoire du Monde Rural). He participates also to the Roberto Franceschi Scientific Network and to the Groupe Petites Paysanneries.

##### Pan-Montojo, Juan

Juan Pan-Montojo (1962) received PhD in Modern History in 1992. He has been visiting researcher at the LSE, London, (1988), the New School for Social Research, New York, (1995), and the Friedrich-Alexander Universität of Erlangen-Nürnberg (2003).

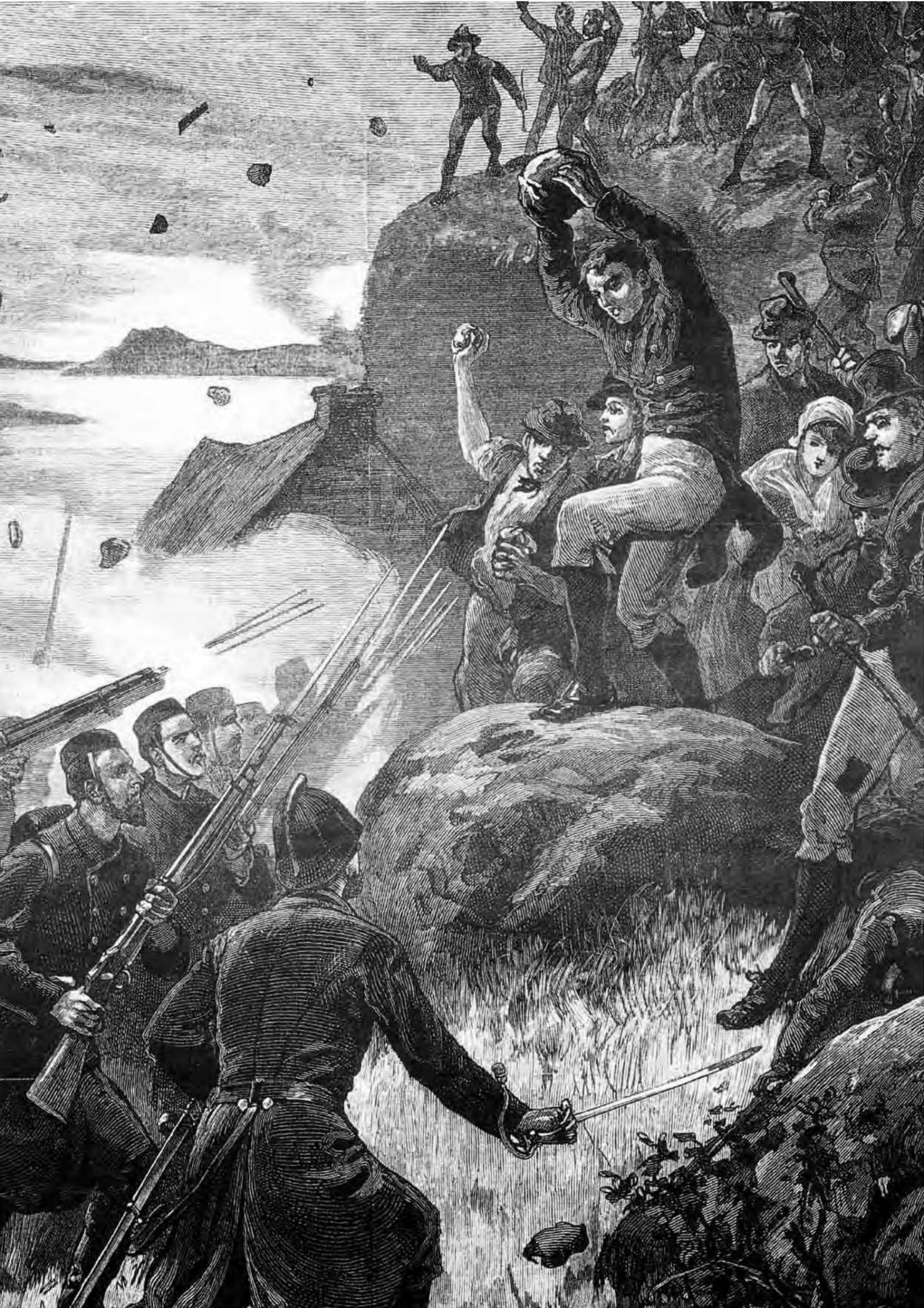
He has been since 1997, Associate Professor of Modern History at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Among others he has published the following books: *La bodega del mundo. La vid y el vino en España, 1800-1936* (Madrid, 1994), and *Apostolado, profesión y tecnología. Una historia de los ingenieros agrónomos en España* (Madrid, 2005). Currently he is the editor of the academic journal *Historia agraria*.

##### Swain, Nigel

Nigel Swain has been employed since 1989 as researcher and then lecturer at the University of Liverpool, first in the Department of Economic and Social History, then in the Department of History within the School of Histories, Languages and Cultures. He is author of numerous articles, book contributions, and books, mainly on aspects of land reform, collectivisation and decollectivisation in Eastern Europe, but is also joint author with G. Swain of *Eastern Europe since 1945*, now in its fourth edition. He has just completed a comparative history of decollectivisation in the early 1990s in six Eastern European countries.

##### Varga, Zsuzsanna

Zsuzsanna Varga (1970) received PhD in Agrarian History in 1998. Since 2000 she has been teaching at the Department of Modern Hungarian History of the Lorand Eötvös University in Budapest (Hungary). She is Associate Professor. Her research interests and publications are focused on the history of socialist agriculture. In 2000 the Committee of Agrarian History and Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected Varga as a member. Since 2010 she is a Management Committee Member of EURHO. Her latest book: *The Hungarian Agriculture and Rural Society: changes, problems and possibilities, 1945-2004*. (Budapest, 2009).



Panel	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4 & 5	
<p><b>Why were some pre-industrial societies resilient over the long-term while other pre-industrial societies were vulnerable to exogenous crises?</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Curtis, Daniel</p> <p>Chair: Curtis, Daniel</p>	<p><b>11.1.1. Irrigation and social structure in medieval Egypt</b> Borsch, Stuart</p>	<p><b>11.1.2. Why India was vulnerable to famines during British rule. Local power structures and „forced incorporation“ into a world market in the case of opium production in northern India, ca. 1800-1900</b> Bauer, Rolf</p>	<p><b>11.1.3. Medieval land reclamation: The creation of new societies and their environmental problems. Comparing Holland and the Po Valley, c. 800 - c. 1500</b> Curtis, Daniel</p>	<p><b>11.1.4. Rural Risks in the Netherlands 16th-19th centuries</b> van Leeuwen, Marco Looijesteijn, Henk</p>	<p><b>Panel 11.1</b> Room A-126</p>
<p><b>Cheese Making in the Alpine Space from the 18th to the 21st Century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Roth, Ernst</p> <p>Chair: Roth, Ernst</p>	<p><b>11.2.1. The history of Cheese Making and the development of cheese-dairies in Switzerland from the 18th to the 21st Century.</b> Eichenberger, Ernst</p>	<p><b>11.2.2. The dairy in Lombardy, between mountains and plains, during the nineteenth century</b> Besana, Claudio Locatelli, Andrea Maria</p>	<p><b>11.2.3. The Development of Cheese-Export in Switzerland in the 19th century</b> Roth, Ernst</p>		<p><b>Panel 11.2</b> Room A-119</p>
<p><b>Innovation and change in European agriculture via the spread of new crops from the 16th to the 19th century. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Moriceau, Jean-Marc Olivier, Sylvain Chaussat, Alain-Gilles</p> <p>Chair: Moriceau, Jean-Marc</p>	<p><b>11.3.1. Study of the changes arising from the introduction of buckwheat in the rural population in Western France (16th to the 19th century)</b> Chaussat, Alain-Gilles</p>	<p><b>11.3.2. The story of the relationship between farmers and the potato in France (16th to the 19th century)</b> Charras, Florian</p>	<p><b>11.3.3. Creation of a factory farm in Normandy with the object of cultivating the beetroot for distillation to produce 90° alcohol, 1858-1879</b> Birée, Patrick</p>	<p><b>11.3.4. Potatoes in southern Poland: spread and impact on demography to the mid-19th century</b> Miodunka, Piotr</p>	<p><b>Panel 11.3</b> Room A-122</p>
<p><b>This land is not quite your land: tenancy and leaseholding in the pre-industrial period. Part II</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: González Agudo, David Vervae, Lies</p> <p>Chair: van Bavel, Bas J.P.</p>	<p><b>11.4.1. Property, exploitation and land-rent prices in Western Andalusia, 1500-1700</b> González Mariscal, Manuel</p>	<p><b>11.4.2. Leasehold in Sweden 1500-1800, the intersection between Nordic user rights and property rights inherited from Roman law</b> Wästfelt, Anders</p>	<p><b>11.4.3. Every little bit helps? The leasehold of small parcels of land in late medieval Flanders</b> Vervae, Lies</p>		<p><b>Panel 11.4</b> Room A 201</p>
<p><b>Everyday Relations between Tenant Farmers and Landlords in the Middle Ages</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Sonderegger, Stefan</p> <p>Chair: Sonderegger, Stefan</p>	<p><b>11.5.1. Entails – greater dependency on landlords or more freedom for tenant farmers?</b> Krauer, Rezia</p>	<p><b>11.5.2. A convent and its farmers – conflict and consensus</b> Sutter, Claudiad</p>	<p><b>11.5.3. Micro-history – an important approach to the everyday history of Late Medieval rural society</b> Zwahlen, Adrian</p>		<p><b>Panel 11.5</b> Room A 027</p>
<p><b>Institutional encounters: European property rights in colonial contexts. Part II: Africa</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Serrao, Jose Vicente</p> <p>Chair: Serrao, Jose Vicente</p>	<p><b>11.6.1. Explaining the diversity of property rights regimes in the Tropics within the British Empire, 1850-1950</b> Byerlee, Derek</p>	<p><b>11.6.2. Endogenous Colonial Institutions: lessons from fiscal capacity building in British and French Africa, 1880-1940</b> Frankema, Ewout</p>	<p><b>11.6.3. How European concepts of marriage and land ownership excluded rural women in Kenya from accessing and owning property</b> Chabeda-Barthe, Jemaiyo</p>	<p><b>11.6.4. The „registro de inmuebles“ as a tool of colonization in the Spanish Protectorate of Northern Morocco (1912-1956)</b> Marchán, Jesús</p>	<p><b>Panel 11.6</b> Room A 022</p>
<p><b>Agricultural Policies in the 20th Century</b></p> <p>Panel organiser: Federico, Giovanni Spoerer, Mark</p> <p>Chair: Spoerer, Mark</p>	<p><b>11.7.1. Lobbies and state intervention in wine markets in the early twentieth century. Why were Spain and France so different?</b> Planas, Jordi</p>	<p><b>11.7.2. From data to policy: statistics, enquiries, and monographs in the 1930s</b> D'Onofrio, Federico</p>	<p><b>11.7.3. The Institutionalization of Support Purchases in the Turkish Tobacco Market, 1940-1961</b> Gürsoy, Özgür</p>	<p><b>11.7.4. Agricultural Protection in the European Economic Community, 1962-1992: Rent-seeking or Welfare Policy?</b> Spoerer, Mark</p>	<p><b>Panel 11.7</b> Room A 019</p>

## 11.1. Why were some pre-industrial societies resilient over the long-term while other pre-industrial societies were vulnerable to exogenous crises?

**Panel organiser: Curtis, Daniel, Utrecht University, Netherlands**

This session addresses one main question. Why in the pre-industrial period were some societies resilient over the long-term while other societies were much more vulnerable to crises? All pre-industrial societies had to face economic, environmental and agricultural challenges at some point, which could come in the form of famine, war, expropriation, flooding, failed harvests, pestilence, harsh taxation, or the disappearance of valuable resources. How then can we explain why some societies were able to overcome or negate these problems, while other societies proved susceptible to failure? This session aims to move away from the conditions impacting upon the fortunes of societies and begins to focus on how the arrangement of pre-industrial societies themselves could have increased or decreased resilience. In much modern development economics literature, there is still a prevailing philosophy which suggests that resilience against crisis can be solved through relentless pursuits of economic growth, or an over-resilience on technological innovation, the provision of medicines, or by throwing large amounts of capital at impoverished regions. In this session instead, it will be argued that the intrinsic arrangement and configuration of society (based around certain blends of property structures, power balances, arrangements of commodity markets, and factor markets) was more important for establishing resilience (in the pre-industrial period, at least). The hypothesis which will be tested is that a big part of societies' capacity to withstand and be resilient in the face of environmental and economic crises is connected with equality: not just equality in the distribution of wealth and property but an egalitarian distribution of power and involvement in essential decision-making processes, which determine the ways in which society is able to exploit, manage and care for its resources. In that sense, this session is linked very closely to a growing literature which sees, for example disasters, not as mere natural events but as social processes which test the organizational capabilities of societies in limiting the destabilizing effects and moving onto a stage of recovery.

**Chair: Curtis, Daniel, Utrecht University, Netherlands**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1430 – 1630 // Session 11 – Room A-126

### 11.1.1. Irrigation and social structure in medieval Egypt

**Borsch, Stuart, Assumption College, Worcester, USA**

Social structure, inequality, and the hierarchy of decision making clearly have had profound and shaping influences as elements that can determine the nature and severity of economic reaction to exogenous shocks, such as natural disasters, famines, climate changes, and epidemics. Economic response to natural catastrophe varies remarkably from economy to another, one social structure to another, based on the fundamentals of rural and urban decision making processes. I have argued in my previous works that structural dichotomies may have been responsible for dramatically shaping the nature and severity of economic impact from plague pandemic in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this paper I will explore how the nature of hierarchical decision making and the inherent inequities in the structure of Mamluk irrigation system management in the Egyptian province of al-Buhayra may have substantially inhibited local communal response to severe and sustained irrigation system decay that became starkly manifest in the early fifteenth century. Overall, the talk is intended to be an exploration of potential approaches to examining the problem on a local level (i.e. on the level of - and between - villages in the Egyptian province of al-Buhayra). The discussion of irrigation system damage in the province of al-Buhayra is hoped to be the basis for productive thought about social/economic causation on a local level, and a platform for a discussion and analysis of differential authority on the level of village, flood basin, large-scale canal, and provincial management.

### 11.1.2. Why India was vulnerable to famines during British rule. Local power structures and „forced incorporation“ into a world market in the case of opium production in northern India, ca. 1800-1900

**Bauer, Rolf, University of Vienna, Austria**

There is no evidence that pre-British India was hit by a famine on the scale that occurred under British rule. Between 1765 and 1902 we count more than 20 famines, some affecting only parts of India, others the whole subcontinent. The famine of 1770 in Bengal claimed 10 millions deaths and the famines of the 1870s and the 1890 together between 10 and 30 millions. Climate change can

not be held responsible for this devastating outcome. In the Mughal period we find local infrastructures for food security (e.g. food reserves) and Emperors who forbid speculation and export of food crops during scarcity. Mughal relief campaigns included interruption of tax payments, reduction of rents and distribution of corn. In British-India, especially in the second half of the 19th century, rural production was deeply linked with a growing world market. The government acted rather as a grand entrepreneur than a welfare institution and had a strong economic interest in a constant outflow of agricultural produce – even in times of famine. Looking at the famine years of 1876-79, it is striking that wheat exports from India to the UK doubled from 1876 to 1877. Also non-food cash-crops, e.g. India's most notorious crop – opium - expanded during famine years. In my case study of opium production in northern India, ca. 1800-1900, I focus on power structures at the village level. It is in the village where power and property was unequally distributed to an extent that let resources flow out – scarcity or not.

### 11.1.3. Medieval land reclamation: The creation of new societies and their environmental problems. Comparing Holland and the Po Valley, c. 800 - c. 1500

**Curtis, Daniel, Utrecht University, Netherlands**

One problem with scholarly research into land reclamation has been the tendency to overly focus on two questions - how and why did it happen? It has led to an over-emphasis on technological innovation and demographic and commercial pressures. Furthermore, it has obscured a far more fascinating and significant question – what were the social consequences of pre-industrial land reclamation? What kinds of societies emerged as a result of land reclamation? These questions are addressed through a comparative historical analysis of two cases of land reclamation in the medieval period: the peat lands of Holland (the Netherlands) and the Po Valley plains (Northern Italy). In the paper it is shown that medieval land reclamation led to the emergence of two very divergent societies, characterised by a number of different configurations in; (a) power and property structure, (b) modes of exploitation, (c) economic portfolios, and (d) commodity markets. In the final section, a further question is considered. To what extent was either of these societies inherently better configured to negate the potentially disastrous effects of land reclamation on the natural environment? In the conclusion it is argued that more 'equitable' and 'freer' pre-industrial societies were better placed to deal with the consequences of environmental degradation than those marked by polarisation and repression – even when those polarised societies made recourse to capital investment in technology.

### 11.1.4. Rural Risks in the Netherlands 16th-19th centuries

**van Leeuwen, Marco, Utrecht University, Netherlands**

**Looijesteijn, Henk, IISG, Netherlands**

This paper describes certain risks in rural parts of the Netherlands during the Dutch Republic compared to the situation in the 19th century. A large part of the paper discusses floods, fires and cattle plagues. It describes prevalence of risks, consequences, perceptions, preventive and post-hoc solutions. We argue that the degree to which exogenous crises affected local rural communities depended not just on the exogenous magnitude of the crisis itself but also on the distribution of power and wealth, correlated with social and political structures and on perceptions of risk. A comparison over time, including the regime change from a federal corporatist state to a national state will in this respect also be instructive.

#### Participants

##### **Bauer, Rolf**

Rolf Bauer, born in 1984, studied International Development at the University of Vienna. He has travelled the Indian subcontinent a couple of times. The passion for India and his interest in questions regarding the 'Great Divergence', led him to further research in India's 19th century history, including a trip to the National Archive of India in New Delhi. He is Doctoral Student at the Institute for Economic and Social History at the University of Vienna (Prof. Peer Vries), and Junior Fellow at the Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften (IFK) Vienna (until June 2013).

##### **Borsch, Stuart**

Stuart Borsch (Associate Professor of History, Assumption College) is an expert in the economic history of Egypt. His works (including *The Black Death in Egypt and England*) have comprised in the main the subjects of plague pandemic, landholding structure, and the nature of economic crises. He is at engaged in a study of the irrigation system of the Egyptian province of al-Buhayra.

##### **Curtis, Daniel**

Daniel Curtis has completed a PhD thesis (2012) entitled 'Pre-industrial societies and strategies for the exploitation of resources. A theoretical framework for understanding

why some settlements are resilient and some settlements are vulnerable to crisis'. He is interested in understanding why some societies are able to create effective coping strategies in the face of crises.

##### **Looijesteijn, Henk**

Henk Looijesteijn (1973) specializes in the history of the Dutch Republic in an international and global perspective. He obtained his doctorate from the European University Institute in Florence, for his thesis on the Dutch radical social and religious thinker Pieter Plockhoy (ca. 1620-1664). Currently he is a postdoc researcher on the GIGA-project at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, studying among others how and why private benefactors founded almshouses for the elderly. He also organized the first international comparative conference on almshouses as a specific charitable institution.

##### **van Leeuwen, Marco**

My chosen field is social inequality, 1500 to the present. My research on welfare deals with philanthropy, charity, mutual aid, and the history of risks, on which topic I wrote two books on the period 1500-1890.



Panel

## 11.2. Cheese Making in the Alpine Space from the 18th to the 21st Century

**Panel organiser: Roth, Ernst, ROTH-Stiftung Burgdorf, Switzerland**

The history of cheese making brings us to the roots of an important economic branch in the Alpine Space. The fabrication of cheese in mountain regions had probably been initiated by convents. However, until the end of the Middle Ages cheese made in the «alps» lacked some of the qualities we associate with it today. The method of coagulating milk with rennet for example only was introduced at the beginning of the modern age. Today, the art of cheese making is represented in scientific works, literature, art objects, music, folkloristic art and craftsmanship. It also plays a considerable role in tourism. In the 19th century cheese processing was transferred from the alps to the valleys. This greatly increased the volume of the production and the product itself became more durable. Cheese became popular, often part of the daily food within the country as well as abroad. In this panel the basis for the foundation of a cheese dairy and its different forms of organisation will be looked at. Their destiny, development, success and failures, and their significance in the villages will be analysed on the basis of the minutes of three cheese dairies. The growing number of them will be looked at as well as on their mechanisation and their increase in capacity which led to a subsequent reduction of their numbers. We will also look at the development of cheese exports from Switzerland, its trade routes and the trade firms which gradually diminished when the commerce fell into the hands of a few big houses.

**Chair: Roth, Ernst, ROTH-Stiftung Burgdorf, Switzerland**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1430 – 1630 // Session 11 – Room A-119

### 11.2.1. The history of Cheese Making and the development of cheese-dairies in Switzerland from the 18th to the 21st Century.

Paper

**Eichenberger, Ernst, Switzerland**

This paper looks at the history of cheese making, especially the development of cheese-dairies. Cheese making in the hilly and mountainous regions had been initiated and supported by convents. But only with the introduction of rennet did the production of cheese improve in a way which made it possible to produce hard-cheese with a high fat content and a finer, more aromatic consistency. This cheese was more suitable for export since it could be stored longer than the one before. In the second part of the paper I will trace the development of the cheese-production within Switzerland, especially the widening of the production space in the 19th century when more and more cheese was produced in the midlands. This growth in production was influenced by a rising demand for cheese not only within Switzerland itself, but also abroad. Crucial for making possible this development were the dairies. Their role and functioning will be discussed in the third part of this paper. Based on the analysis of the minutes of three cheese-dairies their destiny, here the development, success and failures as well as their significance for the villages will be discussed.

### 11.2.2. The dairy in Lombardy, between mountains and plains, during the nineteenth century

Paper

**Besana, Claudio, Università Cattolica, Milan, Italy**

**Locatelli, Andrea Maria, Università Cattolica, Milan, Italy**

This paper considers the dairy production in the irrigated plains of Lombardy during the first half of the nineteenth century. In this area of southern Lombardy, one or more structures ("casello o casone") produced butter, parmesan cheese and soft cheeses (stracchino). The dairy production was dispersed while trading activities were managed by mid and large wholesalers based in the main cities in the south-west of Lombardy (Milan, Pavia and Lodi): they sold Lombard cheese at long distances and created an international market for Parmesan. The research highlights the transhumance in the Orobian Prealps (Lecco, Bergamo and Brescia): during the summer the cattle-breeders (called Bergamini or Malghesi) raised cows in the mountain pastures and produced soft cheese. In the winter, they moved in the irrigated plains producing different types of cheese and to trade the cattle. This integration declined in the second half of the nineteenth century while plain dairy management was taken by local entrepreneurs, cooperatives (landlords and large tenants) and also by Swiss producers. At the same time, the "gorgonzola" was a new form of integration: this veined blue cheese, made from unskimmed cow's milk, was produced in the plains, aged in the caves of Valsassina (Orobian Prealps) and sold abroad. This production process enabled the development of relevant business experience and some entrepreneurs, as Galbani and Locatelli, exported their cheese worldwide.

### 11.2.3. The Development of Cheese-Export in Switzerland in the 19th century

Paper

**Roth, Ernst, ROTH-Stiftung Burgdorf, Switzerland**

This paper will describe and analyse the development of the cheese export firms in Switzerland. For a long time part of the dairy products were commercialised in towns by the manufacturers themselves. Since the end of the 18th century a bigger spill-over came on the market and the trade slowly changed to specialised merchants which were still situated in or at the periphery of the producing regions. In the first half of the 19th century, the improvement of the road system and the rise of the railways enabled them to move the cheese-trading houses to more central places. In the 20th century the dairy industry became highly regulated. The liberalisation of the dairy industry led to a process of concentration so that at the end of the 20th century there remained only a handful of trading houses while groups of cheese manufacturers formed new trading firms. The biggest share of Switzerland's cheese is now merchandised by the Emmi Käse AG.

#### Participants

**Besana, Claudio**

Assistant professor Economic History, Faculty of Economics. Teaches business history at faculties of Foreign Languages. Interests of research: economic and social patterns in Italy and Lombardy from 18th to 20th century; economic policy in Italy (1958 – 1963); Lombardy food industry in 19th century.

(Italy). Interests: taxation, economic development (18th-20th century) business history in Lombardy; European integration: welfare state and social policies in Europe and Italy.

**Eichenberger, Ernst**

Former civil servant with the Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs. Since his retirement he is actively involved in historical research, focussing on cheese making. Publication: «Käserel Oberblaken – Chronik einer Dorfkäserel».

**Roth, Ernst**

Born 1942 in Burgdorf, the exportcenter of the Emmental cheese. Studies in Zoology at the Berne University, lic. phil. nat; complementary studies in dairy-technology. 1969-1998 actively engaged in the cheese-export business. Since 1993 engaged in the promotion of Berner Alp- und Hobelkäse; 2000 - 2009 inventory of alp cheese-manufactories in Bernese Oberland. Touristic promotion of the Simmental as "AlpKultur". Since 2007 he manages the ROTH-Stiftung Burgdorf which is engaged in art-collection, bibliotheca and archives, focussing on the history of the Emmental county, cheese-manufacturing, cheese-export and dairy-industry.

**Locatelli, Andrea Maria**

Assistant professor Economic History, Faculty of Economics, Università Cattolica, Milan



Panel

## 11.3. Innovation and change in European agriculture via the spread of new crops from the 16th to the 19th century. Part II

**Panel organiser: Moriceau, Jean-Marc, University of Caen, France; Olivier, Sylvain, University of Caen and University of Perpignan, France; Chaussat, Alain-Gilles, University of Caen, France**

The development of new crops in Europe was a contributing factor to the numerous changes observed in European agriculture from the 16th to the 19th century. Some crops were unknown until cultivation. Others had already been present for a long time, but were introduced later into existing cropping systems. In such cases, the novelty doesn't lay in the plant itself, but in its increased use. The phrase "new crop" covers these two scenarios and concerns human food as well as fodder and non-alimentary uses. What was the impact of these new crops on existing farming systems? What were the contributing factors or obstacles to their propagation. Did these types of crops become established? Were these crops made durable? How did they affect the populations that cultivated them? This panel proposes to study the emergence, development and spread of these new crops. It may also include some methodological talks about the historical available sources and also the ways the change and the diffusion can be mapped.

**Chair: Moriceau, Jean-Marc, University of Caen, France**

**Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1430 – 1630 // Session 11 – Room A-122**

Paper

### 11.3.1. Study of the changes arisen from the introduction of buckwheat in the rural population in Western France (16th to the 19th century)

**Chaussat, Alain-Gilles, University of Caen, France**

Buckwheat arrived in Lower Normandy and Brittany at the end of the 15th century, and entered agricultural life in these regions to become their main crop. This contribution will focus on the emergence of this "new crop" and, more widely, on the various changes it triggered in the western areas of France. Such changes concern agriculture first, particularly with the integration in the crop rota-

tion system and more widely in an agrosystem based on polyculture. The shorter growth cycle of buckwheat (June-September) and its much larger yields compared with cereals in cold earth allows its crop in granitic areas. The whole society is affected then: tithes (taxes levied on the harvest), servitudes, the acceptance of (physical) milling, property and land, food (sufficiency and gastronomy) etc. Buckwheat is becoming a true symbol of identity to a western part of France.

### 11.3.2. The story of the relationship between farmers and the potato in France (16th to the 19th century)

**Charras, Florian, University of Grenoble, France**

The potato plant is commonplace today, it is present on all tables. However, there are less than two centuries in France, when few people would have applauded when they saw the beautiful smoking chips in their plate. Two hundred years ago the potato was a despised and rejected tuber, the unloved plant of the Ancien Régime in France. Few farmers were willing to cultivate or eat them. Potatoes remained little known until the eighteenth century, but became in a few years the essential plant for the survival of rural people. The question this paper poses is: how did we get from a total rejection to an enthusiasm for the potato? On what factor decided the farmers to cultivate it, to sell and to eat it? The crucial question is, why did the french reject the potatoe so long while other european countries have adopted it much earlier?

### 11.3.3. Creation of a factory farm in Normandy with the object of cultivating the beetroot for distillation to produce 90° alcohol, 1858-1879

**Birée, Patrick, University of Caen, France**

In January 1858 Jules César Houel (1818 – 1876), a descendant from a family of merchants of Alençon, bought the Avoise estate composed of many farms with a total 220 hectares of land to create a factory farm. The object was to cultivate the beetroot during the summer months and distilling the product to 90° alcohol in winter in accordance with the model called "Champonnois". The estate had grown in 10 years to a size of 362 hectares. A big job of draining and enriching the soil was then realised, raising and leveling the land in the process. The agricultural activity of Avoise then consisted of the cultivation of wheat, oats and the raising of beef cattle. The work of men and animals was complimented and aided by the input of machines which were for that time very precise. Around 1872, the engineer noted that the industrial activity of Avoise was living its last years of profitability. In effect, the price alcohol had dropped just like that of the wheat. A new method of production was needed for the farm. In 1876 Jules César Houel died and left the farm to his only son Gervais Auguste Jules. In 1879 the new owner stopped the distillation of the beetroot to dedicate himself to the raising of beef cattle and breeding percheron horses.

### 11.3.4. Potatoes in southern Poland: spread and impact on demography to the mid-19th century

**Miodunka, Piotr, Department of the Economic and Social History of the Economic University in Krakow, Poland**

The aim of the paper is an attempt to determine the chronology and the way the potato crop spread in southern Poland (western part of the Galicia province, part of the Austrian Habsburgs monarchy from 1772 to 1918). Generally speaking, potatoes became well known in Poland at some point between the middle of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, although research concerning the origins of potato crop in the Polish territories still has not clarified many issues e.g.: the chronology and ways of introduction, which social class (peasants, burghers or nobles) were the pioneer in the process and, finally, if the new crop had a noticeable impact on the health condition and demography of the population using it. At first, in the paper I will summarize the studies relating to the economy of noble estates in former western Galicia at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries in search of the origins of potato cultivation. Then, there will be a review of available historical sources dealing with the question. Finally, on the basis of vital records of a small town, where potatoes have been grown at least since the 1780s, it will be discussed whether there was any impact of the new crop on the town's demography until the 1880s (when demographic transition began in Galicia).

#### Participants

##### **Birée, Patrick**

Doctoral fellow in University of Caen Basse-Normandie. Member of the Centre for Quantitative Historical Research (CRHQ, UMR-6583) and the rural division of the Caen's humanities research centre. Thesis about the mills in Normandy supervised by Jean-Marc Moriceau. Teacher in the Archives site of the Orne department. Secretary of the SHAO (local history and archeology association of the Orne department).

##### **Charras, Florian**

PhD student teacher UPMF, Grenoble IILARHRA, UMR 5190.

##### **Chaussat, Alain-Gilles**

Doctoral fellow (scholarship of county Basse-Normandie) at the University of Caen Basse-Normandie. Thesis supervised by Jean-Marc Moriceau of "The role of buckwheat in the history of populations, in the Massif armoricain and its fringes, 17th-19th centuries". Member of CRHQ, (UMR-6583) and "Pôle Rural" of Caen. Formation in Art history, Archeology and History (University, Paris X). Member of the board HSR (Association of Rural History and Society). Member of the board CRHQ (Centre for Research in quantitative history). Member of "Groupe Meule" (Collective project of research of millstones).

##### **Miodunka, Piotr**

Doctoral dissertation at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow; author of "Community of small cities of south Lesser Poland from the 16th to the 18th century". He published, among others, the book (as co-author) "History of Wojnicz town from the 16th to the 18th century" and the source publication "Liber copulatorum of St Matthew's parish in Mielec 1762-1777".

##### **Moriceau, Jean-Marc**

History Professor at the University of Caen Basse-Normandie. Member of IUF (University Institute of France), Chairman of HSR (Association of Rural History and Society), Chairman of "Pôle Rural" in Caen (Research group in rural history, geography and sociology).

##### **Olivier, Sylvain**

Dr. Sylvain Olivier is a teacher in a high school in Montpellier (France) and adjunct professor in history at the University of Perpignan (France). He works on the mediterranean agriculture and environment from the end of the Middle Ages to the 20th century. Ph.D. thesis (2012): "On the fringes of agricultural space. Fallow lands and broom in the Lodévois (17th-19th century)", supervised by Jean-Marc Moriceau, CRHQ-University of Caen.

Paper

Paper

Paper

## 11.4. This land is not quite your land: tenancy and leaseholding in the pre-industrial period. Part II

Panel organiser: **González Agudo, David**, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain; **Vervae, Lies**, Ghent University, Belgium



During the late Middle Ages and the 16th century, the exploitation of landownership underwent drastic changes in various parts of Europe. These changes had long-range effects on the rural economy and on society, since they influenced the use rights to what was by far the most important production factor. Throughout this process, the emergence and spread of lease holding plays a pivotal role. According to the influential work by R. Brenner, lease holding played a key element in the emergence of agrarian capitalism. It implied that farmers no longer had direct access to the land, but instead were forced to compete permanently with each other for leases on the land. As a result of the fierce competition, farmers were forced to reduce costs, to increase market orientation and to specialize. In the longer run this led to a significant concentration of land and to the rise of large tenant farms, operated in a proto-capitalist way, increasingly using wage labor instead of family labor. Recently, B. van Bavel and Ph. Schofield modified the thesis of Brenner, stating that the impact of lease holding depended on the exact arrangement of the system and the social and economic context in which it emerged. This could lead to differential regional impacts. According to these historians, lease prices must also be understood within the regionally divergent outcomes. While most historians recognize the importance of lease holding, the bulk of attention is still going to the “capitalistic” form of lease holding, which first emerged in Northwest Europe. Consequently, other forms of lease holding need more attention, as do

other regions inside and outside of Europe. While landlords applied the system of leasehold to manage their land all around the world, the outcomes could be radically different from region to region. With these insights, historians can no longer consider lease prices simply as the outcome of supply and demand. Several socio-economic and institutional factors influenced price-making. Above all, the importance of lease prices should not be underestimated because they substantially determined the income of peasants, farmers and large landowners in the pre-industrial time.

Chair: **van Bavel, Bas J.P.**, Utrecht University, Netherlands

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1430 – 1630 // Session 11 – Room A 201

### 11.4.1. Property, exploitation and land-rent prices in Western Andalusia, 1500-1700

**González Mariscal, Manuel**, Universidad de Sevilla, Spain

This paper aims to expand and improve our knowledge about the evolution of land-rent prices in modern Spain. It focuses on the city of Seville and its province and investigates the trends in the land-rent prices of the rural lands owned by the Seville Cathedral during the 16th and 17th centuries. Moreover, I will analyze the changes that took place in the land property of the Cathedral, as well as the strategies they used to exploit it.

### 11.4.2. Leasehold in Sweden 1500-1800, the intersection between Nordic user rights and property rights inherited from Roman law

**Wästfelt, Anders**, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Sweden

This paper focuses on leasehold in Sweden from 1500-1800. Historians frequently tell the story about how Sweden in this period is different from other European countries because it never had a feudal order and always had a large amount of freeholders. Even if this interpretation is correct, Sweden also developed a very strong state and became a Baltic “superpower” during this period. The king gave away rights to noblemen to receive the lease on freehold farms to noblemen as payment for their assistance even if the farm was a so called freeholders estate. Freeholders were not allowed to sell a farm without giving the relatives the possibility to buy, which had as a consequence that farms could not be used as security for loans. This principle can be traced back to the early medieval times. It was also important to manage land properly as there was still an element of the so called Nordic user rights in legal practice up until the new law was established in 1734. This meant that full property rights were adopted relatively late in Sweden and, as a consequence, market based leases also developed relatively late. At the same time a large amount of cottages based on the payment by the crofter’s day labour was established. In summary this paper will present how old user rights were intersecting with property rights inherited from Roman law during a relatively long period.

### 11.4.3. Every little bit helps? The leasehold of small parcels of land in late medieval Flanders

**Vervae, Lies**, Ghent University, Belgium

Recently, historians have emphasized the regionally divergent impact of lease holding in Northwestern Europe. Not in every region did the introduction of leasehold produce the emergence of agrarian capitalism, as has been stated for England by R. Brenner. Most studies in this respect still focus on the farming out of large, complex holdings which usually influenced only a small proportion of the rural society. However, the leasing out of numerous small plots of land was often more significant for rural dwellers. Those small parcels could complete a small freeholding or be merged to build up a holding. Hence, I will analyze in this paper the leasing out of approximately 200 small plots of land by one the largest institutional landowners of Flanders, the Saint John’s hospital of Bruges between c. 1280 and c. 1580. Those parcels lay dispersed in the two socio-economic regions of Flanders: coastal Flanders and inland Flanders. During the late Middle Ages, coastal Flanders evolved from a traditional peasant society to a society dominated by large leasehold farms, increasingly focusing on commercialization and specialization. In inland Flanders, on the contrary, a majority of smallholdings, focusing on survival, dominated until the 19th century. By studying the rents (1), the acreage per tenant (2) and the mobility of the tenants (3), I examine to what extent the divergent socio-economic evolution of both Flemish regions is reflected in leasehold. The characteristics of the leased-out parcels diverged indeed considerably; however, the influence of the landowner, supervised by powerful urban dwellers, should not be underestimated.

#### Participants

**González Agudo, David**

Ph.D. student. Topics of interest: Land rents, agricultural contracts, Early Modern Castile. Presentations: “Land rent and lease markets in Central Spain, 1500-1600” (poster), Economic History Association 72nd Annual Meeting, Vancouver, Canada, September 2012. “What price a roof? Housing and the cost of living in 16th-century Toledo” (with Mauricio Drelichman), Economic History Society Annual Conference, University of Oxford, 2012. Visiting positions: Department of History and Art History, Utrecht University, April-July 2012. Department of Economics, University of British Columbia, February-May 2011.

**González Mariscal, Manuel**

Assistant Professor, University of Seville. PhD student in Economic History, Faculty of Economics and Business, Complutense University of Madrid. PhD thesis themes: Andalusian Historical Demography, 1500-1800 / Prices, food, consumption, cost of living and standards of living in Seville, 1521-1800 / Agricultural production in Western Andalusia, 1521-1800 / Land-rent prices in Western Andalusia, 1500-1700.

**van Bavel, Bas J.P.**

Bas van Bavel is professor of Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages and

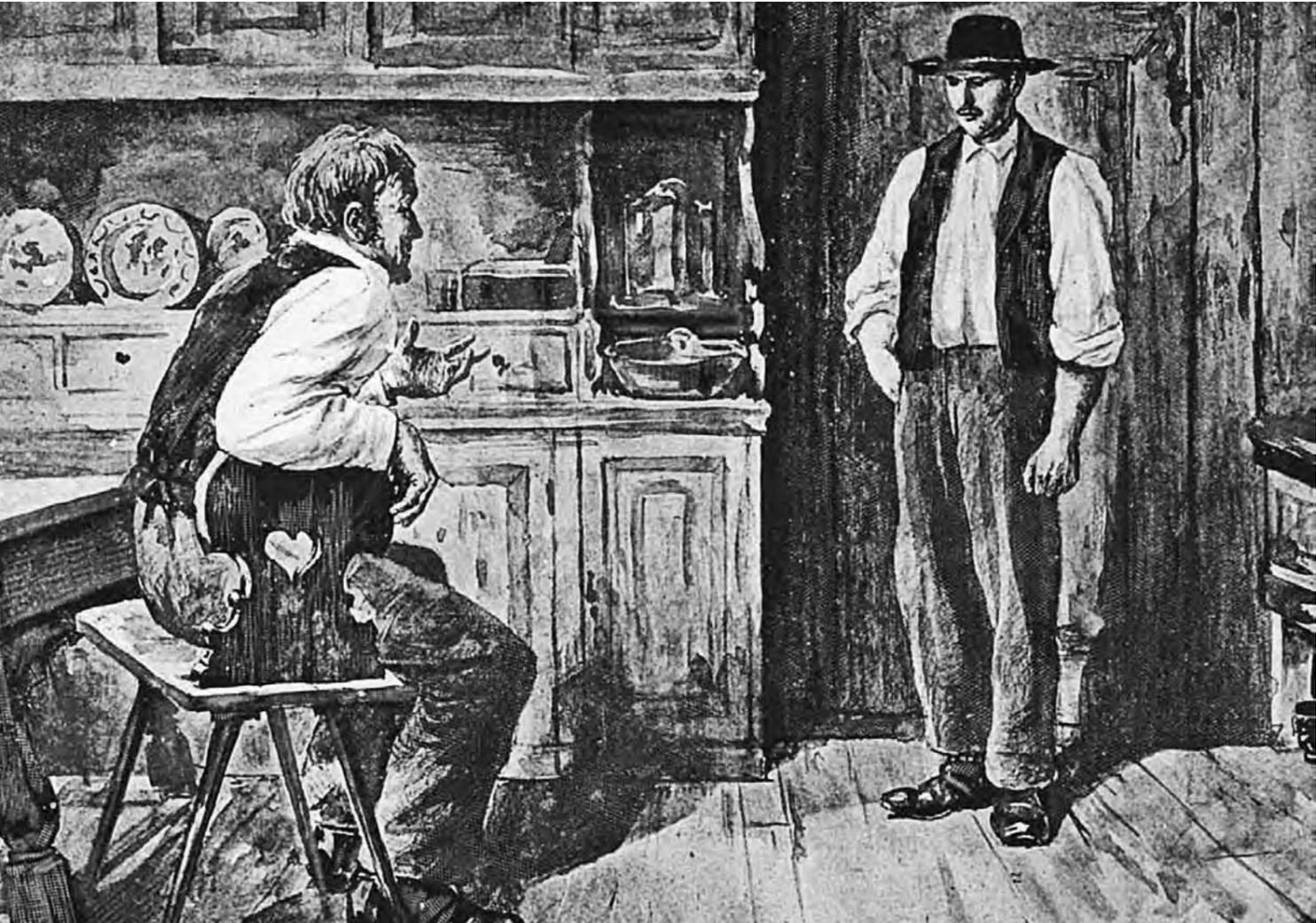
head of the section of Economic and Social History at Utrecht University. His main research interests include long-run changes and divergences in economic and social development and long-run institutional change, mainly in a comparative perspective.

**Vervae, Lies**

Lies Vervae is research assistant at the Department of History at Ghent University, Belgium. In her PhD, she investigates the estate management of the Saint John’s Hospital of Bruges, one of the major landowners of Flanders (supervisor Erik Thoen). She focuses on the organisation of the leasehold system and on the organisation of rural labour in late medieval Flanders.

**Wästfelt, Anders**

Anders Wästfelt is associate professor in Human Geography and has studied the transformations of agricultural landscapes. He has been working in the section of Agrarian history at the Swedish University of agricultural science in a project about Leasehold in Swedish history. He has also done research on future agriculture with a global perspective and developed methods for the use of remote sensing in agrarian history and landscape analysis.



Panel

## 11.5. Everyday Relations between Tenant Farmers and Landlords in the Middle Ages

**Panel organiser: Sonderegger, Stefan, University of Zurich, Stadtarchiv der Ortsbürgergemeinde St.Gallen, Switzerland**

Rural society in the Middle Ages was organised in the form of ecclesiastical and secular landholdings. Monasteries, members of the nobility and urban institutions leased plots of land to farmers who worked the land against dues in monetary form and in kind. These dues were the landlords' main source of revenue. Thus the relationship between landlords and their tenant farmers was one of mutual dependence, which becomes particularly clear in economic terms. Especially for late medieval urban institutions there is a rich supply of written records available in the form of charters and, from the 15th century on, serial administrative documents including registers of dues and payments, bills and accounts. In a micro-historic approach everyday relations between farmers and landlords are to be discussed based on the example of late medieval urban institutions in St.Gallen which had real estate in the wider urban area. The rich supply of written records provides us with a detailed picture of the regional ownership and farming structures. The micro-historic approach enables us to track the development of individual farms over several decades, turning history into close-up stories of family lives. Who lived on a certain farm? How large were the individual farmers' families? What arrangements were in force between them and their landlord? What forms of cooperation and what kinds of conflict were there? What rights did the farmers have in connection with the property that had been leased to them? Can any economic innovation be identified in area of agriculture? What role did rural trades play? The panel focuses primarily on the late medieval rural society in Eastern Switzerland. Here we can build on existing research in this context, which reveals a high degree of commercialisation and specialisation in the agriculture in the late Middle Ages.

**Chair: Sonderegger, Stefan, University of Zurich and Stadtarchiv der Ortsbürgergemeinde St.Gallen, Switzerland**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1430 – 1630 // Session 11 – Room A 027

### 11.5.1. Entails – greater dependency on landlords or more freedom for tenant farmers?

Paper

**Krauer, Rezia, University of Zurich and Stadtarchiv der Ortsbürgergemeinde St.Gallen, Switzerland**

The topic of this paper is the everyday relations between feudal landlords and their tenant farmers in the Middle Ages. The legal framework was one of the factors in this relationship. It mattered greatly, for example, whether a farm was let for a limited period only or let in the form of an entail. A study of the relevant charters reveals that, in the 14th century, numerous urban players, both individual citizens and urban institutions, purchased farm estates in the surroundings of St. Gallen. They let these farms to local farmers who, together with their families, cultivated the land. In most cases the lease was granted in the form of an entail. Such a farm could then be run by consecutive generations of a single family. Entailment was a widespread form of lease in the south-western regions of the Holy Roman Empire in the Late Middle Ages, yet we know little about the details of the lease arrangement. Most of the legal texts available that list the conditions for tenants of an entailed estate point by point stem from a later age. From the 14th century we have primarily charters that give us insights into the tenants' tasks and obligations. What are these conditions outlined in the charters? Was an entail a form of de facto ownership by the tenant, as is occasionally claimed? What interests did the feudal landowners pursue by granting entails? What influence did the entail form have on agricultural production? Did it possibly even generate progress in agriculture?

### 11.5.2. A convent and its farmers – conflict and consensus

Paper

**Sutter, Claudia, University of Zurich and Stadtarchiv der Ortsbürgergemeinde St.Gallen, Switzerland**

The impression that charters give us of the relations between feudal landlords and their tenant farmers is highly one-sided. Charters tend to reflect only the normative side of the relationship and the conflicts. In order to gain insights into the everyday relationship, we need to turn to other sources. In account registers, for example, we find information on the routine relations between feudal landlords and their subordinate farmers, as well as on the farmers' economic situation. By means of charters and account registers, the everyday relations between the Dominican convent St. Katharinen in St. Gallen and the farmers cultivating one of its estates can be retraced in detail. The account registers contain records of the individual payments of dues together with information on the material, the amount and the person delivering these dues to the convent. Irregularities such as long time gaps or unusually large amounts of payment can be brought into connection with conflicts recorded in the charters, which opens new perspectives on the conflicts and their resolution. It can be shown that the feudal landlords did not insist on their rights in every case, they were, under certain circumstances, prepared to find a consensual solution.

### 11.5.3. Micro-history – an important approach to the everyday history of Late Medieval rural society

Paper

**Zwahlen, Adrian, University of Zurich, Switzerland**

Numerous studies in economic history that based their findings on normative sources gave rise to the impression that feudal landlords in the Middle Ages ruthlessly oppressed and exploited their tenant farmers. Such reductionist conclusions are today considered obsolete and have been revised, not least thanks to micro-historical research. A detailed look at rural lives, focussing on everyday economic relations, shows that relations between landlord and feudal tenant often took on a partnership-like form. This is confirmed by the micro-historical study on the economic developments of the Schoretshueb – a large, crop-producing farm estate in Late Medieval north-eastern Switzerland. It reveals, for example, that town-based landlords would reduce the payments due in the event of harvest losses due to bad weather, or would provide the farmer's family with staple foods in times when they were not able to feed themselves. The landlord's records of dues from tenants, which served as the basic source for this study, also provide answers to other important questions on the social and economic history of rural society: How large were the farming families? What non-family members worked on the farm? What contribution did side-line work make to a farming family's economic situation? What social class did a farming family belong to?

#### Participants

**Krauer, Rezia**

M.A., PhD student, University of Zurich. Research: Rural history, social and economic history.

**Sonderegger, Stefan**

Prof. Dr. is teaching medieval history at the University of Zurich; head of the Stadtarchiv St.Gallen, Switzerland and editor of medieval charters (Chartularium Sangalense). Research: Rural history, social and economic history.

**Sutter, Claudia**

M.A., PhD student, University of Zurich. Research: Rural history, social and economic history.

**Zwahlen, Adrian**

M.A., PhD student, University of Zurich. Research: Rural history, social and economic history.

## 11.6. Institutional encounters: European property rights in colonial contexts. Part II: Africa

**Panel organiser: Serrao, Jose Vicente, ISCTE-IUL Lisbon University Institute, Portugal**

Part of the European rural history has to be found elsewhere, in all those places around the world that became under the imperial and colonial rule of some European powers between the 15th and the 20th century. This European colonial venture was not, of course, a single process, involving a variety of countries, chronologies, motivations and opportunities. The societies, institutions, economies and natural environments the Europeans found overseas, from North America to Australasia, were extremely varied too. But all the European empires were forced to face, at some point and to some degree, the need to regulate property rights over land resources. Very often, that issue arose at first as a mere response to pressing situations, like the need to take possession and re-allocate native lands to in-coming settlers, or the urgency to replace structures of power and tax-collecting left empty by the transfer of sovereignty to the European authorities. However, the rule over land and the regulation of property rights soon became a permanent and powerful tool of political and social control, of sovereignty claiming, of economic policy, of fiscal extraction, etc. On the other hand, seen 'from below', the reception and re-appropriation of these policies by the social actors on site generated very dynamic and complex processes of negotiation and conflict, for the colonial societies actually encompassed multiple interests, among them the pre-existing indigenous communities, with their own cultures, systems of social organization, institutions and property rights. The aim of this panel is to discuss the diversity of solutions adopted in dealing with property rights and the institutions regulating and enforcing them across the European overseas empires. How and what for were they conceived and how were they received and eventually re-arranged by the social players? To what degree did the European institutions change when transposed to colonial contexts? How did they shape the agrarian economies and the rural societies submitted to colonial rule? How did they survive the collapse of the European empires and to what extent did those processes influence the post-colonial economies and societies of these countries? These are some examples of questions addressed by the papers included in this panel, which is particularly concerned with the interaction between European and native institutions across time and space. It is a double panel, geographically organized, Part I being devoted to Asia and Latin America, Part II to Africa.

**Chair: Serrao, Jose Vicente, ISCTE-IUL Lisbon University Institute, Portugal**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1430 – 1630 // Session 11 – Room A 022

### 11.6.1. Explaining the diversity of property rights regimes in the Tropics within the British Empire, 1850-1950

**Byerlee, Derek, Independent scholar, Washington, USA**

Property rights regimes governing the expansion of commercial agriculture in the tropics have varied widely between and within colonial empires. This presentation will illustrate the diversity within the British Empire from 1850 on. I will show a divergence from full recognition of indigenous customary rights in Ghana/Nigeria to full freehold favoring settlers in Kenya, with intermediate options such as medium term leasehold for plantations in Malaysia combined with recognition of some indigenous rights. These differences in turn led to quite different agrarian structures and development outcomes. However, policies often evolved over time sometimes favoring customary tenure and sometimes alienating indigenous rights. The political economy underlying these changes will be explored.

### 11.6.2. Endogenous Colonial Institutions: lessons from fiscal capacity building in British and French Africa, 1880-1940

**Frankema, Ewout, Utrecht University, Wageningen University, Netherlands**

Taxes constitute the financial backbone of a state. In this paper we explore the role of exogenously imposed metropolitan policies and endogenous economic and political conditions on the process of colonial state formation in British and French Africa through the lens of colonial taxation. Using colonial government budget accounts we construct PPP-adjusted comparisons of per capita government revenue, analyze the source composition of taxes, and compare per capita tax pressure. We find that local geographies and indigenous responses to commercial opportunities were key in the design of local colonial tax systems and that typically 'British' or 'French' tax policy blueprints are hard to decipher. All colonial administrations in Africa shared a preference to tax international trade

and only resorted to direct taxes (head, poll, cattle or hut taxes) when the potential for taxing trade and consumption was limited. Forced labor programs occurred where alternative revenue opportunities were limited, although once in place, the French tended to maintain the *corvée* much longer than necessary.

### 11.6.3. How European concepts of marriage and land ownership excluded rural women in Kenya from accessing and owning property

**Chabeda-Barthe, Jemaiyo, University of Geneva, Switzerland**

The British colonial land policy began when Kenya became a crown colony in 1920 and all the land was assumed to belong to the crown. The acquisition of African lands took place through the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 and imposed English tenure of land. In 1932, the Kenya Land Commission was appointed and charged with the responsibility of appropriating land to Kenyans and British settlers in accordance to the British colonial laws. By 1954, the Kenyan guerilla freedom army Mau Mau demanded the land back and many were killed by the British. In 1963, Kenya attained independence but continued with the land policies left by the colonialists. This paper will concentrate on women's property rights in Kenya within the context of British colonial institutions. The British overlooked indigenous customary tenure systems and applied western concepts on the institution of marriage and land reform. The two forms of property within the colonial context that this paper will address are Land ownership and Matrimonial property. The colonial policy of individualization transformed land from a shared form of property to individual ownership through registration. Land was registered in the man's name. Also, the colonialists assumed that marriages are monogamous and imposed the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 onto Kenyan courts as the only avenue for married women to access matrimonial property. Since the majority of rural marriages were polygamous the Act hindered many women from accessing and owning matrimonial property.

### 11.6.4. The „registro de inmuebles“ as a tool of colonization in the Spanish Protectorate of Northern Morocco (1912-1956)

**Marchán, Jesús, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain**

The Spanish protectorate in northern Morocco was a very expensive colonial enterprise. The difficulties involved in the 'pacification' of the small area occupied (about 20.000 km<sup>2</sup>) in comparison to the metropolitan territory (about 505.000 km<sup>2</sup>) were enormous. The main objectives of the Spanish authorities was to obtain economic benefits from the exploitation of Moroccan natural resources. One such activity was agricultural colonization. Therefore it was necessary to introduce a new system of property to develop it, in the context of a new and colonial judicial organization. The purpose was to modernize both the Moroccan justice, considered backward, savage and cruel, and the Moroccan property regime, criticized by the Spanish colonialists as delayed and insecure. Thus, Spanish colonialism introduced a new legislation that aimed to promote the development of agricultural colonization. Thanks to this 'legal colonization', Spanish settlers could easily acquire land in northern Morocco. In the Sherifian empire existed various types of properties that were inalienable. With these reforms, adapted protectorate agreements were intended to promote the mobilization of Moroccan lands. In this paper we will discuss some points that led to the establishment of the Registro de inmuebles (a property registration) in Spanish protectorate of northern Morocco, the legal basis for agricultural colonization, and the new legal status that was granted to the different types of properties that existed in Morocco to encourage their mobilization to achieve the metropolitan agricultural purposes.

#### Participants

##### Byerlee, Derek

Derek Byerlee (Australian) is an independent scholar based in Washington, DC, USA. He is a Fellow of the American Association of Agricultural Economists and has published widely on the economics of agricultural development. More recently his interests have turned to agricultural economic history, with a particular focus on social and environmental outcomes of land expansion on the frontier during the first period of globalization, 1850-1929, both for settler and plantation agriculture.

##### Chabeda-Barthe, Jemaiyo

Jemaiyo Chabeda-Barthe is a PhD candidate whose research interest is on gender, ethnic conflict and land reform in Kenya. She holds a Masters in Development studies from the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. She has worked for United Nations Development Programme in Kenya from 2004 to June 2010 and conceptualized and initiated the Communication for a development project to raise awareness on Gender empowerment and Agriculture. In 2012 she worked as lead researcher for a Community Based Child Protection Mechanism project for the Columbia Group for Children in Adversity.

##### Frankema, Ewout

Ewout Frankema obtained his PhD from the University of Groningen in 2008 and worked as an assistant professor at the Social and Economic History Group of Utrecht University. In 2012 Frankema was appointed as full professor and chair of the Rural and Environmental History Group at Wageningen University. His research focuses on a deeper understanding of the long-term economic history of developing regions

(Africa, Latin America, Asia) connecting the fields of socio-economic history, colonial history, rural history, neo-institutional economics and environmental history. He is currently working on an ERC project on historical living standards in Africa.

##### Marchán, Jesús

Member of the Research Group on Empires, Metropolis, and Extra-European Societies (GRIMSE), having as main fields of research: Empire, Agricultural Colonization, Economic History and Social History, especially in Morocco, Spain and Catalonia. He obtained an FPI Fellowship for his PhD studies from the Spanish Government for the period 2007-2011, and the grant 'Fons Bibliografic de la Cambra de Comerç de Barcelona' (2008) for his first research on the agricultural colonization of the Spanish Protectorate of Northern Morocco. He has developed teaching activities in the Pompeu Fabra University since 2005.

##### Serrao, Jose Vicente

Associate Professor of History at the Lisbon University Institute, former member of the MC of the 'Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies' (COST A35, 2005-2009) and co-founder of Rural RePort (Portuguese-speaking Network of Rural History). His fields of research and publication have been mainly the rural, economic, social and population history of Early Modern Portugal and Europe. More recently he was focusing his research and teaching on topics related to transnational, global and imperial history, currently leading two international research projects on property rights, territoriality and conflict in the Portuguese Empire.

## 11.7. Agricultural Policies in the 20th Century

**Panel organiser: Federico, Giovanni, EUI Florence, Italy; Spoerer, Mark, University of Regensburg, Germany**

No economic sector has experienced a structural change like the one which takes place in agriculture since the last 150 years. In countries with less favorable production conditions like in most parts of Europe, agricultural producers have lobbied for protection and were, at least in most European states and the EEC/EU, quite successful. The interpretation of this fact differs from "agricultural exceptionalism" to successful rent-seeking behavior or more or less veiled welfare measures for rural areas. Interestingly, the semantics of agricultural support have changed. While it seemed perfectly legitimate throughout the first three quarters of the 20th century to protect farmers' incomes, nowadays the proponents of agricultural support stress positive external effects of agriculture (preservation of the landscape, biodiversity etc.) that would not be rewarded in unregulated markets. The papers deal with the early 20th century wine markets in Spain and France (Jordi Planas), the discussions on agricultural policy in Italy (Federico D'Onofrio), the Turkish tobacco market in the mid of the century, and the costs of Europe's Common Agricultural Policy (Mark Spoerer). The papers will be commented by Giovanni Federico.

**Chair: Spoerer, Mark, University of Regensburg, Germany**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1430 – 1630 // Session 11 – Room A 019

### 11.7.1. Lobbies and state intervention in wine markets in the early twentieth century. Why were Spain and France so different?

**Planas, Jordi, University of Barcelona, Spain**

In the early twentieth century, winegrowers had to tackle an international overproduction crisis, with steep falling prices of wine while wages and production costs increased. They responded asking for state intervention, as markets did not show any signs of correcting themselves. Large winegrowers' associations were created that lobbied the government to achieve the regulation of domestic wine markets through tariffs, regional appellations, bodies to control fraud in winemaking and other measures to increase genuine wine consumption. In major wine producer countries like France and Spain the institutionalization of winegrowers' lobbies was effective enough to pave the way for the creation of specialized associations in other agricultural sectors, which asked for similar policies to defend their particular interests. The result was, generally in Europe, an increasing regulation of agricultural markets and protection of farm incomes, a trend that winegrowers' mobilization had started in early twentieth century. However, policy responses to their demands were not quite the same everywhere: while in France winegrowers were highly successful and obtained government support to protect their market interests, in Spain the legislation was much more eclectic, willing to satisfy both winegrowers and alcohol producers and consumers. This paper aims to explain the differences in the wine market regulation of these two major producer countries.

### 11.7.2. From data to policy: statistics, enquiries, and monographs in the 1930s

**D'Onofrio, Federico, University of Utrecht, Netherlands**

With the 1900s, the basic focus of agricultural economics shifted from the modernization of large properties to a broader understanding of the economy of peasant life. The "questione agraria" had both a productive and a social dimension: it concerned ways to expand agricultural production, and ways to raise the living standards of agriculturalists. Enquiries, statistics, and monographs (including budget studies) explored both dimensions, providing information on the living conditions of peasants, on the organization of farms, on the productivity of factors. Investigations prepared an array of possible answers to the problems of agriculture. The paradigm of response that emerged in the first decades of the 20th century centred on small farming and the defence of peasant families: defence from external market forces and from the inner disruptive forces of the families themselves. In this paper I intend to show how the information collected by means of the different methods had a lasting effect on the debate over agricultural policies, far into the 1930s and 1940s. In particular, I will discuss the debate over smallholdings that dominated the Italian agricultural discourse after the First World War. Small properties formed one of the main concerns of agricultural economists and politicians after the war, when they rapidly multiplied. The information available was mobilized to answer the fundamental questions: could smallholdings improve production systems and increase the overall output? Should the Italian state favour the creation of smallholdings? How could smallholdings be protected from fragmentation?

### 11.7.3. The Institutionalization of Support Purchases in the Turkish Tobacco Market, 1940-1961

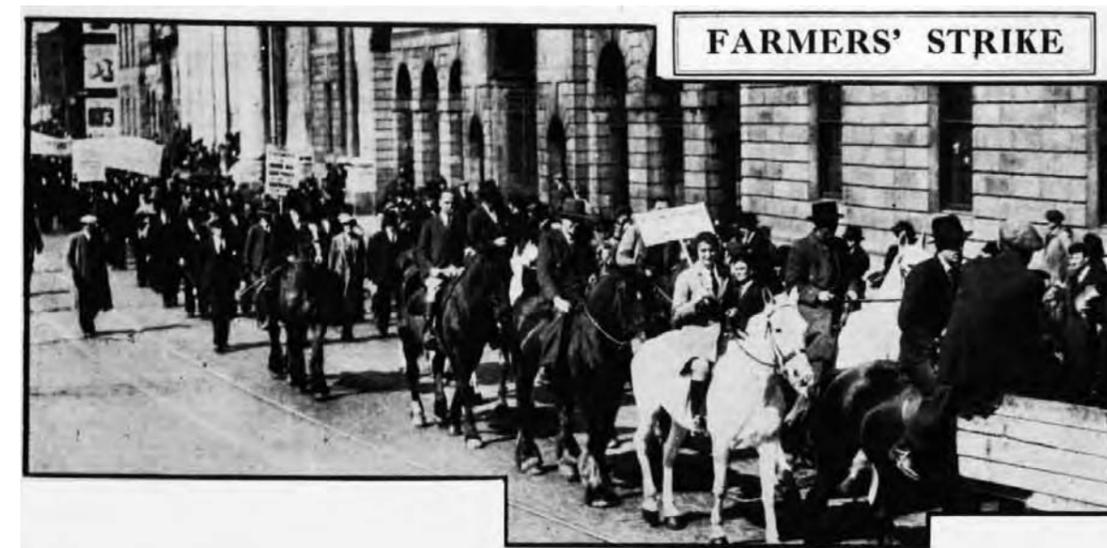
**Gürsoy, Özgür, Bogazici University Istanbul, Turkey**

This paper analyzes the introduction and institutionalization of support purchases in the Turkish tobacco market between 1940 and 1961. Tobacco, the most important export crop of Turkey, was taken under state monopoly by special legislations in the 1930s. In 1940, the Turkish government initiated support purchases in the tobacco market to "protect producers and regulate the market". Since the support purchase policy found its legal basis in an extraordinary wartime law, actors of the tobacco market thought at first that the policy was temporary, a view that was corroborated by the very narrow scope of such a policy – indeed, wheat was the only crop ever supported by government purchases at that time. However, the policy gained permanence in the post-war period due to not only oversupply problems but also wide popular support. Despite the skeptical attitude, and sometimes severe criticism of tobacco merchants, the support purchase policy was institutionalized by Turkish governments in the 1950s. As an interesting example of "agricultural exceptionalism" from a developing country, I discuss the support purchase policy for tobacco to find out when, where and why it was implied and how it was financed. In addition, I focus on different reactions to the policy by different market actors – producers, merchants and experts. Revealing the contingencies of the policy process including alternative and counter agendas, I will historicize the institutionalization of support purchases in the Turkish tobacco market as a cumulative result of various struggling policies of different actors, not just a manifestation of state interventionism.

### 11.7.4. Agricultural Protection in the European Economic Community, 1962-1992: Rent-seeking or Welfare Policy?

**Spoerer, Mark, University of Regensburg, Germany**

The European Economic Community's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has found a lot of scholarly attention. While economists stress the irrationality of the CAP and explain its persistence by rent-seeking behavior, a prominent interpretation among historians is that the CAP should be interpreted as welfare policy for farm households. We subject the latter hypothesis for the period 1962-1992 to an empirical test and find that the combined benefits from subsidies and political prices gave much more support to European agriculture than any welfare policy could have done.



#### Participants

##### Federico, Giovanni

Giovanni Federico is author of "Feeding the world: an economic history of agriculture, 1800-2000", Princeton Univ. Press. 2005.

##### Gürsoy, Özgür

Özgür Burçak Gürsoy is a PhD Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Bogazici University, Istanbul-Turkey. She has been working on her dissertation titled "The Struggling Tobacco Policies: The Political Economy of Tobacco in Turkey, 1938 -1984". Her areas of interest include political economy, rural and agrarian history, peasant politics, and modern Turkish history.

##### D'Onofrio, Federico

Federico D'Onofrio is a former student of Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa. He earned a Master's degree at the University of Pisa in 2007. He studied Economics at Cori-Perpiemonte and defended his doctoral thesis at the faculty of Law, Economics, and Business of the University of Utrecht. The title of the thesis is "Knowing to transform: three ways for agricultural economists to observe Italy".

##### Planas, Jordi

Jordi Planas is Senior Lecturer at the University of Barcelona (Department of Economic History and Institutions). His main research interests have been institutions of collective action in agriculture, with special attention to the cooperative movement, and the evolution of agricultural estates in 19th and 20th centuries. His publications include: *Els propietaris i l'associacionisme agrari a Catalunya (1890-1936)*, Girona 2006; and *The management of agricultural estates in Catalonia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century*, in: *Agricultural History Review*, 60 (2012), together with R. Garrabou & E. Saguer).

##### Spoerer, Mark

Mark Spoerer holds the Chair for Economic and Social History at the University of Regensburg. Recent publications include: "The imposed gift of Versailles: the fiscal effects of restricting the size of Germany's armed forces, 1924-9", in: *Economic History Review* 2010 (with M. Hantke); "Fortress Europe" in Long-term Perspective: *Agricultural Protection in the European Union, 1956-2003*, in: *Journal of European Integration History* 2010; "Agricultural policies in Western Europe since 1945", in: J.O. Hesse et al. (eds.): *Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Europas nach 1945*, 2013.

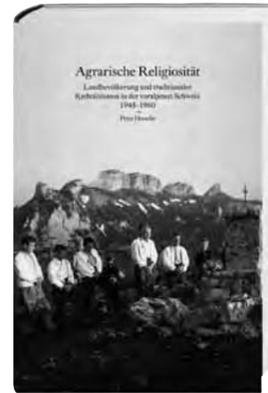
**Agrargeschichte im Archiv**



**Geschichte im virtuellen Archiv**  
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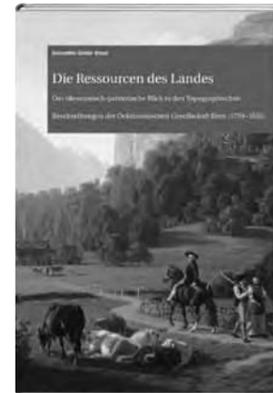
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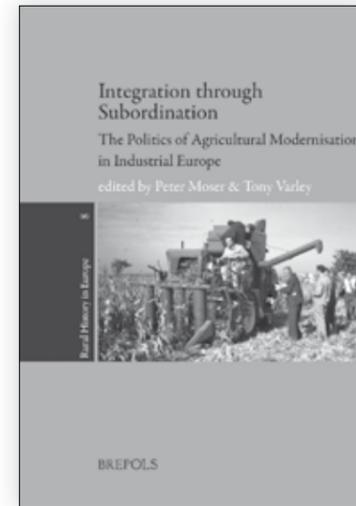
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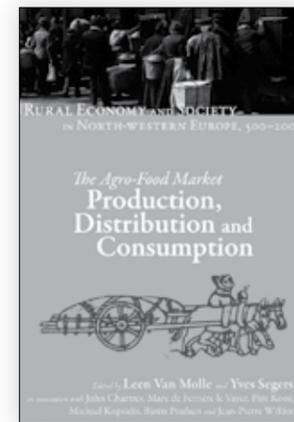


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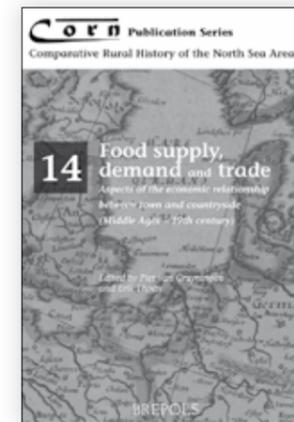
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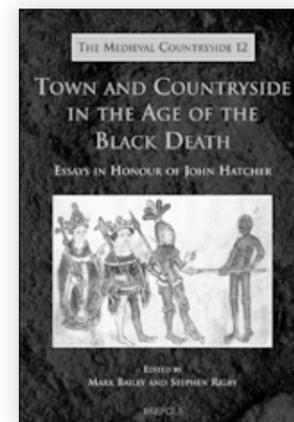
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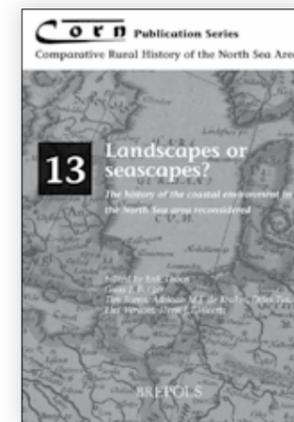
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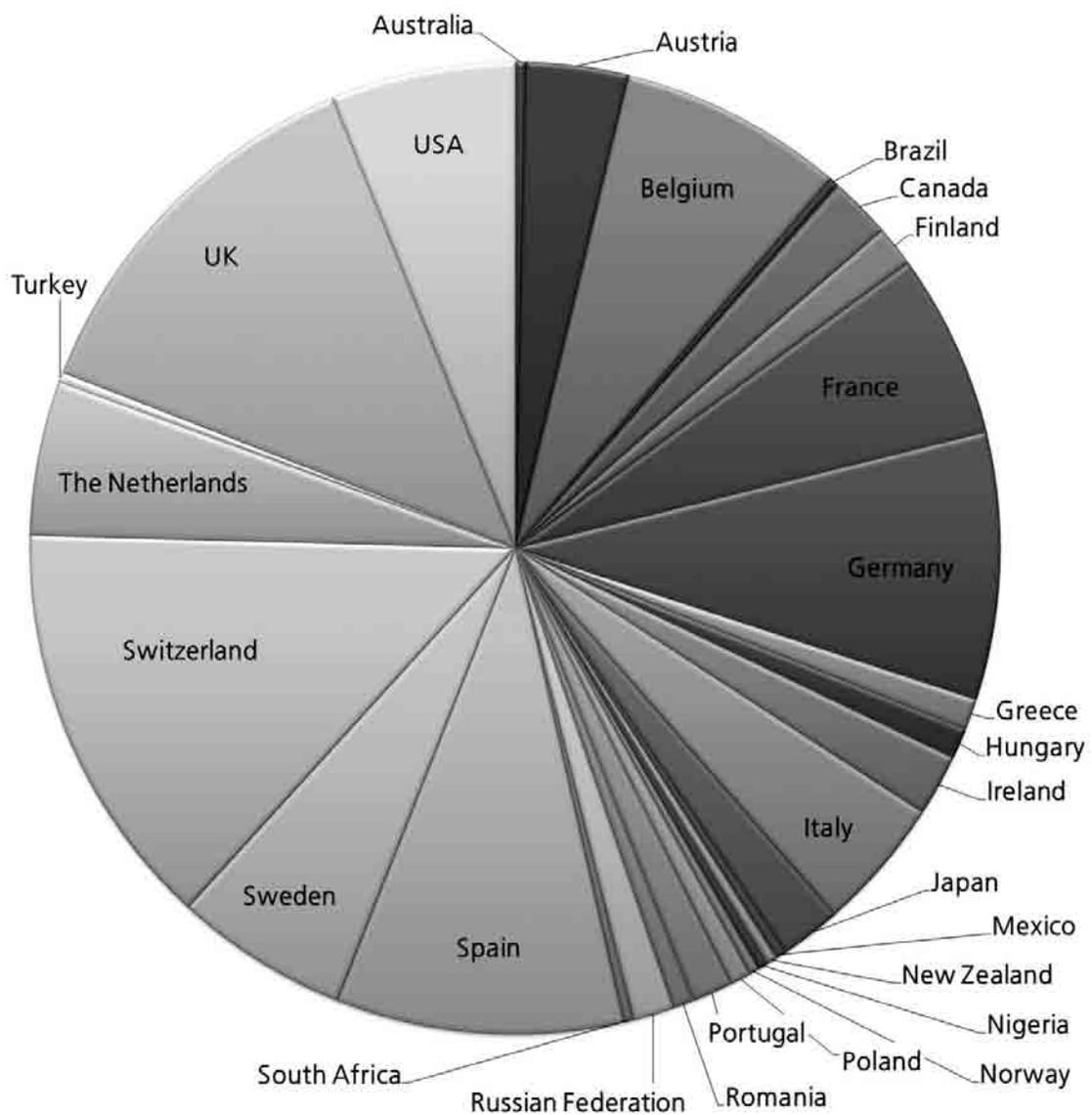
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## Rural History 2013 gathers 286 active participants representing institutions in 29 countries



### Preview

The organisers of Rural History 2013 will keep the conference website ([www.ruralhistory2013.org](http://www.ruralhistory2013.org)) active until the organisers of Rural History 2015 launch the website of the next EURHO conference.

#### After the Rural History 2013 conference the website will provide:

- an overview of the media coverage of Rural History 2013
- an overview of the scientific reports of Rural History 2013
- a list of all participants (including the day entrances)
- a selection of photographs taken by the conference photographer Kurt Graf
- the results of the evaluation process



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Rural History 2013 reflects the various roads which rural history writing has taken over the last two decades in Europe and elsewhere. Contributions from virtually every country in Europe as well as from Africa, Asia and the Americas are one feature of the conference whilst others include the wide variety of topics as well as the range of methodologies and theories. While Rural History 2013 is in many ways the culmination of the numerous new initiatives launched by rural historians since the early 1990s, it by no means marks the conclusion of this most welcome and exciting process. In two years' time the participants of Rural History 2015 will be able to draw on the insights gained at the conference here in Bern.

Rural History 2013 is organised by the Archives of Rural History in Bern ([www.agrararchiv.ch](http://www.agrararchiv.ch)) and the Swiss Rural History Society ([www.ruralhistory.ch](http://www.ruralhistory.ch))

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