



International conference of the
European Rural History Organisation (EURHO)

Rural History 2021

20–23 June 2022 • Uppsala

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
and Uppsala University, Sweden



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In Memoriam

MATS MORELL 1955–2022

It is with great sorrow that we announce the passing of our esteemed colleague and friend professor Mats Morell. Mats was a member of the CORN-network, of the COST-action PROGRESSORE and active in the foundation of the EURHO. For many years he was then involved in EURHO's international activities, and he served as co-chair of the organising committee for this Rural History conference.



Mats Morell's research was exceptionally wide-ranging, and he made major contributions to collaborative, comparative projects on the course of economic and social change in northwestern Europe from the mid-17th century to the present time. His books, book chapters, articles, and conference papers include work on rural social stratification and land tenure; family farms and mechanization; images of masculinity and femininity in ads for milking machinery; farmers' adaptations to crises and weather-related harvest failures.

Proficient in analysing agricultural statistics, property and tax records, historical maps, and farmers' diaries and account books, Mats never lost sight of the big questions we ask about the past: what did the agricultural revolution mean for farmers and rural society; to what extent did increases in productivity depend on farmers' own initiatives and on technologies they purchased from agribusiness companies; how did the positions of women and men who lived and worked on farms change throughout this transformation; and what can we learn about the dynamics of change in the past that can guide us as we address the challenges facing the food supply and rural environment in a period of neo-liberal policy amidst the global climate emergency. Mats managed to complete his last book, just before he passed away, a study of the agricultural revolution in two Swedish provinces from 1720 to 1920.

Mats will be greatly missed by the international rural history community, and at the Rural History Conference in Uppsala.

Marja Erikson

Co-chair, local organising committee

Patrick Svensson

Chair, local organising committee

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Greetings from the President of EURHO

12 YEARS AFTER the launch of EURHO and 17 years after the start of the European COST Progressore program that gave birth to it, the 5th Conference of our organization is being held. After the meetings in Brighton (2010), Bern (2013), Girona (2015), Leuven (2017) and Paris (2019), it is in Sweden, in Uppsala, that historians of the countryside from all over Europe and also from outside Europe will debate again on themes that are crucial for our understanding of the countryside of today and yesterday.

Eurho was founded with this spirit of comparative international perspective to plot a path for a renewed history of the countryside. Eurho aims to highlight a large variety of issues varying widely in historical scope and geographical space and in their approach, scale, and method. It emphasized a lot of questions about the economic, social, political, cultural history of the countryside Eurho intends to promote a dialogue among historians and more generally among researchers that transcends national borders, crosses chronological barriers and breaks down the frontiers between disciplines.

« L'histoire n'est pas une science du passé, elle donne sens au présent » as said the famous French historian Marc Bloch in *Apologie pour l'histoire*. The countryside forms indeed a complex and evolving universe, which is experiencing ruptures and also exhibits inertias. History may therefore be considered as an explanatory factor to better understand our time. If rural world shall now face new challenges, they echo in the past. The main objective of the Eurho is precisely to provide some keys to unlock the changes experienced by present-day European rural societies in the light of their historical experience. In Uppsala, the Eurho will illustrate this need for chronological depth and spatial breadth in order to understand the world of the countryside as it was and as it has become.

Since Brighton, if the number of participants has not ceased to increase from conference to conference, the quality of the exchanges has not weakened. This high scientific level explains the popularity of an event that now brings together between 400 and 500 researchers. Eurho is therefore alive and kicking, and is constantly increasing its visibility through its website, its newsletter and now its online meetings, which will focus on some issues that usually challenge rural historians.

We were undoubtedly shaken when COVID forced us to postpone the Conference planned for 2021, but we are happy to announce that it will take place under the same conditions, with a few months' delay. This was only possible thanks to the perseverance of the organisers, Patrick, Mats and Marja, who were never discouraged by the obstacles that stood in front of them and whom we can never thank enough for having taken on such an operation in a difficult context. It is all the more sad to think that Mats, who invested a lot in the preparation of this event, will not be able to see it through. We will have a thought about him in Uppsala and the success of EURHO 2022 will be the best way to pay tribute to him.

Gérard Béaur
President EURHO

Welcome to Uppsala

ORGANIZING AN EVENT in a global insecure world has proven to be a great endeavor, sailing through a strait with the pandemics of Scylla on the one side, and the war of Charybdis on the other. But at last, here we are in Uppsala, a little delayed but having completed the impossible task of avoiding both of them.

Crises is of course not anything new. They have been a recurrent feature creating imminent threats to rural communities throughout history. Famines, oppression, war, weather and pestilence severely affected people's lives. And still do. War is ravaging, harvest failures are predicted, and global food security is threatened. The pandemic is slowly lingering off but is still affecting how we live. Crises is one topic of the conference covered by panels on for example drought effects, climate variability, global pathogens, and food security.

However, all through history people have shown remarkable resistance and fight to overcome crises. The human nature is innovative and humans organize socially. However, human interaction is also complex and no historical study is valid without taking into consideration that events have different impacts on people depending on their resources and their societal positions. This year's conference holds panels on social conflicts, land conflicts and property rights, and on inequality and differentiation.

Classes, households, and families as study objects are important for our understanding of the rural society but they could at the same time conceal within-inequalities based on for example age or gender. This is addressed in panels on crisis narratives and strategies of women, on widows, on rural places and gender relations, and on rural women's work.

Despite crises and conflicts, over time societies develop. Long-term change might seem slow but change is a wave-like phenomenon, with periods of stagnation interchanged by periods of growth and radical transformation. For technological change this is due to that changes in one part is often affecting other parts; for societal change, that new elites or other actors may transform vital institutions and the societal organization. This is discussed in panels on institutions and socio-economic change, enclosures, agricultural associations and state intervention, and agricultural modernization.

Importantly, since we are interested in rural communities, we need to address the interaction between humans, animals and nature. How people provide for themselves are governed by natural conditions and are in turn affecting the same natural conditions and the sustainability of them. Panels on historical forms of sustainability and the seasonality of rural work, and on animals and crops addresses this.

Amidst all of this, here we are: historians trying to disentangle this using different methods and different sources, and addressing different topics. Both our keynotes will talk about how we do this, how to navigate amongst the remains left for us to use.

We as organizers from the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences and Uppsala University are proud to host this conference and hope all of you will enjoy your stay here. We are sure that new ideas, new networks, and new friendships will evolve from four days of intense discussions by dedicated rural historians.

Patrick Svensson
Chair of the organizing committee



Practicalities

REFRESHMENTS AND LUNCH

At UU-Ekonomikum, Coffee are served in the Lokstallarna during coffee breaks. Lunch will be served in the restaurant Humlan, Ekonomikum. All request for lunch had been on line. The vouchers will be given on-site registration. At SLU (Wednesday June 22) coffee will be served, nearby and below the Service center. Lunch will be served in the restaurant Syltan, in a nearby building. All request for lunch had been on line. The vouchers will be given on-site registration.

INTERNET

Both at SLU and UU it is possible to use Eduroam. You will also get access to UU's and SLU's guest Wi-Fi through a personal link and password which you can find in your conference bag.

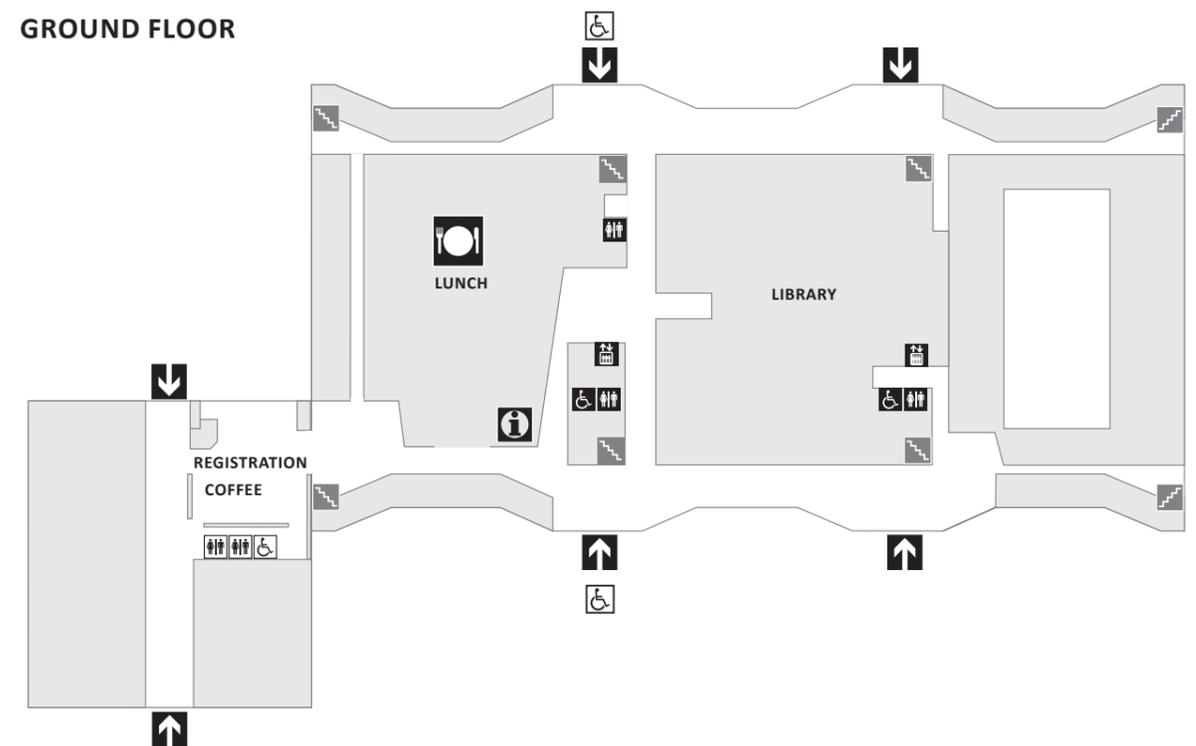
CONFERENCE DINNER

On Tuesday, June 21, a dinner will be organized for those who have confirmed attendance through registration online. The dinner will take place in central Uppsala at Norrlands Nation, Västra Ågatan 14, from 7.30 pm.

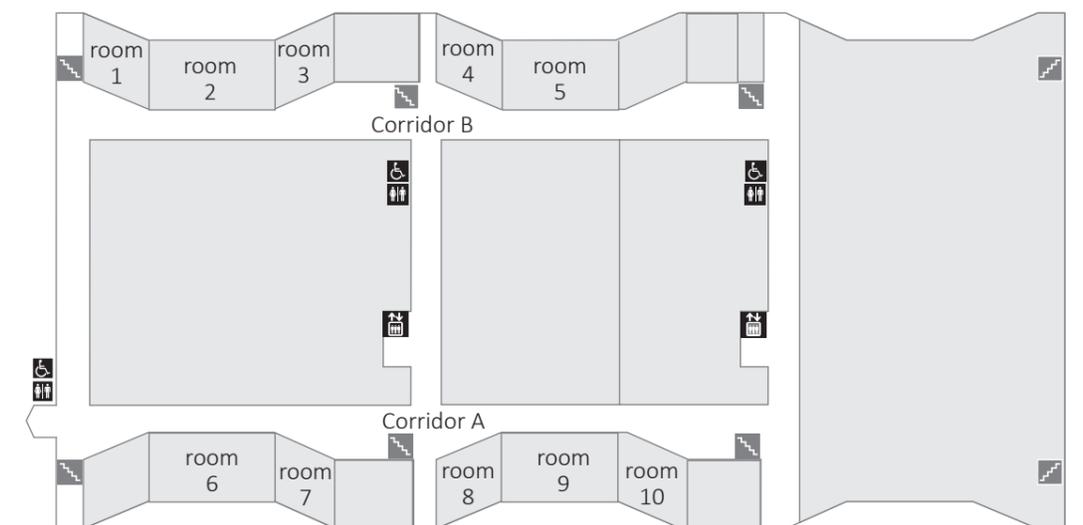
EXCURSIONS

The excursions will take place simultaneously during the afternoon of Tuesday, June 21 (departure after lunch). Only those who have previously registered may attend. Buses will depart at 2.30 pm from Ekonomikum. Please be punctual.

GROUND FLOOR

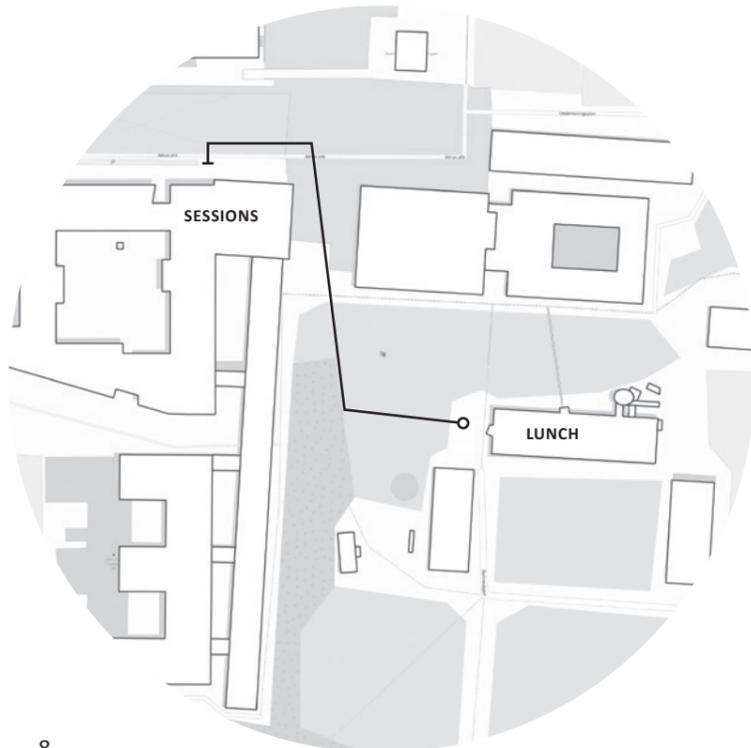
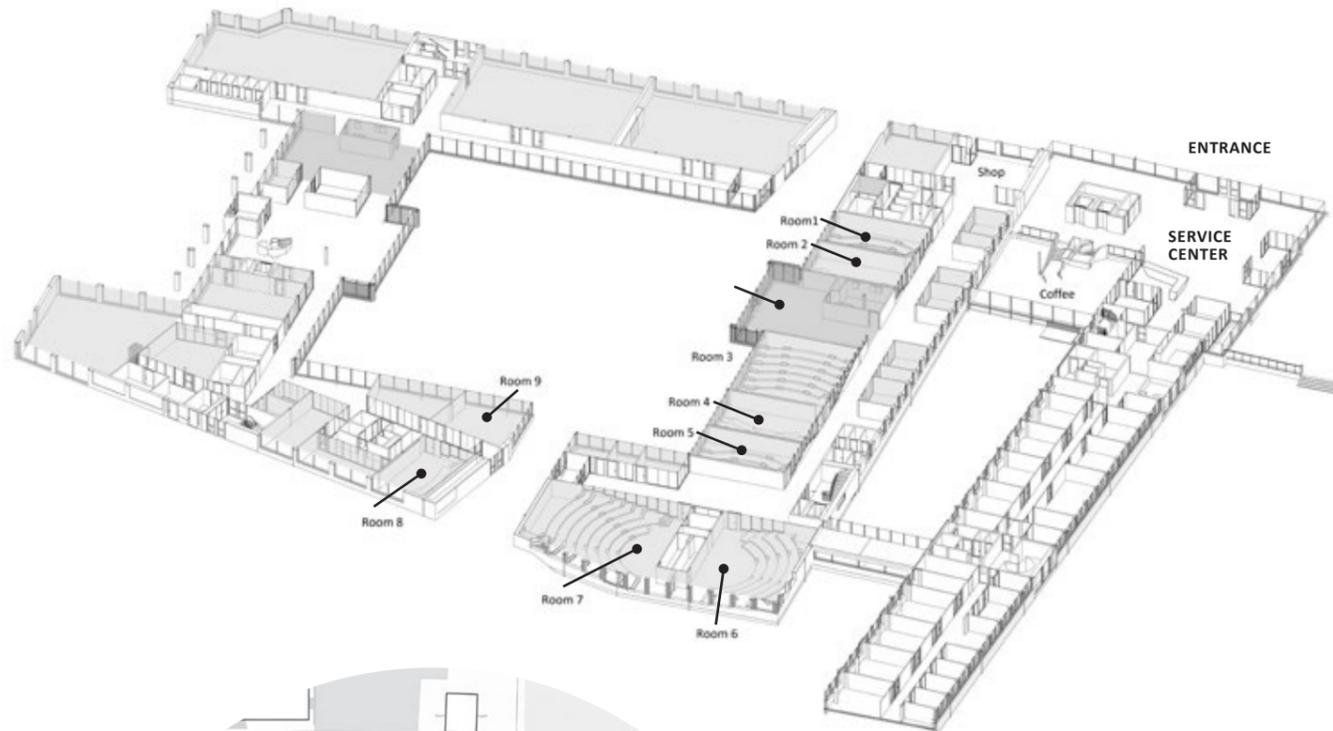


LOWER FLOOR





GROUND FLOOR



EURHO The EURHO is a non-profit organisation concerned to promote the study of all aspects of rural history in Europe and beyond. It organises, through its members, a bi-annual international conference, runs the website www.ruralhistory.eu and publishes the Rural History Newsletter. Membership is open to scientific institutions concerned with the furtherance of rural history and to individuals who attend the organisation's conferences. The EURHO has evolved from recent initiatives in the field of international rural history such as the research network CORN (Comparative Rural History of the North-Sea Area), the Rural network of the European Social Science History Conference and the ESF-COST Action PROGRESSORE (Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies). The EURHO has its legal seat at the Institute of Rural History in St Pölten, Austria which provides administrative services to the organization. The current officers are President Gérard Béaur; Vice-Presidents Patrick Svensson and Zsuzsanna Varga; Secretary Ernst Langthaler; Treasurer Peter Moser.



SLU The Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU) is a world-class international university with research, education and environmental assessment within the sciences for sustainable life. Its principal sites are in Alnarp, Umeå and Uppsala, but activities are also conducted at research stations, experimental parks and educational establishments throughout Sweden. We bring together people who have different perspectives, but they all have one and the same goal: to create the best conditions for a sustainable, thriving and better world. SLU has 3,000 employees and 5,000 students. The university has invested in a modern, attractive environment on its campuses. The Division of Agrarian History is part of the Dep. of Urban and Rural Development. Agrarian history is a historical discipline that studies the development from the oldest to present time. The subject deals with agricultural production and technological change, social and economic conditions, and people and their relation to nature, the landscape and to society at large. The main focus is on research and education on northern European conditions, including Sweden, although a wider international agrarian history also is important.



UU Uppsala University was founded in 1477 and is today a strong and broad research university which is ranked among the best in the world. There are 50,000 students and close to 5,000 researchers. Our ultimate goal is to conduct education and research of the highest quality and relevance to make a long-term difference in society. At the heart of this mission is the endeavour to advance sustainable development, engage with the wider community, and promote openness and respect. Our most important asset are all the individuals whose curiosity and commitment make Uppsala University one of Sweden's most exciting workplaces. The Dep. of Economic History is a subject within the Social Science Faculty with a relative large body of research. The department has c. 40 employees, of which c. 15 are doctoral students. The research profile at Uppsala University is broad with specializations in financial and business history, labour market, the history of modern economic thought, agrarian history, consumption and retail history and science and technology studies.



Conference organisers

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

Mats Morell, professor, Uppsala University, Sweden, chair

Patrick Svensson, professor, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden, co-chair

G rard B aur, professor, CNRS/EHESS, Paris, France

Christine Fertig, professor, University of M nster, Germany

Gesine Gerhard, professor and dean, Drake University, Des Moines, USA

Anne-Lise Head-K nig, professor, University of Geneva, Switzerland

Sarah Holland, dr. assistant professor, University of Nottingham, UK

Ernst Langthaler, professor, Johannes Kepler Universit t Linz, Austria

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

Aleksander Panjek, professor, University of Primorska, Slovenia

Socrates Petmezas, professor, University of Crete, Greece

Vicente Pinilla, professor, University of Zaragoza, Spain

Erik Thoen, professor, University of Ghent, Belgium

Zsuzsanna Varga, professor, E tv s Lor nd University of Budapest, Hungary

Ann-Catrin  stman, akademilektor, Åbo akademi, Finland

LOCAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Patrick Svensson, professor, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, chair

Mats Morell, professor, Dept. of Economic History, Uppsala University, co-chair

Marja Erikson, dr. researcher, Dept. of Economic History, Uppsala University, co-chair

Jesper Larsson, associate professor, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, head of division

Martin Andersson, dr. post-doc researcher, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Kristofer Jupiter, PhD-student, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Ellen Lindblom, PhD-student, Dept. of Economic History, Uppsala University

Martin Skoglund, PhD-student, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Jakob Starlander, PhD-student, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Isabelle Lundholm, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Sofia Carlford, PhD-student, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Cristina Prytz, dr. researcher, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

DAY	Monday 20 June	Tuesday 21 June	Wednesday 22 June	Thursday 23 June
	Ekonomikum, Uppsala University	Ekonomikum, Uppsala University	Ulls hus, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences	Ekonomikum, Uppsala University
8.30	Registration opens	Session 4 8.30–10.00	Bus to SLU from Uppsala Konsert & Kongress 8.30	Session 10 8.30–10.30
8.45				
9.00	Session 1 9.00–11.00		Session 7 9.00–11.00	
9.15				
9.30				
9.45				
10.00		Coffee		
10.15		Session 5 10.15–11.45		
10.30				Coffee
10.45				
11.00	Coffee		Coffee	Session 11 11.00–13.00
11.15				
11.30	Session 2 11.30–13.30		Session 8 11.30–13.30	
11.45		Coffee		
12.00		Session 6 12.00–13.30		
12.15				
12.30				
12.45				
13.00				Lunch 13.00–14.00
13.15				
13.30	Lunch 13.30–14.30	Lunch 13.30–14.30	Lunch 13.30–15.00	
13.45				Session 12 14.00–16.00
14.00				
14.15				
14.30	Session 3 14.30–16.30	Excursions		
14.45				
15.00			Session 9 15.00–17.00	
15.15				
15.30				
15.45				
16.00				Closing drink 16.00–16.45
16.15				
16.30	Pause and coffee			
16.45				
17.00	Walk to Uppsala University Main Building		Pause and coffee	
17.15	General Assembly EURHO			
17.30	17.15–18.00		Welcome by SLU vice-chancellor and Keynote II 17.30-	
17.45				
18.00	Keynote I 18.00–19.00			
18.15				
18.30				
18.45			Drinks	
19.00				
19.15	Welcome by UU vice- chancellor and drinks			
19.30		Conference dinner 19.30-		
19.45			Buses to Uppsala City	
20.00				
20.15				



Harvesting work, 1956.

Keynote I

PROFESSOR CATHARINE A. WILSON Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and Redelmeier Professor in Rural History, University of Guelph, Canada

NEIGHBOURHOOD AND NEIGHBOURING IN RURAL ONTARIO, CANADA, 1800–1960 Neighbourhood is assumed to be at the heart of rural life, yet we have little understanding of how it worked. It was the most immediate set of relationships beyond the family, smaller in size than “community,” and considered to be so ordinary as to be un-noteworthy.

This presentation enters the heart of neighbourhood through the study of reciprocal work or “neighbouring” recorded in farm diaries. Families relied on their neighbours’ help to clear land, raise barns, and harvest crops and returned the favour when asked. This was known as “neighbouring” and the event was called a “Bee,” as they worked like bees in a hive distributing energy, equipment, and skill around the neighbourhood and reinforcing bonds. Such arrangements have come to symbolize the good old days of neighbourliness, but they were neither natural nor simple. To ensure the satisfactory operation of neighbouring, households engaged in complicated labour exchanges governed by an unwritten code of behaviour. On occasion, they used gossip, storytelling, ostracism, even brute force, demonstrating that a cohesive, functioning neighbourhood involved negotiation, flexibility, surveillance, confrontation, and reconciliation. As a result, neighbourhood emerged as a powerful force in their lives.

Keynote II

PROFESSOR JANKEN MYRDAL Professor Emeritus, Division of Agrarian History, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala. Main editor of the 5-volume Swedish agrarian history, with an abbreviated volume in English

THE PROBLEMATIC WHEEL-PLOUGH, MEDIEVAL IMAGES AND SOURCE PLURALISM The wheel plough is often regarded as the principal agricultural innovation of the Middle Ages in northern Europe, together with the watermill and three-course field rotations. Yet we still have relatively little understanding about how this apparently implement worked. Further examination of the wheel plough indicates how complex, fragile and expensive this tool really was, and suggests that the role of the wheel plough in the transformation of the medieval economy has been overestimated.

The most extensive written sources in Europe for medieval agriculture are the English manorial accounts, which exist in great quantities from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These accounts, which record the running of the lord’s demesne land, include a section in which the expenses of the ploughs are registered in detail. Together with Alexandra Sapoznik, I have gone through hundreds of such accounts in order to reconstruct how this huge machinery was sustained. Every season the wheels and many other parts of the wheel plough had to be replaced or repaired, and this was an important and often-overlooked drawback of this technology.

Yet as splendid as these accounts are, they must be supplemented with other sources, not least to place the English case within a European context. This is where source pluralism comes in: to use all available sources, including images, texts, archaeology, and modern reconstructions and experiments.

By combining accounts with other sources and widening the geographical scope, a new understanding emerges, in which the wheel plough is only one part of a complicated technological complex. Furthermore, we can identify common trajectories for the whole of the medieval technological transformation, such as dramatically increased iron consumption, with far-reaching consequences for the medieval economy and landscape.

SESSION 1 • MONDAY 20 JUNE • 09:00–11:00

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	PANEL
1.1. Historical forms of sustainability – collective forests and pastures since 1600 in a European perspective 1 Martin Stuber	1.1.1. Market pressures, rule persistency and resilience: What can be learned from the Swiss commons? Karina Liechti	1.1.2. Geometry of the wood. Usage practices and conflicts of access to common resources in the evaluation of a land surveyor (Liguria, Italy, 20th century) Giulia Beltrametti	1.1.3. From wood supply to wood market – Common property forests in 19th Century Switzerland Martin Stuber	1.1.4. Managing collective forests and pastures in a synergetic way: French alpine municipalities management during the XIXth century Raphaël Lachello		1:1 Room 1
1.2. A biophysical and socioeconomic perspective of Agricultural Growth on both sides of the Atlantic in the 19th and 20th centuries 1 Manuel González-de-Molina	1.2.1. The energy trap of industrial agriculture in America and Europe, 1830–2012. A summary of the results of the SFS International Project Enric Tello	1.2.2. Reclaiming the floodplain – driving forces and consequences of wetland reclamation in Mörlunda, Sweden, 1800–1910 Oscar Jacobsson	1.2.3. Water use in Spanish agriculture (1922–2016): contributing and affected by climate change Jaime Vila-Traver	1.2.4. The impact of Spain's integration in the Common Agricultural Policy: Degradation of ecosystem services and rural depopulation, 1992–2017 Manuel González-de-Molina		1:2 Room 2
1.3. The long history of short-term jobs 1560–1860 Ella Viitaniemi	1.3.1. Mental impairments and disability to work in early modern Sweden Riikka Miettinen	1.3.2. Struggling career paths – Clergy and short-term jobs in late eighteenth-century Finland Ella Viitaniemi	1.3.3. The Makeshift Economy of Rural Labourers in 19th-century Finland Petri Talvitie	1.3.4. The soldiers and their families on the short-term labour market in Finland 1721–1808 Sofia Gustafsson		1:3 Room 3
1.4. Rural Museums Session: Museums and collections and the production and role of historical knowledge Oliver Douglas	1.4.1. Addressing and dismantling legacies of colonialism at the Museum of English Rural Life Oliver Douglas	1.4.2. Agricultural Museums and the Anthropocene: Evidence and Interpretation of Climate Change Debra Reid	1.4.3. Sowing New Seeds in the Field of Applied History: The Role of Agricultural Museums in Community Food Security and Beyond Peter Watson	1.4.4. The synergies of rural museums and researchers: MERL and FIELD Abigail Woods		1:4 Room 4
1.5. Agricultural associations and state intervention in the European agriculture, from the late nineteenth century crisis to the Great Depression 1 Jordi Planas	1.5.1. The formation of agricultural governance: the interplay between state and civil society in European agriculture, 1870–1940 Jordi Planas	1.5.2. Dutch agricultural governance, 1870s – 1930s. Agricultural institutions and policies as an outcome of the co-evolution of state and civil society Anton Schuurman	1.5.3. Agricultural Policy in an Urban Economy: the UK, 1870–1940 Paul Brassley	1.5.4. Seeds of Knowledge and Organized Capitalism: Plant Improvement, the Modernizing State and the Evolution of Wheat Breeding in Switzerland, 1850–1930 Juri Auderset	1.5.5. Agrarian associations and parties in Europe, 1870–1939: a global interpretation Miguel Cabo	1:5 Room 5
1.6. Inequality and differentiation among medieval peasants 1 Antoni Furió	1.6.1. Peasant inequality and differentiation in Iberia before and after the Black Death Antoni Furió	1.6.2. Agrarian systems and Economic Inequality across late medieval Tuscany (1427–1512): Sharecropping, Tenancy and Smallholding compared Davide Cristoferi				1:6 Room 6

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	PANEL
1.7. Heritages of Rural Hunger: Comparative European Perspectives Marguërite Corporaal	1.7.1. Curating Irish Cottages: Representing Famine Rural Communities in Heritage Practices Marguërite Corporaal	1.7.2. Frames of hunger: The years of hunger in Spanish cinema Miguel Angel Del Arco Blanco	1.7.3. Memorialising Famine Landscapes: A comparative approach from the Irish Great Famine and the Finnish Great Hunger Years Andrew Newby	1.7.4. Narrativising the Great Irish Famine (1845–50): Landlords and Tenants in Recent Educational Materials from Ireland and the UK Lindsay Janssen		1:7 Room 7
1.8. Transforming the Hinterland. Labour Relations and Livelihood Options in European Forestry and Timber Trade, ca. 1700 to 1950 Rita Garstenauer	1.8.1. A game of carrot and stick? Labour relations in state-owned forestry of the late Habsburg Empire Rita Garstenauer	1.8.2. Migrant Bodies on the Move: Work, Lifestyle and Health among the Vistula Raftsmen in the 19th Century Jawad Daheur	1.8.3. The role of forestry for the landless population and the Industrial Revolution in rural Germany Florian Probst			1:8 Room 8
1.9. Cheese and dairy products in the Mediterranean area (13th–16th centuries) Frederic Aparisi	1.9.1. The cheese market in medieval Venice Nicola Carotenuto	1.9.2. Formazzo morlacco: the cheese that became an identity feature. Aspects of the Morlach commerce with shepherding products (14th to 16th centuries) Dana Caciur	1.9.3. Cheese production and trade in Medieval Valencia Frederic Aparisi			1:9 Room 9
1.10. Creating a New Peasant: Nation-Building, Modernist Discourses, and the Re-making of Rural Subjects in Interwar East Central Europe Isidora Grubački	1.10.1. Expert Knowledge, Rural Spaces and The Making of Post-Imperial Subjects in Interwar East Central Europe Vojtech Pojar	1.10.2. "Improving the village on Yugoslav terms": Sokol organizations' spread to the village in the 1930s Lucija Balikic	1.10.3. Re-Christianizing the "Holy Land": Consolidating Catholic Authority in Rural Austrian Tyrol after the Great War Christopher Wendt	1.10.4. Feminist Politics and Social Change in the Rural Context: the Case of Yugoslavia in the 1930s Isidora Grubački	1.10.5. Photography and Power. Peasants and Visibility Politics in Interwar Poland Agata Koprowicz	1:10 Room 10

1.1. Historical forms of sustainability – collective forests and pastures since 1600 in a European perspective 1

Martin Stuber, University of Bern; Jesper Larsson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala

Sustainability defined as transgenerational thinking and acting is at the heart of communal organizations and their common property institutions in their own views as well as from external perceptions. Sustainability in the sense of robustness of common property institutions is also the key element in Elinor Ostrom's work, in which robustness is based empirically on eight so-called design principles. At the same time, the concept of sustainability, with its three classical dimensions of ecological resilience, social justice and economic efficiency, is an open-ended analytical tool for comparative research on collective resource usage practices in space and time. The issue of sustainability is currently high on the political agenda, and the question of what role the commons have played in this complex in the past and what they will play in the future is of central interest. This is particularly true in the context of declining relative prices for the yields from forests and pastures which stand at the center of this session and which play a crucial role in the sustainable conservation of European landscapes and their biodiversity. If common property institutions want to survive and continue to play this important role in the future, they must have a high degree of transformation capacity so that they can both adapt to changing circumstances and be active in shaping them. In order to further investigate such forms of dynamic sustainability, the session will analyze four historical approaches that are particularly well suited for comparison from a European perspective. 1) Economy of sustainability based on quantitative long-term analyses of demography, finances, livestock, timber harvest, production of milk and cheese etc. 2) Rituals of balance starting from the analysis of visual sources (decision making, community work, tensions between individual, family and corporation) 3) The role of the commons in agricultural and forest modernization based on programmatic and legislation 4) Land use intensities and the organization of space by means of cartographic analyses.

**Chair: Jesper Larsson,
Discussant: José-Miguel Lana**

1.1.1. Market pressures, rule persistency and resilience: What can be learned from the Swiss commons?

Karina Liechti, University of Bern, Austria; Tobias Haller, University of Bern, Austria

Societal developments and changes since the 1950s have had a large impact on Swiss commoners' organizations such as corporations or civic communities. Structural changes in agriculture and forestry, including the decreasing proportion of the population working in the first sector, the diminishing profitability of agricultural and forestry products on the market, the increasing importance of public policies in land management and the growing dependency of public support for the provision of ecological and landscape services have caused them to adapt their internal organization and institutions in order to remain resilient vis-à-vis economic pressures. But whereas income generation has changed significantly – at least in many of the commoners' organizations – pasture and forest use regulations were seemingly less affected. What are the reasons behind such dynamics and relative persistency? Is relative persistency in resource use regulations with a focus on maintaining the commons as a whole and not surrender completely to market orientations and profit calculations a "means" to maintain commoners' identification with and engagement

in the commoners' organizations? Does such a practice provide the necessary basis for economic diversification and thus contains enough flexibility and resilience? Or does it also show that long-established regulations are adapted and perceived as purposeful in current processes of societal and economic changes? Based on a comparative study of several Swiss commoners' organisations we will discuss such questions and propose theses of institutional persistence, change and innovations for a sustainable future of Swiss commons.

1.1.2. Geometry of the wood. Usage practices and conflicts of access to common resources in the evaluation of a land surveyor (Liguria, Italy, 20th century)

Giulia Beltrametti, University of Primorska, Slovenia

In this paper I will analyse the survey, the map and the report, made by a land surveyor in 1925 in the Ligurian Apennines. In uplands, where conservation and sustainable use of environmental resources are largely centred on "people working with nature" (quoting from the EU Habitat Directive), the minimal structures of organisations were mainly households. It is therefore needed a combined approach, either historical, ethnological and juridical, in order to address the topic and to understand the long-term resilience of resource uses and to have a better comprehension of the variety and specificity of collective jurisdictional subjects. The site of the research is a valley listed in the Natura 2000 network, and common pastures and woods were managed by households till the 20th century. This traditional management of the local space safeguarded to the present habitats with particular biodiversity, even if nowadays the landscape is mainly constituted by abandoned woods. In Italy, the crucial turning point in the juridical history of the commons is the institution, in 1927, of a Commission for the liquidation of the "usi civici" (common rights on forests, land, practises), created by the government with the purpose of reforming and reorganising all the "promiscuous" and conflicting cases of collective resources management, in order to reassign the land collectively used to "legitimate" owners. Those inquiries and surveys produced, over the years, a rich and unique documentation in all the country. The case chosen for this paper is a long-term controversy on a beech tree wood, going back to the Middle age, reactivated by the 20th cent. intervention. The wood was traditionally exploited by two communities and various families and after the institution on the Commission the controversy among them was awakened. A land surveyor from Genova was sent on place with the task to do an evaluation and a report; on the basis of a topographical map he suggested to divide the wood in a more "rational" and "natural" way, using the classical agronomical categories based on the distinction between cultivated and non-cultivated land and defining "unproductive" lands still used as pastures, temporary cultivation plots, forest. This shows how his interpretation prevented him to comprehend and assess the local space constructed on the traditional multiple use of resources and the nature of such a complex socio-ecological system.

1.1.3. From wood supply to wood market – Common property forests in 19th Century Switzerland

Martin Stuber, University of Bern, Austria

Since its origins in the Early Modern Period, sustainable forestry in Switzerland has been community-based. To this day, two thirds of Switzerland's forest area is owned by corporations (Korporationen), corporations of citizens (Bürgergemeinden) and municipalities of residents (Einwohnergemeinden). In contrast to the municipalities, which are defined by the current place of residence of their inhabitants, corporations (of citizens) are constituted by their affiliation to certain, usually long-established families. Thinking and acting for the long term is part of their essence and makes them classic guarantors of sustainability. Who would be a more suitable advocate of intergenerational forest use than a corporation that is constituted in the succession of generations? And who would be better suited to the "eternal" forest than the citizenry, which places itself in a historical line of continuity going back to the Late Middle Ages? But how dynamic and tense the relationship between sustainability and citizenship developed in the long-term perspective, will be shown in this paper. A fundamental transformation took place in the course of the

19th century, when the operational goal of the collective forests was reversed from the exclusive sustainable supply of the entitled members to the achievement of the maximum sustainable monetary yield for the whole population of a community. Firstly, the multifunctional forest of rural society, which, in addition to firewood and timber, also integrated agricultural uses such as forest grazing and litter collecting, was transformed into the wood-centred forest of the emerging professional forestry. Secondly, attempts were made to reduce or even abolish the citizen's firewood that was given free of charge to those entitled, in order to sell as large a quantity of the timber harvest as possible on the free market. Decisive for the future legitimacy of the commons organisations was how these monetary revenues were distributed. In a Swiss comparison, which includes both rural corporations and urban corporations of citizens, differences and similarities of this fundamental transformation will be analysed.

1.1.4. Managing collective forests and pastures in a synergetic way: French alpine municipalities management during the XIXth century

Raphaël Lachello, Université Grenoble Alpes; Nicolas Elleaume, Université Grenoble Alpes; Claire Blanchet, Université Savoie Mont Blanc, France

Many French Alps municipalities have a significant part of their land (up to 60%) composed by collective properties, mainly forests and mountain pastures. Therefore, they can directly manage a large part of their land as a homogeneous social-ecological system. Forest and pasture are tightly linked. The growth of one often correspond to the decline of the other. Therefore, achieving sustainability for both collective forests and pastures, requires a synergetic approach that does not seem spontaneous. Indeed, nowadays those sectors are defined by their own specific policies and work as two separate markets. Moreover, both sectors face its own challenges. Despite a renewed interest for local wood fuel and timber, most French alpine collective forests are not economically sustainable. In the other end, some private pastures are disappearing because of their small size and intricate ownership. Meanwhile collective pastures tend to be reinvested, notably through Pastoral Land Association. Therefore, decision makers tend to manage collective forests and pastures separately or in opposition. Our paper aims to showcase past examples of synergetic approaches in collective forests and pastures management, to analyze them through the lens of sustainability. To achieve that goal, we incorporate data extracted from French Forest Administration and Municipal archives into a Geographical Information System that allow to understand which factors influence collective spaces organization. In order to reconstruct the complexity of collective forests and pastures management, our study resolution is set at the parcel scale. This high definition allows us to showcase collective management diversity all along the 19th century, in a sample of 11 municipalities from the Maurienne valley. Furthermore, some study cases are supplemented by palynological and ecological datas acquired in the frame of an interdisciplinary joint effort. In Maurienne, during the 19th century, collective forests and pastures management practices differ from one municipality to another. Each municipality adapt its management to both its needs and the resources provided by its land. This adaptation leads to a variety of specialization strategies, in which collective forests and pastures management is often intertwined. For example, in Montaimont forestry practices meet specific local needs in wood-fuel and timber, thus indirectly allowing the proper functioning of the mixed farming system. Meanwhile Villarodin-Bourget focuses on selling soft wood cuts to external buyers. Therefore, grazing inside collective forest is forbidden. In return, a share of wood sells is used to maintain tracks towards high altitude collective pasture.



Young woman feeding the chickens, 1910s.

1.2. A biophysical and socioeconomic perspective of Agricultural Growth on both sides of the Atlantic in the 19th and 20th centuries 1

Manuel González-de-Molina, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Spain; Enric Tello, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

There is a growing consensus among the scientific community that agricultural intensification has been accomplished at the expense of the environment and that sustainability is a prerequisite for productive agriculture. However, there is no link between the mainstream historiographical narrative about agricultural growth and the environmental concerns of a growing portion of society and the scientific community itself. For a large sector of world historiography, the history of agriculture is an “outstanding success story”. Production grew faster than population, making nutritional transition easier, putting an end to traditional shortages in the consumption of meat and dairy, and significantly improving the standard of living of citizens. Indeed, this vision prevails at a time when serious socioeconomic and environmental problems are questioning the future viability of the industrial farming model. The food-related health problems, the new outlooks adopted by the ‘Agrarian Question’, and the rethinking of the role played by agriculture in economic development challenge this optimistic vision. With a few exceptions, historians have been fairly unresponsive to the socio-environmental problems caused by the industrialization of agriculture. Recent literature maintains a line of enquiry that is more concerned with analysing the economic dimension of agrarian growth than with integrating contributions from Agroecology, Ecological Economics, or Environmental History. The environment, when it is considered, is understood exclusively as a container for resources and, therefore, a factor that can foster or limit a country’s possibility for growth. Historians should consider not only the growing increase in land and labour productivity, but also shedding light on how it was achieved and the external costs this has entailed for the environment, new forms of social inequality and the future generations. A deeper understanding of agricultural activity would balance its achievements and shortcomings. To achieve this, we need a biophysical view of this evolution, new theoretical approach and a new methodology that combine and interlink the biophysical aspects of the evolution of agroecosystems with economic and social aspects. The papers collected in this session are a good example of this. They offer different biophysical and socio-economic perspectives on agricultural growth in Latin America and Europe using innovative methodologies such as input/output analysis applied to the environmental impacts of agricultural growth in agriculture, energy analysis through EROIs, or the methodologies of Social Metabolism applied to agriculture and water resources. On the other hand, by collecting case studies from Latin America and Europe, it provides an insight into the different pace and impact that agricultural growth has had on both sides of the Atlantic, and explores the complementarities and dependencies set through international trade. In short, this session aims to provide a different view of the evolution of agriculture from 1800 to the present, offering a more diverse and encompassing picture that is better adjusted to the complex and multidimensional reality of agrarian production seen from our current societal and environmental challenges.

Chair: Manuel González de Molina

1.2.1. The energy trap of industrial agriculture in America and Europe, 1830–2012. A summary of the results of the SFS International Project

Enric Tello, University of Barcelona, Vera Sacristán, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Claudio Cattaneo, Autonomous University of Barcelona, José Ramón Olarieta, University of Lleida, Joan Marull, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Roc Padró, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Manel Pons, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Simone Gingrich, BOKU University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Vienna, Fridolin Krausmann, BOKU University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Vienna, Elena Galán, University of the Basque Country, Inés Marco, University of Barcelona, Gloria Isabel Guzmán, Pablo de Olavide University, Manuel González de Molina, Pablo de Olavide University, Geoff Cunfer, University of Saskatchewan, Canada; Andrew Watson, University of Saskatchewan, Canada; Joshua MacFadyen, University of Prince Edward Island, Canada; Eva Fraňková, Masaryk University, Czech Republic; Eduardo Aguilera, Polytechnic University of Madrid, Juan Infante-Amate, University of Granada, David Soto, University of Santiago de Compostela, Lluís Parcerisas, Marianopolis College, Canada; Jérôme Dupras Université du Québec en Outaouais, Canada; Lucia Díez, University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Vienna, Jonathan Caravaca, Independent professional researcher, Laura Gómez, Independent professional researcher, Onofre Fullana, University of the Balearic Islands, Ivan Murray, University of the Balearic Islands, Gabriel Jover, University of Girona, Xavier Cussó, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Ramon Garrabou, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain

Early energy analyses of agriculture revealed that behind higher labor and land productivity of industrial farming there was a decrease in energy returns on invested energy in comparison to previous agricultural systems. However, studies on recent trends show that efficiency gains in production and use of inputs have again improved energy returns. So far, most agricultural energy studies have often focused only on external inputs at the crop level, concealing the important role of internal biomass flows that livestock and forestry recirculate within agroecosystems. Here, we study the energy performance of agroecosystems as a whole, including livestock and forestry, with a circular bioeconomic approach that accounts for the energy returns to not only external inputs but to internal biomass recirculation as well. We also extend observations back into the 19th century when traditional organic agriculture still prevailed. Synthesizing the results of 82 energy balances in North America and Europe from 1830 to 2012, we found a general trend toward lower external returns, little or no increases in internal returns, and no improvement in total returns. We describe this pattern as an “energy trap”. Statistical analysis reveals that this energy trap has been mainly driven by shifts in production patterns towards more intensive livestock produce and less forestry. Both drivers involved a structural disintegration of agroecosystem components by an increasingly linear industrial farm management dependent on external inputs with harmful environmental impacts. We argue that overcoming the energy trap requires nature-based solutions that increase the circularity and complexity of agroecosystems to reduce current dependence on fossil-fueled external inputs, and a shift in diets.

1.2.2. Reclaiming the floodplain – driving forces and consequences of wetland reclamation in Mörlunda, Sweden, 1800–1910

Oscar Jacobsson, Stockholm University, Sweden

This paper analyses floodplain reclamation in the parish of Mörlunda in Sweden during the period 1800–1910. The floodplain of the river Emån had long been an object of local discussion, due to the problematic floods that sometimes led to harvest loss, both grains and hay, for the local farming community. For a long period of time, the majority of the floodplain was used as meadows for hay production, but by the end of the 19th century the entire floodplain had been turned into arable fields for both ley and grain cultivation. This paper studies this environmental transformation process from a local perspective, but relating the observed development to both regional, national and global processes. The driving forces behind the reclamation are scrutinized in relation to the wider historical-geographical context in which it occurred, and the close interaction with the local environmental is analysed through the process

of reclamation. Previous research on wetland reclamation in Sweden has primarily viewed 19th century wetland reclamation through a top-down perspective in which larger national processes of population growth and agricultural commercialization has been given a large role. Studies of local incentives and driving forces, such as this one, may instead lead to further understanding of how reclamation took place during this period and how it affected relations with both the local environment and the wider world. The paper shows how floodplain reclamation in Mörlunda was a complex and lengthy process, mostly due to the characteristics of the floodplain itself as well as downstream relations with neighboring areas through the river. The floodplain was a hindrance for agricultural expansion, as the available arable land on drier soils was limited, and floods also sometimes led to considerable harvest loss. During the course of the 19th century, reclamation in Mörlunda was primarily connected to market adaptation, by which the export intensive area sought to adapt itself to the sways of the wider market for both grain and animal produce. Population rise played only a limited role at the start of the century, in the first reclamation attempt. The reclamation realized in the 1880s managed to successfully adapt the economy towards increasing milk production, but also led to import needs of commercial fertilizers and produced environmental relations which still today continue to be problematic. Floods have continued to cause problems in the area, which further emphasizes the environmental problematics of agricultural growth.

1.2.3. Water use in Spanish agriculture (1922–2016): contributing and affected by climate change

Jaime Vila-Traver, Universidad Pablo de Olavide de Sevilla, Eduardo Aguilera, Universidad Pablo de Olavide de Sevilla, Juan Infante-Amate, Universidad Pablo de Olavide de Sevilla, Universidad de Granada, Manuel González de Molin, Universidad Pablo de Olavide de Sevilla, Spain

Spanish agriculture was deeply transformed throughout the study period, evolving from a traditional to an industrialized model in a few decades. This transition had very important repercussions on the sustainability of the agrarian system and particularly on the agricultural water flows, since the new agriculture required an unprecedented expansion of the irrigated area (~ 300%) and its modernization, transforming from traditional gravity-based systems to pressurized ones. Consequently, the extension of irrigation infrastructure (i.e. dams, ditches, ponds) rocketed along the study period. Meanwhile, other structural changes occurred, such as changes in the spatio-temporal location of crops, changes in management and varieties, specialization in crops with higher profitability and the abandonment of marginal rainfed lands and fallowing practices. We hypothesize that industrialization increased GHG emissions associated with irrigation and operated synergistically with climate change, modifying the water flows of agroecosystems. The main objectives of the study are: (i) to estimate the evolution of greenhouse gas emissions attributable to Spanish irrigation by means of a life-cycle assessment; (ii) estimate the evolution of water flows caused by the changes in climate and cropland; (iii) isolate the impact of climate change and quantify its effect on the evolution of water flows. To estimate the evolution of these flows (FAO-56 model), indicators widely used in the literature, such as Green Water (GW) and Blue Water (BW), were combined with a new indicator called Violet Water (VW). This metric is defined as the fraction of CWRs that cannot be satisfied by the precipitation that agricultural soils receive, and hence accounts for water stress. The results show that GHG emissions attributable to irrigation multiplied by 20 from 1900 to 2008. This growth was caused by an increase in irrigation infrastructures, their methane emissions and the increasing energy needed for water extraction and for its distribution in pressurized irrigation systems. Regarding the evolution of water flows, the CWR of crops increased by 17.5% between 1922 and 2016, while the VW and the AET increased by 21.1% and by 31.2%, respectively, during the same period. Once isolated, the role of climate change explains on average around 24% of the expansion in VW, 8.7% of AET and 12% of CWR in 2016. We conclude that the industrialization of agriculture, on the one hand, has transformed it into an active agent of climate change and, on the other, has intensified its impacts stressing water problems even more.

1.2.4. The impact of Spain's integration in the Common Agricultural Policy: Degradation of ecosystem services and rural depopulation, 1992–2017

Manuel González-de-Molina, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, David Soto-Fernández, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Gloria I Guzmán-Casado, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Juan Infante-Amate, Universidad de Granada, Spain

This paper provides an overview of the impact of Spain's entry into the EU (1986) and the adoption of an institutional framework determined by the Common Agricultural Policy (1992). This is generally considered to have been positive for Spanish agriculture using a conventional economic approach. According to this approach, Spanish integration into the CAP has meant: i) an increase in productive intensification and specialisation, especially in livestock farming; ii) a "structural adjustment" which has reduced agricultural employment and the number of farms; iii) the implementation of rural development measures which have transformed the rural environment. However, an analysis which takes account of both socio-economic and environmental variables in an integrated way gives a not so positive long-term balance. This has been the main aim of this research. In previous works we have used a theoretical and methodological proposal based on Social Metabolism applied to agriculture to provide such analysis. In this paper we analyse the period between 1992 and 2017 on the basis of an annual series of 26 years with which it is possible to appreciate the changes induced by CAP policies. Consequently, in this paper we study what has happened in the agricultural sector through the analysis of an annual series of 26 years, from 1992 to 2017, in biophysical terms. The results show that the environmental impacts have been severe, despite the environmental concerns of the McSherry reform itself. From a social point of view, structural adjustment has changed the pattern of farming: farms are becoming larger and increasingly based on wage-earning employment. This adjustment is the main cause of the "de-agrarianisation" and depopulation of the Spanish rural environment. The provision of environmental services by agroecosystems is severely threatened by both phenomena, especially those associated with family farms. These social and environmental impacts are caused by the continuous fall in agricultural income, which in turn causes the systematic destruction of employment and the abandonment of a large number of farms, especially family farms.



The Cows and their shepard, c. 1910–30.

1.3. The long history of short-term jobs 1560–1860

Ella Viitaniemi, Tampere University, Finland; Jonas Lindström, Uppsala University, Sweden

This session presents parts of a research project that focuses on short term jobs and temporary earnings as social, political and economic phenomena in the early modern/preindustrial rural context. Lifelong, permanent employment relationships became more common relatively late, during the industrialization which produced more long-term employments in factories for numerous people. The session examines people who worked in the early modern countryside, outside permanent employment relationships and without access to land ownership. We look at different social and professional groups who earned their living by short-term or seasonal work, or by diverse temporary earnings in Sweden and Finland – but also comparing it in wider European development and context. We study preindustrial short-term labour as social and structural phenomenon, but also microhistorically at the individual level in the rural context. We examine short-term jobs by using different qualitative and quantitative methods. We ask what types of jobs were short-term, and why and how they were implemented. We also discuss the political, economical and social significance and extent of short-term labour in the preindustrial Swedish realm. At the individual level we are also interested in who were short-term or temporary workers and on their social status and mobility. The papers in the session will explore the short-term jobs and temporary earnings of different social groups: farmworkers, soldiers, lower rank clergy and disabled people – and their families. The examination of these heterogeneous groups reveals the flexibility of social structures and diversity of personal survival strategies in the preindustrial countryside.

Chair: Jonas Lindström

Discussant: Karin Hassan Jansson, Uppsala University, Sweden

1.3.1. Mental impairments and disability to work in early modern Sweden

Riikka Miettinen, Tampere University, Finland

This paper examines the working lives and careers of people who were considered ‘insane’ or having mental impairments in the early modern Swedish countryside. The mentally impaired were a very heterogeneous group with respect to work dis/ability. Disabling effects of mental impairments varied greatly depending on the nature, degree and duration of the condition. For example, mental illnesses, as recognized at the time, typically posed activity limitations and negative social ramifications in respect to work only periodically or temporarily. Thus, most of the ‘insane’ and ‘mentally weak’ were supporting themselves via diverse work activities and social support and were expected to work during the periods when they were in remission and more lucid. The Nordic agrarian working lives and environments afforded many opportunities for the mentally impaired to support themselves, as most work required physical abilities rather than mental capabilities. The paper is based on court records, tax records, journals and other documents that include descriptions of the everyday lives and work of the ‘insane’ from seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Sweden (incl. Finland). Alongside the typical farmwork, seasonal shepherding in particular employed many of those with mental impairments. The work activities of mentally impaired people fruitfully exemplify the prevalence of short-term labour, rural livelihood diversity and the dis/abling structures in the early modern rural working life.

1.3.2. Struggling career paths – Clergy and short-term jobs in late eighteenth-century Finland

Ella Viitaniemi, Tampere University, Finland

This paper explores academically educated men who struggled to get a permanent job in late eighteenth-century parishes in Finland. The focus is on clergymen who had studied theology and received approved level of studies in order to work as clergy but for one reason or another they were not selected to well-paid, permanent clergy positions after their studies. It is often assumed that most of the young clergy advanced linearly in their careers from the posts of assistant pastors, to chaplains and ending up as vicars. This was not always the case; there are several examples of not only young men but also (middle-) aged men who struggled to get permanent occupations and proceeding in the career path in parishes. Instead of the steady and well-paid occupations of vicar or chaplain, a significant amount of clergymen worked in modest short-term jobs as substitutes (*locum tenentes*) or in the lower positions and personal assistants for elderly vicars. However, these men were still responsible for leading not only spiritual but also administrative, social and political activities in parishes. This paper is based on diverse source material, in particular the letters and minutes of the cathedral chapter in which the occupational matters of clergy are discussed. The student and clerical register of Academy of Turku is also deployed to analyze lifecycles and career-paths of clergy.

1.3.3. The Makeshift Economy of Rural Labourers in 19th-century Finland

Petri Talvitie, University of Helsinki, Finland

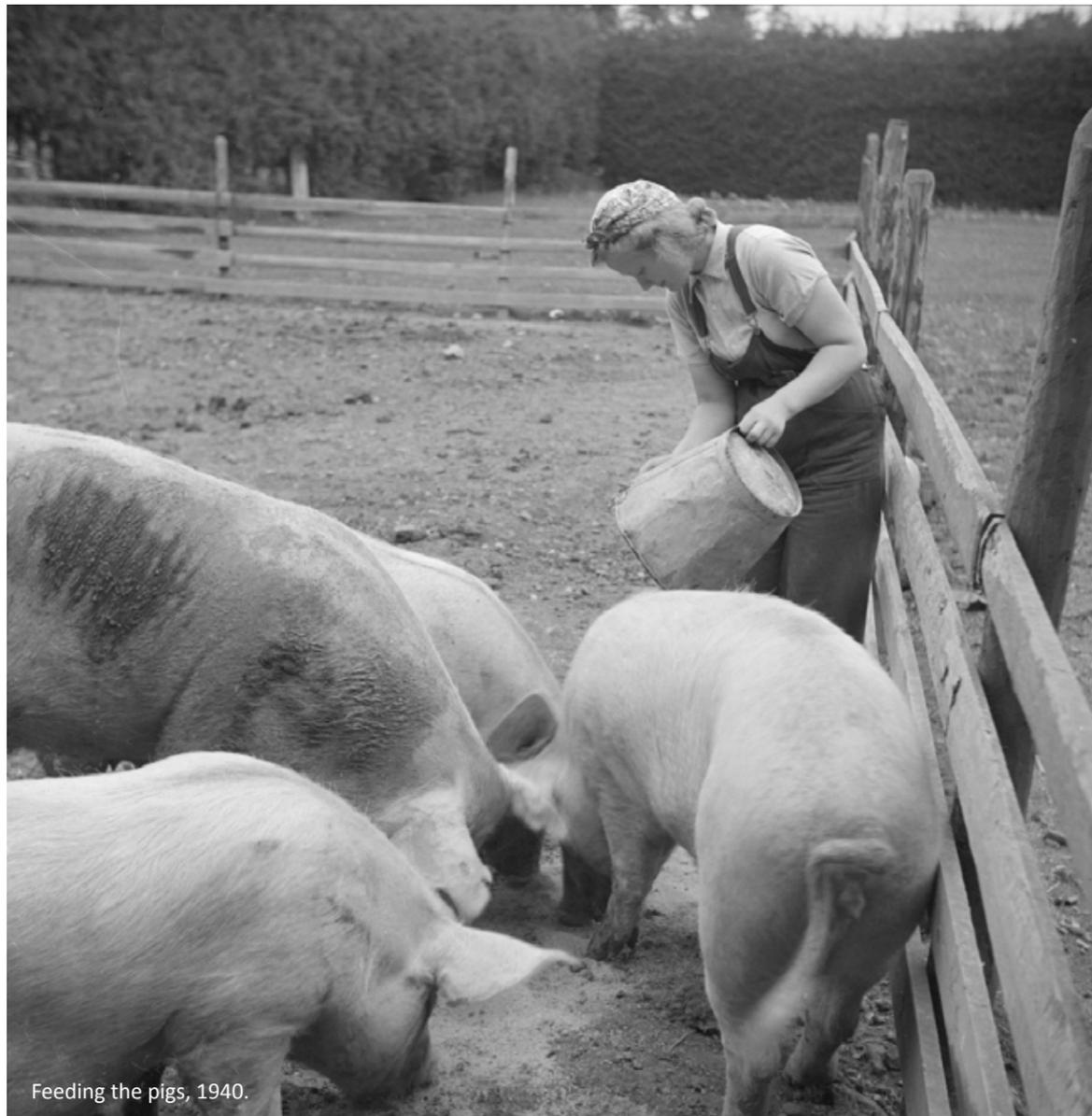
The paper offers new data on rural work and rural labour markets in the 19th-century Finland. The focus is on rural labourers the share of which among the agricultural population grew from ca 10% to 33% between 1790 and 1910. Rural work was highly seasonal during the pre-industrial period. Most of the farm work took place during the short growing season, which lasted only ca four months. The paper asks how the landless labourers made their living in the slack season. What was the role of logging, largescale draining operations, knitting or other temporary job opportunities? How did the labouring families cope with the seasonal income risk? We know relatively little about the subsistence strategies the labouring poor resorted to in pre-industrial Europe. This is partly due to the lack of relevant source material. This paper is based on court cases, which have been identified with the help of Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) technology. The quickly developing field of HTR technology offers a unique opportunity to widen the source base used in historical research. Court cases are collected from two judicial districts located in Western Finland (Ala-Satakunta) and Eastern Finland (Ylä-Savo) representing two different agricultural regions.

1.3.4. The soldiers and their families on the short-term labour market in Finland 1721–1808

Sofia Gustafsson, University of Helsinki, Finland

In eighteenth-century Sweden and Finland, the army in many ways contributed to the existence of short-term jobs. The military employment could itself be a short-term job, especially in enlisted regiments. For many men military employment was not only a way of earning a living, but also a way of avoiding being treated as a vagrant. The army also provided social status, belonging to a collective and exemption from certain taxes. However, this way of living did not suite everyone and many men left, as soon as they found a better option. The soldiers also contributed to the civil labour market as short-term labour force. Since their salary was low, the soldiers also had to take other jobs to sustain themselves. In enlisted regiments, the soldiers regularly received leaves to find other jobs, in allotted regiments the soldiers only served in wartime and during work deployments. The Swedish military system was built on the soldiers’ extra incomes, for the state it was cheaper to pay them far too little to live on. The civil society could thus find plenty of willing soldiers to work for longer or shorter periods, for example on manors or pre-industrial facilities.

Also allotted soldiers could work as extra hands for the local peasants, for example during harvest season or on rural construction sites, many had required desirable craft skills during their military career. The short-term civil employment also extended to the soldiers' wives. The enlisted soldiers' wives often worked as small-scaled entrepreneurs or self-employed, but they could also work for others. The allotted soldiers' wives could work as day-labour for the local peasants, and so could their children too. The allotment system scattered soldiers all over the country and the countryside. Sweden was heavily militarized society, and in many Finnish parishes the soldiers' families could form 5–10% of the population. Especially during the first half of the eighteenth-century, before the land reforms and the rise of the crofters, the allotted soldiers and their families likely formed an important and flexible labour reserve for the rural communities. The strict laws regarding vagrancy forced most people to seek long-term employment, but the military community was an exception institutionalized by the state, albeit for its own profit.



Feeding the pigs, 1940.

1.4. Rural Museums Session: Museums and collections and the production and role of historical knowledge

Oliver Douglas, Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, UK

This session connects to the work of the ICOM-Affiliated International Association of Agricultural Museums. It seeks to highlight the vital role of museums and collections. It will celebrate the potential of materials housed in these institutions for the development and dissemination of rural histories in Europe and beyond. This session will take as its starting point several distinct but interlinking provocations that showcase the importance of agricultural and rural museums and collections. It will seek to emphasise the vital role these institutions can play in the safeguarding, development, and production of rural histories and historical knowledge. Through the lens of current and ongoing challenges in the subject matter and practice of rural history, these prompts will challenge us to consider how participatory, active, and more urgent approaches to the past might play a significant role in public presentation of the rural, and how research can serve to support this shift. To this end, the session will emphasise the important contribution that agricultural and rural museums and collections might begin to make in relation to several historical themes and areas of research interest: museums as suitable spaces for addressing and responding to colonial legacies and neo-colonial challenges; museums as sites for exploring and elucidating foodways, food precarity, and food security; museums as places for reconstructing and understanding the links between humans and non-human others, including animals and plants; museums as resources for better understanding and responding to environmental breakdown and change; museums and rural histories of marginalized communities. The session will also point researchers towards practical support, advice, and resources geared towards making museums and collections accessible and useful resources for rural historians, as well as creative examples of how to incorporate museum collections into the production and dissemination of rural histories.

Chair: Oliver Douglas

1.4.1. Addressing and dismantling legacies of colonialism at the Museum of English Rural Life

Oliver Douglas, Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, UK

As with several other UK-based collections of agricultural life, the Museum of English Rural Life emerged during a period of social, cultural, and economic transformation. Its establishment is often seen as having been an expression of national identity but this paper explores another way in which its foundation might be understood. The early-1950s were marked by significant global concerns about food security and by major post-war shifts in the balance of power. In many parts of the British Empire, imperial control gave way to independence and self-rule, and the gaze of the UK was seemingly cast inward. At the same time, the UK welcomed new arrivals from other parts of the world and the pasts cemented by this new Museum appeared to do very little to reflect the lives or histories of these new arrivals. The Museum's earliest holdings were gathered against a backdrop of shifting technologies and at a time of significant agricultural change, following the familiar path of charting parochial and local histories. This paper seeks to rethink this moment of institutional creation, to explore the Museum's foundational role in gathering particular stories from the British rural past, and to examine how it bolstered and facilitated their extension into tools for shaping the direction and articulation of overseas development. The symbolism of the Museum's core work may be seen to mirror

religious specificities and racial biases that lay at the heart of agricultural extension and overseas development. Its approach reflected the biblical metaphor of 'swords into ploughshares' and the progressionist approaches it adopted towards charting technology echoed the imposition of plough-up and tractorisation approaches to bringing peace and progress throughout the global south. The exclusive and biased formulation of this inward-looking collecting project owed much to the search for ways to bring modernity to bear on global agricultural futures. This paper raises questions about the role of such an institution today and the degree to which a Museum with hitherto unexplored neo-colonial origins might begin to play a part in debate and discourse about decolonial and anti-colonial futures.

1.4.2. Agricultural Museums and the Anthropocene: Evidence and Interpretation of Climate Change

Debra Reid, The Henry Ford, USA

Conversations about climate change usually link agriculture to greenhouse gas emissions (with confinement livestock operations and methane emissions as a common focus). Increasingly agriculture factors into GHG reduction efforts (carbon sequestration in rural and agricultural lands as an example). COP26 drew additional attention to agriculture broadly defined and rural specifically. Presentations as wide ranging as "AIM for Climate" and its emphasis on NGO and governmental funding of technological innovation, agro-ecology experts stressing localized ecosystem preservation and reclamation, and tradition bearers arguing for environmental justice indicate the variations. What can agricultural museums contribute as knowledge partners to learn about agriculture's role in environmental change historically and about agricultural contributions to the breaking point of 1950 (arguably the start of the Anthropocene)? Rural and agricultural museum collections document all degrees of the polarity between agriculture as a contributor to irreversible environmental degradation, organic as a carbon neutral opportunity, and as a solution to offset escalating GHG emissions. Historic evidence of rural and agricultural spaces prior to the industrial revolution confirm that agriculture is an unnatural act that changes the environment in various ways. Landscapes and the built environment serve as the largest artifacts. Floral and faunal remains document changes in plants and animals (biotechnology) over time and outside of natural evolution. Mechanical technologies and fossil fuel use – coal/steam, petroleum distillates/ internal combustion – increased during the Industrial Revolution but did not outpace the biosphere's ability to naturally sequester carbon emissions. This all changed by 1950. Agricultural museums can also tell this story through post-World War II bio and mechanical technologies. Museum collections also document the counter-efforts undertaken by ecologists, biologists, and environmentalists like Aldo Leopold, Rachel Carson, Wes Jackson, J. I. Rodale, among many others. Finally, museums of agriculture and rural life provide opportunities to engage the public in deep thinking about the systems that people created and perpetuated. Museums and other cultural institutions have the power to engage individuals in futures literacy, imaging the carbon-neutral or positive agricultural future needed to save the planet and its biosphere.

1.4.3. Sowing New Seeds in the Field of Applied History: The Role of Agricultural Museums in Community Food Security and Beyond

Peter Watson, Association of International Agricultural Museums

In 2020 as the COVID-19 pandemic heightened food and nutrition needs worldwide, many agricultural museums and historical farms shifted gears to help surrounding communities by raising and distributing crops for food banks, teaching skills in sustainability, and forging new partnerships with urban farm and garden projects. Their responses illustrate the contributions that museums can make in the field of applied history – where collections of tangible and intangible heritage, living plants and animals and other cultural assets have been used to advance adaptive research, community development, and strategies supporting ecological preservation and sustainable economies. This paper will explore the work of museums and historical farms that are using their facilities, collections and harvests to interpret and promote food security in their communities and beyond. While the examples are drawn from only a few of

the world's 95,000 museums, they speak to the opportunity of museums everywhere, to embrace missions that enable them serve the needs of the present and future, and to become leaders and advocates in the world of practical history.

1.4.4. The synergies of rural museums and researchers: MERL and FIELD

Abigail Woods, University of Lincoln, UK; Karen Sayer, Leeds Trinity University, UK

This paper examines the synergistic activities of the Museum of English Rural Life (The MERL), Reading, UK, and the inter-disciplinary research project known as FIELD. FIELD brings together a team of social scientists, historians, economists and epidemiologists to research how livestock disease is influenced by nature and culture, science and society, and the actions of humans and livestock. It focusses particularly on lameness and Bovine Viral Diarrhoea, which are two of the most important endemic livestock diseases in Britain today. The project has relied heavily on The MERL's collections of historical journals, grey literature, images and films, and has enhanced the last two through project-funded digitisation. Collections have been used as: – A research resource for investigating the history of BVD, lameness and their farming contexts post-1947, in ways that inform and are informed by the research of FIELD social scientists and modellers. – A resource for engaging diverse publics with these diseases, and with wider questions around the past, present and future of food and farming. This has involved the production of a FIELD website timeline and other physical and virtual events. – A stimulus to, and a space for engaging publics with socially-engaged artwork created by FIELD's three Artists in Residence. These three activities will be used to illustrate the multiple opportunities that rural museums offer for connecting past with present. We attribute the success of these activities not simply to the richness of The MERL's collections, and the skills of its curators and FIELD project researchers, but to the synergistic relationships between them. Close partnership working, based on trusted relationships that have evolved organically over the years, has enabled museum curators and academics to identify shared goals, and work together productively in achieving them and provide a platform of support to others.



Problems with the machine, c. 1910-1930.

1.5. Agricultural associations and state intervention in the European agriculture, from the late nineteenth century crisis to the Great Depression 1

Jordi Planas, University of Barcelona, Spain; Anton Schuurman, Wageningen University, Netherlands; Yves Segers, KU Leuven, Belgium

From the late nineteenth-century crisis there was a growing social mobilization in the European countryside, with the diffusion of agricultural associations (landowners associations, farmers unions, specialized crop producers' associations, cooperatives,...) that led to a much more organized rural society. The role of the state in agriculture also experienced a great transformation. The state intervention in agricultural markets expanded involving many areas: since the late nineteenth century, governments used not only trade policy to protect domestic markets, but they also introduced many regulations affecting quality, quantity and prices in domestic markets, and they promoted innovations to make agricultural producers more competitive. The First World War experiences made supportive farm policies much more needed and possible, and led to a general setback of free markets and a growing role of the state in agriculture. Already before the 1930s, the state got involved one way or another with the development of agriculture, but there were not only differences in policies, but also in management and organization, as well as in the role of associations as intermediary institutions between the state and the rural society and, especially, in the design and implementation of agricultural policies. In this double session panel, we would like to compare and discuss different experiences in Western Europe regarding the growing organisation of agriculture, looking at the changing role of the state and the interplay with agricultural associations and movements in a period (from the late nineteenth century to the Great Depression) when specific agricultural policies started to be implemented.

Chair & discussant: Yves Segers

1.5.1. The formation of agricultural governance: the interplay between state and civil society in European agriculture, 1870–1940

Jordi Planas, University of Barcelona, Spain; Anton Schuurman, Wageningen University, Netherlands; Yves Segers, KU Leuven, Belgium

In this paper, we focus on the relationship between state and agriculture in Europe in the period roughly from 1870 to 1940. Since the crisis of the late nineteenth-century, state intervention had increased into many areas of agricultural markets, and a growing social mobilization within the countryside had also made its mark, with the diffusion of agricultural associations that led to a much more organized rural society. Already prior to the 1930s, the state had become involved, one way or another, with the development of agriculture, such as the promotion of technical advancement, in the regulation of agricultural markets, and in the development of farm supportive policies. Throughout this period, agricultural associations played a growing role as intermediary institutions, and it is this period that we consider to be the formative period of this interplay between the state and agricultural civil society. The result was a metamorphosis from the mobilization of the peasantry and the representation of agrarian interests to a form of self-government or co-government of the agricultural sector at the national level, which reached its highest point only after the Second World War.

1.5.2. Dutch agricultural governance, 1870s – 1930s. Agricultural institutions and policies as an outcome of the co-evolution of state and civil society

Anton Schuurman, Wageningen University, Netherlands

Between the 1870s and 1930s in many countries the state got more or less involved with the agricultural sector as an answer to new challenges like globalisation, modernisation, urbanisation and population growth, industrialization and the birth of the labouring class. This involvement and these answers differed between countries. The shape of the involvement and answers depended on the structure of the economy, the process of state formation and nation-building, the national culture and the polarizing issues within society. In time the challenges were different too: the agricultural crisis of the 1880s, the First World War, the Great Depression called the given answers into question without always changing them. Specific for agricultural governance in the Netherlands was the leading role of agricultural civil society in the creation of an agricultural matrix. The Dutch agricultural matrix was in principle completed around 1900. It was composed of the farmers, their associations and cooperatives, the agricultural education and extension system, the farming-business, the financial sector and the department of agriculture. Dutch agricultural civil society and the state played both a role in its creation and in its each other's development. The agricultural crisis of the 1880s has been a kind of midwife for the birth of the Dutch agricultural matrix together with the political process of mobilizing the rural and urban population and the transition towards a more active government. This created an institutional environment strongly different from the first half of the nineteenth century. However, the agenda and direction of Dutch agriculture were the result of processes that had started before the 1880s. The structure, organisation, balance of power and rationale of the agricultural matrix changed over time. The First World War was not decisive for the direction of agricultural governance in the Netherlands, although the experience with its specific circumstances would play a role in the 1930s. It was the Great Depression of the 1930s that at the one hand challenged the construction of the Dutch agricultural matrix and at the other demonstrated how mature and powerful it had become.

1.5.3. Agricultural Policy in an Urban Economy: the UK, 1870–1940

Paul Brassley, University of Exeter, UK

The principal focus of this paper is upon explaining the response of the agricultural policy-makers of an urban industrialised country to international trading conditions and its own domestic circumstances as both evolved between 1870 and 1940. Much of the detail is concerned with England alone, although most agricultural policies related to the United Kingdom as a whole. The paper begins by pointing out that all European countries faced roughly the same developments in international trade, but that the UK was different from most continental European countries in the political dominance of urban areas, the economic importance of its manufacturing industries, the extent of emigration, and the structure of agriculture. Specifically, in comparison with other European countries, only a small proportion of the labour force worked on farms, and many farms were significantly bigger than those in other countries. Consequently there were several factors, explored in the paper, explaining the ineffectiveness of rural lobby groups in influencing policy until the rise in effectiveness of the National Farmers' Union in the 1930s. As a result, government actions on agricultural science and education were perhaps as significant as anything governments did to influence agricultural markets. The overall effect was that total agricultural output changed little, although there were changes in the output mix. Agricultural policy reflected the interests of the urban majority of the population.

1.5.4. Seeds of Knowledge and Organized Capitalism: Plant Improvement, the Modernizing State and the Evolution of Wheat Breeding in Switzerland, 1850–1930

Juri Auderset, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland

This contribution explores the interplay between the agricultural sciences, farmer wheat breeders and their associations and the modernizing State in Switzerland from the mid-19th century to the 1930s. In the second half of the 19th century, the twin challenges of industrialization and globalization led to crucial changes in agriculture that not only gave rise to new state-led institutions and private associations in the field of plant improvement and seed control, but also to new epistemic conflicts regarding the methods, aims and purposes of plant breeding and seed production. The development of wheat breeding in Switzerland provides an instructive example of how scientific approaches to plant improvement in the age of organized capitalism were increasingly shaped by an industrial culture of predictability, control and efficiency, especially in the aftermath of the rediscovery of Mendel's laws at the turn of the century; however, in Switzerland and parts of Germany and France, these approaches were also forced to grapple with an epistemic culture of peasant and farmer breeders whose conceptions of wheat and its role in the family economy and in the structure of agricultural production not always matched the imaginations and expectations of the scientific plant breeders and fitted only partially into the strategies of agricultural modernization conceived by the Federal State. The thus emerging negotiations and tensions, conflicts and collaborations not only shaped the interactions between scientifically trained, in state institutions employed agronomists and practical plant breeders, it also generated a possession-based, collective seed-regime which became a crucial element of agricultural modernization in the aftermath of World War I.

1.5.5. Agrarian associations and parties in Europe, 1870–1939: a global interpretation

Miguel Cabo, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain; Juan Pan-Montojo, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

From the 1870s onwards, diverse types of associations were born in different European countries. They introduced two new elements in comparison to the pre-existing agrarian associations: on the one hand, local associations that aimed at different types of economic cooperation multiplied, and, on the other, new agrarian lobbies characterised as associations came into being. The latter and the former were connected in various ways: local associations often were united in federations, whereas national associations tried to mediate the relationship of local associations with the State or promoted their creation. These associations developed throughout the first third of the 20th century and eventually reshaped rural society and the agricultural sector. In certain countries, they played a leading role in the birth of agrarian or peasant parties. However, it seems that in general terms these parties were born in places, where agrarian associations did not become efficient as intermediaries between agricultural interests and the government. A comparative analysis of the evolution of agrarian associations and agrarian parties before WW2 will be the centre of our paper.

1.6. Inequality and differentiation among medieval peasants 1

Antoni Furio, Universitat de Valencia, Spain; Phillipp Schofield, University of Aberystwyth, UK

Medieval peasants have often been seen as a homogeneous and amorphous block without fissures or internal distinctions. A social group characterized economically by backwardness and technical stagnation, by a lack of initiative and entrepreneurship, aversion to change and risk, and socially and politically by its antagonism with the manor block. Lords and peasants in an immobile, immutable, almost timeless environment. However, medievalists have been striving for a long time to break this cliché, to show that medieval peasants were not autarchic producers living outside of exchange mechanisms and oriented essentially to self-consumption, and therefore unable to lead processes of agrarian change and innovation but only responsive to the pressure of lords or merchants. These self-sufficient and isolated peasants, completely beyond the reach of the market and providing for only themselves, existed nowhere in the late Middle Ages, by which time processes of commercialisation were already evident in eleventh-century Western Europe. Recent studies, on the other hand, have highlighted not only peasant agency but also the existence of strong internal differences in the peasantry, produced by the process of economic growth begun in the tenth and eleventh centuries, almost at the very beginning of feudalism, and which increased from the thirteenth century with the development of the so-called process of commercialisation, studied mainly by English medievalists. Rodney Hilton was one of the first to talk about the immense differences in the size of peasant holdings, which in turn would reflect a clear social stratification, which would only increase in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. More than forty years ago Hilton published a seminal study on the "Reasons for inequality among medieval peasants", in which he warned, however, that the stratification of the medieval peasantry cannot be attributed only to the markets in land and agricultural products" and that "the complex interplay between land availability, technical progress, inheritance and endowment customs, demands for rent and tax and the resistance capacity of the peasants must also be examined". Subsequent literature (Miller and Hatcher, Hatcher and Bailey, Dyer, Britnell) has emphasized the importance of several factors, such as population growth, along with a divisible inheritance system, the peasant land market, differences in access to land and property rights over it, expansion of arable land, commercial development, and so on. On the other hand, the interest in inequality and its growth displayed in recent years by economists and historians, with works as important as those by Piketty, Milanovic or Alfani, has also led to an attempt to measure its significance and development in pre-industrial times, including the Middle Ages, but the focus has been mainly on large cities and towns, and less on the countryside. The purpose of this session is to return to the subject, to delve into the reasons for inequality among medieval peasants, applying both the tools developed by economic historians and the reflections of those medievalists who have never ceased working on the subject since Hilton directed their attention to it as significant and a worthy subject for analysis.

Chair: Phillipp Schofield

1.6.1. Peasant inequality and differentiation in Iberia before and after the Black Death

Antoni Furió, Universitat de València, Spain

During the Middle Ages, despite its similarities with the rest of Western Europe, Iberia had its own peculiarities, somewhat different, due to the process of conquest and colonization (badly called Reconquest) that characterized the long medieval centuries. The great territorial expansion of the Christian kingdoms of the north of the peninsula in the 13th century culminated in the annexation of the southern half, until then in the hands of the Muslims (al-Andalus). In order to make the Christian conquest irreversible a process of population replacement took place and the lands confiscated from the Muslims were distributed to the Christian settlers in more or less homogeneous family lots. These donations were recorded in the so-called Books of Distribution, made in the mid-thirteenth century and which form the “a quo” basis of this paper. In the following centuries, the combined action of various factors, mainly the inheritance system and the action of the land market, as well as both demographic and economic growth, increased internal inequalities among peasants, as shown by fiscal sources, in particular property and wealth records. The impact of the Black Death and the successive epidemics somewhat mitigated the process of peasant differentiation and stratification, since farmers were in some cases able to increase their holdings with the lands of their dead neighbours, while landless labourers benefited from the increase in agricultural wages. With the economic and demographic recovery in the fifteenth century, however, inequalities increased again as land and wealth were concentrated in the hands of the upper strata of the peasantry and other rural landowners. Although the bulk of my research focuses on the ancient kingdom of Valencia, on the Mediterranean coast of Iberia, other observatories on the peninsula, from Castile and Navarra to Aragon and Catalonia, will also be taken into account in order to be able to compare the indices of inequality (Gini index) and offer an explanation that takes into account both local and regional factors as well as the more general ones, including the common social and economic framework provided by the feudal order.

1.6.2. Agrarian systems and Economic Inequality across late medieval Tuscany (1427–1512): Sharecropping, Tenancy and Smallholding compared

Davide Cristoferi, Ghent University, Belgium

Recent studies on economic inequality have hitherto focused on measuring trends of distribution rather than testing potential explanatory factors. Among the latter, the role of agrarian system and property regime in shaping inequality have often been understudied despite large research on rural history. This paper explores the relation between economic inequality and agrarian systems by studying two villages (S. Giovanni in Petroio and Rifredi) in the territory of Florence between 1427 and 1512. This area was characterised by the development of a peculiar sharecropping system (mezzadria) driven by urban investment between 13th–20th c. Such development boosted after the Black Death of 1348, when scholars have observed an increasing proletarianisation (and less differentiation) among peasants. Besides, however, other lease-holding contracts survived together with small peasant property according to distance from cities and markets, soil quality and morphology, peasants expropriations of private and collective property, the socio-economic profile of the landlord. By selecting those villages according to the prevalent property regime, this paper aims to compare at cross-sectional and longitudinal level the impact on socio-economic inequality of a) sharecropping and b) tenancy. In fact, each lease-holding system could provide different level of formal and informal differentiation among peasantry. In this regard, inequality will be measured through quantitative analyses on proxies such as wealth concentration (Gini and Theil indexes), property distribution, estimated wheat consumption and access to resources such as land, credit and oxen. In addition, also the supplementary role of smallholding in integrating tenants' agricultural rents within the two main lease-holding systems will be explored. All these proxies will be examined within each village society and between rural and Florentine landlords to take into account the influence of urban investment on inequality and differentiation among peasants. In this regard, the Florentine fiscal surveys of 1427 and 1512 provide in total comparable information for over 700 rural inhabitants and 300 Florentine landlords for the villages under study. The analyses, furthermore, will be done a) per village and b) per period in order to control for difference among territories and sources and to observe the relation between agrarian systems and economic inequality after the Black Death in the long-run.

1.7. Heritages of Rural Hunger: Comparative European Perspectives

Marguérite Corporaal, Radboud University, Netherlands; Ingrid De Zwarte, Wageningen University, Netherlands; Lindsay Janssen, Radboud University, Netherlands; Peter Gray, Queen's University Belfast, UK

Rural infrastructures and communities play a significant role in the histories of modern European famines; often as areas which were worst affected by hunger because of blight, weather circumstances or collectivization, such as the west of Ireland during the Great Famine of 1845–50 the Andalusian countryside during the años del hambre (1939–53) or the grain-growing areas in Soviet Ukraine in 1932–33. Conversely, rural areas also served as places of refuge from famines, or as regions from which relief could be obtained. During the famine in Axis-occupied Greece (1941–44), mortality increases were higher in towns than in rural areas, where many people would still own small plots of land. During the Dutch Hunger Winter of 1944–45, people from the urbanized western Netherlands went on food expeditions to farmers in the North and East, while famished children were evacuated from the cities to these rural regions, thereby increasing their chances for survival (De Zwarte 2016, 2020). In light of this, it is not remarkable that rural Europe is central to the heritage practices and cultural legacies of these periods of starvation. Naar de Boeren! (To the Farmers!) at the Dutch Resistance Museum in Amsterdam (2015) and the Doagh Famine Village heritage centre in Ireland are among many examples of how rural history informs famine heritage. This panel brings together a wide array of disciplines and primary research matter on the rural dimensions of hunger. Against a background of predominantly nation-based approaches to heritage and education, it innovatively seeks the overarching, European perspective the case studies from Spain, Finland, Ireland and the Netherlands comparatively offer. Together these papers will analyse recurring tropes and frames through which the rural dimensions of European famine pasts have been remediated in the past century. The papers will investigate representations of the rural world in contexts of famine in educational textbooks, heritage initiatives and curation practices as well as filmic heritage.

Chair & discussant: Peter Gray

1.7.1. Curating Irish Cottages: Representing Famine Rural Communities in Heritage Practices

Marguérite Corporaal, Radboud University, Netherlands; Jason King, National Famine Museum, Ireland

One of the recurring images in news coverage of Ireland's Great Famine (1845–49) at the time was that of the desolate tenant farmer's cottage. Travel accounts, such as G.G. Boyle and Lord Dufferin's Narrative of a Journey from Oxford to Skibbereen (1847) describe the utterly cheerless homes of the peasantry with their “walls [...] bare, the floor of mud, and not a vestige of furniture”. Illustrations made by, amongst others, James Mahoney for the Illustrated London News or featuring in the Pictorial Times give expression to the extreme domestic destitution of the starving tenantry. These images—such as “Mullins's Hut at Scull” (ILN, 20 Feb. 1847) picture dark, ill-ventilated hovels with little furniture, where inmates crouch among their cattle or lie dying on heaps of straw. In fact, the dire living conditions of the rural Irish had been a frequent topic of (imperialist) critique in pre-Famine years, but this public outraged intensified during the years of hunger as families unable to pay their rent were evicted from their cabins by landlords or their agents. In light of the centrality of the cottage to representations as well as cultural recollections of the Great Famine in politics, arts and literature, it is not remarkable that cottages have become central to current heritage

practices surrounding the Famine in the Republic of Ireland as well as Northern Ireland. Furthermore, events like the Great Famine have left few material traces in Ireland's rural landscape, and heritage makers are therefore facing the challenge of transmitting these legacies to new generations without being able to resort to many artefacts or material remnants. This paper will research these challenges faced by heritage makers in bringing to life rural Famine Ireland, by examining representations of rural communities during the Famine in museum and curation practices, with a focus on the role of rural cottages. On the basis of case studies from both sides of the border, this paper will address issues of materiality, poverty, and local memory. These case studies include the Irish Agricultural Museum with the replica cabin at Johnstown Castle, the Meenagarragh's Cottier's House in the Ulster Folk Park, An Bothán (recreation of a famine mud cabin) erected on the University College Cork campus for the 2018 National Famine Commemoration, and the Museum of Country Life in Castlebar.

1.7.2. Frames of hunger: The years of hunger in Spanish cinema

Miguel Angel Del Arco Blanco, University of Granada, Spain; Gloria Román Ruiz, Radboud University/NIOD Institute, Netherlands

The 'Spanish Famine' (1939–1941) was silenced by the Francoist regime. After the death of Franco, the existence of the famine remained unrevealed. Even the "Movement for the Recovery of the Historical Memory" did not reclaim the recovery or remembrance of the victims of the deaths due to the socioeconomic depression provoked by the 'New State' autarkic policies. However, the memory of the "years of hunger" (1939–1951) lie in the frames of the Spanish movies and documentaries appeared after the death of the "Caudillo" in November 1975. This paper delves in the films edited from 1975 to today that deal explicitly or implicitly with the harsh socioeconomic conditions of the post-war years. It focuses in the representation of the rural world, essential to understand the development, consequences and memory of the famine. Through movies, we will approach to the study of the memory of the Spanish Famine. We will demonstrate how was represented and how was silenced, until it gradually appeared in the films of Spanish directors, especially when the financial crisis of 2008 connected the present with Spain's darkest past.

1.7.3. Memorialising Famine Landscapes: A comparative approach from the Irish Great Famine and the Finnish Great Hunger Years

Andrew Newby, University of Jyväskylä, Finland; Charley Boerman, Radboud University, Netherlands

In contrast to the Great Irish Famine of the 1840s, Finland's Great Hunger Years – two decades after the Irish catastrophe – have been referred to as a "forgotten famine". Indeed, it has been suggested that the Finnish people have suffered collective "amnesia" over this period of their history. And yet, fieldwork since 2015 has revealed the presence over one hundred memorials, widely distributed throughout those areas of rural Finland that suffered the highest mortality during the 1860s. This paper deals with one of the most significant concentrations of these memorials, found along the so-called "Skeleton Track", the railway that was built as relief work between Riihimäki and St. Petersburg, between 1867 and 1870. The construction of the railroad was employed as a relief work scheme to combat the poverty and hunger of "Europe's second-to-last major peacetime subsistence crisis": Finland's 'Great Hunger Years' of the 1860s. Ultimately however, the relief works led to a spike in local mortality rates. These sites were often unmarked 'no-places' that fell into disuse, until local initiatives erected memorials and monumentalized these rural sites. While the Irish famine roads are remembered as "colonial" relief policies administered during the catastrophe, "constrained less by poverty than by ideology and public opinion", the Finnish relief works (including canals, roads and smaller local projects in addition to the railway) were developed under "home rule" by the same people who later developed the national narrative of the famine. This different understanding of the relief works has led to a different contextualisation of these famines sites. How is this visible in the 'interpretive signs', plaques, and other markers? How are sites of mass graves memorialised or recovered? In this paper, we will focus on the memorialization of these sites specifically and the role rural, haunted landscapes play in famine remembrance more broadly.

1.7.4. Narrativising the Great Irish Famine (1845–50): Landlords and Tenants in Recent Educational Materials from Ireland and the UK

Lindsay Janssen, Radboud University, Netherlands

The school system is one of the key avenues through which "official state memory is disseminated"; as such, educational materials designed in response to national curricula function as important tools for collective identity construction. This paper analyses representations of the Great Irish Famine in recent textbooks and accompanying educational materials geared to primary- and secondary-school students in Ireland and the United Kingdom. Existing scholarship analyses the representation of the Famine in older textbooks used in Ireland, the UK, and Northern Ireland specifically; this paper contributes by analysing very recent publications and by adopting a comparative approach. During the Famine, rural Ireland was highly stratified, and the Famine impacted all layers of rural society. While (earlier) nationalist accounts tended to simplify the Famine period, recent revisionist scholarship has provided a much more complex image which acknowledges that not all Irish were equally impacted by the Famine, and some even profited from it. It shows that rather than limiting our thinking in terms of victims and perpetrators of the Famine, it would be more fruitful to add the third term "implicated subjects": those who, without being "direct agents of harm", "contribute to, inhabit, inherit, or benefit from regimes of domination". From this more complex position, this paper provides a narrative analysis of educational materials. It focuses on the representation of rural subjects – landlords, tenants, labourers – and social hierarchies, and their narrativisation in larger historical narratives about the Great Famine and its long-term effects on Irish society, politics, nationalism, and the Irish diaspora. Textbooks, especially for the primary level, have to provide simplified narratives, but what is the effect of such alterations? Is rural Irish society of the Famine period, with its complex class hierarchy and system of land ownership, presented in generalised terms which might fuel polarisation, or do textbooks individuate rural subjects and foster a more complex understanding?



The harvester, 1926.

1.8. Transforming the Hinterland. Labour Relations and Livelihood Options in European Forestry and Timber Trade, ca. 1700 to 1950

Rita Garstenauer, Institute of Rural History, Austria; Iva Lucic, Uppsala University, Sweden

From the early 18th Century, when increased demand of wood and perceived threats of wood shortage drove innovation in European forestry, up to the mid 20th Century, when combustion engine technology became standard in timber harvest and transport, the industry fundamentally relied on human labour. Harvest and especially transport required both physical strength as well as practical know-how, opening up a livelihood opportunity for the socially and economically deprived members of rural societies. The introduction of a new academic forestry regime according to the principle of sustainability and, in contrast, attempts of pushing the “frontier” of timber extraction to new, supposedly pristine forests were two distinct approaches that shaped the labour relations and related livelihood options in the forest industry. Moreover, these developments also resulted in major social transformations. The labour intensive forest and timber industries promoted mobility of the workers on a regional scale and beyond. While lumbering crews moved through larger consecutive areas according to the spatial patterns of management, supra-regional networks of governance, ownership and trade opened long-distance pathways for labour migration: forest owners with estates in geographically distinct areas might move their well-trying lumbering crews from one site to another; crews of young workers might seek contracts in lumbering campaigns abroad; internationally active lumber trading companies might hire workforce at one site of their economic activities and transfer them to another; and finally transportation, for a long time via waterways, moved the rafters together with the commodities over long distances. To be sure, lumber work was hard physical labour, for low pay, and with a high risk of injury and premature death. But it did connect members of otherwise marginalized strata of rural societies with a network of supra-regional economic activity that had a potentially dynamic effect on the local communities. In this session, we intend to compare case studies for the impact of forest labour on rural societies during the formative period of modern forestry and lumber trade from areas with large scale forestry across European divides. We strive for new insights on the forest and timber industries as agents of rural social transformation.

Chair: Federico D’Onofrio

Discussant: Amalia Ribic Forclaz, Graduate Institute Geneva, Switzerland

1.8.1. A game of carrot and stick? Labour relations in state-owned forestry of the late Habsburg Empire

Rita Garstenauer, Institute of Rural History, Austria

When Habsburg state-owned forestry was institutionalized by creating a separate directorate within the Ministry of Agriculture in 1872, there were two major categories of forest estates that formed the core of the monarchy’s forest property. The larger part consisted of forests in the property of the sovereign, which were dedicated for the fuelwood and timber needs of equally state-owned industries of salt or metal mining and processing. A smaller, but considerable part consisted of the property of the religious fund – an institution that was dedicated for the finances of the church, comprising, among other, forest property of monasteries abolished under Joseph II. The two types of property were managed differently regarding forest labour: While the administrations managing the religious fund forests

got along by employing members of the resident peasant population on day or piece wages, risking occasional labour shortage, the forests of the mining districts relied on stable supply of wood and hence had an interest in maintaining a skilled, healthy and well-fed resident workforce, who managed the complex tasks of wood-cutting and transporting independently and took care of the knowledge transfer to the next generation among their own offspring. As an incentive, some state-owned forest estates created a complex hierarchy of seniority and skill, which granted access to privileges like provisioning for the aged or in case of illness and injury, as well as subsidized food provision. The relevant threshold was entering the status of stable workmanship after several years of service. However, being stable did not mean to hold a full-time, all-year contract. The employers feared that the self-organized lumbermen might gain too much autonomy and bargaining power and limited the opportunity for regular wage labour to a given number of days per year. During the rest of the year, the lumbermen engaged in piece-wage contracts or searched employment with other forest owners, they ran small businesses or farms. Labour mobility, both short and long distance, also served to fill the gap of unpaid workdays. This paper discusses the mobilizing as well as restrictive potential of forest labour, comparing examples from Upper Austria, Styria and Carnolia, based on statistical material collected by the Ministries of Agriculture and Trade between 1880 and 1900.

1.8.2. Migrant Bodies on the Move: Work, Lifestyle and Health among the Vistula Raftsmen in the 19th Century

Jawad Daheur, National Center of Scientific Research, France

Timber rafting is a transportation method in which logs are tied together into rafts and drifted down a river. In the 19th century, this practice used to be common in many parts of the world, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. Having a 1,047 kilometers length and a drainage-basin area of about 194,000 km², the Vistula river flowed through three states, i. e. the German, Austrian and Russian Empires. Wooden structures of up to 200 to 300 meters moved along the river, carrying a large number of staff, mostly recruited in the Austrian and Russian provinces. Every year, up to 20,000 or 30,000 raftsmen drifted the rafts to Germany on journeys that could last from several weeks to several months. Most of them were small peasants in search of a complementary livelihood opportunity to the cultivation of their land, which was often unproductive. Once the woods delivered, they returned home on foot, by train or steamboat. Although this occupation required experience and practical know-how, it was low paid and presented a high risk of illness, injury or premature death. In this presentation, I would like to explore the working and living conditions of the Vistula raftsmen through the length of the pressures which were put on their bodies during the trip. Several topics will be addressed to this end: the daily work involving among other things a high musculoskeletal risk and sometimes accidents; the housing conditions offering little protection against humidity and natural elements; a diet that was often poorly varied and insufficient, leading to malnutrition and health problems; the bad hygienic conditions that facilitated the circulation of diseases, especially cholera. Based on a large corpus of historical sources, including ethnographical and medical literature from the 19th century, the presentation strives for new insights on timber-related working experiences by opening a dialog between the history of rafting and the history of body, sanitary conditions and the natural environment.

1.8.3. The role of forestry for the landless population and the Industrial Revolution in rural Germany

Florian Probst, University of Münster, Germany

In some areas, Germany is still characterised by large, contiguous forest and woodland areas. The relevance of forestry is also reflected in the early modern account books of noble estates: next to agriculture, forestry caused the greatest expenditure. At the same time, the sale of wood and processed wood products generated large revenues. My paper will show what role forestry played for rural workers. This is done through local micro analyses based on the account books of manors from all over Germany. These rural estates not only had large forest areas, but were also the

largest employers in the region. The work in the forest was mostly done by a forester and some servants who were supported by a large number of day labourers. To investigate the forestry on these estates, wages of different types of labour contracts from the period 1570 to 1930 are gathered and interpreted by means of statistical methods. Further information on the organisation of the forestry industry and the payment of individual workers will be obtained from work contracts, instructions and work diaries. This can also answer the question of whether the increasing demand for wood from the early 18th century onwards was also reflected in the wood output of noble estates. First results observe large regional differences in the question whether this increased demand was reflected in the wood output. There are also regional differences in the results with regard to mobility. In most areas of Germany, mainly local workers from a maximum distance of 50km were employed. Although the labour supply in the forestry industry is characterised by seasonality, exogenous effects such as the weather or political crises play only a minor role. This provided a certain degree of planning security for day labourers who were able to earn a steady basic income from their day labour in the forestry. If there was a noble estate near the workers that operated a large timber industry, this encouraged the establishment of landless households that lived from day labour alone. The analysis of the timber industry in Germany primarily by means of wage data closes a gap in the understanding of migration, urbanisation and above all the development of a landless working class, which was to become of great importance for the Industrial Revolution.



Timber floating, 1967.

1.9. Cheese and dairy products in the Mediterranean area (13th–16th centuries)

Frederic Aparisi, Universitat de València, Spain; Fabian Kümmeler, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Particularly in the Mediterranean area, little is known about the production and the trade of secondary products such as leather, honey, wood, pine nuts, or cheese. This session thus focuses on a particular topic of the aforementioned ones, the production of cheese and dairy products in different regions of Mediterranean Europe. We seek to determine the regional areas of specialization and the networks of commercialization. Related to that, we would like to outline the distribution routes both overland and by sea, and what as trade and the return route. Furthermore, we are interested in studying the integration of local productions and importations in local contexts. In other words, we want to study supply and demand related to cheese. But beyond this economic analysis, we are also interested in the social perspective of the producers. Basically: Who were they? Were they the shepherds themselves or did the shepherds sell the milk to specialized producers? And how many people did exist between the producer and the consumer? These and other questions this session seeks to answer.

Chair & discussant: Fabian Kümmeler

1.9.1. The cheese market in medieval Venice

Nicola Carotenuto, University of Oxford, UK

While luxury products have been traditionally widely studied, mundane goods have been routinely neglected by the studies on medieval trade. In this paper we will discuss the market of cheese in medieval Venice, and how this product was imported into the city through local, regional and international trade, from places as far as Crete and as near as Friuli. The case study of Venice will be particularly useful to understand the circulation of bulky commodities, focusing on the different varieties of cheese and on their diffusion among patricians and normal citizens alike. The case of cheese proves how the same product could be imported from different areas and how dairy products played a crucial role in the trade of medieval Venice. The three dimensions of trade coexisted together. On the one hand cheese was imported from nearby Friuli, where it was produced and whence it was imported thanks to Venetian middlemen, who profited handsomely from this trade, and who usually acted as first buyers rather than producers and sellers at the same time. At a regional and inter regional level, cheese from the south of Italy and Croatia was one of the product imported massively on round ships, especially within the frame of cabotage. At a Mediterranean level the import of cheese from the Levant, such as Crete, shows how bulky commodities were crucial products which did play a role comparable to that of spices in medieval trade. Focusing on two case studies from the 14th century we will try to describe the cheese merchant, underlining the huge amount of this product which was imported to the city of Saint Mark and how important it was for the coastal trade with round ships operated by private traders rather than with the state galleys. Food consumption is the key to understand the role of cheese in Venetian society and the final part of this paper will peruse the use and meaning of dairy products in the city of Saint Mark. In conclusion, in this paper we will analyse the mechanics of cheese trade, its consumption in medieval Venice and the meaning and use of cheese in the context of late medieval Venice, with particular reference to the 14th century. An analysis of two case studies will also highlight the characteristics of cheese traders of the lagoon city.

1.9.2. Formazzo morlacco: the cheese that became an identity feature. Aspects of the Morlach commerce with shepherding products (14th to 16th centuries)

Dana Caciur, Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, Bucharest, Romania

The Morlachs of Dalmatia, as referred to in Venetian documents from the 15th century onwards, are usually defined as heterogeneous and extremely mobile population of Vlach origin. The most popular feature attributed to them is their shepherding lifestyle, which is closely connected with the 'Vlach identity', as far as this term can be used for this extremely mobile group that rarely identifies itself in an ethnical manner. Nevertheless, the products resulted from the sheep breeding became a trade mark for the Morlachs on the markets of the Venetian Dalmatia. Together with different quantities of wool, meat and animals (sheep, rams, lambs, etc.) the cheese found an interesting place among the rural products sold to the merchants that crossed the Adriatic toward Venice, but not only. My paper aims to emphasize few aspects of this commerce with Morlach cheese. Firstly, I will shortly present some of the specifics of its production and also its connection with the Vlach cheese, very appreciated at the noble tables of Byzantium. Secondly, I will present the terms of its inclusion on the Dalmatian markets and the regulations for its sale. Thirdly, the presentation will suggest some of the ways in which the Morlach cheese left Dalmatia, stressing over the fact that it was a product sold by the Dalmatian merchants and that it differentiated from the cheese produced by the other shepherds of Dalmatia. The paper will also discuss one register from the State archives of Zadar, Croatia, containing the export permits (*licentia*) issued during the years 1576 and 1576, pointing out the Morlachs cheese, its buyers, the quantities and its destination. Like many other features and aspects specific for the Morlachs the cheese commerce contributes to their identification and to the understanding of the changes met by these people during the centuries.

1.9.3. Cheese production and trade in Medieval Valencia

Frederic Aparisi, Universitat de València, Spain

This paper analyses the cheese sector in the kingdom of Valencia in the late middle ages. Until now, no specific research on this topic has been carried out. So we know very little about this economic activity. Based on notarial records and customs registries of the Generalitat, this presentation seeks to determine, firstly, the features of the local production of cheese. Secondly, it will depict the international trade of cheese in Valencia (origins of the cheese, presence of international or local merchants, and the channels of distribution). Finally, it will study cheese consumption, trying to determine the role played by local production and international trade to satisfy the demand.

1.10. Creating a New Peasant: Nation-Building, Modernist Discourses, and the Re-making of Rural Subjects in Interwar East Central Europe

Isidora Grubački, Central European University, Hungary; Vojtech Pojar, Central European University, Czech Republic; Lucija Balikić, Central European University, Croatia; Christopher Wendt, European University Institute, USA

Following the collapse of the old continental empires during the "long" First World War (1912–1923), the space of East Central Europe was fragmented into several small or medium-sized states. From Poland to Yugoslavia, from Czechoslovakia to Romania, the states of East Central Europe were pronouncedly agrarian and managed large rural populations. Seeking to reinforce their legitimacy and resilience in a time of increased uncertainty, these states embraced modernizing agendas. Yet, the modernity they wished to create was often to be produced in the rural spaces. Frequently linked to the nationalist and nationalizing discourses that located the pure core of the imagined nation in the peasantry, the modernizing agendas of these states thus focused to an important extent on rural populations. In our session, we explore the strategies of various social and political actors in interwar East Central Europe who sought to appropriate these agendas and modernize the rural communities. In his classic book on rural modernization, Eugene Weber famously explored how peasants turned into Frenchmen. Unlike Weber, however, this session does not approach individuals and their experiences as pre-existing or self-enclosed, but rather views them as plastic subjects shaped by various discourses. Drawing on this Foucauldian assumption, and on the methods of intellectual and social history, the session engages with the impact of modernist discourses and initiatives on rural subjectivity. Ranging from feminist education to mass gymnastics, and from eugenics to religious modernism, we analyse the multiple ways in which actors located in various contexts embraced these discourses and adapted them to diverse ideologies. Reversing Weber's question, our session thus explores how the citizens of the newly emerged or expanded states of interwar East Central Europe were molded into new, modern rural subjects. Space is another central analytical category of our session. We explore the strategies employed to shape rural subjects by looking at the historical processes from below and emphasizing the local dynamics that involved a wide variety of state and non-state actors. This perspective from below will reveal the presence of resistance, negotiation, and ambiguity, and, at the same time, show how nation building worked on the local level, co-opting various groups and delegating parts of the state's responsibilities to them. The session will thus show the emergence of rural modernity in East Central Europe as a complex, negotiated process.

Chair: Jernej Kosi, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
Discussant: Jakub Benes, University College London, UK

1.10.1. Expert Knowledge, Rural Spaces and The Making of Post-Imperial Subjects in Interwar East Central Europe

Vojtech Pojar, Central European University, Hungary

In the aftermath of the First World War, several empires in the Eurasian space collapsed, including the empire ruled by the Habsburgs. In the states that replaced it, various actors launched campaigns that strove to transform their subjects' bodies and minds. My paper argues that the chief aim of these biopolitical initiatives was to create what I will call the "post-imperial subject". While the competing visions of this subject served various political agendas, they all came with a promise that this transformed wo/man would shed away the undesirable legacies of the Habsburg past. The imperial legacies were thus imagined as embodied and medicalized, inviting the intervention of interdisciplinary networks of experts including eugenicists, racial anthropologists, architects, and sociologists. Due to the pronouncedly rural character of most post-Habsburg spaces, I contend, the rural populace became a prime site of these biopolitical interventions. To substantiate my argument, the proposed paper will compare three attempts of eugenicists in Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, respectively, to shape the post-imperial subjects in the rural setting by constructing specialized rural health centers. My paper will thus connect the recent research on model rural communities in interwar Europe with new imperial history and the history of eugenics.

1.10.2. "Improving the village on Yugoslav terms": Sokol organizations' spread to the village in the 1930s

Lucija Balikic, Central European University, Czech Republic

The Sokol ("falcon") started in the early 1860s as grassroots, pan-Slavic, national-liberal movement, equally pertaining to mass gymnastics and nation-building. While initially focused on the betterment of the position of Slavic nationalities within Austria-Hungary, it eventually acquired a neo-Slavic and integral nationalist ideology around the turn of century. The movement rapidly spread from Czech lands towards other distinctly Slavic provinces within Austria-Hungary and beyond, primarily in Russian Empire and the newly formed post-Ottoman Balkan states. Before WW1, there was a number of markedly massive, transnational gatherings of Sokol delegations in various cities of Austria-Hungary. These slets were nominally about the importance and benefits of massive gymnastics, but were de facto about showcasing the numerous, healthy bodies that represent Slavic political and physical power across imperial boundaries. After the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, the movement was appropriated by the successor states and transformed into partially state-sponsored massive organizations, to which the state delegated many of its functions, primarily those of social and biopolitical character. In the particular case of the interwar Yugoslavia, the membership of the Sokol organization was markedly urban, educated, left leaning and consisted of both women and men. However, the hierarchical mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion can neatly be analyzed on the example of national and religious minorities, such as Germans, Hungarians, Jews and Roma, many of which were explicitly banned from joining and were often perceived as enemies of Slavdom and the newly formed state alike. One of the most persistent interwar debates inside the Sokol movement was the one about permeating and improving the Yugoslav villages. In their words, the goal was to "reduce the difference between the city and the village" and use the rural population to ensure the "survival of the nation". After the royal dictatorship was established in 1929, Sokol became an unofficial state institution and gained a lot of funding to penetrate the village and bring both social reforms, as well as the state ideology. In practice, Sokol's main functions in the rural areas was to improve the level of literacy, hygienic and health conditions, agricultural infrastructure and practices. This presentation will thus explore both the ideological and scientific basis for this type of approach, primarily that of integral and paligenetic nationalism, corporativism, modernist social reformism and eugenics. Moreover, an outline of the most relevant practices will be given and analyzed, and their achievements evaluated.

1.10.3. Re-Christianizing the "Holy Land": Consolidating Catholic Authority in Rural Austrian Tyrol after the Great War

Christopher Wendt, European University Institute, USA

The end of the First World War in Tyrol brought not only the collapse of Habsburg rule and the loss of the southern part of the region to Italy, but also shaken trust in one of the province's greatest sources of pre-war authority, the Catholic Church. The early interwar period, extending into the 1920s, thus became a period of reconsolidation for the church and its agents in Austrian Northern Tyrol, expressed in religious, social, and political life. Much of the process of "re-Christianization" was directed at Tyrol's largely rural population and included reinvigorating religious practices—such as holding missions, organizing processions and pilgrimages, and founding local confraternities—that were interrupted by the war, and could be seen as an attempted return to earlier traditions. Indeed, as the head of the Apostolic Administration established for North Tyrol and Vorarlberg after the war, Sigismund Waitz, exhorted many of his parish priests, the defense of rural congregations from the penetration of any "modern," outside influences was of utmost importance. Tyrolean villages, recovered from their wartime troubles, were to remain the oases of faithful flocks to a paternalistic Catholic Church. At the same time, while elevating the timelessness of rural Tyrol, many of the methods favored by Waitz and his compatriots in "re-Christianizing" North Tyrol show how modernity had nevertheless arrived in the countryside—and how its instruments were being harnessed by the church. At the regional and local level, church agents deployed new forms of media, updated and reworked religious rituals, and introduced ambitious lay organizations, like Catholic Action, in their bid to shore up their place in local life. Not all of these initiatives were immediately successful or well received, and instances of local resistance (or apathy) to ecclesiastical efforts show how official prescriptions of religion continued to be contested across the period. Furthermore, the church's activism played out against the background of conditions that complicated its agenda: ongoing material and economic crisis, the aforementioned political division of Tyrol, and a rising Anschluss movement calling for the region to be joined to Germany pulled Tyrolean villagers in different directions. Navigating these complexities, I draw on diocesan and parish records to illuminate the church's mission to shape rural loyalties in early interwar Austrian Tyrol. Ultimately, I mean to show how the church's seemingly dominant place in post-war society rested on much more than the complacency of rural faithful in the so-called "Holy Land" of Tyrol.

1.10.4. Feminist Politics and Social Change in the Rural Context: the Case of Yugoslavia in the 1930s

Isidora Grubački, Central European University, Hungary

In interwar Yugoslavia, the women's and feminist movement became increasingly present in the public sphere, remaining to a large extent active in urban centres of the Kingdom, and focusing mainly on the issues such as suffrage rights, social work, and the elimination of discriminatory laws. However, as Yugoslavia was predominantly a peasant country, feminist and other women activists also took action in the peasant context, aiming to educate and influence peasant women. In this way, like various other political parties, social movements, and experts, they aimed to contribute to generating social change. Researching women's and feminist interwar activism and politics oriented towards peasant women is not only meaningful, but arguably key to understanding the relationship different forms of feminism could take in East Central European region with the predominantly peasant populations in the first half of 20th century. In order to contribute to our knowledge about the dynamics of the relationship between feminist activists and peasant women, this essay will explore the ways various women's and feminist approaches to the 'peasant woman question' corresponded with broader agrarian ideologies and peasantist movements intervening in the rural context in the name of modernity and progress. The presentation will use archival and published sources related to the women's and feminist movement in Belgrade and Ljubljana, primarily focusing on the journals *Seljanka* (Peasant Woman, 1933–1935) and *Kmečka žena* (Peasant Woman, 1937–1941). As the two journals were published in Belgrade and in Ljubljana, the paper will additionally aim to offer a comparative perspective on these two interwar Yugoslav centers.

1.10.5. Photography and Power. Peasants and Visibility Politics in Interwar Poland

Agata Koprowicz, University of Warsaw, Poland

In 1918, after Poland regained independence, the peasants faced a new challenge – so far they had fought for their rights against “masters”, now they had a chance to co-create the reborn state. Their struggle to be recognized as a political entity often took the form of efforts to redefine the visual sphere. They fought with monuments, clothes, spectacles, and finally – photography. In the interwar period, it was quite popular in the countryside, although it was reserved for special occasions. Photography was a rather new practice for the villagers, because it came “from the outside”, from the “masters”. It was the social elite that had so far produced the images of peasants, often using them to achieve their political goals. I argue that only in the interwar period the peasants dealt with this heritage. It was then that they attempted to create their own iconographic code, then they “took over” the camera and changed the tool of subordination into a tool of emancipation. In my paper I intend to focus on the photographs of the most important moment in the struggle for the political visibility of the peasantry in the interwar period – the Great Peasant Uprising of 1937. Several million people took part in it, not only Polish, but also Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants. The outbreak of the strike was caused by the Great Depression and the unsuccessful land reform, the increasing scale of violence used by the government, which was accused of persecuting people’s activists and introducing a dictatorship. Photography in this case was used as a tool for legitimizing peasants’ political claims. They protested all over Poland, and in many towns there were bloody clashes with the police, which were documented in pictures. Protesters in various villages photographed themselves with the bodies of those murdered by the army to mobilize others to fight for their rights. However, the fight with images was unequal – information about the strike was censored in the press, so it was even more important for the peasant communities to photograph the victims so that future generations would remember them and bring the perpetrators to account. In my paper I will analyze the ambiguity of symbols used by peasants in their struggle. In addition, I will investigate how and for what purpose the peasants created bottom-up representations of the strike, and I will compare them with the descriptions of the strike created by the ruling politicians.



Man feeding chickens at The School of Agriculture, Ultuna, Uppsala, 1965.

SESSION 2 • MONDAY 20 JUNE • 11:30–13:30

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
2.1. Historical forms of sustainability – collective forests and pastures since 1600 in a European perspective 2 Martin Stuber	2.1.1. Social and Ecological Sustainability – The Utilization of Forest Commons in Seventeenth Century Northern Finland Jakob Starlander	2.1.2. Forbid to Survive. The Collective Woods of Carnia (16th–18th Centuries) Stefano Barbacetto	2.1.3. Reconstructing sustainability in the long term. Laíño (Galicia): from historical and community relevance to abandonment David Fontán Bestilleiro			2:1 Room 1
2.2. A biophysical and socioeconomic perspective of Agricultural Growth on both sides of the Atlantic in the 19th and 20th centuries 2 Manuel González-de-Molina	2.2.1. Agriculture transformations within the Agri-Food System in Spain: an input-output approach (1980–2016) Noelia Parajuá Carpintero	2.2.2. The industrialization of agriculture in Spain and Ecuador: Preliminary results of a comparative analysis of agrarian metabolism. Laura Saura Gargallo	2.2.3. Extractivism in Agroecosystems: Energy Efficiency and Sustainability of Colombian 20th Century Agriculture Alexander Urrego-Mesa			2:2 Room 2
2.3. 'Secondary products': Production, consumption and trade of the forgotten goods of pre-modern Europe Alexandra Sapoznik	2.3.1. Feeding capitalism and facing its consequences? Upland pastoralism and dairying in the north of Europe, c.1350–1850 Eugene Costello	2.3.2. Fruit production and trade in early-modern southern Poland Piotr Miodunka	2.3.3. Routes of honey in the Mediterranean (1370–1440). The international trade of a sweetener Lluís Sales Favà			2:3 Room 3
2.4. Agrarian politics in early 20th-century Europe and beyond: new comparative and transnational perspectives 1 Lucian George	2.4.1. Peasant Violence and Interwar Agrarianism: Poland and Croatia in the aftermath of the First World War Jakub Benes	2.4.2. Identical roots?: comparing the origins of agrarian reforms in the Mediterranean world and their impacts Sergio Riesco Roche	2.4.3. The social origins of democracy in Sweden: the role of agrarian politics Erik Bengtsson	2.4.4. Greedy farmers versus workshy workers: urban-rural moral competition and the shadow of WWI in the politics of interwar Czechoslovakia Lucian George		2:4 Room 4
2.5. Agricultural associations and state intervention in the European agriculture, from the late nineteenth century crisis to the Great Depression 2 Jordi Planas	2.5.1. The time of comices. A moment in the interplay State-societies Nadine Vivier	2.5.2. Livestock improvement, knowledge networks and the participation of farmers in Belgium, 1910–1940. A perspective from below Yves Segers	2.5.3. The interplay around the small, colourful Swedish Milk Propaganda Association in the 1920s and 1930s Carin Martiin	2.5.4. From the support of the agricultural credit and the diffusion of the technical innovations to the settlement of the refugees: State and co-operatives Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis	2.5.5. Win-growers associations and state intervention in viticulture in France and Spain in the early twentieth century Jordi Planas	2:5 Room 5
2.6. Inequality and differentiation amongst medieval peasants 2 Antoni Furio	2.6.1. Early evidence for inequality amongst medieval English peasants, 11th–13th centuries Phillipp Schofield	2.6.2. Inequality in South Central Alps at the End of the Middle Ages Roberto Leggero	2.6.3. Participating to the Occupation of the Land: Modelling the Land Transactions of the Farfa's Liber Largitorius chartulary Bastien Tourenc			2:6 Room 6

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
2.7. Beyond collecting: Exploring films as a means of communication for (rural) historians 1 Peter Moser	2.7.1. Tracing familiar images. A video-essay analysis of home movies from rural Austria as family estates Brigitte Semanek	2.7.2. Films, Farmers and Machines. Propagating mechanization in Belgian agriculture through moving images: a video-essay analysis Sven Lefèvre	2.7.3. Cinematographic explorations of American agriculture. A video essay about Walter Schmid in America, 1935 Juri Auderset			2:7 Room 7
2.8. A task-based approach to the history of rural women's work 1 Jane Whittle	2.8.1. Women's work in Sweden 1720–1880, with particular reference to work in the countryside Karin Hassan Jansson	2.8.2. 'Women's work in rural England 1550–1700: the north and south-west compared' Mark Hailwood	2.8.3. Women's agricultural work in Sweden (1720–1880) and England (1550–1700) compared Jane Whittle			2:8 Room 8
2.9. Widows, Family, Economy and Survival Beatrice Moring	2.9.1. Adoption – a solution for childless elderly? Kersti Lust	2.9.2. Women, and Family Economy in Rural Finland Beatrice Moring	2.9.3. Widows and their households in the late 18th century Lithuania Radosław Poniat			2:9 Room 9
2.10. Global figures: tools for observing and governing agricultural markets Niccolò Mignemi	2.10.1. External government borrowing and tobacco monopoly: "Regie Company" in the Ottoman Empire for the National Bank of Greece (1888–1914) Virginia-Anastasia Fournari	2.10.2. Standards, Statistics, and Regimes of Knowledge Production in Agricultural Markets Aashish Velkar	2.10.3. In Numbers We Trust: A historical evaluation of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and its agricultural surveys during the 1920s Hannah Tyler	2.10.4. Verum ex Numeris: the International Institute of Agriculture as the clearing house of global figures Niccolò Mignemi		2:10 Room 10



Men taking ice on the lake, 1910–20.

2.1. Historical forms of sustainability – collective forests and pastures since 1600 in a European perspective 2

Martin Stuber, University of Bern, Switzerland; Jesper Larsson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Sustainability defined as transgenerational thinking and acting is at the heart of communal organizations and their common property institutions in their own views as well as from external perceptions. Sustainability in the sense of robustness of common property institutions is also the key element in Elinor Ostrom's work, in which robustness is based empirically on eight so-called design principles. At the same time, the concept of sustainability, with its three classical dimensions of ecological resilience, social justice and economic efficiency, is an open-ended analytical tool for comparative research on collective resource usage practices in space and time. The issue of sustainability is currently high on the political agenda, and the question of what role the commons have played in this complex in the past and what they will play in the future is of central interest. This is particularly true in the context of declining relative prices for the yields from forests and pastures which stand at the center of this session and which play a crucial role in the sustainable conservation of European landscapes and their biodiversity. If common property institutions want to survive and continue to play this important role in the future, they must have a high degree of transformation capacity so that they can both adapt to changing circumstances and be active in shaping them. In order to further investigate such forms of dynamic sustainability, the session will analyze four historical approaches that are particularly well suited for comparison from a European perspective. 1) Economy of sustainability based on quantitative long-term analyses of demography, finances, livestock, timber harvest, production of milk and cheese etc. 2) Rituals of balance starting from the analysis of visual sources (decision making, community work, tensions between individual, family and corporation) 3) The role of the commons in agricultural and forest modernization based on programmatic and legislation 4) Land use intensities and the organization of space by means of cartographic analyses.

Chair: Martin Stuber

Discussant: Tobias Haller, University of Bern, Switzerland

2.1.1. Social and Ecological Sustainability – The Utilization of Forest Commons in Seventeenth Century Northern Finland

Jakob Starlander, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

At the time of the Swedish Empire (1611–1721), an extensive resource mobilization was put in motion that had far-reaching social and economic consequences for people living within its borders. One of the three most important products that was exported to offshore markets on the European continent was tar, which was predominantly produced in Finland. The forests used in this endeavour were owned and managed as commons by the peasantry, who had long established informal rules for how to utilize forest resources. However, the production of tar intensified at such a rate that Sweden almost had a monopoly on tar by the middle of the century. The pressure from the international market, together with increasing taxes and conscriptions imposed by the Swedish crown, changed the conditions for how resource extraction could be organized, which necessitated a formalization of rules as well as new rules concerning forest use. Since the forests provided for much of the peasantry's livelihood in the form of ready money with which they could pay their taxes, this meant that the organization and management structure of the forest commons became increasingly important and frequently discussed and disputed in local communities. In this presen-

tation, I will discuss this development by focussing on the social and ecological sustainability of forest commons in the region of North Ostrobothnia in Finland during the seventeenth century. The sources used are local district court protocols in which conflicts concerning forest utilization and ownership have been studied. These provide a grass-rot perspective of how daily users of the forests' resources reacted to the changing social and economic conditions of the period, what challenges appeared, and how they were solved. They also contain information of what actions were made by officials of the central government, who were often driven by different agendas than the peasantry. Some central questions that will be addressed are thus: what kind of sustainability (social or ecological) was predominantly emphasized by the peasantry and representatives of the crown? Where there competing interests within these groups? Could social and ecological sustainability coexist?

2.1.2. Forbid to Survive. The Collective Woods of Carnia (16th–18th Centuries)

Stefano Barbacetto, History of the Alps Study Centre, Switzerland; Claudio Lorenzini, History of the Alps Study Centre, Switzerland, University of Udine, Italy

The Friulian Alpine area was part of the Republic of Venice until its decline (1797). As is well known, the Dominante was among the first in Europe to establish forestry legislation. It can be traced back to 1476 the birth of the 'banned' sector with which the Republic reserved for exclusive use the oaks and some woods of the mountains. This served to guarantee constant supplies to the Arsenal, thanks to which Venice maintained its economic power in the Mediterranean. These measures have become part of the 'myth' of Venice: the good governance of the Serenissima would also have an ecological/eco-systemic impact. The partiality of this reconstruction can be easily demonstrated. The total amount of forests reserved for the State was small compared to the existing forests for a very large part entrusted to the communities. These were in the favorable position to use woods and pastures directly (for domestic consumption) and indirectly, renting them to merchants of timber and cheese and livestock. During the second half of the eighteenth century this prerogative of the communities was called into question. The 'greed' of merchants and communities, it was said, was compromising the survival of resources whose management was deemed unsustainable. This view, although based on concrete cases, was part of the wider European debate on the fear of wood shortage. The survived sources produced by the communities (minutes of meetings, statutes) shows that measures of internal reserve of the woods were continuously adopted to perform specific functions. For example, the protection of the inhabited areas, to ensure the maintenance of the settlements located on the ridges of the valleys, or to regulate the outflow of water. These are two examples that can be documented and contextualized for the case of Carnia, the largest alpine region of Friuli. The paper wants to demonstrate the precocity and extension of these measures, adopted to safeguard all the commons available to the communities, guaranteeing benefits for the survival of the families that made them up. There are two perspectives that we want to deepen. One concerns the forms of spatial organization by the examination of cartographic sources (the fourth approach suggested by the proposal). A second concerns the ritual and symbolic aspects of resource sustainability (the second suggestion), investigated by the analysis of narrative motifs related to the theft of commons that are found in oral tradition stories collected by folklorists until recent times.

2.1.3. Reconstructing sustainability in the long term. Laíño (Galicia): from historical and community relevance to abandonment

David Fontán Bestilleiro, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Located on the banks of the river Ulla, near its final course, the Brañas de Laíño form one of the largest wetlands in Galicia. Currently under state management and environmental protection due to its high ecological value, the area is in a state of abandonment and its levels of biodiversity are getting worse and worse. But what do we know about the past of this territory? Historically, the Brañas de Laíño (or a braña, as it is known by the locals, a term that refers to a humid space with abundant pasture) were common lands managed by the peasants who inhabited the two parishes

of Laíño. As is general in Galicia, Laíño was a territory handled in an integrated and very intensive organic way until well into the 20th century, when these logics broke down, especially under the paradigm of the Green Revolution. Before this rupture, the braña played an essential role in the functioning of the local agro-ecosystem. Its great wealth for cattle breeding allowed the communities of Laíño a well-defined productive specialisation that we can register at least since the 18th century. Common-pool resource management, not without conflict, favoured the sustainability of the territory and of the communities in its classical dimensions: ecological resilience, social justice, economic efficiency. Using a wide range of sources, such as land register references, historical cartography or oral sources, we intend to study the role of local communities in the sustainable management of this area over the last three centuries. Our approach is based on several lines of work that fit with the main issues of this session: the organisation and use of space and its long-term transformations, community organisation and rituals of balance and even the role played by these common lands in agricultural innovation and modernisation. Although focused on the braña, we will analyse the history of this territory from an integrated perspective. Rural History has a lot to say on the challenges of the present. By identifying styles of land management, practices and memories of sustainability we will be able to understand the great value attached to these spaces today as the product of a coevolution of societies and nature, and therefore as a legacy from those who have managed them for generations. We believe this knowledge can help us design new proposals that provide a positive return for the land and the communities.



Coffee break, 1940.

2.2. A biophysical and socioeconomic perspective of Agricultural Growth on both sides of the Atlantic in the 19th and 20th centuries 2

Manuel González-de-Molina, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville, Spain; Enric Tello, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

There is a growing consensus among the scientific community that agricultural intensification has been accomplished at the expense of the environment and that sustainability is a prerequisite for productive agriculture. However, there is no link between the mainstream historiographical narrative about agricultural growth and the environmental concerns of a growing portion of society and the scientific community itself. For a large sector of world historiography, the history of agriculture is an “outstanding success story”. Production grew faster than population, making nutritional transition easier, putting an end to traditional shortages in the consumption of meat and dairy, and significantly improving the standard of living of citizens. Indeed, this vision prevails at a time when serious socioeconomic and environmental problems are questioning the future viability of the industrial farming model. The food-related health problems, the new outlooks adopted by the ‘Agrarian Question’ (such as new forms of inequality regarding access to land and agricultural income), and the rethinking of the role played by agriculture in economic development challenge this optimistic vision. With a few exceptions, historians have been fairly unreceptive to the socio-environmental problems caused by the industrialization of agriculture. Recent literature maintains a line of enquiry that is more concerned with analysing the economic dimension of agrarian growth than with integrating contributions from Agroecology, Ecological Economics, or Environmental History. The environment, when it is considered, is understood exclusively as a container for resources and, therefore, a factor that can foster or limit a country’s possibility for growth. Historians should consider not only the growing increase in land and labour productivity, but also shedding light on how it was achieved and the external costs this has entailed for the environment, new forms of social inequality and the future generations. A deeper understanding of agricultural activity would balance its achievements and shortcomings. To achieve this, we need a biophysical view of this evolution, new theoretical approach and a new methodology that combine and interlink the biophysical aspects of the evolution of agroecosystems with economic and social aspects. The papers collected in this session are a good example of this. They offer different biophysical and socio-economic perspectives on agricultural growth in Latin America and Europe using innovative methodologies such as input/output analysis applied to the environmental impacts of agricultural growth in agriculture, energy analysis through EROIs, or the methodologies of Social Metabolism applied to agriculture and water resources. On the other hand, by collecting case studies from Latin America and Europe, it provides an insight into the different pace and impact that agricultural growth has had on both sides of the Atlantic, and explores the complementarities and dependencies set through international trade. In short, this session aims to provide a different view of the evolution of agriculture from 1800 to the present, offering a more diverse and encompassing picture that is better adjusted to the complex and multidimensional reality of agrarian production seen from our current societal and environmental challenges.

Chair: Manuel González de Molina

2.2.1. Agriculture transformations within the Agri-Food System in Spain: an input-output approach (1980–2016)

Noelia Parajuá Carpintero, University of Barcelona, Spain

There is growing consensus that agriculture is a key activity due to its potential to tackle sustainability problems, but also because of its crucial economic, social and cultural role. Nevertheless, its weight in terms of value added and labour has followed a downward trend in most of the economies, while increasingly becoming a source of harmful environmental impacts. The industrialization process of agriculture and its integration in the global agri-food system are considered major drivers of this path. However, conventional narrative of agrarian history mainly approaches agriculture as a single activity without taking into account its linkages with other economic sectors, which remain poorly understood. This is also the case of Spain. This article aims at examining the economic transformations of Spanish agriculture in the framework of the agri-food system by adopting an input-output approach. To do that, supply, use and input-output tables from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) of Spain are analyzed from 1980 to 2016. The agri-food system is assumed to be made up of «agriculture», the «food industry» and «food services». Firstly, value added and labour aspects are studied for the three main agri-food system's activities. Secondly, it is explored the evolution of their supply and uses. Thirdly and finally, a deeper analysis of the intermediate input structure of agriculture sector is carried out. Results confirm the relative loss of weight of Spanish agriculture sector within the agri-food system in terms of value added and labour, whereas at the time the food industry and particularly services related to food significantly grew. Moreover, it is evidenced a strengthening of the globalization dynamics and the increase of salaried labour in all the agri-food system, being specially pronounced in the case of agriculture. Findings also show that Spanish agriculture followed a process of decoupling to the land -relying less and less on its inner inputs- at expenses of enlarging its dependence of external ones. Animal feeding became the main intermediate input in the agriculture cost structure by far. Yet, trade services sprung up, manifesting a rising weight in the last decades and unveiling the powerful role distribution plays in the global agri-food system. It is suggested that the described dynamics explain to a large extent agriculture's decline in value added share and labour market occupation from 1980 to 2016.

2.2.2. The industrialization of agriculture in Spain and Ecuador: Preliminary results of a comparative analysis of agrarian metabolism.

Laura Saura Gargallo, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Spain

Over the recent decades, the negative impact of agricultural industrialization has been noted in agro-ecosystems' health and population's well-being, especially those who live in rural zones. Therefore, Agrarian Metabolism has emerged as a new transdisciplinary approach, which aims to analyse the significant transformations occurred in livestock and agricultural sector and contributing to promote sustainable transitions and food sovereignty. This is a necessary discussion given that the reproduction of a society itself depends on the reproduction of funds and flows in the countryside, since food and other raw materials are obtained from there. This view, assumed in the research, adapts concepts and tools from the Social Metabolism to agrarian subsystem following agroecological criteria. Furthermore, the investigation is based on historical and comparative methods, with the objective of exploring similarities and differences across time and across the Atlantic. Only a longitudinal perspective would enable us to understand social and environmental change, taking the Green Revolution as the starting point because of its deep and damaging consequences until today. Likewise, the industrialization of agriculture has been a global process, but the dynamic depends on the particular features of each territory. Spain and Ecuador are used as case studies, considering the lack of multidimensional analysis of the Ecuadorian agrarian metabolism at a national scale and the interest of contrasting Latin American and European characteristics. The research combines the study of several indicators, cal-

culated on the basis of official statistics. It includes biophysical variables, such as the Net Primary Productivity; and also socio-economic, which disclose the degree of inequality and has an important influence in the exchange between a society and its environment. The purpose is to find certain trends and contradictions in the process of agrarian change from organic to fossil energetic base, which stand out in different contexts, whether it is a peripheral country or not; such as the increase of dependence of farmers on external inputs and the capitalist market logic, the decrease of the agricultural active population and the rural exodus, the concentration of land, the productive specialization and intensification, or the rise of pollution rates, exacerbating climate change.

2.2.3. Extractivism in Agroecosystems: Energy Efficiency and Sustainability of Colombian 20th Century Agriculture

Alexander Urrego-Mesa, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain; Juan Infante-Amate, Universidad de Granada, Spain; Enric Tello Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Energy efficiency in agriculture is key to deal with current and future human needs for food, biofuels and raw materials, but it also paramount to cope with climate change and the global ecological crisis. However, conventional agriculture is jeopardizing sustainability and social well-being, especially in developing regions. Therefore, knowing better how export-led industrialization of farming has changed the efficiency and sustainability of agriculture in developing regions arise as a relevant topic since it can help to meet the food and energy needs of these countries in more sustainable ways and to envision future alternatives. Agrarian metabolism analyses the relationship between ecological systems and society taking place through agriculture over the long-term. The results of this analysis pointing out the losses of energy efficiency and sustainability of agroecosystems during the 20th-century agrarian industrialization in temperate zones of the developed countries. However, little is known on how this process of intensification took place in tropical agricultures of the developing countries; we are still lacking a more in-deep analysis on the socio-ecological transition in these contexts yet. This work aims to expand the agrarian metabolism studies to the tropical agriculture of developing countries by providing new data on the socio-ecological transition of a large country from the Global South such as Colombia. We place the 20th-century experience of Colombian agriculture into the broader framework of the changes of the Western Agriculture by measuring the evolution of energy efficiency and sustainability of the whole agrarian system, namely: agriculture, livestock raising and forestry from 1916–2016. We gathered information from domestic official records, FAOSTAT, and secondary sources to build time series on the net primary productivity at the country level, its distribution both to provide societal needs as well as to reproduce the agroecosystem living funds, and the use of external inputs. We homogenize these time series by applying historical energy factors to figure the energy balances and, besides, propose a historical periodization of the socio-ecological transition of Colombian agriculture grounded on a structural break analysis. This energy analysis contributes to place the extractive character of the industrial export-led farming such as the Colombian one into the international debate on the socio-ecological transition of Western Agriculture and the burden of this model on tropical ecosystems. Finally, the work also gives some clues for more efficient and sustainable production of biomass at the country level from agroecology, particularly the promotion of family farming and silvopastoral systems.

2.3. 'Secondary products': Production, consumption and trade of the forgotten goods of pre-modern Europe

Alexandra Sapoznik, King's College London, UK

Much of the historical literature on pre-modern trade has focused on a few major items, such as grain, cloth, wool, hides and iron, which were transported in bulk for widespread and profitable markets. These products were the mainstays of pre-modern life. Yet they were often accompanied by a vast array of other products of the natural world, invaluable to pre-modern economy and society, but which were traded on a lesser scale or the product of more specialized production, environment or natural resources. Drawing attention to the production, trade and consumption of these 'secondary' products offers the potential to consider medieval and early modern trade in new ways, emphasizing the complexity of trading routes, economies of scale according to value or place of production, the role of local environments and access to specific natural resources, and specialized production in rural communities. Indeed, these overlooked goods were so embedded in pre-modern trade, that considering them 'secondary' products might itself be controversial.

Chair & discussant: Paul Brassley

2.3.1. Feeding capitalism and facing its consequences?

Upland pastoralism and dairying in the north of Europe, c.1350–1850

Eugene Costello, University College Cork, UK, Stockholm University, Sweden

This paper presents initial results from a new project that is investigating the influence (and experience) of livestock-rearing communities around the north of Europe during the emergence of capitalism. During the medieval-to-modern transition, the growth of major cities, industrial centres and overseas colonies saw increasing demands for food being placed on rural communities in Europe. However, in the north of Europe at least, mainstream historical narratives have tended to focus on well documented lowlands facing the North Sea where intensive cattle fattening and cereal cultivation dominated. Further west and north were more 'peripheral' rural regions which contained significant tracts of upland and forest pasture, such as western Ireland and inland Scandinavia. These neglected places offer a window into the role of extensive dairy, hide and wool production in feeding early modern capitalist activities, for example, the provisioning of New World colonies and the supply of industrial mining towns in Sweden. However, there remains a conceptual gap between recent archaeological and palaeoecological research on these 'peripheral' rural regions, and the mainstream research in early modern history. My new project is aiming bridge this gap by integrating sources in a landscape framework, and analysing change at three levels therein: 1) pastoral use of uplands; 2) community adaptability; 3) market links and impacts. This multi-level approach will allow us to reconceptualise 'peripheral' upland farmers as knowledgeable agents in commercialisation, and lay down a roadmap for tracking the influence of upland communities elsewhere in early-modern Europe. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus mainly on the first level of analysis. Using upland case studies in south-west Ireland and north-central Sweden, I will outline the emerging historical and archaeological evidence for changing animal husbandry over the medieval-to-modern transition. I will also discuss the landscape impact of some these changes based on pollen records of vegetation change in Ireland and Sweden.

2.3.2. Fruit production and trade in early-modern southern Poland

Piotr Miodunka, Cracow University of Economics, Poland

It is well known that grain was the major product of Polish export floated down the Vistula river to Gdańsk in the modern period. Timber and forest products (ash, potash) were floated along the same route. Foreign trade in these products has been almost monopolized by landowners producing grain on large farms (folwarks) in their estates. Although the fruit trade was not crucial from the landlords' point of view and it was not significant for the economic situation on local and regional markets, but it was an important source of income for the rural population and townspeople of small towns in southern Poland. In this area, on small hills, apple trees, pear trees, and above all the very popular plum trees were grown. Strong demand for fresh, dried fruit and plum jam was created by larger cities. First of all, it was Krakow (about 30,000 inhabitants in the first half of the 17th century), the nominal capital of the country, but also centres along the Vistula river: Warsaw, Toruń, and finally Gdańsk. Fruits in any form were there a very popular supplement of a daily diet. Krakow was supplied by the peasant land transports using carts during the entire year. For longer distances, rafts with dried plums were floated down the Vistula, but it was an activity conducted almost only by residents of small towns on the Dunajec river, the right-bank tributary of the Vistula. The paper will be devoted to all aspects related to the cultivation, processing (e.g. drying), trade, and transport of the most popular fruit, in particular in the 17th century. Primary sources for studying this issue are detailed lists of peasant suppliers to Krakow from this period, and many others (e.g. registers of "water toll") related to the transport of prunes to Gdańsk.

2.3.3. Routes of honey in the Mediterranean (1370–1440).

The international trade of a sweetener

Lluís Sales Favà, King's College London, UK

By the late middle ages, sweetness and pureness were qualities of honey very much appreciated by consumers, who preferred specific origins of this product. Scholarship has for instance long assessed the remittance of honey from Provence and the Ebro towards the Middle Eastern markets. This paper will deal with the international trade of honey within the Mediterranean, focusing also on the contacts between the producers and the merchants. It will describe the main routes and the actors involved. The conclusions will derive from the analysis of a set of data gathered in different archives in the Western Mediterranean basin. Notarial evidence from several seaports and producing zones will also be considered.



Harvest of root crops, c. 1910–20.

2.4. Agrarian politics in early 20th-century Europe and beyond: new comparative and transnational perspectives 1

Lucian George, University of Oxford, UK

The political reputation of the European peasant has long contained an unresolved duality – stalwart of tradition on the one hand, untamed insurgent on the other. By the early 20th century this duality was weakened, as modernisation eroded the bases for traditionalism and the jacquerie alike. Simultaneously, however, the rise of mass politics that modernisation entailed only served to magnify this contradiction. The village now became a battleground for political actors from both the Left and the Right, many of whom were themselves peasants determined to create an autonomous political space for the countryside. In their quest to conquer the peasants, these actors not only appealed to the peasants' competing instincts – be it egalitarianism or an attachment to property, hostility to elites or to the Jew – but also sought to intensify those instincts most suited to their own political aims. Peasants thus entered the political scene in a bewildering, often overlapping variety of incarnations – both revolutionary and counterrevolutionary, democratic and antidemocratic, nationalist and internationalist – fusing modern ideologies with earlier elements of peasant culture in the process. This variety of incarnations, however, has largely been occluded by national divisions within European historiography. Comparative studies of peasant politics remain scarce; terms like “peasant radicalism” carry vastly different associations depending on national context. Connectedly, the prevalence of political history approaches has so far obscured the role of peasant culture in shaping peasant politics. This session will seek to remedy these shortcomings, bringing together papers on early 20th-century agrarianism in different parts of Europe and beyond, with a view to transgressing the boundaries imposed by nation-based and political history.

Chair & discussant: George Vascik

2.4.1. Peasant Violence and Interwar Agrarianism: Poland and Croatia in the aftermath of the First World War

Jakub Benes, University College London, UK

The violence of the First World War reshaped east central European peasant politics. Although peasantist leaders abjured physical violence, their movements after 1918 included many people who expected, and sought, more forceful means to advance agrarianism. Recent historical scholarship has highlighted the importance of grassroots violence in accounting for the fragility of the postwar settlement in central and eastern Europe. The historiography on interwar agrarian politics, meanwhile, takes the transformative impact of the First World War as a starting point, but does not address the war's effects on the ordinary peasants who comprised agrarianism's rank and file. This paper connects these two literatures through a comparison of two regional cases in which peasants attempted to redefine agrarianism by means of violence: the 1918–19 ‘Tarnobrzeg Republic’ in southern Poland and the 1920 rebellion against draft animal registration in central Croatia. In both instances, Austro-Hungarian peasant soldiers were decisive actors. In Galician Poland, a former Habsburg army officer named Tomasz Dąbal became one of the leaders of an experiment in radical peasant self-government in his home district of Tarnobrzeg. Elected to the Polish parliament (sejm) in 1919, he switched between various leftist agrarian parties until joining the communist party in 1921 and co-founding the Red Peasant International in 1923 in Moscow. In Croatia in September 1920, former deserters from the Austro-Hungarian army led a rebellion against the authorities of the recently established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Their stated aim was the ‘neutral Croatian peasant republic’ advocated at this time by Stjepan Radić's Croatian Peasant Party. Peasants in these cases sought immediate land reform and an end to the wartime state's intrusion into the rural economy. Such radical expectations and a willingness to pursue them through violence were important, if often overlooked, ingredients in the rise and fall of interwar agrarianism.

2.4.2. Identical roots?: comparing the origins of agrarian reforms in the Mediterranean world and their impacts

Sergio Riesco Roche, Universad Complutense de Madrid, Spain

Was there a pattern of agrarian reform in southern Europe during the first third of the 20th century? How was it viewed from its former colonial empires? The reasons for the unrest of the southern European peasantry have their origin in the formation of nation-states in the 19th century and in the liberal agrarian policies that should go hand in hand with economic growth. However, in the modernization processes there were many victims along the way, one of which, without a doubt, was the peasantry. The States assumed that there was a pending agrarian reform that was not that of the rural elites. The competition between different models of modernization, between democracy and dictatorship, conditioned the institutional framework. Authoritarian solutions sought the support of these groups, but did not provide a uniform or systematic answer to their problems. The peasantry was forced to set up its own social movement to claim, through collective action, that agrarian reforms of another kind were necessary. This had repercussions in other parts of the world, where what happened in the interwar period was not indifferent, especially in those who had shared ties in the past. Greece, Portugal, Spain and Italy started from great territorial and social inequalities and this also had an impact on the old colonial markets with which they had many linkages. By means of a comparative approach, it might be possible to find commonalities – as well as huge differences – in aspects such as agrarian structures, the land ownership regime, as well as reform models. Questions such as individual distribution or collective distribution, what to do with the commons, how to guarantee the sustainability of the forest environment were raised in a transversal way and it is interesting to analyse what were the solutions proposed from a transnational perspective. The call for papers mentions how “the village now became a battleground for political actors”. Precisely for this reason, it is convenient to see in different scenarios, in a comparative way, how this battle unfolded: what was offered from the centers of political decision, how the different sensitivities present in rural areas were understood or not, and what type of proposals took root the most. or less. Despite the fact that world or civil wars annulled the cross-border will for improvements in exchange for defending nations, the field shared very similar problem in different places.

2.4.3. The social origins of democracy in Sweden: the role of agrarian politics

Erik Bengtsson, Lund University, Sweden

In discussions of Scandinavian democratization, it is commonplace to argue that long-standing farmer representation in parliament and a lack of feudalism facilitated early democratization. This analysis has been made in a materialist tradition following Barrington Moore Jr, as well as in a more idealist vein. The present essay questions this interpretation in the Swedish case. It centers on a re-interpretation of farmer politics at the national level from the 1866–67 two-chamber parliament reform to the alliance between the farmers' party and Social Democracy in 1933. It is shown that Swedish farmers did not organize themselves independently of nobles and land-owners until the 1920s, and did not play the role of an independent pro-democratic force. The broad-based organizations of farmers in the 1920s and 1930s, with their democratic, participatory culture, were heavily influenced by the political culture of liberals and the labor movement. The implication for analyses of democratization is that deep roots are less decisive than often supposed, and that modern political agency and organization conversely, in contrast to influential research traditions and theories of democracy, can reverse undemocratic traditions. The paper aims to contribute to a renewed discussion on class politics, political systems and democratization with a basis in agrarian society.

2.4.4. Greedy farmers versus workshy workers: urban-rural moral competition and the shadow of WWI in the politics of interwar Czechoslovakia

Lucian George, University of Oxford, UK

The political agenda in interwar Czechoslovakia was frequently dominated by the conflicting interests of taxpayers, employers and rural producers, on the one hand, and welfare beneficiaries, workers and urban consumers, on the other. By examining press coverage of controversies around agricultural tariffs and state welfare spending, this paper shows how opposing sides in these disputes bolstered claims to a greater share of national wealth through recourse to different sets of moral-economic arguments and frames. Attention is paid to the way moral competition pushed social actors to embed economic claims in universal moral concepts (e.g. the right to a fair wage/subsistence) and more particular narratives about their contribution to the national cause, whilst also encouraging each side's rhetoric to perpetuate morally compromising stereotypes of their opponents that were rooted in the experience of the WWI.



Merchant behind the counter in the country store, 1959.

2.5. Agricultural associations and state intervention in the European agriculture, from the late nineteenth century crisis to the Great Depression 2

Jordi Planas, University of Barcelona, Spain; Anton Schuurman, Wageningen University, Netherlands; Yves Segers, KU Leuven, Belgium

From the late nineteenth-century crisis there was a growing social mobilization in the European countryside, with the diffusion of agricultural associations that led to a much more organised rural society. The role of the state in agriculture also experienced a great transformation. The state intervention in agricultural markets expanded involving many areas: since the late nineteenth century, governments used not only trade policy to protect domestic markets, but they also introduced many regulations affecting quality, quantity and prices in domestic markets, and they promoted innovations to make agricultural producers more competitive. The First World War experiences made supportive farm policies much more needed and possible, and led to a general setback of free markets and a growing role of the state in agriculture. Already before the 1930s, the state got involved one way or another with the development of agriculture (in the promotion of technical change in agriculture, in the regulation of agricultural markets, in the development of farm supportive policies), but there were not only differences in policies, but also in management and organization, as well as in the role of associations as intermediary institutions between the state and the rural society and, especially, in the design and implementation of agricultural policies. In this double session panel, we would like to compare and discuss different experiences in Western Europe regarding the growing organisation of agriculture, looking at the changing role of the state and the interplay with agricultural associations and movements in a period (from the late nineteenth century to the Great Depression) when specific agricultural policies started to be implemented.

Chair & discussant: Leen Van Molle

2.5.1. The time of comices. A moment in the interplay State-societies

Nadine Vivier, Le Mans University, France

Agricultural comices were created as 'free and voluntary societies' and greatly encouraged by the central and local government. Their subsidies provided the means to reward and disseminate the best agricultural methods. Comices could also express peasant demands. A twofold question is asked in this paper: did comices contribute to a structuration of rural society? What was their relationship with the administration and the elected authorities? After presenting the comices and their action at the end of the Second Empire, a moment when they developed a lot and reached maturity (I), the paper studies their evolution in a time of economic crisis and political divisions. The comices can be seen as the matrix of agricultural associations which number was growing: all of them were "syndicats mixtes", bringing together all social classes; they did not defend the interests of social classes, and maintained a cooperation with the government (II) At the turn of the twentieth century, the functions of the comices began to erode but administration and population supported them, what appeals politicians' intrusion (III). The focus will be on Northern France and cereals and livestock productions.

2.5.2. Livestock improvement, knowledge networks and the participation of farmers in Belgium, 1910–1940. A perspective from below

Yves Segers, KU Leuven, Belgium

During the interwar period, State and civil society in Belgium increasingly worked together to modernize agriculture. The institutionalization of ‘modern’ scientific knowledge within breeding and livestock farming was regarded as a necessary step to cope with the increasing international competition. In order to realise this objective, a livestock improvement program was launched in 1919. Leopold Frateur, zoologist at the university of Leuven, was the architect. The aim of the program was to ‘construct’ more productive animals by setting up a network of public and private actors and, of course, breeders and livestock farmers. Only such a broad knowledge network, supported by all relevant actors, would be able to bridge theory and practice and to finally improve the quality of the Belgian livestock. Previous historical research regarding this livestock improvement program showed that the knowledge network and the method used to transfer knowledge and insights were largely top-down in nature. The lines were drawn and facilitated by the government and relied heavily on the insights of scientists and experts. Various ways were used and developed to circulate new knowledge, to convince breeders and livestock keepers to participate and follow the desired practices. At first sight, the active role of farmers was limited, but not entirely non-existent. Partly out of necessity, due to a lack of sufficient financial resources, Frateur used active farms as breeding stations, for example. He increasingly appreciated the practical knowledge of livestock farmers and realized that active participation and involvement was needed to make the livestock improvement program a success. However, despite all efforts only a small group of farmers got involved. In this paper I focus on the functioning of this knowledge network, from the perspective of the breeders and livestock keepers. How was the diffusion of knowledge organized, who participated, and why? What was the impact of this initiative? Why were some regions in Belgium more involved in the livestock improvement program than others? And what profile characterized the breeders and livestock keepers who participated before the Second World War? Who were these pioneers of livestock improvement in Belgium?

2.5.3. The interplay around the small, colourful Swedish Milk Propaganda Association in the 1920s and 1930s

Carin Martiin, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

An air of ridicule surrounds the title ‘the Milk propaganda’ that was used for a somewhat odd, colourful association for increased sale of dairy products in line with the slogan ‘Better milk – increased consumption’. Similar associations were found in many other countries around Europe and North America. The Swedish version of the Milk Propaganda, officially ‘the Swedish association for interested parties in the dairy sector’ was the earliest one in Scandinavia, founded in 1923. The association was not one of the big players among the Swedish agricultural associations, but its’ prominent board members indicate close links to the establishment and representatives of the state. As used by the association itself, and by contemporary representatives of the state, the term ‘propaganda’ referred to information, or even enlightenment, in matters of milk hygiene, and human health and nutrition in form of milk, cream, butter and cheese. This was well in line with the authorities’ concerns and thus a motive for regular economic support from the state. A short-lived exception from the interest to interplay with the state appeared however in the early 1930s when representatives for the Milk Propaganda hesitated about the regulation of the milk sector, instead of relying on marketing, only. The advantages did however soon appear to exceed the presumed disadvantages. The association was well visible in both town and country, through public activities such as posters, milk bars, and school milk events, and via the journal ‘The Milk Propaganda’. Generally speaking, the association appears to have applied an open and informal approach that included both producers and consumers. As example, producer problems with the milk hygiene, such as masses of flies or lack of hot water for the dishing of milk utensils could be communicated in the same number of the journal as suggestions about more milk for breakfast and a tempting recipe for butter rich cookies. Another kind of activity with relations to the authorities was the invention of diplomas to dairy farmers who produced milk of best possible hygienic quality, which finally could result in a golden medal awarded at a ceremony attended by a member of the royal family. Some of this made long-lasting impressions that could even be narrated to younger generations and that, it is suggested, contributed to make dairy farming and milk consumption a kind of national project.

2.5.4. From the support of the agricultural credit and the diffusion of the technical innovations to the settlement of the refugees: State and co-operatives

Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain

Since the late nineteenth century the Greek governments had begun to show an initially hesitant interest for the rural space. The recovery of the French vineyards and the subsequent fall in the exports of currants, the basic exportable product, led to a dynamic intervention of the governments in the management of the surplus product and the regulation of the market, in general. Apart from this specific conjuncture of the currants crisis, however, a coherent framework of agrarian policy did not exist. Certain plans of a reformist character for the Greek countryside were presented in the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, but nevertheless very few of them were implemented. The formation of an overall plan of agrarian policy could be observed in the early 1910s during the period of governance of the Liberal Party. The drawing-up of a legislative framework for the agrarian associations, through the voting of the laws on co-operatives and agricultural chambers, should be considered inextricably linked with this development. The study of the evolution of the policy of the Greek governments for the agrarian associations –and in particular the co-operatives, which constituted the dominant form of collective organisation- in the next two decades will be the basic objective of this paper. We will examine the way in which the action of the co-operatives was related with the State initiatives for the technical improvement of production, the support of the financial capacity of the farmers and the regulation of the market in periods of international economic crises, as for example the First World War and the crisis of 1929. Moreover, apart from these aspects of the presence of the agrarian associations, which to a large extent were common in many parts of Europe during the period under review, we would like to explore how the Greek governments registered the co-operatives in the efforts for the settlement of the refugees, who had entered the country after the defeat on the Asia Minor front in August 1922.

2.5.5. Winegrowers associations and state intervention in viticulture in France and Spain in the early twentieth century

Jordi Planas, University of Barcelona, Spain

In the early twentieth century, the intervention of the state in viticulture expanded in all wine-producing countries. However, the extension of the state intervention in wine markets was not the same in all of them. Why was it so? The size of the wine production and consumption certainly played a role. But also the political features of the state, the capacity of the administrative bodies, and the ability to get organized of winegrowers and other social groups involved in wine production, distribution and consumption. This paper focuses on the interplay between winegrowers and the state in two main wine-producing countries: France and Spain. In both countries, winegrowers experienced severe difficulties because of the falling wine prices and got organized in cooperatives and other winegrowers associations, but the features of their mobilization and their outcomes were quite different. By looking at the winegrowers’ collective action, the way they got organized and their ability to interact with the state to defend their interests, the aim of this paper is to shed some light to the viticultural policies carried out in the early twentieth century and their consequences.

2.6. Inequality and differentiation among medieval peasants 2

Antoni Furió, Universitat de Valencia, Spain; Phillipp Schofield, University of Aberystwyth, UK

Medieval peasants have often been seen as a homogeneous and amorphous block without fissures or internal distinctions. A social group characterized economically by backwardness and technical stagnation, by a lack of initiative and entrepreneurship, aversion to change and risk, and socially and politically by its antagonism with the manor block. Lords and peasants in an immobile, immutable, almost timeless environment. However, medievalists have been striving for a long time to break this cliché, to show that medieval peasants were not autarchic producers living outside of exchange mechanisms and oriented essentially to self-consumption, and therefore unable to lead processes of agrarian change and innovation but only responsive to the pressure of lords or merchants. These self-sufficient and isolated peasants, completely beyond the reach of the market and providing for only themselves, existed nowhere in the late Middle Ages, by which time processes of commercialisation were already evident in eleventh-century Western Europe. Recent studies, on the other hand, have highlighted not only peasant agency but also the existence of strong internal differences in the peasantry, produced by the process of economic growth begun in the tenth and eleventh centuries, almost at the very beginning of feudalism, and which increased from the thirteenth century with the development of the so-called process of commercialisation, studied mainly by English medievalists. Rodney Hilton was one of the first to talk about the immense differences in the size of peasant holdings, which in turn would reflect a clear social stratification, which would only increase in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. More than forty years ago Hilton published a seminal study on the “Reasons for inequality among medieval peasants”, in which he warned, however, that the stratification of the medieval peasantry cannot be attributed only to the markets in land and agricultural products” and that “the complex interplay between land availability, technical progress, inheritance and endowment customs, demands for rent and tax and the resistance capacity of the peasants must also be examined”. Subsequent literature has emphasized the importance of several factors, such as population growth, along with a divisible inheritance system, the peasant land market, differences in access to land and property rights over it, expansion of arable land, commercial development, and so on. On the other hand, the interest in inequality and its growth displayed in recent years by economists and historians, with works as important as those by Piketty, Milanovic or Alfani, has also led to an attempt to measure its significance and development in pre-industrial times, including the Middle Ages, but the focus has been mainly on large cities and towns, and less on the countryside. The purpose of this session is to return to the subject, to delve into the reasons for inequality among medieval peasants, applying both the tools developed by economic historians and the reflections of those medievalists who have never ceased working on the subject since Hilton directed their attention to it as significant and a worthy subject for analysis.

Chair: Antoni Furió Universitat de Valencia, Spain

2.6.1 Early evidence for inequality amongst medieval English peasants, 11th–13th centuries

Phillipp Schofield, Aberystwyth University, UK

Much has been written on the inequality of English peasants in the later middle ages. This is especially the case for studies of inequality founded upon discussion of post-Black Death adjustments in landholding and the redistribution of resources in, in particular, the fifteenth century. There has also been research into relatively short-lived distinctions between peasants from earlier periods, especially the decades either side of 1300. Explanations for inequality have tended to focus upon post-plague change and the opportunities that were presented for some tenants to accumulate holdings and to acquire demesne land as seigniorial controls over alienation were relaxed; in earlier periods, as in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, inequalities have been explained chiefly in terms of either pre-existing and long-established tenurial distinctions or an active but limited market in land which facilitated redistribution and accumulation of landholding, especially in parts of eastern England. In exploring causes for and early indications of inequality, there has been relatively little work on peasant inequality in periods before the mid-thirteenth century, chiefly because of a relative paucity of sources. Domesday Book, from the later eleventh century, clearly identifies significant inequalities amongst the rural tenantry, as is well known. Later estate surveys and cartularies add additional and sometimes extremely valuable information regarding the uneven distribution of holdings. It is typically the case that such, relatively early, sources offer a snapshot of landholding and tend to focus especially upon freeholdings (unlike later sources in which customary/unfree holdings predominate). While therefore attaching explanations for inequality based upon the evidence of this material is far from straightforward, the evidence does provide some inroads into setting out this inequality and seeking to contextualise it. In addition, comparison of similar material from particular estates – and here the main body of material will issue from the estates of Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk, eastern England) – allows an assessment of change over time and a sense of the velocity in the possible growth of inequality. Finally, examination of inequality in this relatively early context also encourages reflection on the causes of these developments and their relationship to the more familiar later developments in rural inequality in the middle ages.

2.6.2. Inequality in South Central Alps at the End of the Middle Ages

Roberto Leggero, Università della Svizzera italiana, Switzerland

Starting from the 2019 meeting of the Gesellschaft für Agrargeschichte, the author has analyzed the problem of inequality in the alpine communes of Southern Switzerland (today's Cantone Ticino) and nearby regions between the 12th and 15th centuries. He is paying special attention to the relationship between inequality and the exploitation of the commons (CPR). He is also interested in the feminine world and the problem of the gradual exclusion of women by the paternal inheritance. Some researchers have identified a tendency (13th century), to tighten up the rules to exclude women from family inheritance and from the possibility of taking over in the event of the absence of male heirs. The focus of the paper will be on the social and economic differences inside rural communities. Reflecting on inequality, trying to frame this subject in Middle Ages alpine rural communities, is a complex matter: while one can be sure that inequality was also a characteristic of those communities, the environmental necessities linked to the exploitation of natural resources seem to produce more egalitarian communities. Of course, this is an optical illusion. Writing of the wage problem and affirming that the line chosen in Italian towns was, often, to allow only the downward wage game, Gabiella Piccinni (2015) confirmed that “the history of inequalities is a deeply political history”. As Carl Marx showed clearly in *Debates on the Law of the Theft of Wood*, it is not the act itself (picking up fallen branches), but the changing of the definition (can we call it “a theft” or not?) that consequently produces relevant social differences. So, that even an (apparently) equal society can generate inequality. So, the main question of the paper, will be: what is the weight of inequalities on the economic and social life of alpine rural communities? Moreover, can unequal conditions be perceived by communities as fair and, why?

2.6.3. Participating to the Occupation of the Land: Modelling the Land Transactions of the Farfa's Liber Largitorius chartulary

Bastien Tourenc, Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

The aim of this proposal is to study the Liber Largitorius, a cartulary compiled by Gregorio di Catino in 1092, at the Abbey of Farfa (Latium, Italy). It is composed of nearly 2.000 deeds which correspond to land lease contracts from the monastery. Half a century ago, Pierre Toubert used this documentation in his remarkable publication about the Structures du Latium médiéval (1973). According to P. Toubert, there should be two types of contracts : one with high entrance price and low census, another one with low entrance price and high census. In the light of the contemporary historiography and using a modelling of the documentation and quantitative methods of analysis, we can invalidate P. Toubert's hypothesis. Using documentation modelling, there is a switch from a series of cases (the deeds) to a series of facts (transactions, transfers, payments ; characteristics and actions of individuals ; characteristics of plots ; places). That allows a systematic analysis of the corpus. Initially, individuals and lands are studied separately. By using different methods to identify correlations between land characteristics (contracts duration, precarium or libellum, conditions of use, lands components (or res)), we first obtain two types of lands : small pieces of land, or petia de terra (or petia – Liber Largitorius orthography is used), larger properties, or proprietates. Then, the pricing system is studied. The investigation is based on the use of econometrics tools. We cannot corroborate the hypothesis of P. Toubert : there are obviously not two clusters of lands defined by two peculiar prices setting; petia are characterised only by lower average pretium. One of the conclusions of this study is the necessity of the distinction between the petia de terra and the proprietates, and its relation to the distinctions made between men. These two forms of occupation of the land were opposed and pitted individuals who could respectively access one and the other : those who exploited the plots, the villains, and those who directed and administered the exploitation of the land, who dominated this land and these men. Nevertheless, they allowed all the concessionaires to participate in the construction, development and prosperity – of the wealth – of the monastery. This was tantamount to participating in the wealth of the community of believers and corresponded to the realization of the transitus and peregrinatio towards their salvation.



Construction workers, c. 1910–20.

2.7. Beyond collecting: Exploring films as a means of communication for (rural) historians 1

Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History, Bern; Juri Auderset, Archives of Rural History, Bern; Andreas Wigger, Archives of Rural History, Bern

Films are important for historians of the 20th century. Since online-platforms like the one created by the European Rural History Film Association (www.ruralfilms.eu) provide access to an increasing number of films, rural historians rely on them in similar ways as they have done so far on photographs and written or oral sources. But the question remains whether films are “only” a source for historians or also an appropriate means of communication for historical insights and narratives. This question is particularly relevant in an era of media consumption when texts are increasingly questioned as the main form of communication in the academic world and certainly losing their primacy in non-academic circles. The aim of this panel is to analyse the potential of films as a means of communication in history. Proposals addressing the question whether video essays are an alternative or at least a complementary form of publication for historians are particularly welcome. Contributions in this panel may take on the form of video essays, documentaries, workshop reports or theoretical reflections.

Chair: Andreas Wigger

2.7.1. Tracing familiar images. A video-essay analysis of home movies from rural Austria as family estates

Brigitte Semanek, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria; Ulrich Schwarz-Gräber, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

In 2013, the provincial government of Lower Austria started an initiative to collect home movies and amateur films in order to preserve these documents and make them accessible to historical research. The digitised archive by now comprises more than 70,000 films from over 2,700 donors. This vast amount of material is organised in collections, each of which contains the films made by one person or family. Collections may cover various “sub-genres” of home movies and amateur films: they capture “biographical milestones” like weddings, informal family gatherings, workspaces and leisure time activities, day trips, etc. In each film, family members are set in relation to their physical surroundings and social networks, thus creating visual memories as well as information on village life and economic change in rural Austria mainly from the 1960s to the 1980s – the era of Super-8 films. We will take up the video-essay as a tool to examine a collection of moving images from one family, picking up research on filming as a biographical mode, home movies as ego-documents, and amateur films at the boundaries of private and public spheres. We will explore narrative structures within this particular arrangement of films and address questions of different temporalities, rural sceneries, and possible blind spots. Our presentation aims at a combined analysis of choices made by the filmmakers themselves and those made by us as historians using the video-essay as a means of communication.

2.7.2. Films, Farmers and Machines. Propagating mechanization in Belgian agriculture through moving images: a video-essay analysis

Sven Lefèvre, Centre for Agrarian History, Belgium ; Yves Segers, KU Leuven, Belgium

Mechanization has been a determinative and driving factor in the agricultural development of the last hundred years. Especially after the Second World War, there was a need for upscaling the agricultural businesses by using machinery in different agricultural processes. Policymakers and commercial companies dealt with the question on how to per-

suade farmers to give up the working methods they have been using for ages, to the benefit of a more machine driven form of labour. This resulted in a propaganda campaign that promoted the use of mechanization to farmers, which was closely related to the concept of agricultural progress and modernity. At the time, moving images were just as much related to progress and modernity as mechanization and came in as a powerful propaganda tool. However, moving images are not texts, and have an own language and code. As an historian analyzing these sources, translating an analysis from these moving images to a written or spoken text can fail short. That is why in this presentation we will experiment with a video-essay as a way to overcome these limitations and by doing so present an analysis on the propagation of mechanization to Belgian farmers, based on several films produced in the 1919–1975 period.

2.7.3. Cinematographic explorations of American agriculture. A video essay about Walter Schmid in America, 1935

Juri Auderset, Archives of Rural History, Bern; Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History, Bern; Andreas Wigger, Archives of Rural History, Bern

Since the late 19th century, farmers and agronomists from Switzerland travelled to North America in order to explore the agricultural conditions on the other side of the Atlantic. They visited farms, research institutions, scientific conferences, state authorities and emigrated compatriots. Many of the travellers documented and communicated their insights, questions and conclusions in reports, diaries and lectures. In 1935, Walter Schmid was the first to document his experiences in a self-made, silent film of more than one hour's length. We have used Walter Schmid's footage together with written and photographic sources of himself and other travellers to create a 15-minute video essay. It is meant to make journeys, motives and conclusions of farmers and agronomists from Switzerland travelling to North America accessible to a wider audience. The video essay is a complementary product to a written essay entitled "Exploring Agriculture in the Age of Industrial Capitalism. Swiss Agronomists and Farmers in North America and the Transnational Entanglements of Agricultural Knowledge, 1870–1950" which will appear in *Agricultural History*.



The hall floor is scrubbed, 1918.

2.8. A task-based approach to the history of rural women's work 1

Jane Whittle, University of Exeter, UK; Maria Ågren, Uppsala University, Sweden

This session brings together two large research projects and their lead researchers to examine women's work in agriculture. Uppsala University's Gender and Work (GaW) project led by Maria Ågren has researched women's work in early modern Sweden (GaW1) and is currently investigating the period 1720–1880 in Sweden (GaW2). Exeter University's 'Women's work in rural England' project looked at women's work in south-west England in the period 1500–1700; this investigation is currently being expanded to look at women's work during the same period in northern and east-central England: both projects are led by Jane Whittle in collaboration with Mark Hailwood. The Swedish and English projects use a very similar methodology, collecting evidence of work activities (the verb-based or task-based approach) from a range of documents, and analyzing this evidence quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The findings from the first stage of each project have resulted in high profile publications: Maria Ågren ed. *Making a Living, Making a Difference* (OUP, 2017), Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern England' *Economic History Review* 73:1 (2020). In this panel we will present our findings from the new stages of each project and undertake a detailed comparison of our findings. All papers will be jointly presented. The GaW research projects are funded by the Swedish Wallenberg Foundations. Exeter's women's work projects were funded by the Leverhulme Trust, and the European Research Council.

Chair & discussant: Taylor Aucoin, University of Exeter, UK

2.8.1. Women's work in Sweden 1720–1880, with particular reference to work in the countryside

Karin Hassan Jansson, Uppsala University, Sweden; Maria Ågren, Uppsala University, Sweden

This paper presents entirely new data on rural work collected in court records from a mid-Swedish region (parts of Västmanland) with the help of the verb-oriented method. Based on c. 5,800 verb-phrases describing rural work from the period 1720 to 1880, the paper will discuss the general patterns that emerge in terms of who did what in the countryside. Given our previous results that marital status/age was very important for who did what in early modern society (*Making a Living, Making a Difference* 2017), the paper pays special attention to whether or not this was still true after 1800, or if other factors, not least gender, came to be more important in structuring working life. Against the backdrop of the general patterns (i.e., all forms of work), the paper will look more closely at who did what in two sub-datasets: agricultural work and commerce.

2.8.2. ‘Women’s work in rural England 1550–1700: the north and south-west compared’

Mark Hailwood, University of Bristol, UK

This paper presents new data on rural work collected from court records from the north of England for the period 1550 to 1700. It draws on the verb-oriented method developed by Maria Ågren and her team for the study of gender and work in Sweden, and subsequently adapted for use in the English context for Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood’s ‘Women’s Work in Rural England 1500–1700’ project. That project focused on the south west of England and produced 4300 observations of work activities, which Whittle and Hailwood analysed in a 2020 Economic History Review article. Here Hailwood will discuss the patterns found in the process of extending this research to a second region – the north of England. The paper will outline the general patterns of who did what forms of work in that region and make comparisons between this data and that previously gathered for the south west. Regional contrasts in the gender division of labour have been an important element of debates about women’s work in early modern Europe. While some studies have a tendency to portray the gendering of tasks as universal and unchanging, detailed studies of women’s work indicate that gendered work patterns varied according to regional economies and changed over time. Whilst the Swedish-focused paper in this session will consider the question of change over time, this paper will focus more on regional variations. Between the two papers the panel will demonstrate how the verb-oriented method opens up the possibility of checking these claims with data that relates to both paid and unpaid work. This paper will also focus on the role that marital status and age played in shaping women’s work in both regions of England, and will look in depth at the gender division of labour in two particular categories of work: agriculture and commerce. These sections of the paper will mirror the analysis undertaken in the Swedish-focused paper, to allow for a fruitful consideration of comparisons and contrasts.

2.8.3. Women’s agricultural work in Sweden (1720–1880) and England (1550–1700) compared

Jane Whittle, University of Exeter, UK; Maria Ågren, Uppsala University, Sweden; Karin Hassan Jansson, Uppsala University, Sweden; Mark Hailwood, University of Bristol, UK

This paper compares verb-based evidence of work tasks from Sweden and England to examine women’s work in agriculture. To enable comparisons to be made across time and geography it focuses on two themes. The first theme is the nature of agricultural work during times of peak demand. In both Sweden and England these fell in the summer months with first the hay and then the corn harvest. The exact nature of the work undertaken is examined looking at the range of tasks undertaken, the tools used, how workers were organized, and the make-up of the workforce. Successful negotiation of these pinch-points in the demand for labour was essential to the agricultural economy. Harvest work has also drawn a great deal of attention in the existing literature, with the suggestion that women were increasingly excluded from such work over time. Such research has relied heavily on evidence of wage labour from large farms: our source-base allows work on a wider range of farm types, which relied more heavily on family labour to be examined. The second theme explores how the work activities undertaken relate to descriptions of different type of workers. How did the work of those described as ‘labourer’ compare to that done by those described as ‘servant’ for instance? It also approaches the issue the other way round considers how all those who took part in a particular type of work (such as the hay harvest) were described – for instance were they describes as labourers, farmers, wives, servants or in other ways? This contributes to debates about the types of work done by labourers and servants, and the make-up of the agricultural workforce. Overall the paper aims to shed light on the gender division of labour in rural north-west Europe, how it did or did not vary, and the reasons behind the patterns observed.

2.9. Widows, Family, Economy and Survival

Beatrice Moring, University of Helsinki, Finland

Some studies of widows have claimed that while the loss of a partner had little impact on the lives of men, it radically changed the life of a woman. While it is indeed the case that widowhood could mean a need to re-structure and re-organise life, many widows were able to continue life as before. Where the woman lived on a farm the question arose if she should continue running it with her children, with kin or external work force, or if it was time to retire. Widows of craftsmen could be in a similar position. If the husband left no property survival could be more problematic and it could be necessary to seek assistance from the wider family or society. The age of the widow and her children, in cases that there were children, as well as socio-economic conditions, could have important impact on the available options. The aim of the session is to analyse such options and strategies that were adopted by widows and to make comparisons between countries and social groups.

Chair: Beatrice Moring

2.9.1. Adoption – a solution for childless elderly?

Kersti Lust, Tallinn University, Estonia

Co-residency and collaboration with adult children have been considered to be vital to the life circumstances and well-being of the elderly. Several researchers, however, have demonstrated that survival in widowhood was built on multiple strategies: family assistance, work, and poor relief in combination formed the building blocks for existence in old age and widowhood. The paper discusses whether adoption and fostering helped to replace biological children or stepchildren as caretakers for elderly widows without children in the Russian Baltic province of Livland in the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century. By law and in practice, the rural areas of the Baltic provinces had family and kin-based approach to welfare provision. Not only among the farmers the upkeep of the elderly was arranged through intergenerational cohabitation but often also among the landless. By combining cross-sectional and longitudinal population data with community court records and community council proceedings, it will be shown who adopted and fostered children and whether this measure could serve well to ensure upkeep for old age. Singles and childless couples could adopt or foster a child who was then obliged to look after them in old age. Every legally capacitated person could adopt a child if the father or guardian of the child agreed, and the age gap between the adopter and adoptee was at least 18 years. The community court approved the adoption. If the adopted son was the only living son of the adoptive parent(s) and supported him or her, he was exempt from military conscription. The community court proceedings reveal that childless women adopted / fostered children of their close relatives. Also farm maids fostered farmers’ sons. Very seldom orphans were adopted; normally they were farmers’ sons. By becoming an adopted or foster son, they became exempt from conscription. It is very difficult to reveal whether the adopted children normally accommodated their adopters or supported them in some other way in their old age. Court cases and records of community council proceedings concerning poor relief, however, suggest that adopted sons were often of little help for their adopters and the legislation actually worked in favour of adoptees rather than adopters (widows and spinsters).

2.9.2. Women, and Family Economy in Rural Finland

Beatrice Moring, University of Helsinki, Finland

In 2012 a study was published about the economic efficiency of farms run by widows, in comparison with men, in 18th and 19th century Sweden. The study revealed that generally speaking widows were as successful as men and during the early years of widowhood even more successful. Other studies, like those of Sandvik (2019) have also revealed that confidence, on local level in Norway, in the capacity of widows to engage in farming, was considerable. Such studies negate the popular supposition that widows were helpless and had to rely on charities for survival in the past. One of the reasons for the capability of women to run farming enterprises in the Nordic countries in the pre-industrial era might well have been law and custom but also the fact that the female sphere on a Nordic farm was not restricted to the house and yard but extended to the fields and could include task sharing between men and women. As women were familiar with most aspects of farming, assuming the headship might have been less problematic than in an environment with greater gender segregation. The aim of the presentation is to describe the gender division of labour on farms in 19th century rural Finland using non-census data including surveys and oral history collections. Such data allow us access to information about how work was shared and to what extent we can talk about separate spheres. In addition the structure and gender balance in farming households and those of widows will be explored.

2.9.3. Widows and their households in the late 18th century Lithuania

Radosław Poniak, University of Białystok; Piotr Guzowski, University of Białystok; Marzena Liedke, University of Białystok, Poland

The paper's aim is to analyse the socio-economic status of widows in the late 18th century Great Duchy of Lithuania. Instead of the normative approach, we are going to focus on the everyday practices observed by the use of the demographic sources. We are going to search for the impact of the widowhood on the widows economic activity, their household's structure and children demographic behavior observed in the context of the age of home leaving. To observe the specificity of the widows experience we are going to contrast our results with the data obtained for the married couples and widowers households. The census like-material from the 1795 Russian pool tax will allow us to describe the widows' household's size and composition, employment of apprentices and domestic servants, children's age structure, and house ownership. By the use of those indicators we will be able to analyse the impact of the widowhood on the household's economic potential and demographic behavior of its members. In addition, the widows living in the rural communities, who are the main focus of our study, are going to be compare with their counterparts from Vilnius – the capitol city of the Great Duchy of Lithuania.

2.10. Global figures: tools for observing and governing agricultural markets

Niccolò Mignemi, Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), France; Federico D'Onofrio, University of Vienna, Austria

The present session is part of a longer reflection on the organization of the international agricultural markets between the 19th and the 20th century. It intends to mark a step forward, relying on the debates of the two last editions of the Rural History Conference. We started looking at transnational networks of agrarianism (Leuven, 2017), then we examined the role of experts in the making of global markets (Paris, 2019). In 2021, we focus on the production of data as tools of knowledge and governance of the international agricultural markets in the period 1880–1950. This period has been characterized in different terms, insisting on the emergence of an agro-industrial knowledge society stretching across the North-Atlantic or stressing the creation of regulated national and – to a lesser extent – international markets. Our panel will thus contribute to the debate on the periodization of this crucial turn in the history of the agricultural and rural worlds. While we do not deny continuities, the interwar transition and the establishment of a new “food order” in the Cold War era seems to us to represent a significant break in practices of transnational governance. Our panel session intends to examine the evolution in the regimes of knowledge production in agricultural markets. By focusing on tools, we will thus question the co-production of the analytical and the regulatory frameworks. These evolutions will be investigated by looking at the following aspects: the changing place of economic and statistical science in the decision-making process; the way norms and standards on data translated scientific knowledge into political decisions; the connections between scientific, governmental and professional actors in terms of their collaborations, agendas, and funding schemes. Existing research has emphasized the growing role of the state and expert-driven policies since the First World War. The present panel will pay specific attention to the interplay of public and private interests from a longer perspective. While the role of states and governments has figured prominently in the history of quantification, recent literature insisted on the role of both international organizations and transnational interest groups in creating the knowledge infrastructure of transnational markets. We invite authors to consider the diversity of actors involved in such processes of knowledge and data production. Their role in inventing, shaping and negotiating tools for the observation and the regulation of the agricultural markets will allow us to analyze crucial changes connected to the “transnational process of nationalization of agriculture”. In particular, we propose to focus on economic knowledge of market mechanisms, looking at both the stocks and flows of inputs, outputs, labor, resources and capital essential to agricultural development. How did statistical knowledge of agricultural markets enable their organization and the creation of regulatory mechanisms?

Chair & Discussant: Vicente Pinilla, University of Zaragoza, Spain

2.10.1. External government borrowing and tobacco monopoly: “Regie Company” in the Ottoman Empire for the National Bank of Greece (1888–1914)

Virginia-Anastasia Fournari, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Greece; Evangelos Prontzas, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Greece

The subject of the proposal is the triangular relationship focusing on the “Eastern tobacco” markets formed by the Ottoman public debt, the policy of European capitalists, and the Greek banking system. The concession of Monopoly to Franco-German and British interests (in the 1880s) is linked to the economic climate of the 1960s and 1970s created by the successive financial market crises in Constantinople. The inability to collect public revenues, the reaction of the stakeholder’s financial interests for the change of the tax collection system, the negligence of the Ottoman State, and the continuous coverage of deficits with money lending causes the vicious circle of the recurrent financial crisis in the Ottoman Empire. The culmination of this crisis is the establishment of the ‘Public Debt Organization’ in 1881 and the positioning of the partner in the revenues of «Regie Company» for the management of eastern tobacco products. The French capital is mainly focused on banking and railways, which are also preferred by both Germans and British capitalists. But “banks” and “railroads” are linked with tobacco: the “bank” finances the public and ensures the repayment of debts as it predicts an increase in international demand for the eastern tobacco products. On the other hand, the railway is linked to the control of the production and trade of eastern tobacco. The import of tobacco monopoly has been introduced in European countries, but it also concerns Greece. Its characteristic is that the public undertakes the management of the monopoly in order to benefit the State. The Greek banking system is deeply interested in this monopoly’s effectiveness as a system of fiscal policy in contrast to the form of taxation of a free enterprise and the impact on increasing public revenues of the state, the treatment of smuggling, the control of quantity, and quality in order to deal with the crises of the tobacco sector. The National Bank of Greece analyzes the business perceptions of foreign investors to predict the future of the tobacco industry. It is interested why the “tobacco economy” unleashes the uncontrollable economic aspirations of the leading groups in the new national states along with their major national claims.

2.10.2. Standards, Statistics, and Regimes of Knowledge Production in Agricultural Markets

Aashish Velkar, University of Manchester, UK

Standards play an important part in the global value chains involving agricultural commodities. Within agricultural commodity markets, standards reflect the cultural shifts in scientific methods, technocratic values, and economic practices since the 19th century. I argue that standards, and the measurements that underlie them, became a technology of precision, trust, governance and coordination. More generally, historians have uncovered a gradual ascendancy of numbers since the seventeenth century, rivalling verbal language in print culture, and leading to ever increasing ways in which measurements were made more precise and accurate. Max Weber considered measurements as the cornerstone of modern capitalism and capitalist rationality: capitalism determines income-yielding power by calculation. The Georg Simmel’s ‘ideal of calculability’ in the context of the money economy, or the ‘culture of objectivity’ within state bureaucracies, ensured that statistics assumed a primary role in public life and private enterprise. I argue that measurement and standards of agricultural commodities, and the statistical knowledge of agricultural markets need to be situated within the broader information ecology of capitalism that coalesced in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Print technology and the maturation of the ‘business press’ had a profound influence on the development of markets, particularly with its impact on the dissemination of prices, exchange rates and commercial ‘intelligence.’ Print contributed to the demise of distance, and the telescoped time within the financial and economic worlds. In a less prosaic manner, numerical information from these markets was used to make statistical inferences about key economic phenomena, further enabling the translation of scientific knowledge into political decisions. By

examining the measurements, standards and statistics within this information ecology we can therefore begin to understand how the regimes of knowledge production in agricultural markets evolved between the 19th and 20th centuries. We can uncover the agency and entrenched interests of different economic actors or groups and examine the political processes in which various, often conflicting, economic interests were arrayed and jostled for influence. Standards functioned not only as competitive weapons but were infused with the historical norms that enabled some groups to accumulate considerable economic influence. Economic actors exerted strong pressure on state bureaucracies to preserve norms, introduce laws, or make political decisions that potentially provided them with greater competitive advantage. This paper will explore these issues through select case studies from agricultural commodity markets including those for wheat, cotton and tea in Britain between c1880 and 1930.

2.10.3. In Numbers We Trust: A historical evaluation of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and its agricultural surveys during the 1920s

Hannah Tyler, University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Among the many developments that shaped the history of Interwar agricultural markets, one of the most impactful was the rise of agricultural survey methods. Although governments had been using agricultural censuses to construct and govern agricultural markets since the late 19th century, it was only during the 1900s that farm management and observational surveys were introduced as statistical tools to describe agricultural markets and to inform agricultural policymakers. From 1920 onward, however, national governments were joined by new parties in their quest to capitalize on the increasing amount of agricultural survey data. Organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation, universities, and farm associations were among the many institutions that also promoted survey methods as the central way to collect agricultural information. However, executing this call for surveying was easier said than done. By 1930, numerous actors learned the hard way that the compilation of survey data required not only sheer will. It also needed a large institutional infrastructure, specialized manpower, and (trans)national academic-political networks. Amidst the contenders uniting these elements, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) was one of the most successful. Since its founding in 1862, the USDA has grown to become one of the world’s largest clearinghouses, collecting all agricultural data relevant to the American producers and exporters. To understand the story of how the USDA grew into an institution collecting national statistics and a world-leader in foreign agricultural statistics, I will explore the early history of USDA and its Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE). Chronologically, my story begins in 1922, with the establishment of the BAE, and ends with the creation of the first World Agricultural Census in 1930. Topologically, the paper illustrates two aspects. First, it highlights how and why the USDA and BAE used different survey methods (i.e. agricultural census, farm management, and observational surveys) to assemble agricultural data. Secondly, it pictures how these institutions deployed agricultural surveys not only to construct and observe national and global markets but also how the USDA used survey data to frame its agricultural policies during the 1920s. Conclusively, this paper contributes to the panel in two ways. Firstly, it presents a case study about how surveys, as statistical tools, were used to construct, observe and govern agricultural markets. Secondly, it brings a (trans)national dimension to the panel and the history of quantification because it examines several USDA surveys that were made on domestic and foreign soil.

2.10.4. Verum ex Numeris: the International Institute of Agriculture as the clearing house of global figures

Niccolò Mignemi, Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), France; Federico D'Onofrio, University of Vienna, Austria

The present paper intends to explore different motives and different contexts behind the statistical work of the International Institute of Agriculture (1905–1946). Focusing on the period 1900s–1920s, it will analyze how the first intergovernmental international organization contributed to make the world economy visible by gathering and disseminating data on the production and trade of key agricultural products. The “great invasion” of the second half of the 19th century stressed the role of markets not just as a crucial object of statistical investigation, but also as suppliers and consumers of data. The world of the First Globalization was much more fluid than the rigidified world of the interwar period and the data of the IIA much less established and uncontested than the government statistics of the 1920s and 1930s. Competition among competing data was much more open in the market for data of the early 20th century, while those very tendencies toward sectorial cartelization were already active in this period. Firstly, this paper will trace the project of a world information clearing house back to the emergence in Europe and the US of a need for global figures showing how landed and commercial interests pushed governments to act together in the IIA, despite bureaucratic resistance. Secondly, it will explore the functioning of the statistical machine of the IIA, as it was put in place by US experts and European diplomats to serve one goal – helping farmers to deal with the unpredictability of global markets – but ended up with no clear function. Thirdly, it will discuss an important side effect of international agricultural statistics, namely the harmonization of statistical practices across the world. Finally, it will question the concrete use of IIA statistics and crop-reporting, as well as the negative reviews they received already in the 1920s, when they faced increasing competition from the League of Nations.



Farmer Gerda Bergblom in the tractor, 1953.

SESSION 3 • MONDAY 20 JUNE • 14:30–16:30

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
3.1. Organising and Practising Seasonal Labour: Rural Livelihoods, Mobility and Regulation, 1920s–1940s and today Jessica Richter	3.1.1. Regulating and Practising Seasonal Labour Mobility in Austria, 1918–1938 Jessica Richter	3.1.2. Genealogies of Italy's current 'green-factory' labour arrangements, 1922–present Irene Peano	3.1.3. Recruitment infrastructure within the agricultural and agrifood sector in Europe Dina Bolokan			3:1 Room 1
3.2. Wooded meadows and grazed forests – The history of multiple-product land use in wooded agricultural ecosystems Tommy Lennartsson	3.2.1. Wooded agrarian ecosystems, Research questions and sources of knowledge exemplified by Romanian and Swedish pastures and meadows Tommy Lennartsson	3.2.2. A brief history of multi-functional forests/woodlands in southwest Burgundy, France Seth Murray	3.2.3. Multiple-product woodland use of Cistercian estates in Central Eastern Europe – the landscape archaeological and historical ecological evidence Laszlo Ferenczi	3.2.4. Re-thinking sovereignty on natural resources in an environmental perspective. Simultaneous property forms in France and Italy (XIX–XX cent.). Giulia Beltrametti		3:2 Room 2
3.3. Between the Ivory Tower and the Farm Karl Bruno	3.3.1. Academization's Dilemma: The Institutional Development of Twentieth-Century Swedish Agricultural Sciences Karl Bruno	3.3.2. Agricultural Science in twentieth-century Britain Paul Brassley	3.3.3. Dutch agricultural science, colonial continuities and global capitalism Harro Maat	3.3.4. The European Inferiority Complex of French Cattle Breeding Sciences. A Transnational Perspective of the Refoundation of French Zootechnics (1944–1966) Pierre Cornu		3:3 Room 3
3.4. Agrarian politics in early 20th-century Europe and beyond: new comparative and transnational perspectives 2 Lucian George	3.4.1. Silver Shirts and Amber Waves: Agrarian protest, global economies, and anti-Semitism in the US Farm Belt, 1920–1941 Rebecca Shimoni-Stoil	3.4.2. Survive and resist. Peasant protest in the republican rear-guard during the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939 Isaac Martín Nieto	3.4.3. Exit, loyalty or voice? European farm labourers in the interwar period James Simpson	3.4.4. "Vizconde Eza: a new agrarian aristocracy for transnational social reform" Adrián Sánchez Castillo		3:4 Room 4
3.5. New Perspectives on Hunting in Pre-Industrial Europe Clas Tollin	3.5.1. Jagbackar and Kronparker – an unknown historical land use with consequences for the urban people of today Clas Tollin	3.5.2. Hunting by Early Modern Sami Households Jesper Larsson	3.5.3. The Extent of Hunting in the Southern third of Sweden, 1822–1835. Örjan Kardell	1.5.4. Seeds of Knowledge and Organized Capitalism: Plant Improvement, the Modernizing State and the Evolution of Wheat Breeding in Switzerland, 1850–1930 Juri Auderset	1.5.5. Agrarian associations and parties in Europe, 1870–1939: a global interpretation Miguel Cabo	3:5 Room 5
3.6. Meet-the-author. Rural history as rural labour history: a Mediterranean perspective on social and economic change? Niccolò Mignemi						3:6 Room 6

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
3.7. Beyond collecting: Exploring films as a means of communication for (rural) historians 2 Peter Moser	3.7.1. The Video Essay as a Research Method – Thinking Through the Medium Antje Felicitas Hoffmann	3.7.2. The analytical genre, a corner in the widescreen of essay films? Peter Veer	3.7.3. The Affect of Place: re-imagining the rural Judith Stewart	3.7.4. Is the Award-Winning Series, Innovation Nation, also Innovative History? Debra Reid		3:7 Room 7
3.8. Cattle and Colonization Claire Strom	3.8.1. Capturing the grasslands: The enclosing of common pastures during the Castilian colonisation of the Kingdom of Granada (Spain, 15th–16th centuries) Ignacio Díaz Sierra	3.8.2. "The Best and Most Successful Means to Civilize the Indians:" Sauk and Meskwaki Strategic Resistance to Livestock before The Black Hawk War, 1804–1832 John Ryan Fischer	3.8.3. Ranching and the politics of indigenous lands in Colombia's Caribbean region during the nineteenth century Shawn Van Ausdal	3.8.4. Shifting Bovine Regimes Tamar Novick		3:8 Room 8
3.9. Evidence of Wage Labour in Early Modern Household and Farm Accounts Jane Whittle	3.9.1. Wage labour in the gentry households of early modern England: the workers of the Shuttleworth family, Lancashire, 1582–1621 Li Jiang	3.9.2. The king's stablemen and the wet nurse of an ironworks owner: Some Swedish examples Jonas Lindström	3.9.3. Farm accounts and account books in eighteenth-century Flanders: their potential and limitations for wage labour history Lore Helsen	3.9.4. Women's wages in the sixteenth-century and Sweden's position in the 'Little divergence' Christopher Pihl	3.9.5. When were women and men paid the same for agricultural work? Gender and wage labour in English household accounts c.1500–1660 Jane Whittle	3:9 Room 9
3.10. Grafted institutions. European transfers, institutional bricolage and the evolution of property rights in Latin America José-Miguel Lana	3.10.1. The 'tropicalization' of European property rights in Portuguese America Jose Vicente Serrao	3.10.2. Indigenous lands and property rights on the southern frontier of Buenos Aires (Argentina) during the republican period Sol Lanteri	3.10.3. Institutional bricolage and unforeseen results of proprietary institutions: the case of landlordships and sesmarias in Portuguese America (1534–1795) Manoela Pedroza			3:10 Room 10

3.1. Organising and Practising Seasonal Labour: Rural Livelihoods, Mobility and Regulation, 1920s –1940s and today

Jessica Richter, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

When European governments temporarily closed their national borders due to the Covid 19-situation in 2020, migrant seasonal labourers in agriculture received unprecedented attention from Western European media, at least in the German- and English-speaking countries. Audiences were made aware of these workers' crucial contributions to secure harvests as much as of their precarious working and living conditions. Their situation has not improved until today. Such seasonal work contracts are far from new even though farm work changed profoundly in the 20th century. The same is true for the regulation of labour relations and mobility. Particularly in the first half of the century, arable farming demanded additional labour inputs during seasonal peaks. Many workers lived in the vicinity of farms, others migrated within a region or even over long distances to supplement their livelihoods. Landless rural populations, women, men as well as children, often had to rely on various activities to make a living. Simultaneously or alternately they combined different means of income, from subsistence work to positions in service and different forms of gainful work. This often impacted on compulsory schooling e.g. when older children were largely 'freed' from tuition between spring and autumn to help out in the family and/or at nearby farms. Making ends meet frequently meant moving around, like commuting back and forth to seasonal and other temporary occupations. Farm work was, though important, not the only form of rural seasonal labour in the first half of the 20th century. Many workers were employed e.g. in melioration or road works. After WW I, new institutions and tools to regulate labour mobility emerged in the international arena. On the one hand, European countries increasingly restricted labour market access for non-citizens to 'protect' domestic labour markets. On the other hand, they closed bilateral agreements to recruit seasonal agricultural labourers. These contracts introduced new minimum standards and labour rights as formulated by the International Labour Organization (ILO). Furthermore, states invested in networks of public labour intermediation to centrally and universally organise job search and employment on a national level. Labour offices often targeted rural workforces in specific ways to ensure their availability for farm work. These bodies and measures re/produced new hierarchies between workers. Labourers and employers, however, often counteracted official regulation and programmes. Seasonal labourers, for instance, avoided public labour intermediation and recruitment schemes, left employment in favour of better opportunities elsewhere or protested conditions. Some non-citizens failed to leave the country after their contracts had expired. They accepted irregular employment; others took advantage of legal grey areas. This session aims to discuss how (supra-)state intervention, recruitment agents and labourers' practices to counteract, oppose or adhere to official measures structured and changed seasonal labour relations. In this context, the contributions analyse power relations and inequalities between different actors involved. The session deals with the interwar years that were constitutive for the regulation of temporary labour migration at least until the 1970s. It extends its focus to the 1940s and current seasonal migrations into agriculture in Western Europe.

Chair: Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History, Bern Discussant: Amalia Ribí Forclaz, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland

3.1.1. Regulating and Practising Seasonal Labour Mobility in Austria, 1918–1938

Jessica Richter, Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten, Austria

Like other European states, Austria introduced new measures to restrict employment of non-national citizens after WW I. In times of repeated economic crises and high unemployment, this was justified with the 'protection' of the domestic labour market. Policy makers and administrative authorities, however, considered agricultural labourers to be a special case as landowners pointed to 'rural exodus' and the need for additional labour power especially during labour peaks. Until the mid-1930s, agricultural labourers were therefore widely excluded from employment restrictions. How (dependent) farm labour should be regulated and controlled, was, however, highly contested even amongst administrative authorities. The Ministry of Agriculture, for example, closed bilateral agreements with neighbouring states from the beginning 1920s onwards to recruit seasonal labourers in a highly regulated scheme. Newly established bodies of labour market administration, in contrast, were sceptical of recruiting non-citizens and actively opposed the exemption of 'foreigners' from employment restrictions. They aimed to centrally and universally organise employment. This comprised a strategy of nationalising the labour market, which deepened hierarchies between workers: Unemployed and/or jobseeking citizens should be transferred to open positions in agriculture while "immigration into the domestic labour market" should be prevented. In this context, labour administration bodies e.g. focussed on regulating seasonal labour mobility within the country, particularly from the region of Burgenland to large estates in bordering regions. These and other authorities struggled for competences and to assert their respective standpoints on how employment and mobility in agriculture should be regulated. Their efforts, however, were often counteracted by Austrian and non-Austrian agricultural workforces. Seasonal labourers avoided official labour intermediation and recruitment schemes, left employment in favour of better opportunities elsewhere, protested conditions or failed to leave Austria after their contracts had expired. Some non-citizens accepted irregular employment, others found legitimate ways to make a living in Austria. Sometimes they were supported by local authorities. In the presentation, I will review source materials produced by authorities from the local to the state levels. I will investigate competing administrative practices to regulate agricultural employment and labour mobility. The results are contrasted with a comparison of case files presenting workers' practices from an administrative perspective. Against the background of these struggles I will discuss how the organisation and practices of seasonal labour mobility changed in the course of the interwar years.

3.1.2. Genealogies of Italy's current 'green-factory' labour arrangements, 1922-present

Irene Peano, University of Lisbon, Portugal

The current conditions of work and life of the (largely migrant) agricultural workforce in Italy are often characterized as 'a new form of slavery'. This categorization arguably summons multiple genealogies, which range from the trans-Atlantic trade to Medieval and more ancient modes of plantation- and farm-labour extraction from subjects who were legally equated to chattel or property. However, in this paper I show how more localized and recent histories can highlight the processes through which current arrangements have come into being in more rigorous and illuminating ways. Based on both field and bibliographic/archival research, most specifically relating to two agro-industrial districts in southern Italy, the paper analyses the ways in which Fascist and later republican governments' interventions shaped industrial wage-labour agriculture, family-based and large-scale farming, also in relation to EU policies and global trade agreements, and in dialectical conflict with workers' and farmers' mobilisations. In particular, I explore how Fascist-era land-reclamation and internal-colonization projects – aimed at crushing dissent and bringing landless day labourers closer to the land and away from cities by turning them into owners or sharecroppers – whilst largely failed nonetheless paved the way for later forms of intensive, industrial agriculture. Subsequently, I examine the history of the early-1950s land reform – arguably another failure, in the context of a major process of industrialization that drew many workers from the rural south to northern cities and their factories and led to a

further de-population of the countryside. Yet, the bloody peasant protests that re-emerged in the aftermath of the fall of fascism led to improvements in the legislation concerning wages, welfare provisions and forms of recruitment. At the same time, the mass post-war flow of outmigration led to a first wave of substitution of the rural workforce, which became increasingly composed of women. Later, EU policies, free-trade agreements and retailers' increasing monopoly of agricultural supply chains ran parallel to other waves of mass substitution, this time with international migrants. Currently, the conditions of farm labourers can be seen to have worsened concomitantly with such substitutions. However, the paper argues that longer-term patterns can also be discerned which concern, in particular, irregular and informal modes of recruitment, living arrangements and forms of discrimination.

3.1.3. Recruitment infrastructure within the agricultural and agrifood sector in Europe

Dina Bolokan, University of Basel, Switzerland

The COVID-19 pandemic brought into focus how nation-states manage to shut down borders while maintaining flexible labor recruitment. This challenging situation provoked more public discussion around inequalities within the agricultural and agrifood sector. However, reflections around labor conditions have remained limited. I argue that instead of merely pointing to certain aspects of the current labor conditions and demanding more regulations, a different point of departure is urgently needed. Through a genealogical approach to recruitment and rotation, this presentation is based on an article I am currently working on. I aim to further politicize the discussion around the current recruitment infrastructure in the agricultural and agrifood sectors in Europe. I do this with my research on labor migration from Moldova to the European Union and Switzerland, where I consider the hypermobile life trajectories of workers within the agricultural sector. I am interested in the structures, goals and biopolitical implications as well as the involved ideologies that accompany the laws and regulations of the legal framework of such hypermobility between 'Eastern' and 'Western' Europe. I show how the involved citizenship laws and circular migration policies reveal entanglements through time and space that lead to neocolonial and post-Soviet regimes of labor control within Europe.



Sawmill, c. 1910–20.

3.2. Wooded meadows and grazed forests – The history of multiple-product land use in wooded agricultural ecosystems

Tommy Lennartsson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

In order to understand the historical dimensions of subsistence strategies and the social organisation of the rural communities during the last centuries, knowledge about the provisioning land and past land use is crucial. Natural conditions circumscribe possibilities and limitations for land use, but farmers have also largely altered those frames by changing natural ecosystems and creating new ones. Semi-natural ecosystems were often formed where natural processes were more or less controlled in order to produce commodities. One fundamental change of ecosystems by rural societies is the clearing of forests in favour of production on the ground, of hay, pasture, and arable products. In many parts of Europe, however, semi-open ecosystems were formed in order to fertilise and enhance the ground production and combine it with the harvesting of products from trees and shrubs, such as wood, fruits, nuts, leaf fodder etc. Forests were transformed through the coppicing and pollarding into a multitude of land-use types, from low forest to wooded meadows, pastures, or fields. Many of those land use types included rotational harvesting, for example temporary cultivation, where the trees and shrubs contributed to the soil's nutrient status and to the sustainability of the production. In spite of the widespread use of wooded agricultural ecosystems, the multiple-product land-use has received only little attention in the study of cadastral maps and other archival records. Until recently, this is the case also for historical landscape research, although with some notable exceptions such as François Sigaut and Oliver Rackham. This implies that for many rural societies and regions, we may have only limited knowledge about one of the major resource pools for historical agriculture and subsistence. In this panel, we will explore the variety of wooded agricultural ecosystems in Europe from different perspectives.

Chair & discussant: Eva Gustavsson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

3.2.1. Wooded agrarian ecosystems, Research questions and sources of knowledge exemplified by Romanian and Swedish pastures and meadows

Tommy Lennartsson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences; Anna Westin, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences; Anamaria Iuga, The Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Cosmin Ivasc, AQUATIM and the West University of Timișoara, Romania; Monica Stroe, National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Romania; Bogdan Iancu, The Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Romania

In many European regions, wooded ecosystems have historically constituted one of the major resource pools, not only for forest products but also for agrarian commodities such as hay, pasture and cultivated crops. Through adapted land-use various semi-natural ecosystems were formed, which provided a base for diversified peasant economies. In spite of their importance, wooded agrarian ecosystems have received rather little attention in rural history research. One reason for this is no doubt that historical sources rarely provide satisfactory information about these types of multiple-product land-use. In order to understand the function of wooded agrarian ecosystems for rural societies, we need knowledge about, in particular:

- Which commodities were produced and their importance for rural subsistence.
- Locally adapted activities for shaping and maintaining provisioning ecosystems, and for harvesting the prod-

ucts. • Relationships (synergistic and conflicting) between different categories of products, especially tree products versus ground products. • The extent of wooded agrarian ecosystems, e.g. proportion of forest land used for grazing and other agricultural production. Here, we present two case studies, from the Romanian Carpathians and boreal Sweden. We combine historical information (e.g. cadastral maps, livestock records, ethnological studies) with interviews and historical-ecological field data (including biological cultural heritage), in order to highlight as many of the above points as possible. In Romania, wooded meadows and fields are depicted in cadastral maps from the mid-19th C. The maps indicate various types of coppicing, low-forest and orchards but without details about land-use. Swedish cadastral maps rarely show trees in infield areas, although historical wooded meadows are indicated by biological cultural heritage and ethnological information. In Romania, some types of wooded meadows and arable fields are still in use, which allows in-depth field studies of methods and products. One particularly important type is alder meadows, where planted alder trees provide sustainable yields of wood and fodder. In both regions, outfield areas are depicted as forest in cadastral maps, without details about land-use. Field information reveal a large variety of historical land-use forms in Romanian “forests”, including pollarding in pasture. In Sweden, historical combinations of forest grazing and other land-use are well known, but the area of grazed forest is not given in any source material. Based on livestock numbers around 1850 we calculated the area of pasture in Sweden and found that at least half of Sweden’s forest area has been subject to forest grazing (10–15 million hectares of productive forest).

3.2.2. A brief history of multi-functional forests/woodlands in southwest Burgundy, France

Seth Murray, North Carolina State University, USA; Scott Madry, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA; Elizabeth Anne Jones, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA

Agricultural communities in southwest Burgundy, France have historically depended on a broad range of land use regimes and a wide spectrum of crops, animals and natural resources. In this paper, we employ a multi-method examination of historical land uses in the region which allows us to highlight the connections between forest/woodland size, distribution, composition, and multi-functionality over time. We pay particular attention to the historical importance of woodlands as an integral part of the agricultural and pastoral adaptations, and for local rural societies who needed to diversify their resources in response to changing climatic, economic and sociopolitical conditions. The overall range of land uses is partly a reflection of different agricultural strategies over time, impacted by the variegated visions and needs of the aristocracy, local municipalities, communal farms, individual households, and a centralized national government. Forests or woodland size, distribution, and composition in this part of southwest Burgundy also reflect these changes through a layered set of residual landscape features, such as parcel shape, orientation, fragmentation, aggregation, etc... that can be interpreted partly through historical cartography, oral history, and historical documents, which include census data, tax information, and government agricultural reports. Historically, the multi-functional use of forests and woodlands centered around the primary pastoral needs of farming communities to graze cattle in forests during the summer while they harvested hay, and to feed their pigs on acorns and beech-mast in the mixed oak and beech woods, as well as produce fuel in the form of firewood and charcoal. Other forest/woodland uses included lumber for construction, household furniture and implements, the making of wooden shoes, and provide essential supplements to diets from hunting and gathering berries and nuts. These types of diverse forest/woodland uses are integrally related to agricultural practices and rural life, which is easy to forget when observing the monoculture coniferous tree plantations that have dominated the region since 1945, and which over the last decade are progressively being harvested.

3.2.3. Multiple-product woodland use of Cistercian estates in Central Eastern Europe – the landscape archaeological and historical ecological evidence

Laszlo Ferenczi, Charles University; Martin Janovský, Charles University, Czech University of Life Sciences Prague; Jan Horák, Czech University of Life Sciences Prague

There is a common assumption that medieval Cistercian monastic communities played a significant role in transforming their environments by clearing woodlands, diverting river courses, constructing fishponds, colonizing new lands etc. They were also renowned for cultivating an interest in pastoral economy, and – consequently – for collecting grants (pasture rights) in order to sustain their considerable livestock. This image of the order is based, however, mostly on unique, and well documented examples from Western Europe, while in those regions, which were peripheral to the Cistercian expansion, their environmental impact remains uncharted. Drawing on examples from Central Bohemia, Central and Western Hungary, Wales or Brandenburg, the paper will revisit this theme, implementing a historical ecological research framework – as an approach becoming more of a standard –, relying on an assemblage of archival, landscape archaeological, cartographical, LiDAR, historical topographical, onomastic and historical ecological data, integrated in GIS. Our selection of potentially interesting locations focuses on those manorial farms (*granges*), which served as centers of Cistercian administration, and where the various economic activities of the abbeys could have made the most lasting impact on the local landscapes. To some extent, this will allow us to explore how local natural environments diversified the Cistercians’ approach to the management of woodlands. The study will pinpoint the complexity of Cistercian practices, often combining industrial and agricultural uses of woodlands in the vicinity of their farms, and a long *durée* perspective will allow to illustrate on the one hand the now relict – but still visible – traces of medieval management, and on the other hand, how medieval environments have changed along with the modern decline of pastoral husbandry and the changing role of woodlands.

3.2.4. Re-thinking sovereignty on natural resources in an environmental perspective. Simultaneous property forms in France and Italy (XIX-XX cent.).

Giulia Beltrametti, University of Primorska, Slovenia

European uplands are a huge reservoir of natural resources, and – historically – also places of residence and production, mainly collectively managed. The European Environment Agency defines mountains as the “Europe’s ecological backbone”. These specific ecosystems are often fragile and threatened in particular by human changes of activity (i.e., changes of land use) and by climate change and they are among the most exposed areas from an ecological perspective. Using the tools of legal history and juridical anthropology this paper wants to address one of the central questions of the commons debate: the tension between ownership hierarchies, practices, use and resources’ access. Research demonstrates that collective actions and rights, with their particular juridical pluralism perspective, can actually offer an effective solution for resource use and access, also regarding future generations and that the traditional household management of the local space safeguarded to the present habitats with a particular biodiversity (Barrière, 2011). Legal historians, from their part, are working on the juridical re-interpretation of the traditional concept of property in order to understand its social and environmental function, trying to figure out if it is possible, nowadays, to imagine different forms of sovereignty on natural resources. The question if a different vision of ownership, centred on uses and practises, could respond to our environmental problems is leading to the hypothesis of a re-activation of some of our historical collective institutions (i.e., simultaneous property forms, or the multiple uses of natural resources), that showed over time the best environmental results.

3.3. Between the Ivory Tower and the Farm

Karl Bruno, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden; Per Lundin, Chalmers University of Technology, Sweden

During the nineteenth century, scientific research seeking to address problems of agriculture and forestry began across Europe, often (though not always) in close relation to practical farming. Towards the end of the century and into the next, agricultural research was then increasingly affected by the rise of the university as a research institution. Far from all agricultural research became incorporated in universities, but academic structures and cultures gradually became important points of reference for those involved in it, even if they remained focused on concrete problems of farming. This generated a tension between academic status on the one hand, and practical relevance on the other, that went on to shape both the structure and the content of agricultural science throughout the twentieth century. Such developments have been accounted for in studies of various national contexts, most systematically by Jonathan Harwood in his analysis of agricultural colleges in turn-of-the-century Germany. There have been no attempts at comparisons across national borders, however, even though there were considerable differences between countries in terms of how public agricultural research was organized and the extent to which it remained separate from institutions of higher education. We therefore propose a comparative panel that will bring together scholars from different European countries to discuss the twentieth-century organization of the agricultural sciences and their relation both to the academy and to stakeholders outside academic institutions. This will broaden our knowledge of the cultural, economic, and political conditions and factors that have shaped the development of the agricultural sciences, throwing new light on their role and stature throughout the century. This is not only a historical problem, but an issue of contemporary relevance too. Many agricultural universities in Europe have recently broadened their scope significantly and many are also rebranding themselves as more general life science institutions. Our understanding of this present-day trend is enhanced by a longer perspective on agricultural science's ongoing struggle with its dual identity as a both practical and academic pursuit of knowledge. Questions we plan to address in the session include: How have the agricultural sciences been organized in different countries during the twentieth century, and how has this shaped research goals and practices? Which ideals of knowledge production have been most important, and how and why have they varied over time? How have relations to other sciences, and to non-scientific stakeholders, shaped and been shaped by the organization and practice of agricultural science?

Chair & discussant: Yves Segers, KU Leuven, Belgium

3.3.1. Academization's Dilemma: The Institutional Development of Twentieth-Century Swedish Agricultural Sciences

Karl Bruno, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden; Per Lundin, Chalmers University of Technology, Sweden

In the late 1980s, the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU) managed close to ninety percent of Swedish state funding for agricultural research. Unlike its Nordic neighbors and many other European countries, Sweden thus had few non-academic public agricultural research institutes or experiment stations. This concentration of research funds to a university was conspicuous enough in international comparison to make a 1991 government report describe it as a "Swedish model" for the organization of the agricultural sciences. In this paper, based on the introductory chapter of a recent edited volume, we examine the origins, development, and effects of this "Swedish model" by studying the academization of Swedish agricultural research. We identify two central parts of the academization process. First, we show how the Swedish state pursued an active politics of rationalizing and centralizing agricultural research and experimentation, concentrating it to higher education institutions, particularly to the Royal Agricultural College in Uppsala and subsequently to SLU. Second, we discuss how, over time, this centralization led many agricultural researchers to start identifying with academic norms and status hierarchies that privileged scientific autonomy and theoretical research over practical experimentation and applicability. In some ways the academization was a success story, allowing the agricultural sciences to expand and thrive. However, their gradual distancing from practical farming also created serious dilemmas of organization and legitimacy. As they became more similar to other sciences, were the agricultural sciences still distinctly agricultural and ultimately motivated by their usefulness in the field? Or had they become more general life sciences, no longer needing specific institutions or privileged links to the agricultural sector? These questions remain unresolved, and we argue that they continue to be salient and sensitive within the Swedish agricultural sciences today.

3.3.2. Agricultural Science in twentieth-century Britain

Paul Brassley, University of Exeter, UK

This paper examines the organisation of agricultural science in Britain, the objectives of those participating in it, and its relationship with other sciences and with those who used its outputs. The basic organisation of agricultural science was established at the beginning of the twentieth century. The paper traces the development of agricultural research institutes from their initial funding by the Development Commission before the First World War, to their organisation under the Agricultural Research Council in the 1930s and their expansion after the Second World War. It also tracks the parallel expansion of agricultural research in the universities at the same time, and explains how the universities and research institutes came together at the end of the century. The paper then goes on to argue that there was a long-standing tension in agricultural science between the search for understanding and the desire to apply scientific developments. It argues that this was managed, from the 1940s to the 1960s, by the activities of bodies such as the Agricultural Improvement Council and the Experimental Husbandry Farms, but came to a head in the 1970s with the arguments over the Rothschild Report on research funding. This leads to the third part of the paper, covering the contemporary work on the assessment of the value of scientific research in agriculture, and concluding with a discussion of whether or not agricultural science actually exists as a separate discipline.

3.3.3. Dutch agricultural science, colonial continuities and global capitalism

Harro Maat, Wageningen University, Netherlands

The high export levels of Dutch agricultural products are generally considered as a result of creative ingenuity of Dutch farmers and a well-established national innovation system for agriculture. This popular story has undertones of scientism, innovation-speak and nationalism. This paper challenges the popular narrative by looking at the ways in which agricultural production and science-based innovations internationalised from the late nineteenth century onwards. The key argument is that agricultural science and experts networks were co-produced in the context of Dutch colonialism. As argued by Richard Drayton, Jo Hodge and others, the 'New Imperialism' of the late colonial period was characterised by the strong involvement of scientific research and scientifically-trained experts. Agricultural science featured prominently in the colonial context and the research stations the Dutch had created in colonial Indonesia were internationally celebrated. The paper will show how co-production of Dutch agricultural science and colonialism played a key role in the trade-oriented nature of agricultural production in the Netherlands. The international science-trade nexus continued after Indonesian independence up until today. The paper concludes by sketching some of the implications for the future of Dutch agricultural science in light of current environmental challenges and the Sustainable Development Goals.

3.3.4. The European Inferiority Complex of French Cattle Breeding Sciences. A Transnational Perspective of the Refoundation of French Zootechnics (1944–1966)

Pierre Cornu, Lyon 2 University, France

Although France has a long tradition of agronomic sciences, as well as prestigious veterinary institutions, both rooted in the Age of Enlightenment, its animal husbandry research has for long been poorly funded. This led to a disastrous situation in the years of the crisis of the 1930's, which even worsened during the German occupation (1940–1944). In the aftermath of the war, in a context of milk and meat shortages and stark difficulties with the quality of the national dairy production, a wake-up call to action arose from various actors –researchers, administrative executives, leaders of professional organizations...-, calling for a joint commitment to enter a new era of science-based modernization of the national cattle. But it is with a bitter sense of inferiority that the first French practitioners of zootechnics took the opportunity of the return to peace and cooperation in Western Europe to take a look, and more than a look, at the scientific and agricultural institutions of Great-Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden. Nevertheless, they had no choice if they were to catch up with the latest developments of artificial insemination, genetics, and food technology. As early as 1945, thus, different groups of researchers, administrative executives and representatives of agricultural organizations, started to travel North, visiting laboratories and farms, writing reports and coming back with full-scale programs. This revival of French zootechnics, inspired by Northern European scientific and agricultural institutions and models, took shape in a complex set of new institutions. It began with the foundation of the French national center of animal husbandry research (CNRZ) in 1950, and culminated with the Cattle-breeding Bill of 1966, which gave full power to geneticists on the selection of the national cattle. This transnational case study, at the crossroads of rural history and science studies, is based on original research developed collaboratively within different French scientific and technical institutions of agronomy and animal husbandry, an approach that has allowed us to collect an important and original corpus of both archival and oral materials. Our work highlights the dialectic between cooperation and competition in the field of animal sciences in the context of the modernization of European cattle-breeding. The leading hypothesis we would like to share with our European colleagues states that transnational science-based innovation has been a major driver of the making of the European agricultural and food system, even before the development of the Common agricultural policy.

3.4. Agrarian politics in early 20th-century Europe and beyond: new comparative and transnational perspectives 2

Lucian George, University of Oxford, UK

The political reputation of the European peasant has long contained an unresolved duality – stalwart of tradition on the one hand, untamed insurgent on the other. By the early 20th century this duality was weakened, as modernisation eroded the bases for traditionalism and the jacquerie alike. Simultaneously, however, the rise of mass politics that modernisation entailed only served to magnify this contradiction. The village now became a battleground for political actors from both the Left and the Right, many of whom were themselves peasants determined to create an autonomous political space for the countryside. In their quest to conquer the peasants, these actors not only appealed to the peasants' competing instincts – be it egalitarianism or an attachment to property, hostility to elites or to the Jew – but also sought to intensify those instincts most suited to their own political aims. Peasants thus entered the political scene in a bewildering, often overlapping variety of incarnations – both revolutionary and counterrevolutionary, democratic and antidemocratic, nationalist and internationalist – fusing modern ideologies with earlier elements of peasant culture in the process. This variety of incarnations, however, has largely been occluded by national divisions within European historiography. Comparative studies of peasant politics remain scarce; terms like "peasant radicalism" carry vastly different associations depending on national context. Connectedly, the prevalence of political history approaches has so far obscured the role of peasant culture in shaping peasant politics. This session will seek to remedy these shortcomings, bringing together papers on early 20th-century agrarianism in different parts of Europe and beyond, with a view to transgressing the boundaries imposed by nation-based and political history.

Chair & discussant: George Vascik

3.4.1. Silver Shirts and Amber Waves: Agrarian protest, global economies, and anti-Semitism in the US Farm Belt, 1920–1941

Rebecca Shimoni-Stoil, Clemson University, USA

For American farmers, the interwar period was marked by a wave of financial crisis that far exceeded the chronological parameters of the "Great Depression," marking a trajectory of political economy more closely aligned with mainland Europe than with American cities. In the shadow of banking instability, agrarian protest drew upon the long legacies of 19th century American populism, a movement that combined progressive economic interventions with xenophobic, racist, and anti-Semitic social platforms. In the interwar period, this return to rural populism brought American agrarian activists into conversation with their European contemporaries' turn toward ethno-fascism. This paper argues that anti-Semitism was not tangential but rather central to these American agrarians' conspiracist explanations of the political-economic forces aligned against them, the cornerstone of their rejection of conventional economic and political knowledge regarding both the cause of and the solution to their problems. Embracing the recent scholarly emphasis on construction of capitalism at the grassroots level, this paper argues that anti-Semitism enabled the production of alternative understandings of the form and function of global markets. Using a wide variety of sources including letters, contemporary accounts, ideological manifestos, and network analyses of individuals and ideologies, this study argues for a complex, interdependent, and dynamic relationship between agrarian populism and xenophobia in the American farm belt.

3.4.2. Survive and resist. Peasant protest in the republican rearguard during the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939

Isaac Martín Nieto, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

This article addresses the role played by peasants in the republican rearguard during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) using the study case of the region of Castilla. Unlike most historians of this war, who has focused on the revolutionary mobilization of rural proletarians, here stress is laid on the resistance to republican policy offered by small- and medium-sized landowners. The article is divided into three parts. The first one assesses the development of the military rebellion, the upsurge of the revolutionary powers, and the results of the violence deployed by those powers. The second one points out the consequences of that violence for landowners. And the last one analyses the strategy used by those peasants in order to achieve protection and representation, to survive and to resist, to protest. The main conclusions indicate that social revolution had different agents in every region of the republican rearguard, that social structures conditioned the republican political process, that peasants were far from being just witnesses of the struggle for power between political parties and trade unions, and that peasant protest explains to a great extent the defeat of the Republic.

3.4.3. Exit, loyalty or voice? European farm labourers in the interwar period

James Simpson, Universidad Carlos III, Spain

This paper looks at how one section of the farm population attempted to further their own interests and influence political change across Europe in the interwar period. It argues that the incentives for farm labourers to organize depended not just on their employment conditions and nature of farm work (full time, seasonal, etc.), but also the possibilities to gain better paid urban employment. It traces the effect of the long-term decline in paternalism in many regions on labour relations, and the impact of the Great Depression, which severely reduced the options for farm workers to exit. At the same time, the extension of male suffrage and the growth in trade unions offered new, alternative channels to voice their economic and political grievances. Farm workers belonged to a dynamic rather than static social group, with their numbers and demands changing over time. In particular, the fact that the small family farm had become the dominant production unit across most of Eastern, Southern and Western Europe by the 1920s reduced the importance of the land question for many, while farm workers' attempts to improve their living standards frequently brought them into conflict with family farmers. The first section of this paper examines the nature of farm work, and the statistical difficulties to calculate accurately the number of agricultural workers. The highly seasonal nature of much of farm work implied that a sizeable, but often unknown, number of families worked on both their own land and for seasonal wages, a fact ignored in most censuses. Section two looks at the nature of farm work and types of labour contacts used. Despite the major growth in associated power everywhere after 1918, the strong seasonal fluctuations in labour demand, together with the adverse economic conditions of the interwar period, created difficulties for labour movements. Section three looks more closely at the cycles of labour unrest associated with the cereal harvest which were triggered when governments relaxed their repression of trade unions. The final section looks at role of farm labour and political change in the period.

3.4.4. “Vizconde Eza: a new agrarian aristocracy for transnational social reform”

Adrián Sánchez Castillo, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

The modernisation process linked to masses political mobilisation from the beginning of the 20th century had a prominent expression in the debate and adoption of the first measures on social and labour legislation. Agriculture, emerging as a battleground between various political actors, was the space where aristocratic elements that played an interesting role as transnational intermediaries projected an agrarian ideology oriented towards social reform. This is the case of Luis de Marichalar y Monreal (1873–1945), VII Viscount of Eza, a prominent Spanish politician and sociologist. A convinced supporter of *Rerum Novarum*, he participated in the process of renewal and expansion of labour legislation in Spain since the beginning of the new century. Defined as “Great Social Lord”, he was active in the Instituto de Reformas Sociales since its foundation in 1903, institution of which he was president (1918–1924), and participated in the creation of the Instituto Nacional de Previsión (1908). Two milestones stand out in Eza’s practical activity as a social reformer. The first Spanish law that instituted social insurance (Labour Accidents Law, 1900) was extended to agriculture in the terms designed by him and as president of the IRS he led the Spanish delegation to the first International Labour Conference (1919). Eza held a multitude of government positions (he was Minister of Development and War) and led the powerful Asociación de Agricultores de España, but for our topic he stands out as president of the Spanish sections of transnational networks involved in social reform: the Association for Social Progress and the International Association on Unemployment; and as permanent delegate of Spain to the ILO. Linked to French agrarianism and also to informal transnational networks, he promoted the Conferences on Social Security, directed the *Semanas Sociales* and published countless works on social matters from the prestige of his status as member of the Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas. Some recently published works have delved into this figure, on his agrarian thinking or his Conservative Catholic profile. The scope of this text is to analyze its activity and ideology as an exponent of new socio-political elites with broad transnational connections which tried to build a new peasant identity (combining order and reform) through a specific model of labour relations and social rights in the countryside.



Work break with happy faces, c. 1910–20.

3.5. New Perspectives on Hunting in Pre-Industrial Europe

Clas Tollin, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences; Jesper Larsson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Hunting has been an important part of rural life throughout Europe and can be roughly divided into three main types. Firstly the supply hunt. Hunting for goods such as meat, furs, oil, etc. This hunting dominated the livelihoods in ancient times, long before the agriculture revolution, and has existed in different forms up to present times. Secondly, hunting for protection. Includes hunting as part of the protection of domestic animals from predators. This kind of hunting also includes hunting that compete with humans for the same food resource, such as cormorants, foxes and birds of prey. Thirdly is hunting for pleasure. From the Middle Ages and onwards, pleasure hunting was conducted by a royal and aristocratic elite in Europe. It was conspicuous hunting and the prey itself was of minor importance. Part of this hunting was falconry and fenced deer-gardens. Wild animals were considered the elite's possession and hunting an exclusive pursuit. The ordinary man and women were excluded. Hunting is a broad concept and the purpose of hunting has changed through time, space and social groups. The aim of the session is to highlight new perspectives and contemporary research about different social, ecological and economic perspectives on hunting in pre-industrial Europe.

Chair: Jesper Larsson

Discussant: Ådel Vestbö Franzen

3.5.1. Jagbackar and Kronparker – an unknown historical land use with consequences for the urban people of today

Clas Tollin, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

In southern Sweden, there were in older times a large number of small crown hunting grounds beside the king's larger deer parks. The terminology is shaky, jagbacke, hunting park, hunting place. The terms was often used synonymously and sometimes with the addition kroon (crown). One definition is "Especially smaller, hunting ground" But also especially in the case of older conditions: "part of a crown domain intended for hunting ground for the court" Backe in old cadastral maps has the meaning impediment, i.e. land that could not be used for agriculture or hay meadows. The deer parks belonging to higher aristocracy or the crown are reasonably investigated. The small crown parks and jagbackar have not been studied. Some questions are: What is the origin of jagbackar? How old are they? How common were they? How big were they? Where were they situated? Other issues concern the legal and economic consequences of the jagbackar for the local population at different times. The farmers were fore instance forbidden to collect fire wood or even break a branch in spite of that the jagbackar were the only woodland in the actual settlement. The punishment were hard if you broke the rules. The jagbackar have also affected today's land use but in a more positive way. Many of them resisted modern urbanization and are now nature and culture reserves of great importance for outdoor life. The study mainly has older surveying maps and their text descriptions as a source.

3.5.2. Hunting by Early Modern Sami Households

Jesper Larsson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences; Eva-Lotta Päiviö Sjaunja, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Hunting was one of three pillars in early modern Sami economy, and understanding of Sami hunting has increased during recent decades. However, most research has concentrated on time periods before 1600. After 1600 and the initial formation of modern Nordic countries, hunting ceased to be the backbone of Sami overall economy but continued as an integral part of household economies. Our aim is to advance understanding of early modern hunting in interior circumpolar Fennoscandia. Source materials include court rulings and historical accounts, and we apply Ostrom's Social-Ecological Systems framework as an analytical tool. We show that ecological differences between mountains and forest impacted decisions about hunting. From the 1500s to the end of the 1700s, hunting led to extinction of wild reindeer and depopulation of fur animals; hence, small-game hunting for subsistence became more important. The distribution of two subspecies of wild reindeer is a clue to understanding the development of wild reindeer hunting. In the forest region, strong property rights to game developed through the lappsattelund (tax land) and hunting was a private enterprise. We suggest that the institution of tax lands was a response to changes in Sami economy, and the transition from collective to private hunting was a contributing factor.

3.5.3. The Extent of Hunting in the Southern third of Sweden, 1822–1835.

Örjan Kardell, Uppsala University

At the time, Sweden was a country which was, economically-wise, very agrarian oriented, preindustrial and with an overwhelmingly rural population. This in a juridical environment where hunting in general was allowed for all landholders, even freeholding farmers, since 1789. However, at the time, wild carnivores could be hunted by anyone, without permission and with no regard to landownership or season. In this case the successful hunter was even remunerated by official bounties, introduced in 1647. The amounts paid out differed between the carnivore species and whether it concerned a juvenile or an adult within the species. The hunter was allowed to keep the pelt of the carnivore. On the other hand, regarding hunting as a subsistence activity, in order to bring meat into the pot, all historical sources show that there were hardly no cervids present at all in the southern third of Sweden by the 1820s. Three parallel lines of investigation will be followed: – hunting as a supporting means in the contemporary agrarian economy. This through the evidence given in probate inventories, mandatory since 1749. The occurrence of guns and trapping-gear in three hundreds situated in the southern part of Sweden – compared to the total number of individual hunters present in the applications for bounties in the county of Jönköping. – the Swedish society's attitude toward wild carnivores. Were all carnivores similarly disliked? Or is it possible to trace a difference in attitude when considering the composition of a mixed bag of carnivores? This notion is based on the assumption that vermin and animal pests were – true – generally disliked, but as threats to an agrarian society different carnivore species had different possibilities and abilities to damage or injure a rural subsistence economy. This through the applications for bounties in the county of Jönköping and the composition of a mixed bag of carnivores that their total number represents. – the influence of official bounties in order to instigate actual hunting of carnivores. Probate inventories of furriers in the Swedish capital of Stockholm will be scrutinised for a contemporary fur price and compared to the amounts of bounties, changing over time, paid for different species. The effect of bounties could not be understood lacking a contemporary fur price.

3.6. Meet-the-author. Rural history as rural labour history: a Mediterranean perspective on social and economic change?

Niccolò Mignemi, CNRS, France; Giulio Ongaro, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Italy

The “meet the author” session aims at discussing a hypothetical specificity of a part of the Italian rural history, that is a particular focus on agricultural workers and labour organisation in rural areas. Thanks to the activism of the members of the research group “Rural labour and workers” of the Italian Society of Labour History, in 2020 three publications have been released: the book edited by Niccolò Mignemi, Claudio Lorenzini and Luca Mocarrelli *Pluriattività rurale e lavoro agricolo in età contemporanea (secoli XIX-XX)*, the dossier n. 2020/25 of the review *Geshichte der Alpen – Histoire des Alpes – Storia delle Alpi* edited by Luca Mocarrelli and Giulio Ongaro on *Pluriattività – Pluriattività – Pluriaktivität* and the forum in the review *Quaderni Storici*, n. 2019/2, edited by Giacomo Bonan and Giulio Ongaro on *Microstoria, protoindustria, saperi. Ricordando Carlo Poni*. These book and journal themed sections, and especially the fact that they are all the result of conference and seminars in Italy, testify on the one hand the broader dynamism of Italian rural history – that, it must be underlined, is not certainly limited to the recalled scholars and ventures – and on the other hand also a peculiar attention to the labour dynamics and their connection to rural economic and social change. Recalling the relevant European debates in the 1980s on pluri-activity in the rural areas and on the proto-industrial model in the countryside, this inclination does not seem a real newness; however, is it an Italian specificity? To what extent? Which is the role of these topics in other national environments? Recent studies on free and unfree labour and inequality patterns have given new attention to the diversity of rural workers in a long-term perspective. At the same time, research on rural landscapes and alternative agricultures have shown that labour organisation could be a powerful – individual and collective – resource in the development processes, and not just a tool to counterbalance the lack of land and capital. Through the point of view of labour, it is thus possible to question the place of agriculture among other rural and non-rural activities, the influence of traditional savoir-faire on technical innovations, the connections between different agrosystems in terms of seasonal activities and labour migrations. Italy and, more generally, the Mediterranean region are special observatories to question these dynamics given the great diversity of their local environments and cropping systems. Besides the editors of the above-mentioned books and reviews, scholars from Italy, Spain, France, Slovenia, Switzerland and Sweden will discuss these issues.

Chair: Miguel Cabo, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

3.7. Beyond collecting: Exploring films as a means of communication for (rural) historians 2

Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History, Bern; Juri Auderset, Archives of Rural History, Bern; Andreas Wigger, Archives of Rural History, Bern

Films are important for historians of the 20th century. Since online-platforms like the one created by the European Rural History Film Association (www.ruralfilms.eu) provide access to an increasing number of films, rural historians rely on them in similar ways as they have done so far on photographs and written or oral sources. But the question remains whether films are “only” a source for historians or also an appropriate means of communication for historical insights and narratives. This question is particularly relevant in an era of media consumption when texts are increasingly questioned as the main form of communication in the academic world and certainly losing their primacy in non-academic circles. The aim of this panel is to analyse the potential of films as a means of communication in history. Proposals addressing the question whether video essays are an alternative or at least a complementary form of publication for historians are particularly welcome. Contributions in this panel may take on the form of video essays, documentaries, workshop reports or theoretical reflections.

Chair: Juri Auderset

3.7.1. The Video Essay as a Research Method – Thinking Through the Medium

Antje Felicitas Hoffmann, Landesstelle für Berlin-Brandenburgische Volkskunde, Germany

This contribution is dedicated to the video essay as a praxeological film method in research. Methodological considerations will be discussed, as well as fundamental questions regarding the use of films in research and as a tool for research – What is a video essay? What can it be used for? As a second step, questions of implementation and application will be addressed: What are the prerequisites for production? How does one go about planning and implementing it? What potential does the medium of film offer? Finally, the possibilities, challenges, and limitations of this special research method are analyzed, and contextualized alongside a more general assessment of the medium. Due to the limited time, these questions can only be briefly touched upon here and not answered in depth. To critically illustrate its advantages and disadvantages, a representative video essay is analyzed. This example – composed primarily of film material by the GDR documentary filmmaker Volker Koepp – introduces its own methods and also puts theoretical questions into practice. Since the 1960s, Koepp’s films have been primarily devoted to the concerns of women in the rural areas of East Germany. The video essay produced for this purpose shows the potential offered by such a praxeological film method. In this way, viewers are made aware of content that the contemporary document itself already possesses, but which is not directly revealed in the original material. Using the GDR documentary as an example, it is possible to extract actual images of the film practices and policies behind the material. The notes of a conversation between the researcher and the filmmaker itself about an earlier video essay by Antje F. Hoffmann show the collaborative potential of the specific method. This way their different perspectives now flow productively into the panel contribution and are intended to stimulate discussion – in keeping with the motto: “Thinking about film through the medium of film itself”.

3.7.2. The analytical genre, a corner in the widescreen of essay films?

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

This paper focus on the description and use of the ‘analytical video-essays’ in a rural history study and places the genre in the wide range of essay films. It contributes to the question of the panel by giving an additional aim of video essays apart from a source or as a form of publication. Framing the Dutch Landscape is the English title of the research project about the historic film practices of the Netherlands Ministry of Agriculture (1945–1985). The results are in my doctorate thesis *Bewogen landschap* (2020) in the Dutch language. This paper reveals a part of the research outcome that could be relevant to scholars and students interested in the crossroads of cultural studies, landscape heritage, film analyses and rural history. In film- and media studies an increasing practice of ‘analytical video-essays’ can be seen. The language of images and audio-visuals are well equipped to transmit cultural and ideological meanings to large publics in society. To study the cinematographic representations in historic films of every day practices, motives and cultural backgrounds on a scientifically approved method is a work full of methodological quests and dilemmas. So, the analyses of a well-chosen selection of six productions out of the collection of 533 extension films of the Ministry with the help of a rhetoric audio visual research protocol could be seen as an essay in the original sense of the word, a methodological experiment and open to suggestions and comments. The theoretical frame work for the method was developed in 1985 in Leuven by Hesling and Peters for celluloid but, as far as known, not put in to practice. For Framing the Dutch Landscape parts of the method were translated to a digital audio-visual editing environment and described in a protocol and used. The aim of the rhetoric audio visual analysis was to reveal the changes in motives and cultural historic processes in the Dutch government policies on agriculture and rural development. The paper gives a brief overview of the protocol, the results of using the ‘analytical video-essays’ as a research tool. It will refer to historic audio-visual sources and a video-essay on the internet. And it raises the question if the tool can be seen as a new genre in the broad range of essay films.

3.7.3. The Affect of Place: re-imagining the rural

Judith Stewart, Sheffield Hallam University, UK; James Quinn, Independent scholar, UK

Images have traditionally been used by historians and museum curators to provide narratives of how things were: evidence of progress or a lost way of life. Such approaches, while valuable, encourage a perspective of the rural as ‘other’, to be experienced from a place of detachment. In these documentary representations, the landscape itself becomes a backdrop, a frame within which we can either foster our nostalgia for an imagined way of life, or where we experience the sublime of nature. Even when the landscape itself is designated ‘heritage’, e.g. in national parks, we experience it as observers whose mode of viewing overlooks the affective impact of landscape on local inhabitants. It is this affective aspect that is often absent from history and heritage narratives. In our experimental collaborations, we look for alternative ways of representing relationships with landscapes: how landscapes are used (the environment and the ecosystem) and the affective role it plays in individual and communal identities. Using film, written and spoken narratives, artist books and photographic prints, our early works have been based on specific places (*Conversations from the Car*) but have recently expanded to include remembered and imagined places where experiences are influenced by existing cultural artifacts (*Italy of the Imagination*). This paper introduces our current research which focuses on remembered landscapes and the role landscape plays in the lives of migrant workers in the East of England. In this, we are looking for intangible forms of heritage, articulated through images, which are currently under-represented, most notably in narratives based on national discourse(s). Our chosen landscape – flat, marshy and agricultural – is the shared topography on either side of the North Sea. Our research investigates the extent to which a shared heritage of dislocation, absence, and an association with particular places and landscapes, can create an affect that is absorbed into peoples’ sense of being and identity. We ask whether an affiliation with particular landscapes and topographical features generates a common visual aesthetic that transcends national identity and whether this can provide historians and museum curators with insights into lived experiences. We will present an essay film and critical discussion that focuses on the affective role landscape plays in generating and articulating feelings of loss, longing and belonging amongst migrant workers. We offer an alternative, filmic, response that attempts to embody overlooked or invisible cultural identities.

3.7.4. Is the Award-Winning Series, Innovation Nation, also Innovative History?

Debra Reid, Henry Ford, USA

What makes good historical narrative? A compelling argument, one that uses the historic evidence in thought-provoking ways; factual and attention grabbing; authentic and relevant. This session will assess excerpts from a current TV production, CBS’s *Innovation Nation*, and will judge one 4-minute history segment based on these criteria. *Innovation Nation* aired for the first time in 2014. This three-time Emmy-award winning production results from a partnership between The Henry Ford and Litton Entertainment. Each ½ hour episode includes a 4-minute segment featuring a curator addressing a historic topic. Each curator views this as a 4-minute window-of-opportunity to convey historical insights. The narrative takes the form of short and pithy answers to a series of questions asked by the star, Mo Rocca, and delivered to viewers of Saturday morning TV – children between the ages of 8 and 14. Critics have nominated *Innovation Nation* for numerous awards and it has received three Daytime Emmys for Outstanding Special Class Series (2015) and Outstanding Writing for a Special Class Series (2016, 2020). But what do historians think? The presentation will start with a viewing of segments from one episode featuring one topic that I have recorded [to date, options include tractors (2018), hay, eggs, Luther Burbank, and George Washington Carver (2019), weathervanes, tomato harvesters, and apples and cider (2020)]. After a short overview of the research, writing, and production (aka publication) process, then the audience can determine if the curator accomplishes her goals of conveying historical insights to the audience. What can she do better, given that she controls only her own historical interpretation; TV producers transform more than one hour of interview footage plus B-roll of the setting into one 4-minute *Innovation Nation* segment (the publication). If the model works, anyone could craft a 4-minute historical narrative and extend history’s reach. The audience can be the judge.



In the shop, c. 1910–20.

3.8. Cattle and Colonization

Claire Strom, Rollins College, UK

This panel will explore the connections between cattle and colonization in different locations around the globe. Europeans viewed livestock as an important driver of imperialism, both intentionally and otherwise. From the Cape Colony to Colombia, cattle helped Europeans take over new lands, dominate indigenous peoples, and realize vast profits. This had a variety of consequences. Non-native species, when introduced to an ecology, frequently fundamentally altered it. Their very animality impacted colonized ecosystems and indigenous economies, facilitating imperialism. Nonetheless, the ability of cattle to succeed in new environments was not inevitable. Deliberate actions of the colonizing humans often proved vital in facilitating the biological irruption of Old World domestic livestock. Colonizers encouraged the killing of native animals that competed with their livestock. They also ensured the success of their cattle by cultural domination. As conquerors, the Europeans imposed their laws regarding land and stock. Conveniently, the colonists articulated that ownership of land was tied to intensive, “European-style” use of land. They did not recognize most of the land management practiced by indigenous peoples throughout the New World and Antipodes as agriculture and, thus, did not recognize the land as being owned. Thus, native resources were legally appropriated for western cattle, enhancing this species’ odds of survival. Where biological pressures and legal advantages proved insufficient, colonists ensured the domination of Old World cattle with violence. The histories of European expansion are rife with violence from official military campaigns to extralegal massacres. These frequently had the effect, either intended or ancillary, of benefiting stockraising. Thus, over the course of four to five hundred years, Europeans succeeded in colonizing much of the globe. Cattle facilitated this process, which altered countless ecosystems and resulted in huge species loss and the disintegration of indigenous cultures. However, European livestock and conceptions of stockraising also changed. New environments dramatically altered animal breeds, and colonists purposefully bred animals to prosper in local conditions and meet market requirements. The introduction of non-native species also allowed indigenous peoples to interact with animals previously unknown to them. This changed their relationship with the land and other peoples. Interactions—usually unequal-between colonists and indigenous peoples grew around cattle production, which had economic, social, and political consequences.

Chair: Claire Strom

Discussant: Robert Wilcox, Northern Kentucky University, USA

3.8.1. Capturing the grasslands: The enclosing of common pastures during the Castilian colonisation of the Kingdom of Granada (Spain, 15th–16th centuries)

Ignacio Díaz Sierra, Esteban López García, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

The Christian conquest of the Iberian Muslim territories of al-Andalus during the Middle Ages was in part linked to the interests of large stockholders and their constant search for plentiful and cheap pastures. Many communities of the southern border of Castile were stockbreeding centres that exported wool and other livestock products. As J. C. Bishko showed decades ago, the system of extensive commercial stockbreeding born in Medieval Iberia was later introduced to the Spanish Atlantic colonies, giving rise to large-scale cattle ranching in the American frontiers. This paper explores two case-studies from the Kingdom of Granada—the town of Olvera (Cádiz) and the mountainous region of the Serranía de Ronda (Málaga)—that illustrate how colonial stockbreeding was deployed after the 1492 conquest in two very different contexts. Olvera was a frontier town for over a century and a half and all indigenous inhabitants were expelled, allowing settlers to use lands freely. On the other hand, thousands of Andalusí peasants remained in the Serranía de Ronda after the conquest, coexisting with the Christian newcomers. The contradictory objectives and priorities of indigenous and settler stockbreeding became immediately clear, as conflicts aroused regarding the management of pastures, the size of herds and the different breeds raised by each group. Native peasants regarded stockbreeding as a complementary activity which was to be coordinated with land cultivation. Meanwhile, the conquerors introduced large herds of cows, pigs and sheep aimed at producing meat, wool and leather for the market, and they turned wide areas of the Serranía de Ronda into pastures. Tensions between Andalusí farmers and Castilian stockholders were recurrent until the indigenous populations was expelled from the Kingdom of Granada in the 1570s. However, the expulsion was only a partial solution to the contradictions inherent to colonial stockbreeding. It was also an important source of conflict among colonists themselves, as large owners and local authorities appropriated common pastures for their exclusive use or renting, at the expense of the majority of settlers. This is apparent in the case of Olvera, where the Dukes of Osuna and the local oligarchy progressively enclosed and privatised pasture lands that had been held in common by the settler community during the long frontier period prior to 1492. Likewise, stockbreeding remained a source of confrontation in the Serranía de Ronda, after the expulsion of the Andalusí peasantry in the 1570s.

3.8.2. “The Best and Most Successful Means to Civilize the Indians:” Sauk and Meskwaki Strategic Resistance to Livestock before The Black Hawk War, 1804–1832

John Ryan Fischer, University of Wisconsin, USA

Sauk and Meskwaki peoples utilized a diverse set of resources to succeed in the Upper Mississippi River Valley from the mid-eighteenth century. Following the devastation to Meskwaki villages and peoples during the Fox Wars of the early-1700s, the two nations cooperated to establish new territorial strategies along a 300 mile stretch of the Mississippi from just north of St. Louis to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin along both sides of the river. The large Sauk village of Saukenuk on the Illinois Territory’s Rock River was one of the largest in the region, and further communities stretched along the river above and below it, allowing inhabitant to produce ample crops of corn, hunt extensively for food and the fur trade, and mine lead. As the United States established a greater presence in the region after the Louisiana Purchase, U.S. officials began to emphasize the need to introduce “civilizing” agricultural practices, with a special emphasis on the raising of cattle, and they ignored Sauk and Meskwaki agricultural success in the process. Meanwhile, Sauk and Meskwaki communications and actions made clear their resistance to livestock and their understanding of the animals’ importance in undergirding settler colonialism. Again and again, Sauk and Meskwaki attacked settlers through their cattle, and redirected U.S. policies that attempted to introduce cattle herding, instead always favoring horses, which better supported their central strategies of exploiting expansive and diverse subsistence and market

resources. Attacks on settler and government cattle only increased with a growing settler presence as the United States adopted a policy of removal of Indigenous peoples west of the Mississippi, culminating in the Black Hawk War of 1832. This resistance illustrates the deliberate strategic choices that Indigenous peoples made in their choices to incorporate or resist settler agricultural practices and associated agricultural introductions of species and techniques.

3.8.3. Ranching and the politics of indigenous lands in Colombia's Caribbean region during the nineteenth century

Shawn Van Ausdal, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia

Over the course of the nineteenth century, cattle ranchers displaced many of the indigenous communities in Colombia's Caribbean region. Such enclosures were a widespread phenomenon in Latin America. Historians have traditionally explained the erosion of indigenous landholding by pointing to the effects of nineteenth-century Liberal reforms. These reforms, in part, sought to foment economic growth by privatizing communal lands and promote national identity by dissolving ethnic ties. In the Department of Bolívar, however, the story was more complex. While growing mixed-race populations and rising demand for cattle intensified the pressure on indigenous lands, national efforts to privatize these *resguardos* were parried by a regional effort, led by Liberal political chief, Juan José Nieto, to defend them. Many ranchers were outraged by Nieto's legal protection. While they supported a successful effort to oust him from power, the new leadership failed to disband the *resguardos*. Catalino Bonillo, an indigenous leader, challenged their efforts all the way to the Supreme Court. The justices sided with Bonillo, ruling that the *resguardos* were in fact private property, not a concession granted by the Spanish Crown to a privileged group. In an example of what historian James Sanders calls "indigenous republicanism," Bonillo defended the *resguardos* by appealing to the Liberal pillars of private property and equality before the law. What he could not forestall, however, was the *de facto* expansion of ranching on indigenous lands. While some ranchers simply occupied *resguardo* land, many gained a foothold through rental agreements. Yet as ranchers began planting African grasses, starting in the mid-nineteenth century, they acquired property rights to their new pastures. The long-standing distinction in Colombian law between property rights in land and property rights to improvements helped ranchers solidify their territorial control: to deny access, the indigenous communities would have had to indemnify them for the value of their pastures. As these communities lost control over their own land, and faced an influx of outsiders, the bonds that held them together began to wither. By the time the Department of Bolívar renewed its offensive against the *resguardos* at the turn of the century – this time in the interests of the nascent oil industry – only six out of the 27 indigenous communities that existed in 1839 were formally disbanded: most had simply ceased to exist through a *de facto* rather *de jure* process of privatization.

3.8.4. Shifting Bovine Regimes

Tamar Novick, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Germany

This paper describes the ways in which managing bovines has been foundational to the construction of political structures. Utilizing the tools of environmental history, the history of science, and the history of the body, I analyze the drastic environmental, economic, and demographic transformation that occurred in Palestine/Israel during the first half of the twentieth century through the replacement of local water buffalos with crossbred dairy cows. Water buffalos were key to the Middle-Eastern economy throughout the Ottoman period (1516–1917), and according to Ottoman records, travelers accounts, and oral histories, were prevalent, highly valuable, and central to the livelihood of people in Palestine. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, with the intensification of the European intervention in the land, which included shifting political regimes (with the stabilization of the British rule, 1917–1948) and the growth of a settlement movement, buffalos came to be seen as hindrances to development projects. Cows and the dairy industry, on the other hand, were positioned at the basis of the settler-colonial agricultural economies. In a matter of decades, water buffalos disappeared from the Palestinian landscape, and dairy cattle became central to national, economic, and scientific endeavors, and were celebrated as their epitome. By locating this process in the body of animals and its manipulation, the paper demonstrates the tight bond between power and bodily production.

3.9. Evidence of Wage Labour in Early Modern Household and Farm Accounts

Jane Whittle, University of Exeter, UK

For many years farm and household accounts have been used to collect data about wage rates. Yet wage rates are only one type of data about workers that accounts can provide. Accounts are also a rich source for studying types of workers, their working patterns and the nature of their contracts. What is more, while the wage series of different countries are often compared, evidence of the types of worker employed has rarely been viewed comparatively. This session brings together studies of early modern accounts focused on rural labour from three countries: England, Flanders and Sweden. Papers examine and compare wage rates, the type and numbers of workers employed (e.g. servants, day labourers and task workers, craftsmen and specialists; women, men, and children), the regularity of their employment (e.g. days worked in a year, number of years employed), and the way in which they were paid (e.g. payments in cash and kind; piece and time rates, the regularity of payment). The session aims to highlight important similarities and differences between European countries across the early modern period by comparing detailed studies of the labour recorded in accounts, as well as discussing the strengths and weaknesses of household and farm accounts as a source of evidence.

Chair: Mark Hailwood
Discussant: James Fisher

3.9.1. Wage labour in the gentry households of early modern England: the workers of the Shuttleworth family, Lancashire, 1582–1621

Li Jiang, University of Exeter, UK

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth century, rural English society was changing from one dominated by small farmers to one in which waged work was the main form of employment, and for those wage earners, wage earning was transformed from a life-cycle phase to a lifetime condition. Wage labour has been recognised as a key feature of agrarian capitalism which contributed to the rapid development of England economy. To further understand wage labour and wage workers in early modern England, this paper concentrates on a detailed study of the household and farm accounts of the Shuttleworth family in Lancashire between 1582 and 1621, exploring the working lives of two types of workers, servants and day labourers, hired by the Shuttleworths during this period. Based on the Shuttleworths' accounts from 1582 to 1621, parish registers of Padiham and Bolton, a 1595 Lancashire wage assessment, and wills and probate inventories of the Shuttleworth family and wage workers, this paper uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to explore several aspects of the employment of servants and day labourers by the Shuttleworth family, including the number of these two types of workers, the categories of tasks, the length of employment, and their wage salaries over time. Gendered differences and comparisons with other parts of England are discussed as well. The findings show that male workers played a dominant role in the employment of this household and undertook a wide range of tasks. The length of employment of these two types of workers showed different characteristics: for those servants, the higher they were paid, the longer they would serve the household. Some servants even followed the household from Smithills to Gawthorpe; day labourers had a more flexible working pattern and the employment of day labourers, particularly agricultural labourers, was influenced directly by variations in harvests and the rebuilding of Gawthorpe Hall. In terms of wage levels, although the workers hired by the Shuttleworths were paid less than their southern counterparts, the best-paid servants in this household received higher salaries than that in the legal wage assessment, and there were clear wage gaps between male and female servants. The wages received by day labourers were not limited strictly by the law, but the best-paid labourers normally received less than the legal wage rates. In addition, evidence shows that some individual workers did multiple tasks which could increase their earnings in different ways.

3.9.2. The king's stablemen and the wet nurse of an ironworks owner: Some Swedish examples

Jonas Lindström, Uppsala University, Sweden

On the basis of a sample of Swedish household and farm accounts, this paper discusses the forms and character of wage labour in rural Sweden. It asks who performed wage labour, what they did, under what conditions and how they were paid. It also discusses the usefulness of the accounts and the possibilities to combine them with other types of sources. As previous research has pointed out, wages in the early modern world were not only about money. Wage systems were interlinked to the distribution of goods in the society, to credit relationships and to the distribution of land rights. Knowledge of particular wage systems and their social context is, therefore, crucial for understanding series of nominal and real wages, but also for understanding the family economy of rural households. The study is based on households and farm accounts of a royal stud farm, an ironworks owner, some noblemen's estate and a clergyman. All units combined regularly employed with casual labourers and conditions could vary significantly between different groups of workers.

3.9.3. Farm accounts and account books in eighteenth-century Flanders: their potential and limitations for wage labour history

Lore Helsen, University of Ghent, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

In the international historiography, farm accounts have long served as an indispensable source for wage labour history. However, because such accounts have not been preserved as consistently in Flanders as in other European countries (England for example), the Flemish sources have not been studied extensively to this date. Flemish day labourers in particular have not been the topic of any comprehensive studies, in contrast to other categories of rural labourers and notwithstanding their central place in rural societies. This paper discusses the untapped potential of eighteenth-century farm accounts for wage labour history in Flanders, primarily focusing on agricultural day labour. A varied collection of Flemish farm accounts constitutes the empirical basis of this paper. Authors had different rationales for recording their transactions, which is reflected in variations in both content and quality of the accounts. Some accounts were kept by stewards who ran a farm on behalf of a private or institutional owner whilst others were written by farmers themselves. Whether they were exploited directly or indirectly, an important caveat is that only large farms are represented in these sources. In the early modern period, smaller farmers had less incentives to keep accounts and conserve them over time. As the sources represent the largest employers of day labour in their respective villages, however, the documented farms still render a representative image of the market for casual agricultural labour. Broadly, two main types of farm accounts can be distinguished according to their accounting procedures. Some accounts were drafted yearly to inform an absentee owner of the income and expenses associated with the exploitation of the farm. As such, they allow us to situate labour expenses in the overall finances of the farm and can be used, for example, to provide information on the type and number of workers employed in relation to the size and production profile of a farm. Other accounts were simple memorandum books. In contrast to the annual estate accounts, they rarely allow us to glimpse at income and expenditure in a complete way, but they do contain information on specific transactions. Memorandum books can include the names of individual labourers, as well as information on their work and employment patterns, wages and remuneration. Combining the two types of farm accounts allows for a more complete understanding of the agricultural labour market, integrating a business economic analysis and a micro-analysis of individual labourers.

3.9.4. Women's wages in the sixteenth-century and Sweden's position in the 'Little divergence'

Christopher Pihl, Uppsala University; Jakob Molinder, Uppsala University

In this paper we take a detailed look at female relative wages and women's autonomy in Sweden in the sixteenth century. We use an unusually rich source from the royal demesnes which provides us with information about the employees, their remuneration, their periods of employment and the food they consumed. We are well situated to examine women's relative earnings since we can compare enumeration for workers hired by the same employer and our source provide evidence on both men and women across the skill distribution. We are also able to account for the food that different workers were allotted at a time when payment in kind constituted a significant fraction of annual workers' enumeration. We add new evidence by comparing gender differences not simply within the unskilled group but also among skilled workers. Our evidence also relates to workers hired on yearly contracts, a much more common employment contract than casual day-labour. Most previous work on female relative wages have focused on day-wages. Workers hired on annual contracts are often excluded, since their pay frequently involved a large component of in-kind payments such as room, board and other auxiliary payments. Such data are also harder to find, which is unfortunate since most workers in pre-modern Europe were employed on annual contracts rather than by the day. For daily work it is also more difficult to ascertain what other alternative sources of income those workers had, while for workers on annual contracts enumeration corresponded to yearly income. The source also allows us to pay attention to the context within which women's work took place, providing crucial nuance to the evidence on relative pay. We speak to the debate on the "Little Divergence" within Europe as gender differentials in pay is a key indicator of women's relative autonomy and seen as a cause for the economic ascendancy of the North Sea region during the period. We find small gender differentials among both unskilled and skilled workers, indicating that Sweden took part in the "golden age" for women. We argue that despite superficial equality however, women's economic outlooks were restrained in many other ways – including their access for higher skilled work and jobs in the expanding parts of the economy – adding important nuance to the discussion about the relationship between women's social position and economic growth in the Early Modern period.

3.9.5. When were women and men paid the same for agricultural work? Gender and wage labour in English household accounts c.1500–1660

Jane Whittle, University of Exeter, UK

A 2019 the UK gender wage gap for hourly pay was 17%. While some of this gap can be explained by gender differences in occupations, and the fact women are more likely to work part-time, the majority of the gap remains unexplained. We should therefore be sceptical of simple explanations of the historical gender wage gap. In 1998 Joyce Burnette argued that the majority of the wage gap in agricultural work in the 18th and early 19th century was caused by differences in physical strength and hours worked. Medievalists Sandy Bardsley and John Hatcher also debated the wage gap and disagreed over whether differences in pay were caused by prejudice (Bardsley) or market forces (Hatcher). We know from wage series compiled by Gregory Clark (for male agricultural wages) and Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf (women's wages) that men's wages were on average higher than women's. However, this paper argues that it is only by going back to the sources and examining the context in which wages were paid that we can reveal the complex factors which lie behind the wages paid to women and men. The paper approaches the issue of gendered wages by examining evidence from English household accounts that record agricultural work, and by focusing on those (relatively unusual) cases when men and women were paid the same wages for the same kind of work. This happened in various different kinds of circumstance: when the labour market was oversupplied and men took forms of employment more typically done by women, when there was a shortage of male labour and women's labour

was in high demand, and teenage boys or older/weaker men worked at tasks that were also done by large numbers of women. The paper focuses on three types of agricultural task that were often done by women or men: weeding, making hay, and harvesting corn with a sickle. Eight sets of household accounts studied in detail provide contextual details about individual workers (frequency of employment, range of activities, family relationships), employers (type of household economy, numbers and types of employees, mode of payment), and the regional economies and time periods in which they occurred. This sheds new light on how and why men and women were paid in the early modern rural economy.



In the greenhouse, 1953.

3.10. Grafted institutions. European transfers, institutional bricolage and the evolution of property rights in Latin America

José-Miguel Lana, Public University of Navarre, Spain

The aim of this session is to discuss the emergence and evolution of new institutional realities in Latin America between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, making use of the institutional bricolage approach. This concept serves to highlight the agency of the population affected by changes and its ability to adapt to new circumstances through bricolage practices in specific contexts with specific power balances. Bricolage practices include aggregation, alteration and articulation. By the term aggregation, we refer to a recombination of newly introduced institutions and locally embedded institutions. Alteration consists in adapting institutions with certain changes in order to fit better the circumstances of the new context. By articulation, we understand the claiming of traditional identities and culture and the rejection of newly introduced institutions. We would like to examine the institutional transfers from Europe to America. We also discuss how these institutions evolved in contact with new social and environmental conditions. Institutions such as municipalities ('concejos'), municipal ownership ('bienes de propios'), byelaws ('ordenanzas'), emphyteusis, tenancy, sharecropping, trust ownership ('mayorazgo', 'fideicomiso'), etc, could be analyzed and compared. In short, we would like to understand how institutions that had a trajectory in the Old World were introduced and transformed in the New World, where social actors interacted in contexts that were different in terms of environment, social structure, power balance, and culture.

Chair: Rosa Congost, University of Girona, Spain

Discussant: José-Miguel Lana

3.10.1. The 'tropicalization' of European property rights in Portuguese America

Jose Vicente Serrao, Iscte – University Institute of Lisbon, Portugal

The regulation, as well as the negotiation of land access rights played a crucial role in all processes of colonization that were based on the occupation and productive use of land. This paper focuses on the three legal instruments that were most important in the Atlantic side of the Portuguese empire to organize property rights in land: the sesmarias (land grants), the emphyteusis and the morgadio (entailed property). In simple terms, it can be said that sesmarias worked for the initial distribution of lands, the emphyteusis served for its subsequent reallocation and the morgadio served to consolidate property and ownership. All three of these institutions should supposedly keep the same definition and configuration they had in the homeland's legal order, since Portugal, unlike other European nations, has never created, in a declared and coherent way, a specific legal system for its empire. However, the sesmarias, emphyteusis and morgadio that we find in colonial Brazil were becoming markedly different from their homeland matrix, having undergone what can be metaphorically called a process of 'tropicalization'. In other words, in their transposition to Portuguese America, the institutions and notions of property originating in the home country ended up being reconfigured, adapting to the New World colonial environment. On the one hand, this was the result of a formal change in the legal institutions themselves through successive piecemeal legislation; on the other hand, and even primarily, it resulted from the appropriation of the legal norms by the social actors in the ground. It is these two interrelated processes that this presentation aims to discuss and put in a comparative perspective with other colonization experiences.

3.10.2. Indigenous lands and property rights on the southern frontier of Buenos Aires (Argentina) during the republican period

Sol Lanteri, University of Alcalá, Spain

Unlike other American latitudes or Argentine provinces with more ancient settlement and imprint of communal property, in Buenos Aires the indigenous population was not recognized mainly as indigenous peoples with their own territory and institutions. Since the late-colonial period, the frontier was colonized by Spanish-Creole society through spontaneous advances and different official policies that alternated between peace and war based on inter-ethnic relations. In the republican period, the lands in indigenous hands were incorporated into the sovereignty of the independent State under construction and the "cattle expansion" through advances and setbacks that followed until the removal of the native peoples and their independent habitat with the military campaign led by Roca in 1879. Within the framework of the conceptual guidelines of this session, in this work we intend to examine the patterns of territorial settlement of the "friendly Indians" of the Buenos Aires southern frontier, their trajectories, changes and / or transformations since the first decades of the 19th century until the unification of the National State in 1862. We focus on two illustrative cases: the establishment of the urban ethnic enclave of "Villa Fidelidad" in 1856 and the actions taken by the brand new Municipality and the requests for land by the chief Maicá, his son and his "lenguaraz" (interpreter) in 1861. We consider the practices and property rights within the communal-individual binomial, the use of regulatory frameworks and the role of local-regional intermediaries in the negotiations in comparison with other land management cases by "friendly Indians" in the pampean frontier.

3.10.3. Institutional bricolage and unforeseen results of proprietary institutions: the case of landlordships and sesmarias in Portuguese America (1534–1795)

Manoela Pedroza, Fluminense Federal University, Brazil

Following the objectives of this session, in this paper I will examine a case of institutional transfer from Europe towards Latin America in the Modern Age, making use of the institutional bricolage approach. I chose as object two Old Portuguese Regime's property institutions: the landlordship and the sesmaria. Transported to the tropics since the middle of the 16th century, both provided the main rules for the concession of territorial domains, organized jurisdictions and granted land for huge plantations, for approximately three centuries. In traditional interpretations, both property institutions were seen as largely responsible for the creation and reproduction of the latifundia in the Brazilian agrarian structure, present until today. This research dialogues with the social history of property field, and shares the criticisms formulated to the theory of institutional change and to the concept of path dependence, as proposed in the 1980–90s by the New Institutional Economy. According to some historians, institutions should be seen as systems of executable rules, as resources to be used by agents interested in producing certain results. Historical outcomes, in terms of economic development in the medium term, not just depend on the existence of "good" institutions, but on the social relations and political interests that enabled the implementation of some rules (and not others) and the making of certain institutional changes (and not others). We need to go beyond the legal norm, go further the written law and do different from a "history from above" to understand the degree of hegemony, resistance and hybridism of a given institution, and for this, we use the concept of institutional bricolage. Therefore, my objective is to understand how these two institutions of the Old Portuguese Regime, the landlordship and the sesmaria, were transformed in contact with new environmental, ecological and economic needs found in South America. However, above all, I seek to highlight the agency of social groups affected by the changes and their ability to deal with new political, cultural and social circumstances. We will see who legitimized certain power relations and who resisted them. I will detect interests and conflicts involved in the concrete execution of these proprietary institutions, discern some forms of endogenous appropriation and finally present some hypotheses to explain the economic, political and social results different from what was expected. Methodologically, the communication mixes documentary research and bibliographic review, comparing some cases with consolidated interpretations.



Pigs on forest road, c. 1910–20.

SESSION 4 • TUESDAY 21 JUNE • 08:30–10:00

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
4.1. Climate variability and agricultural productivity in medieval and early modern times 1 Heli Huhtamaa	4.1.1. Climate and society in European history: a state-of-the-art overview with emphasis on agriculture Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist	4.1.2. Did climate force farmers? Assessing climate correlations in pastoral environments of Europe Eugene Costello	4.1.3. Scanian agriculture and climate variability, c 1570–1910 Martin Skoglund	4.1.4. The Comparison Research of the Agricultural Production between the UK and Taiwan 1809–1818: The Contextual Influence of the Eruption of Mount Tambora Jen Yu-Chien	4:1 Room 1
4.2. Tourism and rural communities 1 Petra Kavrečič	4.2.1. Rural communities and tourism in western Slovenian border region Petra Kavrečič	4.2.2. Rural space's promotion in the Hitler-allied Slovak State (1939–1945): Reconceptualizations, strategies, and making-of tourism's new PR Anton Hrubaň			4:2 Room 2
4.3. Women in European Agricultural Extension Services in the Twentieth Century: Prominence versus Policy Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh	4.3.1. Women (and men) as knowledge brokers in the modernisation of poultry keeping Peter Moser	4.3.2. The Social and Political Context for Women in the Irish Agricultural Extension Services in the Twentieth Century Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh	4.3.3. The role of women in Irish agricultural extension services in the twentieth century Anne Cassidy		4:3 Room 3
4.4. Starch: Production, commercialisation and effect on agrarian system Laurent Herment	4.4.1. A step towards the modern bio-economy. The starch industry in Italy (circa 1870–1940) Luca Andreoni	4.4.2. Cassava flour, plots, subsistence and famine: conflicts between slaves and masters about property rights in slavery Brazil (1794–1812) Manoela Pedroza	4.4.3. Starch Wars. How to compete against the Empires? Laurent Herment		4:4 Room 4
					4:5
4.6. The technical background which link us. (The technical background of agriculture in the early modern and modern Central Europe) Enikő Rűsz Fogarasi	4.6.1. Agricultural machinery and equipment production in Transylvania in the second half of the 19th century Róbert Miklós Nagy	4.6.2. The Relationship between the Evolution of the Land Ownership Structure and the Technical Endowment in Agriculture from Transylvania (1850–1914) Iosif-Marin Balog	4.6.3. The technological background of early modern Transylvanian agriculture Enikő Rűsz Fogarasi		4:6 Room 6
4.7. Rural Women and Farm Work: Gender Relations, and New Research on the Lives of 20th Century Farm Women 1 Debra Reid	4.7.1. 'It Was Almost Impossible to Get a Cent of Money': A Rural Utah Woman's Life Through Her Letters Brian Cannon	4.7.2. "To Make the Farm Bureau Stronger and Better for All the People: African Americans and the American Farm Bureau Federation, 1920–1966" Cherisse Jones-Branch	4.7.3. Gender and Bodily Labor in Representations of Farm Women and Dairymaids in Sweden Grey Osterud		4:7 Room 7
					4:8

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
4.9. The Provision of Rural Credit in Pre-Industrial Europe 1 Hannah Robb	4.9.1. Credit and rural society in a borough in Northern Italy according to the registers of a 15th-century notary Roberto Leggero	4.9.2. Poverty, credit and property rights. The accidental but successful experience of Catalan smallholders in the 18th century Rosa Congost			4:9 Room 9
4.10. The 'Rural Consumer' – Consumer Goods, Consumption, and Material Culture of Rural Households in Early Modern Europe 1 Henning Bovenkerk	4.10.1. Women's cloth and men's beverage? Gendered retail networks and consumption practices in the southern Alps, 1650s–1790s Riccardo E. Rossi	4.10.2. Some sugar in your tea or your coffee? The new consumers of some exotic goods in the French countryside. Meaux and the Brie, 17th–18th centuries Gérard Béaur			4:10 Room 10



Workers playing cards, c. 1910–20.

4.1. Climate variability and agricultural productivity in medieval and early modern times 1

Heli Huhtamaa, University of Bern, Switzerland; Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, Stockholm University, Sweden

Since the works of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (1967) and Christian Pfister (1975, 1981), among other pioneering studies in the field, rural historians are commonly acknowledging that pre-industrial agriculture was sensitive to climate variability. Furthermore, several scholars have detected medieval and early modern subsistence crises resulting from unfavourable climatic conditions – although the proposed climate-famine linkages have received also harsh criticism from the historical community. Over the recent decades, palaeoclimatology and historical climatology have provided additional material for historians to further investigate these questions: high-resolution climate reconstructions. This session will present an overview, and provide novel examples, of this recent scholarship on the intersection of palaeoclimatology and agrarian history. The session aims to address the following questions: (1) From which materials we can assess past climate variability? (2) How did changes in temperature, precipitation and drought affect crop yields? (3) To what extent can the occurrence of food shortages, famines, and demographic changes be connected to climate variations? (4) How does the traditional famine narratives compare to the new understanding within this dynamic field? The session will be composed of papers addressing how past climate variability have influenced agricultural production in medieval and early modern times, and how humans have responded to maintain their food security during the times of changing climate. Papers exploring these topics within medieval and early modern agricultural societies in any part of the world are encouraged to join the session, although special emphasis is paid on the early modern Swedish Realm. The session addresses how the recent advances in palaeoclimatology have made the study on climate-agriculture relationships more feasible than before – but how traditional disciplinary boundaries between the humanities and the natural sciences still hamper such research. The session also seeks to present case studies on how medieval and early modern written sources, like tithe records, can be used to estimate relative and absolute changes in grain production, and to what extent the climatic influence can be detected from such material. And last, the session aims to critically re-evaluate the narratives of climate–famine inter-dependency and address, inter alia, the possible influences of the cooler “Little Ice Age” on crop cultivation and food security.

Chair & discussant: Heli Huhtamaa

4.1.1. Climate and society in European history: a state-of-the-art overview with emphasis on agriculture

Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, Stockholm University, Sweden; Andrea Seim, Albert Ludwig University of Freiburg, Germany, Heli Huhtamaa, University of Bern, Switzerland

This talk will provide a general overview of the field of climate history in Europe with the emphasis on claimed climatic impacts on crop cultivation and viticulture, animal husbandry, fishery as well as agricultural and pastoral adaptation to climatic change. We will present the key results from a recently published evaluation of 165 studies from various disciplines, published between 2000 and 2019, that link past changes in climate to human history in medieval and early modern Europe (c. 700–1815), but especially focus on those studies that are related to direct or indirect climatic impacts on food production. The main focus of our assessment is the attempts in the various studies to identify and explain causal links between changes in climate and changes in food production that affected human societies. The reviewed studies present clear causal links between climate-induced variations in food production and effects on human health, famines, and even demographic development, but rather weak links between climatic and socio-political changes. Furthermore, we put forward the following recommendations for future studies: (1) More interdisciplinary and international collaborations. (2) Updating and improving key historical datasets. (3) Improved quantification of the influence of different meteorological parameters on food production. (4) Additional local- to regional-scale comparisons between areas. (5) Assessing relationships between long-term climatic changes and the frequency and severity of extreme climate events with direct impacts on human societies. (6) Paying more attention to agricultural adaptation and learning processes in response to past climatic changes.

4.1.2. Did climate force farmers? Assessing climate correlations in pastoral environments of Europe

Eugene Costello, Stockholm University, Sweden; Kevin Kearney, University College Cork, UK; Benjamin Gearey, University College Cork

The influence of climate events and trends on rural production has been an important question in studies of the Little Ice Age for several decades. However, the most detailed research has focused on regions that were heavily involved in grain production, since these tend to contain the best documentary sources for the late medieval and early modern periods. Regions where cattle, sheep and goat herding predominated have received less attention. This paper uses pollen records and archaeology as well as historical references to open up the question of how societies in these neglected regions fared during the Little Ice Age. Using examples mainly from Ireland and Scotland, it discusses the potential role of haymaking and small-scale crop growing in pastoralist risk management. At the same time, our Bayesian modelling demonstrates how important it is to refine chronologies of land-use when attempting to assess the influence of climate.

4.1.3. Scanian agriculture and climate variability, c 1570–1910

Martin Skoglund, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

In recent decades, there has been a renewed interest in the relationship between early modern and medieval European agriculture-related indices such as grain prices and yields, and various climate indices, most notably hydroclimate and temperature. In Europe north of the Alps, research has often focused on contexts where it can be expected that harvests were sensitive to temperature changes, where grain harvests and grain prices were positively and negatively correlated with temperatures, respectively. For example, previous research has shown that in northern European areas with a relatively cool climate, e.g. Finland or Scotland, there were large associations between grain yields and temperature, and that in the medium- to long-term temperature changes affected shifts in the borders

of settled arable agriculture. Intensive grain producing areas like southern England and north-western France where temperature-sensitive grains like wheat were important cultivars were also vulnerable to temperature changes, despite relatively favorable soil and climatic conditions. In addition to temperature, previous research has also focused on periods of extreme hydroclimate, most notably droughts but also periods of excessive wetness, and its effects on yields and prices. An interesting region to study in this context is Scania in southern Sweden. Large parts of Scania exhibits soil and climatic conditions highly favorable for grain production, similar to the just mentioned areas in England and France. However, Scanian farmers adhered to farming systems where the composition of grain production, and not least the grain varieties themselves, was more aligned with more northerly parts of Fennoscandia, i.e. areas with a relatively cold climate. The aim of this paper is to discuss and present results from an investigation of the relationship between grain production and climate in the context of Scania during the period c. 1570–1910 in particular, as well as to discuss methodological approaches and problems in studies of the climate-agriculture relationship during the medieval and early modern periods in general.

4.1.4. The Comparison Research of the Agricultural Production between the UK and Taiwan 1809 –1818: The Contextual Influence of the Eruption of Mount Tambora

Jen Yu-Chien, University of Carlos III, Spain

This paper tries to compare the impacts of the anomalous weather caused by the activity and the eruption of Mount Tambora from 1809 to 1818 to the agricultural production in the United Kingdom (the UK) and Taiwan. The chosen produce was wheat and rice accordingly, which were the main staples in these two countries at the given period time. The analysis combined with qualitative method and descriptive data showed that despite facing the disadvantageous climatic issues and the harvest hardships recorded in the first-hand sources from different counties within the UK from 1809 to 1818, the overall wheat yields were still in stable growth from the earliest of 1750 to 1850, including the chosen decade (1809 to 1818). The reasons could be contributed to the improvement of the advanced machines and the adoption of the new forms of fertilizers discovered in the continent of America. Lastly, the primary sources provided by different counties or private citizens neglected the effect of the general trend that the production improvement brought by the previous two advantages. In contrast to the continuous abnormal weather in the UK, Taiwan only faced unprecedented snowing and frost in December 1815 and the rice production was also in the positive growth from the late 1790s, which was due to the reclamation policy imposed by the government to focus on the relevant activity. The result showed that despite facing anomalous climatic issues, the proper adaptation methods, either the machine improvements and the suitable policies could help the countries conquer the potential negative impacts on the agricultural production.



The manure is loaded, c. 1910–20.

4.2. Tourism and rural communities 1

Petra Kavrečič, University of Primorska, Slovenia; Patrizia Battilani, University of Bologna, Italy

Throughout the last century, tourism as an economic activity and social and cultural phenomena has strongly marked our society and way of living. As the fastest growing industry in the world, scholars from different research perspectives have studied the phenomena, but none of these disciplines gave enough attention to the relation between rural society/economy and tourism. Throughout the 20th century, many rural areas in different European countries have become zones of periphery. During the period of the first industrialization, but especially after the end of the Second World War, predominately rural regions had to cope with the processes of depopulation. Due to the massive industrialization (e.g. socialist countries) and new job opportunities in urban centres, the population of these areas migrated towards the industrial cities in order to find a better life. Beside economic reasons, the urban centres were offering a different lifestyle. New trends in everyday life appeared as well as diverse opportunities to spend leisure time. Paid vacations were introduced also for workers, which could then finally afford to go on holiday. In this context, some rural communities, usually the ones situated near to the seaside or in High Mountain, found their original way to the economic development becoming tourist destinations. This was the case for instance of alpine villages or Mediterranean coast towns. Most of them moved from an agriculture based economy to tourism. However, other rural areas and communities remained excluded both from the industrial and the tourist development and were economically and culturally marginalized. They did not find their development path and also their consumer pattern changed slowly. Our aim is to present scientific papers, which study and analyse the relation between tourism and the rural areas, that is whether and how is tourism related with nonurban regions. Did (does) tourism have any impact on social and economic life of the peasant population? In the frame of the proposed session, we intent to present papers, which will address how different European rural areas and communities were (are) involved in tourist activities. The aim is to understand tourist characteristics or presence in rural areas. We will consider various aspects: tourism as an additional source of peasant income; tourism in rural areas in the frame of sustainable development and economic sustainability; promotion of cultural and natural heritage of rural areas. This part of the session will be more focused on entrepreneurship (new tourist products, agritourism, community cooperatives ...) of the population of the rural areas in the last century. Our attention is also going to be oriented towards a more social level of everyday life and leisure time. Our aim is also to study how tourist and spare time activities involved the rural society. Since the growing popularity of tourism in the last century, we are also interested to study these aspects: how the rural communities managed their free time; did the rural communities benefit from tourist services at all.

Chair: Dagmar Novakova

4.2.1. Rural communities and tourism in western Slovenian border region

Petra Kavrečič, University of Primorska, Slovenia

After the end of WWII, significant changes affected the political sphere, economy and society. In these circumstances, tourism sector was also subject to a phase of transition, marking the passage from elite to a mass character, which means that tourism has become a socially more accessible activity. The tourist industry drastically changed. The popular activity, which was in the past mostly dedicated to the upper social classes, has slowly lost its predominantly “aristocratic” character and has become accessible to wider strata of the population. After the end of the war, the differentiation of tourism offer took place. The process was slow, but inevitable as facilitated by different factors (transportation, paid vacation). With the supply, which could satisfy a diverse demand, tourism sector finally reached the less privileged social groups, as workers and peasants. The paper is going to study the relation between tourism, spare time activities and the rural society in the period of mass tourism. The focus is going to be on the border area of today western Slovenia. In the studied region of the Slovene (Yugoslav) western border area, we need to consider the difficult and unsolved border issues between Yugoslavia and Italy first. The unsolved border issues between the two states and post WWII political regime did not enable an immediate tourist development. Finally, after the resolution and the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1947 and the Memorandum of London in 1954, the path to tourism development was finally made possible. The political regime in the socialist Yugoslavia concentrated on the working population and the tourist industry followed this process. In the paper, I am not going to concentrate on the workers, but my interest is to study the involvement of the rural population living in the border area in tourism and leisure activities. The main opened questions are whether the rural areas in the region have also benefit from tourist services and their involvement in tourist supply during the socialist period.

4.2.2. Rural space’s promotion in the Hitler-allied Slovak State (1939–1945): Reconceptualizations, strategies, and making-of tourism’s new PR

Anton Hruboň, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, Slovakia; Peter Mičko, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, Slovakia

In March 1939 Slovakia became a nominally independent state subordinated to the Nazi Germany. Taking the dramatic circumstances of its establishment into consideration, associated with the German invasion of the Czech lands, Slovak government had invested much effort into creating a good reputation of country in the eyes of abroad as well as domestic population right from the beginning of its rule. In period before (1918–1939), when Slovakia was a part of the Czechoslovak Republic, it had been portrayed as a picturesque land with beautiful landscape worth visiting. However, contrary to image of industrial and well-developed Czech lands Slovakia was frequently depicted as a “rural appendix” inhabited by culturally backward population. Our contribution attempts to analyze, how this promotion of Slovakia changed after gaining independence, emphasizing three core aspects: reconceptualization of new country’s rural image, strategies which the apparatus of the only allowed Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party implemented to reach this “turnpoint” of image as well as the conception of new Slovakia’s PR in the field of tourism which contained both economic and propagandistic dimension. In addition to various campaigns the ruling regime used to promote the rural space in tourism inspired by new aesthetic ideals, on a Slovak case study we also point to, how the image of rural space within Hitler’s “Neueuropa” had shifted in terms of ideological use (e.g. political instrumentalization of “Blut und Boden” principle, a space for practicing the political and occult-rooted rituals, place for shaping the eugenically perceived “superior” racial gene pool, etc.). Our contribution, methodologically drawing on the “New Consensus” and “New Wave” theories of comparative fascist studies, might serve as a valuable asset for further comparative research of tourism, urban studies, and rural history under swastika.

4.3. Women in European Agricultural Extension Services in the Twentieth Century: Prominence versus Policy

Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh, National University of Ireland, Dublin Business School

In twentieth century Europe, women were as prominent in the process of agricultural knowledge transfer as were men. On one side of the process, farming women were as prominent as farming men, and on the other side of the process, the extension-service side, female advisors also featured as prominently as male advisors. Although agriculture was, like all facets of society and all economic sectors, patriarchal, it had not historically been divided along gendered lines in the same way that other areas of social and economic activity in Europe had been divided. Labour in agricultural, rural, Europe was not masculinised in the way that it was in industrial, urban, Europe. Farming women and farming men ran their shared farms in partnership. In addition, farming women tended to have specific, commensurate, roles in farm enterprises; for example, keeping poultry, making butter and managing financial affairs. As professional extension services in Europe developed during the twentieth century, they increasingly reflected this reality and employed female advisors to work with farming women and also encouraged male advisors to work with them as well. However, the prominence of women, both on farms and in extension services, often came into conflict with the official, patriarchally inclined and prejudiced, policies that European extension services pursued. Put succinctly, interactions between farming men and male advisors were still promoted above the interactions between farming women and female/male advisors; not to mention between farming men and female advisors. Furthermore, women tended to be maintained in reserved roles in European extension services, facing opposition to their being given roles of responsibility for knowledge transfer in general and struggling to achieve the same career paths within European extension services as men. This session will reflect on the established scholarship on women in European agricultural extension services in the twentieth century and will, moreover, draw on the most recent research in the area in order to reassess the conflict between the prominence of women in the process of knowledge transfer and official policy towards them in this regard. Panel contributors will each take a single European country, or small range of European countries, as a case study. They will both outline the position of women in extension services in their chosen countries in the twentieth century and summarise the established scholarship on the subject, before bringing to bear their most recent research findings. The overarching aim of the session will be to synthesise the findings of all four contributors, through the good offices of the discussant, identifying patterns and also using findings relating to one or more case studies to help shed additional light on one or more other case studies. More specifically, the session will question again, inter alia, the impact of attitudinal changes in the wake of the women’s liberation movement from the 1960s, the impact of agricultural commercialisation, intensification and industrialisation on the role of women across the twentieth century, and the impact of changes to inheritance laws.

Chair & discussant: Micheal O’Fathartaigh

4.3.1. Women (and men) as knowledge brokers in the modernisation of poultry keeping

Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland

Since the middle of the 19th century, agricultural practices are characterised by a high variety of local idiosyncrasies (soil, climate, topography and cultural, economic and social contexts) as well as relatively uniform impacts from outside the farm in the form of de-contextualised scientific knowledge, trade relations and growth oriented interventions by states and transnational institutions. But innovations in agricultural production were seldom generated by a direct knowledge transfer from the laboratory or lecture hall to the farm. Multilingualism and pidgin knowledge, not simply applied scientific knowledge were crucial keys for surviving in the agricultural sector of industrialised societies in that period. Therefore, brokers and mediators between agriculture and the industrial societies were as much part of the re-shaping of agricultural production as scientists, politicians, manufacturers and the farming population. While these go-betweens – agronomists, teachers, salesmen, priests, journalists, technicians, to name but a few – were mostly males, women played crucial roles too. This contribution is exploring topics and institutions where female knowledge brokers were active. It looks at their influence in the changing practices of poultry keeping in Ireland, Germany and Switzerland in the first half of the 20th century and asks, what roles male agronomists and farmers played in the transformation of the once female dominated poultry keeping practices into factory-like enterprises in the second half of the 20th century.

4.3.2. The Social and Political Context for Women in the Irish Agricultural Extension Services in the Twentieth Century

Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh, National University of Ireland, Dublin Business School

Unlike most other European societies, certainly in Western European, Ireland remained primarily rural for much of the twentieth century. This was reinforced when Irish independence in 1922 saw the then most urban and industrialised portion of the island, the northeast, partitioned from the new state, and a rural identity propagated within the state until the 1960s. Immediately before independence and, moreover, during the Irish Revolution (1916–23), the status of women in Ireland seemed to be moving in the direction of equality. However, a conservative counter-revolution took hold in the new state and their status was not progressed really until the 1970s, after EEC accession, and was also, in certain respects, curtailed. In this social and political milieu, the women in the Irish agricultural extension services continued to work as they had from the early 1900s. As females operating in a public role in the community at large, they were outliers. There were, of course, female teachers and medical practitioners, but they were rooted in specific, more rarefied, environments: they were not circulating in the community in the same way. The women of the Irish agricultural extension services had a purview that covered large geographical districts, even counties, and their constituency was the majority of the population: rural women, young and old. The nature of their responsibility was unparalleled, too. They had to work with farming women to help them improve the overall financial viability of their family farms and, considering that the ‘female’ enterprises on farms were often the most critical in this regard, so, often, was their intervention. As many of products of the female enterprises, such as eggs and butter, were exported, the women of the Irish agricultural extension services also had a huge responsibility in seeing that they were of a high quality. Ireland’s reputation as an agricultural producer had suffered and the Irish state was very keen to restore it because income earned from agricultural exports made up by far the biggest proportion of state revenue. The role that women in the Irish agricultural extension services played in delivering financial sustainability was re-emphasised twice in the twentieth century when they were given two new, redefined, roles before ultimately the Irish agricultural extension services became gender neutral. Women in the Irish agricultural extension services in the twentieth century mostly rowed against the tide socially and politically, but, economically, they were, conspicuously, expected to row with it.

4.3.3. The role of women in Irish agricultural extension services in the twentieth century

Anne Cassidy, Galway Rural Development, National University of Ireland

This paper focuses on the evolution of women’s roles within Irish agricultural extension services throughout the twentieth century. This paper is based on extant literature and archival material from the Irish Department of Agriculture. It takes a case study approach to understanding how women’s roles in the agricultural extension services evolved over the course of the twentieth century, often in response to socio-economic developments within and outside the farming community. The establishment of Irish agricultural extension services in the early twentieth century was largely driven by the movement away from a subsistence style of farming towards a more market-orientated approach, which was heavily dependent on improving the quality of produce. Therefore, extension services began to develop to help support improvements in knowledge around all aspects of farming practice including egg and butter production, which were typically managed by women. To support this, women began to be trained as Poultry Instructresses. As the century progressed and Irish farms became more specialised, eggs and butter were no longer produced by women on a small scale but rather were sourced from large commercial operations, usually managed by men. As such Poultry Instructresses were no longer required and instead, a new class of female agricultural extension staff emerged—that of the Farm Home Management Advisor. Here, emphasis was placed on supporting farmers’ wives to manage household finances, thereby helping in the continuing shift away from subsistence-based practices. However, by the 1980s this role was also redundant as women began to gain employment away from the farm and were less centrally involved in the day-to-day management of the holding. As a result, women were now trained as Socio-Economic Advisors to help resolve issues of inheritance on family farms. This proved to be unsuccessful and as roles were no longer segregated by gender within agricultural extension services, this was phased out and the delineation of male and female spheres ended. Throughout the twentieth century the approach women took in the agricultural extension sphere was innovative and practical as it focused on providing support to women at as local a level as possible with an emphasis on recruiting a wide cross-section of the community including from large and small holdings. Therefore, the paper argues that women played a vital, if under-recognised, role in the development of Irish agricultural extension services and the ensuing evolution of Irish farming in the twentieth century.



Harvest work at Hamrånge church, August 1901.

4.4. Starch: Production, commercialisation and effect on agrarian system

Laurent Herment, CNRS, France; Luca Andreoni, Università Politecnica delle Marche, Italy

Existing studies have largely explored the production and the commercialisation of grains, potatoes, and more generally edible carbohydrates. Yet, for centuries, grains (wheat) were used to produce starch. The same occurred with potatoes since the eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century, starch was a versatile product used by several industries, in culinary art, to feed animal, etc. We could find the same versatility in the crops used as raw materials to produce starch, such as wheat, potato, rice, maize, cassava, etc., and their by-products (oilseed cakes, bran, etc.). The production of starch is also a fertile ground to observe the relation between agriculture, agro-industry and chemistry, which became crucial during the 19th century. Finally, the diversity of raw materials, from wheat to cassava, to produce starch, and its derivative products, implied a competition between plants from all over the world. This competition became more and more pronounced with the revolution of transport and the enlargement of colonial territories during the second part of the 19th century. Until today, the literature about the history of production of starch is poor (see Burton 1948 and in Salaman, 1985 which examine briefly the production of starch from potatoes). This session aims to shed light on the farming and the processing of crops used to produce starch during the 19th and 20th centuries. The present session will not only explore the technical and scientific issues but also the economic and social issues connected to these agro-industrial productions: prices and substitutability between different raw materials, competition between production for food and production for industrial purpose, etc. Thanks to the variety of raw materials used to produce starch, it will also be possible to compare cases from Africa, Europe, South and North America, and Asia.

Chair: Laurent Brassart, University of Lille, France

Discussant: Jose Vicente Serrao, ISCTE-University Institute Lisbon, Portugal

4.4.1. A step towards the modern bio-economy. The starch industry in Italy (circa 1870–1940)

Luca Andreoni, Università Politecnica delle Marche, Italy; Gianpiero Fumi, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy

The paper looks at the history of the intermediate products derived from agricultural crops and destined to the food and non-food industries, a neglected chapter of the agriculture-industry integration. Small quantities of starch were traditionally extracted from cereals, tuberaceae and legumes for crafts and domestic uses, such as ironing. In the 19th century, organic chemistry experimented new sources and uses, but the diffusion of starch was still very limited. With the crisis of the European cereals market at the end of the century, researchers and entrepreneurs began to develop new methods for obtaining purer starches as raw materials in textile production, food, paper and cosmetics. A specialized industry of starch, glucose and dextrins emerged also in Italy, processing more wheat, maize and rice than potatoes and making use of patents and equipment from abroad. The pioneering phase was followed by a process of business growth and firm concentration, which gave rise to some companies with national dimensions and strategies. As the national balance of cereal trade was in deficit, their destination to food remained a priority: food security prevailed and the dilemma between food and non-food uses long did not seem to exist. In particular, Fascism placed the production and food use of cereals at the centre of its policy (“battle of wheat”). Nevertheless, the starch industry

played a role in spreading new uses, including industrial ones, contributing to make starch an important raw material as it is today. In the 1930s, the official orientation pro-cereals was intertwined with other autarchic policies, intended to restrict imports of industrial raw materials by replacing them with national products, and this involved also the starch industry. It can therefore be framed in the broader effort of food industries (rice, beer, sugar, dairying, confectionery, etc.) to valorise their by-products and to find new outlets, food, non-food or intermediate, for their products.

4.4.2. Cassava flour, plots, subsistence and famine: conflicts between slaves and masters about property rights in slavery Brazil (1794–1812)

Manoela Pedroza, Fluminense Federal University, Brazil

This paper analyzes social and political aspects of the production of a basic foodstuff in Brazil: the cassava flour. Note we will not be dealing with cassava starch (called “polvilho” in Brazil), since this is a byproduct of cassava much more restricted. We will deal with cassava flour as it is the cheapest, most versatile, most produced and consumed food by poor people in regions of equatorial, tropical or semi-arid climate, that occupy a large part of the Brazilian territory. In fact, cassava is native from American tropical plains: there are vestiges of cassava mills from 2,000 years ago. When Europeans arrived, during the 16th century, cassava and its byproducts (flour, starch, gum, cassava leaves, fermented cassava drink etc.) were the basic foodstuff of American natives. Thenceforth the consumption of cassava flour expanded and were incorporated in the day-to-day life of European colonists, slaves, pioneers, missionaries, sailors. It modified in a persistent way the standard diet of people who went on to live in America. For example, among the African enslaved people in America, but also in some parts of Africa, cassava replaced yam as the basic foodstuff. There are researches showing that famine crises that plagued regions of the colony during the 17th and 18th centuries were linked to the master’s ban on their slaves planting cassava for subsistence. From this perspective, have access to a roça was an important achievement for an enslaved person. In the 19th century, while the urban population of the cities closest to ports, such as Rio de Janeiro, could already buy imported substitutes for cassava flour, as wheat flour and rice, the vast majority of the population certainly remained dependent on cassava flour for their subsistence. The purpose of this paper is to analyze a case of a conflict involving the right of about a thousand enslaved people (living in a domain of the King of Portugal in Rio de Janeiro) to plant cassava. This happened between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, in the same period in which Dom Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho was a very influential Portuguese politician. He was minister in Portugal, arrived in Brazil with the court and remained minister until his death, in 1812. He was directly involved in this dispute, with disastrous results, as we will see.

4.4.3. Starch Wars. How to compete against the Empires?

Laurent Herment, CNRS, France

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century starch connected agriculture and industry. While sugar and flour are produced from a limited set of products (cane or beetroot for sugar, mainly wheat or rye for flour), starch can be produced with every crop that contains it. French makes a distinction between “amidon” which derives from grains (wheat, rice, maize, etc.), and “féculé” which derived from roots (mainly potatoes in Europe, but also from tropical plants, sagu and cassava among other). From this point of view the industry of starch was more comparable to the industry of oilseed which used either “indigènes” (i. e. local) seeds or “exotic” (i. e. imported) seeds. Thus, starch constitutes a product able to introduce concurrence between several type of plants all over the planet. If, in France, potatoes were the main source of starch during a long part of the nineteenth century, at the end of the century, the starch factories, mainly implanted in Paris Bassin and Lorraine, compete with a wide variety of producers all over the world. Through the analyses of the agronomic and agricultural literature I intend to assess the importance of the different sources of starch used in France, including the “exotic” sources as maize, rice, cassava, etc., but also the alternative uses by French farmers of such “exotic” products. Then exotic starch or starchy material could be viewed as a danger but also as an opportunity for French farmers.

4.6. The technical background which link us (The technical background of agriculture in the early modern and modern Central Europe)

Enikő Rűsz Fogarasi, Babes Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Technological development has always played a decisive role in the development of rural society and agriculture in our region in the early modern and modern age when major changes in farming practices are experienced. Increasing the available archival sources is making possible the evaluation of technical progress and its results in the world of villages. The aim of this section is to provide evidence of how technical progress contributed to the development of Central European villages, rural society. The presence of guilds, industrial associations, factories, and plants involved in the production of agricultural tools promoted the technical development of farming. It may be interesting to evaluate the technical background the countryside might have to monitor the impact of these institutions on the tight environment possibly how well known their products are near and far. Where do the farmers get technical equipment from the countryside? It could be interesting to draw the path of technical equipment (eg mowers were brought from Vienna in Cluj-Napoca in the 17th century, it would be interesting to know where they came from, or later it would be interesting to know the place of export of agricultural machines or the market). Knowledge of the technical conditions of farming would promise results in many other interesting areas of rural development. It could be traced whether technological developments are transforming or affecting rural society. The findings of these papers would shed light on the similarities and differences of this region in a Central European context. Possibly, if archival sources get us, the western impact on the agricultural technical background of this region could be monitored. The technical issues, we can see keep together the villages with the towns, the rural society with urban society.

Chair & discussant: Zsuzsanna Varga, Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest

4.6.1. Agricultural machinery and equipment production in Transylvania in the second half of the 19th century

Róbert Miklós Nagy, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Transylvania was the easternmost historical province of the Hungarian side of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Due to the remoteness from the centers of the Empire (Budapest and Vienna) and the relatively hostile terrain, the regions agriculture was underdeveloped at the middle of the 19th century. Three-field system was generally and two-field was also present in the transylvanian agriculture. The saxons from the South were those who introduced the four-field system and with this system the use of new agricultural machinery and equipments. New-type equipments (ploughs, sawing-machines) were imported from Vienna, than from Pest. At the middle of the century Péter Rajka was the entrepreneur who established a workshop at Cluj, where he begun to produce new-type equipment. From the 1860' other plants were established in Brasov and Sibiu. The products quality was adequate for the local needs but the quantity never. At the end of the 19th century the local workshops covered 50% of the transylvanian agricultural machinery and equipment market.

4.6.2. The Relationship between the Evolution of the Land Ownership Structure and the Technical Endowment in Agriculture from Transylvania (1850–1914)

Iosif-Marin Balog, Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

The rupture with the old property system, which took place in Transylvania after the agrarian reforms of 1854, produced major changes in the production system, in the social relations within the rural world, but also in the economic relations created between the rural and the urban area. However, the pre-1848 economic legacy left a strong mark on the Transylvanian rural world. The progress toward modernization required an effort of material and mental adaptation. The two components of the adaptation effort have evolved in parallel, but not at the same pace, because, from the beginning, there has been a big gap between the production system, technology, market and mentality in the sense that they have not synchronized sufficiently and did not adapt quickly enough to economic realities, with all the consequences that arose from this situation and with profound implications on the modernization process as a whole. The transformations in the Transylvanian agriculture in the period 1850–1914 took place on several levels: the restructuring of the dimensions of the land ownership, changes in the culture system, technological changes, and the increase of productivity. This paper aims to analyze the relationship between changes in property structures, the evolution of the technological endowments of agricultural households and will answer the question of whether there has been a real progress and what it has consisted of. Comparative references from the period studied with other regions of the Kingdom of Hungary will also be presented.

4.6.3. The technological background of early modern Transylvanian agriculture

Enikő Rűsz Fogarasi, Babes Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Before the Industrial Revolution, the tools used to cultivate agricultural land were either manufactured by the craftsmen of the cities or were acquired through trade. The goods of many guilds helped in the manufacture of agricultural tools, where they strived to incorporate all the new knowledge acquired through the traditional journeys of journeymen. With the incorporation of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire, the latest technological developments became closer and not only new knowledge started to reach the province but new agricultural tools also. Besides these, the goods manufactured by the guilds are the most defining. In my research, I would like to identify those guilds whose products supplied the tools for agricultural activity in the 17th and 18th centuries, regardless of their technological sophistication. I would like to map out the places where these agricultural tools were manufactured and place them along with large feudal estates. Through this method, I would like to identify the number of these tools in places where large or developed feudal estates were present. Another question I hope to find an answer to is regarding the level of interest shown by the nobility towards the technological improvement of their estates. On the other hand, I would like to find out the interest Greek merchants had in supplying more sophisticated tools. As sources for my research I would like to review the guild registers, sections of guild statutes which concern technological aspects, accountings of merchants and feudal estates, and private correspondence as well.

4.7. Rural Women and Farm Work: Gender Relations, and New Research on the Lives of 20th Century Farm Women 1

Debra Reid, The Henry Ford, USA

Rural and farm life changed drastically during the 20th century as technology transformed work routines in farm fields and farmhouse environs. Virtually every farm routine changed as a result. The papers in this panel focus on domestic responsibilities and women's roles during a period of transition. Brian Cannon uses letters between a mother and daughter to document the physically exhausting routines on a family farm in Utah before the Second World War. As the children chose off-farm lives, the elders chose retirement in a growing metropolitan area. Consolidation of farms provided incentive for other changes, namely the mechanization of labor. This reduced the need for women in the fields. As women's responsibilities shifted on the farm, away from field labor and away from constant demands of food production, processing, and preservation, many women secured off-farm jobs. This diversified the farm income but did little to sustain women's investment in agriculture, proper. Exceptions existed, as Margreet van der Burg and Liskje Flapper, explore among farm women in the Netherlands who became more invested in their farm dairies, milking more cows and pursuing education in dairy science. Jeannie Whayne explores how gender continues to affect farm ownership expectations, pressures, and opportunities in Arkansas during the late-20th and into the early 21st century. Finally, many women, financial partners of farming husbands or owners-operators themselves, became indispensable to farm organizing. They contributed their perspectives to organizations that may have grudgingly accepted women's influence, such as the American Farm Bureau Federation, but they also threw themselves, heart and soul, into the life or death struggle to save the family farm, as Pam Riney-Kehrberg documents in her paper on farm women and the Farm Crisis in Iowa. It seems that, women were and remain indispensable in rural contexts because of the many responsibilities they bear.

Chair: Katherine Jellison. Discussant: Karen Sayer

4.7.1. 'It Was Almost Impossible to Get a Cent of Money': A Rural Utah Woman's Life Through Her Letters

Brian Cannon, Brigham Young University, USA

Between 1931 and 1944, Lucetta Huffaker Brinton (1877–1956) wrote scores of letters to her oldest daughter Evangeline from the Brinton family farm in central Utah's Sanpete Valley. The letters permit us to test and refine hypotheses about rural women's lives. They document life on a small irrigated farmstead, the roles of men and women on the farm, family dynamics, religious belief and practice, and the economic impact of major world events. They describe the exhausting round of housework, Brinton's involvement in agricultural production and exchange, and bouts of loneliness and illness. The letters also document the pull of the metropolis, the exodus of Brinton's children from the farm and the couple's decision late in 1944 to sell the farm, retire from farming and relocate in the Phoenix metropolitan area.

4.7.2. "To Make the Farm Bureau Stronger and Better for All the People: African Americans and the American Farm Bureau Federation, 1920–1966"

Cherisse Jones-Branch, Arkansas State University, USA

Throughout rural America, before, during, and after World War I, county farm bureaus were established to support local agricultural communities and extension service agents. State and local leaders had contemplated galvanizing county farm bureaus to create a national organization. Some states, like Missouri, had federated county farm bureaus as early as 1915. By the end of World War I, ten states had followed suit. In 1919 farmers from around the country gathered at the LaSalle Hotel in Chicago and formed the American Farm Bureau Federation (AFBF) to solidify the alliance between county agents and farm people, and to ensure a collaboration that lobbied on behalf of both groups. Its objective was to "promote and protect the business, economic, and social, and educational interests of the farmers of the nation and to promote agriculture." The name "farm bureau" was adopted by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) to include all cooperating farm organizations. The permanent AFBF was established in 1920. Most AFBF scholarship has almost exclusively discussed white agriculturalists' history and concerns but have not probed the origins nor the efficacy of African American farm members. My paper will explore African Americans long understudied relationship with the American Farm Bureau Federation and its state and local affiliates between 1920 and 1966. Although African Americans were largely marginalized within the AFBF, they were active members of local segregated farm bureaus. If we wish to understand the AFBF's richly textured history, successes, and limitations, we need to consider how the organization and its policies impacted African American agriculturalists especially during such historical watersheds as international wars, economic depressions, migration, and the modern Civil Rights movement.

4.7.3. Gender and Bodily Labor in Representations of Farm Women and Dairymaids in Sweden

Grey Osterud, Independent researcher, USA

What can photographs of rural women tell us about the connections between gender and bodily labor in the past? Visual representations of farm women and dairymaids in Sweden during the early 20th century reveal the rural roots of dairymaids' capacity to perform demanding physical and mental labor. Skilled dairymaids are shown working both independently and in cooperation with colleagues of both sexes, but have a special affinity for one another. In contrast, their employers' photographs present them in static poses that subordinate them to men. In most photographs, farm women and dairymaids embody a modern version of womanly fitness.

4.9. The Provision of Rural Credit in Pre-Industrial Europe 1

Hannah Robb, University of Exeter, UK

This panel explores the nature of rural credit in late medieval and early modern Europe. It pulls together ideas on the form and materiality of credit in rural society; how it was contracted, repaid and exchanged, the individuals and institutions lending money and the impact of agrarian calendars and cycles on the patterns of borrowing and lending. The ubiquity of credit and indebtedness across social hierarchies in rural communities is a recognised feature of the agrarian economy. Credit took many forms from deferred payments, reckonings of account, mortgages and the leasing of land as well as the borrowing and lending of coin and objects. Chris Briggs, Phillipp Schofield, Elaine Clark, James Davis and Craig Muldrew have done much to advance our understanding of credit networks and the institutions that emerged to regulate and enforce credit agreements in medieval and early modern rural society. Yet the means by which credit was contracted and recorded in rural communities remains under explored. The words spoken in oral promises are rarely made clear in the manorial courts and the record of written credit in the form of a contract, bond, account, or register appears dependent upon access to notaries and a legal infrastructure in which written proof was taken as evidence of contract. This panel explores the forms of credit and the changing nature of borrowing and lending in a period of increased commercialisation. The panel also speaks to some of the wider historiographical questions concerning the emergence of a rural credit market; in particular whether we can identify an active “market” for credit in rural society and the relationship between credit and wider commercial activities within the agrarian economy in pre-industrial Europe.

Chair: Hannah Robb

Discussant: Stephan Nicolussi-Koehler



Plowing the fields, 1993.

4.9.1. Credit and rural society in a borough in Northern Italy according to the registers of a 15th-century notary

Roberto Leggero, Università della Svizzera italiana; Mirella Montanari, Independent Researcher

Gozzano is situated near Lake Orta (Province of Novara, Piedmont). In the Middle Ages, it was an important borough, a market place and a stage on the road from Novara to Domodossola and to the alpine passes. Gozzano was in the district of the Riviera d’Orta controlled by the bishop of Novara. The district was subdivided into Riviera superior (north) and Riviera inferior (South). Gozzano was the administrative capital of Riviera inferior ruling more than ten smaller villages. Some notaries were active in Gozzano. They were offering their services to a broad and populated rural area. Many of the documents drawn were related to money credit and lending for farmers. The paper will be based on the analysis of the unpublished registers of the notary Bernardo Mughetti (1472–1484), a professional operative in Gozzano. The registers are nowadays entrusted to the State Archive of Novara. Exploring these documents, it will be possible to light up an active market for credit in rural Novarese society. It will be possible also to better understand the relationship between credit and wider commercial activities within the agrarian economy of an interesting lacustrine and pre-alpine area. In the past, the authors worked on the Riviera d’Orta that attracted contemporary historians, some interesting graduation thesis and that has, at the same time, a long historiographic tradition.

4.9.2. Poverty, credit and property rights. The accidental but successful experience of Catalan smallholders in the 18th century

Rosa Congost, Universitat de Girona; Ricard Garcia-Orallo Universitat de Girona; Enric Saguer, Universitat de Girona

In the abundant literature produced in the last decades by development economists, the lower classes’ difficulties in obtaining credit are often seen as a main obstacle in the struggle to overcome poverty. During the eighteenth century in Spain, the official rate of interest on the kind of secured loans known as censos consignativos in Castile and censals in Catalonia, equivalent to the English annuities, fell abruptly from five per cent to three per cent. The reduction in interest rate was not introduced to help the poor; it was designed by and in favour of the ruling classes in an unequal society. But it may also have played an important role in the social improvement of some of the poorer groups. The experiment we propose to conduct is an analysis as detailed as possible of the impact the reduction in the mortgage interest rate from five to three per cent (1750) had on Girona society as a whole, and especially on its poorest section. On the other hand, we have used automatic handwritten text recognition techniques to completely transcribe all the books of the Mortgage Registry of the Region of Girona for the period 1768–1773. In this way, we have a database made up of more than 8,700 credit contracts on which we will try to contrast our main working hypothesis: that the reduction of the interest rate benefited, and therefore led to a noticeable improvement in the economies of, the poorer social groups, those who in notarial documents were labelled *treballadors*. In this sense, annuities appear to have played an important role, by facilitating access to land and money.

4.10. The ‘Rural Consumer’ – Consumer Goods, Consumption, and Material Culture of Rural Households in Early Modern Europe 1

Henning Bovenkerk, Universität Münster, Germany

Early modern Europe has experienced an expansion of consumer goods – triggered by the intensification of global trade. Thus, this period is considered – particularly in some of the highly commercialized north Atlantic neighbouring regions – an age of ‘consumer revolution’. This process highly reflects in both an extension and a differentiation of the material culture of households, particularly regarding ‘new luxuries’ and colonial goods. A comprehensive discussion has evolved about the emergence and the scope of these developments in different European and (North-) American regions, focused mainly on the urban middle and upper social classes. Despite these findings and the research on these subjects, the consumption of rural households in this period is still a neglected research topic. Therefore, the question of the emergence of the early modern ‘rural consumer’ is still open. It is crucial to ask for its historical context of origin on a regional scope by focusing on institutional, social, and socio-economic aspects as well on those of regarding the relation between centre/periphery. Particularly, a comparative European perspective on this regard is yet still missing. The session aims to approach and contribute new insights in these questions by illuminating the consumption and change of material culture in agrarian societies. It focusses on the ‘rural consumer’ in different ways: Which different social rural groups consumed new or globally traded consumer goods? Did households in the countryside have the opportunity to change their consumer behaviour? Did they have access to markets of consumer goods at all? Did the material culture of agrarian households change? Moreover, was there a ‘rural consumer revolution’?

Chair & discussant: Henning Bovenkerk

4.10.1. Women’s cloth and men’s beverage? Gendered retail networks and consumption practices in the southern Alps, 1650s–1790s

Riccardo E. Rossi, University of Zurich, Switzerland

The role of women in the transformations of consumption habits has long been highlighted by works dealing with urban centres as well as rural areas from the sixteenth up to the twentieth century. For the western Alps scholars like Laurence Fontaine, Anne Radeff, Anne Montenach, Anne-Lise Head-König, and Béatrice Veyrassat explored how female agents played key parts in credit systems and retail networks, and that women thus significantly shaped the way and quantity in which commodities were consumed. In the historiography of the Italian-speaking Alps, however, the economic agency of women has mainly been positioned within the spheres of subsistence economy. Framed like this, female work was generally depicted as subsidiary activity while the social and economic significance of the ventures of male relatives was emphasised. The role of men, in particular of those who left their mountain valleys, was seen as essential for the accumulation of the capital needed to participate in market relations. According to this, the access to commodities would have been primarily provided by male channels of income and exchange. But are these very different depictions of gendered consumption in the Alps pointing to fundamental differences between two mountain regions that otherwise have a number of characteristics in common, most notably a highly mobile population, or is this wide divergence more the result of variations in the analytical approach and research tradition? In order to shed light on this question, my paper explores the interrelations between retail networks, consumption practices, and gender identities in the southern valleys of the Three Leagues, 1650–1790. By analysing probate inventories, account books, correspondences, medical guides, and cooking recipes, this contribution aims to deepen our understanding of how Alpine gender roles affected a person’s interactions with a commodity and what characteristics and perceptions allowed or inhibited goods to become essential vectors of building and maintaining relations in the Italian-speaking Alps.

4.10.2. Some sugar in your tea or your coffee? The new consumers of some exotic goods in the French countryside. Meaux and the Brie, 17th–18th centuries

Gérard Béaur, CNRS & EHESS, CRH, Paris, France

Was there a consumer revolution in the countryside in the 17th–18th centuries? We have recently demonstrated that there was indeed an increase of the standard of living in the French countryside by taking into account the consumption of the people living around Meaux in the Brie (G. Béaur, “Niveau de vie et révolution des objets dans la France d’Ancien Régime. Meaux et ses campagnes aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, in G. Béaur, Travail et niveau de vie, ou la « révolution industrielle » en débat » special issue of *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* », 2017, 4, p. 25 – 58). We might then confirm what a lot of researchers had previously argued and assume that even in a rather remote region, this increase of the standard of living was clearly linked to the general increase of the consumption by the households although there was no evidence at all of an industrious revolution. In this paper, we would focus on some consumer goods like sugar, tea and coffee, which might highlight this economic and social change insofar they might be considered indicative of a new consumption pattern and regarded as marks of a kind of social distinction. We would stress the speed of the introduction of these products and the social gaps for the timing and the extent of their consumption through the data processing of the same corpus we have soon used and which includes about 1,200 post-mortem inventories of people who died in the small town of Meaux and in its countryside during two centuries.

SESSION 5 • TUESDAY 21 JUNE • 10:15–11:45

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
5.1. Climate variability and agricultural productivity in medieval and early modern times 2 Heli Huhtamaa	5.1.1. Effects on crop biodiversity during the Little Ice Age Matti Leino	5.1.2. Expansion or desertion? Nordic narratives of the seventeenth century Little Ice Age revisited Heli Huhtamaa	5.1.3. Prosperity and crises – changes in grain yields during the Little Ice Age in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Monika Kozłowska-Szyc	5.1.4. The condition of Polish agriculture in the time of volcanic eruptions in the first part of the 17th century Thomasz Zwiazek	5:1 Room 1
5.2. New Perspectives on Grain Storage Friederike Scholten-Buschhoff	5.2.1. Lost grains: causes and coping strategies against cereal wastage Laura Prospero	5.2.2. Precaution or Speculation? Investment behaviour on manorial estates, Rhineland and Westphalia 1650–1850 Friederike Scholten-Buschhoff	5.2.3. What can probate inventories tell us about grain storage? Edmund Cannon		5:2 Room 2
5.3. Drought Effects on Rural Communities: Historical Perspectives in a Warming World 1 Nicolas Maughan	5.3.1. Drought impacts on agricultural communities in medieval and early modern Sweden Dag Retsö	5.3.2. Olive trees survival ability in an arid desert environment without irrigation in the Negev Highlands of Southern Israel Eli Ashkenazi			5:3 Room 3
5.4. Institutions and Socio-Economic Change in the Medieval Countryside: Case-Studies and Comparisons across Italy and Europe (1100–1500) 1 Davide Cristoferi	5.4.1. Introduction Davide Cristoferi	5.4.2. Countryside and City in central Middle Ages, a Paradigm from Italy to Europe Philippe Lefevre	5.4.3. Institutions and the Commercialisation of the Economy: Credit to Agriculturists in Medieval Lucca in the Light of Northern-European Historiography Lorenzo Tabarrini		5:4 Room 4
5.5. Contested boundaries after the Great War – views from the former Habsburg countryside Christian Promitzer	5.5.1. Feeling (un) bounded: The Border(less) Transylvanian Countryside After the Great War Ionela Zaharia	5.5.2. When will annexation finally happen? Postwar national and un-national concerns in Rijeka and East-Istrian countryside Ivan Jeličić			5:5 Room 5
5.6. Public intervention and the birth of the new Viticulture and Wine-making in Europe (end 19th–20th Centuries) 1 Luciano Maffi	5.6.1. Alto Douro and Portwine in the last third of the 19th century. The impact of liberal legislation, crisis and regional claims and State intervention Carla Sequeira	5.6.2. Note about the effects of the public institutions' interventions on Italian viticulture and wine sector (XIX-XXI centuries) Paolo Tedeschi	5.6.3. Public intervention in the Italian viticulture and wine-making system: quality improvement, consumer and environmental protection (1960–2010) Luciano Maffi		5:6 Room 6
5.7. Rural Women and Farm Work: Gender Relations, and New Research on the Lives of 20th Century Farm Women 2 Debra Reid	5.7.1. Dairy processing into the factory; shaping idle farm women or new farm labour identities? Debates and realities in the Netherlands, 1890s till 1950s. Margreet van der Burg	5.7.2. Farm Women and Farm Politics in the Farm Crisis of the 1980s Pamela Riney-Kehrberg	5.7.3. Is Gender an Issue? Managing a Farm While Female in the United States in the 21st Century Jeannie Whayne		5:7 Room 7

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
5.8. Social conflicts in early modern Europe: New tools and new perspectives 1 Cédric Chambru	5.8.1. Sarthe countryside and riot of 1839. Issues of a micro-geohistorical digital cartography Karl Zimmer	5.8.2. Introducing HISCoD: A New Gateway for the Study of Historical Social Conflict Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu			5:8 Room 8
5.9. The Provision of Rural Credit in Pre-Industrial Europe 2 Hannah Robb	5.9.1 Rural credit in late medieval Central Europe: The Cheb city state and the town of Znojmo Tomáš Klír	5.9.2. Rural Credit Markets in medieval Tirol: The importance of small-scale credits Stephan Nicolussi-Koehler	5.9.3. The materiality of credit in the court records of early modern England Hannah Robb		5:9 Room 9
5.10. The 'Rural Consumer' – Consumer Goods, Consumption, and Material Culture of Rural Households in Early Modern Europe 2 Henning Bovenkerk	5.10.1. Retailers, Consumers and the Diffusion of Consumer Goods in the Countryside. Southern Lorraine, ca. 1740–ca. 1790 Julien Villain	5.10.2. of silver, silk and stoneware – consumption and change of consumption in rural areas of North-Western Germany, 17th and 18th centuries Henning Bovenkerk			5:10 Room 10



In the dairy, c. 1910-30.

5.1. Climate variability and agricultural productivity in medieval and early modern times 2

Heli Huhtamaa, University of Bern, Switzerland; Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, Stockholm University, Sweden

Since the works of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (1967) and Christian Pfister (1975, 1981), among other pioneering studies in the field, rural historians are commonly acknowledging that pre-industrial agriculture was sensitive to climate variability. Furthermore, several scholars have detected medieval and early modern subsistence crises resulting from unfavourable climatic conditions – although the proposed climate-famine linkages have received also harsh criticism from the historical community. Over the recent decades, palaeoclimatology and historical climatology have provided additional material for historians to further investigate these questions: high-resolution climate reconstructions. This session will present an overview, and provide novel examples, of this recent scholarship on the intersection of palaeoclimatology and agrarian history. The session aims to address the following questions: (1) From which materials we can assess past climate variability? (2) How did changes in temperature, precipitation and drought affect crop yields? (3) To what extent can the occurrence of food shortages, famines, and demographic changes be connected to climate variations? (4) How does the traditional famine narratives compare to the new understanding within this dynamic field? The session will be composed of papers addressing how past climate variability have influenced agricultural production in medieval and early modern times, and how humans have responded to maintain their food security during the times of changing climate. Papers exploring these topics within medieval and early modern agricultural societies in any part of the world are encouraged to join the session, although special emphasis is paid on the early modern Swedish Realm. The session addresses how the recent advances in palaeoclimatology have made the study on climate-agriculture relationships more feasible than before – but how traditional disciplinary boundaries between the humanities and the natural sciences still hamper such research. The session also seeks to present case studies on how medieval and early modern written sources, like tithe records, can be used to estimate relative and absolute changes in grain production, and to what extent the climatic influence can be detected from such material. And last, the session aims to critically re-evaluate the narratives of climate–famine inter-dependency and address, inter alia, the possible influences of the cooler “Little Ice Age” on crop cultivation and food security.

Chair & discussant: Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, Stockholm University

5.1.1. Effects on crop biodiversity during the Little Ice Age

Matti Leino, Stockholm University, Sweden

Crop biodiversity is often mentioned as a crucial factor to meet future challenges with climate change. It is, however, not known how crop biodiversity was affected and utilized during historical climate impinged agrarian crises. I intend to present current archaeobotanical and archaeogenetic research on crop materials from the Little Ice Age – a time period when we know the agricultural system was under severe strain. For farmers, the climatic deterioration during the Little Ice Age was likely felt most acutely through its effects on crops. Did farmers stay true to their inherent seed or were they able to respond with better-adapted crops? Could adaption to the new conditions be achieved from the biodiversity locally present or were introductions of plant material from other regions required? Archaeological remains and herbarium material of cereals (rye, barley and oats) from the Nordic countries, spanning from the late medieval period to the 19th century, have been studied with DNA methodology. The results reveal local adaption,

formation of meta-populations, seed exchange patterns and indicate both continuity and change within the crops’ genetic identity. Further, the data suggests that farmers have perceived and utilized variability in crop species in an active way leading to co-evolution of crops and societies also within this limited temporal and spatial scale.

5.1.2. Expansion or desertion? Nordic narratives of the seventeenth century Little Ice Age revisited

Heli Huhtamaa, University of Bern, Switzerland

Natural proxy data and written sources imply that some of the coldest phases of the Little Ice Age (LIA) took place in the seventeenth century on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia. Presumably, this century was marked with frequent harvest failures and subsequent agricultural crises and farm desertion. Nonetheless, the Swedish Realm, which economy was greatly dependent on agricultural production, was able to establish itself as a great power over this period of climatic deterioration. Furthermore, administrative sources from the northern- and easternmost areas of the realm, located in current day Finland, indicate agrarian settlement expansion and population increase over the seventeenth century. The both narratives, the stories of seventeenth century settlement expansion and desertion crisis, alternate in Nordic historical research – and especially in Finnish literature. Recently, the role of the cooler LIA, and its possible influence on agrarian settlements, have been brought in to the discussion. In this presentation, I will discuss the possible causality between the LIA, agrarian production, and rural settlement patterns. Furthermore, I will re-evaluate the two interpretations, the stories of agrarian expansion and desertion, focusing on the seventeenth century Swedish Realm, and on its Finnish territories in particular. Finally, I aim to shed new light how man-made factors, such as grass-root adaptation strategies or changing administrative actions, might explain the two differing narratives of the impact of the LIA on the seventeenth century agrarian settlements.

5.1.3. Prosperity and crises – changes in grain yields during the Little Ice Age in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Monika Kozłowska-Szyc, University of Białystok, Piotr Guzowski, University of Białystok, Radosław Poniak, University of Białystok, Poland

The Little Ice Age period witnessed an extraordinary development and then an economic crisis in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The export of grain in the 16th century contributed to the expansion of manors not only of the nobility, but also of those belonging to the king. The latter were regularly described by parliamentary commissions and their documentation makes it possible to trace how grain yields changed in the second half of the 16th and 17th centuries. The aim of the paper is to present an analysis of yields from over 500 royal manors over 150 years and an attempt to explain the productivity crisis. Previous interpretations have linked it to general inefficiency of the manorial system, but it is worth linking it also to unfavourable climatic conditions and weather anomalies.

5.1.4. The condition of Polish agriculture in the time of volcanic eruptions in the first part of the 17th century

Thomasz Zwiazek, Polish Academy of Sciences; Piotr Guzowski, University of Białystok, Poland

The aim of our presentation is to look at the condition of Polish agriculture in the first half of the 17th century, especially the period of the 1630s and 40s, characterized by high volcanic activity. It is a period of decline of Poland’s economic expansion and grain export that has coincided with deteriorating climatic conditions culminating in the Maunder Minimum. We will analyze typical statistical economic sources, such as economic inventories of big estates, lists of prices of agricultural products in Polish cities, export data and classical narrative sources. Historical sources will be supplemented with data from natural archives from Greater Poland and Royal Prussia.

5.2. New Perspectives on Grain Storage

Friederike Scholten-Buschhoff, University of Münster, Germany

Food storage is still on the international agenda. There has been a number of significant new publications in recent years, particularly on grain storage. Following on from this, this panel deals with central questions about granaries: What different storage locations are there and which storing techniques are useful? In addition, the decision-makers are at the centre: Who are they and what motivates them to store (or not to)? The following three micro-studies on the Italian, English and German regions answer these questions from different perspectives while using explicit storage information: Laura Prospero will discuss the topic of grain losses during storage and techniques to cope with: Although grain losses have always been part of the storing process, so far qualitative and quantitative losses have got scanty attention by historians. Not only extraordinary but also ordinary losses played a role in the wheat quality variation and in shaping the wheat standard idea of 'quality'. A well-documented journey around a wide range of grain loss causes – from pests to grain stock diseases– will draw a scenario of dearth and its strategies of coping with the structural vulnerability of pre-industrial storing. Liam Brunt and Edmund Cannon discuss what probate inventories can tell us about grain storage: One of the most important functions of grain markets is to ensure a steady supply of grain to consumers in the periods between annual harvests, which relies upon the effective storage of grain. Unfortunately, very little direct information is available on grain storage and most empirical analyses of grain markets rely entirely upon information about prices. In this paper, we analyse the grain holdings in English probate inventories in the seventeenth century to obtain qualitative information on how and where grain was stored. Friederike Scholten-Buschhoff questions the motivation behind manorial grain stocks in Rhineland and Westphalia 1650–1850: With the evaluation of short- and long-term grain storage on noble manors, located in the region of the Rhineland and Westphalia, a range of open questions about aristocratic management are answered. The analysis of explicit storage information, including associated details on storage locations, losses and motives behind storage decisions, provides insights into the aristocratic risk- and profit-thinking. In the meantime, this paper is also a valuable contribution to research about supplying the rural population.

Chair: Friederike Scholten-Buschhoff

5.2.1. Lost grains: causes and coping strategies against cereal wastage

Laura Prospero, University of Milan Bicocca, Italy

Although grain losses have always been part of the storing process, so far qualitative and quantitative losses have got scanty attention by historians. Not only extraordinary but also ordinary losses played a role in the wheat quality variation and in shaping the standard idea of grain 'quality'. A well-documented journey around a wide range of grain loss causes – from pests to grain stock diseases– will draw a scenario of dearth and its strategies of coping with the structural vulnerability of pre-industrial storing. To prevent or contain cereal losses, several strategies were put in place from post-harvest to the final retail and a full picture of them will be provided in the paper. Grain spoiling, though, is not entirely avoidable, and therefore – together with them – we will cast a light on the low-quality output together with the by-products of the grain supply chain. Finally, a special focus with some preliminary remarks will be on the climate factor and its bearings on grain storage, trying an early matching between technical knowledge, common wisdom, and recorded data.

5.2.2. Precaution or Speculation? Investment behaviour on manorial estates, Rhineland and Westphalia 1650–1850

Friederike Scholten-Buschhoff, University of Münster, Germany

With the evaluation of short- and long-term grain storage on noble manors, located in the region of the Rhineland and Westphalia, a range of open questions about aristocratic management are answered. The analysis of explicit storage information, including associated details on storage locations, losses and motives behind storage decisions, provides insights into the aristocratic risk- and profit-thinking. In the meantime, this paper is also a valuable contribution to research about supplying the rural population.

5.2.3. What can probate inventories tell us about grain storage?

Edmund Cannon, University of Bristol, UK; Liam Brunt, Norwegian School of Economics

One of the most important functions of grain markets is to ensure a steady supply of grain to consumers in the periods between annual harvests. This relies upon the effective storage of grain between each harvest (intra-year storage). In addition, storing wheat from one harvest year to the next insures against a future poor harvest (inter-year storage, or carryover). Inter-year storage is a substitute for trade between different geographical regions. Relying on trade becomes less attractive as markets become less efficient. Until recently, very little direct information has been available on grain storage. Thus most empirical analyses of grain markets have relied primarily upon information about prices. Since prices are the result of both storage decisions and market efficiency, it is difficult to disentangle how either storage or markets worked by observing prices alone. This means that additional data sources are needed. This paper will contribute to the literature by analysing a hitherto unused data source on grain stocks, namely English probate inventories. Probate inventories detail individuals' possessions and their monetary value at the point of death and commonly contain references to stocks of grains and agricultural produce. A large number of probate inventories exist from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and many of these have been transcribed and either published or made available in data sets. They have been used for such varied purposes as estimating agricultural output or tracking standards of living by measuring the prevalence of luxury items (e.g., Dean, Hann, Overton and Whittle, 2004 Production and consumption in English households, 1600–1750). In this paper we analyse the grain holdings in English probate inventories from four large collections of probates for Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, Essex and Kent. Using the fact that probates contain the date of death, we are able to identify variations in grain holdings through the year, which will allow us to make inferences about both intra-year and inter-year storage. We shall also be able to use information on what type of people were holding grain – such as their socio-economic status – and how it was stored.

5.3. Drought Effects on Rural Communities: Historical Perspectives in a Warming World 1

Nicolas Maughan, Aix-Marseille University, France; Andrea Kiss, Vienna University of Technology, Austria

Global climate change has sharpened focus on the social and economic challenges associated with water deficits, particularly in regions where anthropogenic demands exceed supply. In view of global warming it is predicted that heat waves in the future will be more intense, more frequent and longer lasting. Observational evidence indeed provides some support for an increasing frequency of hot extremes across the globe. However, long-term changes in the frequency and severity of drought events and heat waves are still poorly understood, especially in rural areas. In this regard, knowledge of past climatic extremes and their impact is a research priority to derive predictive points of reference for adaptation and loss reduction. A better understanding of historical climate-driven extremes, which may range from several months to decades, on rural communities and in the functioning and productivity of different agro-ecosystems is also beneficial for other disciplines towards improving adaptation and mitigation strategies for predicted climate change. This session aims to explore rapid and short-term socio-environmental consequences as well as long-term changes induced by adverse effects of past drought events.

Chair: Nicolas Maughan

5.3.1. Drought impacts on agricultural communities in medieval and early modern Sweden

Dag Retsö, Stockholm University, Sweden

The 15th century constituted to a large extent a period of serious political turmoil in Sweden. It erupted with the 1434 peasant rebellion against the background of an already complicated political landscape. In addition, documentary sources, especially those of the middle decades of the century, reveal clear signs of climate-induced stress on production and population. In fact, the entire Middle Ages can be said to have been characterized by social strife through civil wars and international wars with the 15th century as a particularly troublesome century. Only the second quarter of the 14th century, the first three decades of the 15th century and the last three decades of the century can be regarded as politically relatively stable.

5.3.2. Olive trees survival ability in an arid desert environment without irrigation in the Negev Highlands of Southern Israel

Eli Ashkenazi, Oranim College, Israel; Yona Chen, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Yoav Avni, Geological Survey of Israel

In the Negev Highlands, south Israel, remnants of both abandoned and presently maintained Bedouin fruit trees are found. Most of the older orchards were deliberately planted in preexisting agricultural systems that were built in the area's distant past, to collect rain runoff water and conserve soil, mainly during the Byzantine era. Most researchers agree that the Byzantine era was the most productive period of settlement and agriculture in the Negev. Wine and olive oil were central agricultural products, as well as ubiquitous wheat. Information on the kinds of crops grown during the Byzantine era can be found in 6th century and 7th century CE on basis of documents discovered at Nitzana, and

known as the "Nitzana papyri". Additionally, the remains of oil-presses found throughout the Negev Highlands, indicate a desert olive oil industry. The olive trees found in these abandoned sites, spread throughout the Negev Highlands, have not been irrigated for at least the past 7 decades. Despite this, some of the trees continue to flourish and some are still bearing fruit to this day. The research focuses primarily on understanding the past considerations of the Bedouin regarding planting locations, their interest in current tree plantings, as well as reasons for the survival of the abandoned trees. The examination of these questions incorporates a discussion of the soil characteristics and geological structure at the different sites in the Negev Highlands, the unique characteristics of each site to supported desert agriculture and use of runoff water harvesting techniques. The research also examine the changes (or lack thereof) of the present agricultural potential, compared to that of Byzantine era, 1500 years ago, as manifested through local archeological findings. Most trees were not treated and have not been irrigated for 7 decades. However, they receive some runoff water via the remains of the ancient mostly broken rain runoff collecting systems. Part of the trees appear to be in a relative good shape and do not show signs of leaf or branch dehydration and are even yielding fruit. In various cases, the original domesticated trained olive tree declined and a vigorous out-growth of suckers presently still in a juvenile phase is developing. The factors leading to the survival of the fruit trees varies between geological conditions, such as rock formations contributing to the runoff potential, topographic gradients, and various soil features, such as particle size distribution, depth, salinity, and the content of organic matter.



Woman working with the harvest, c. 1910-30

5.4. Institutions and Socio-Economic Change in the Medieval Countryside: Case-Studies and Comparisons across Italy and Europe (1100–1500) 1

Davide Cristoferi, Ghent University, Belgium; Lorenzo Tabarrini, University of Bologna, Italy

During the last four centuries of Middle Ages rural economy and society observed radical changes across Europe. In this regard, the role of institutions and socio-property relations such as seigneurial powers, leasing system, credit market and peasant agency have been extensively researched by rural historians and medievalists, renovating the fields and its agenda during the last three decades. Such achievements, however, have not always been homogeneous across European historiographies. The Italian one, for instance, albeit a rich tradition in rural studies, have been scarcely challenged by the current agenda in rural history, apart from themes such as commons and economic inequalities (Alfani 2014). In this respect, however, a comparative exploration embedding institutions and socio-economic change in late medieval rural Italy within a European perspective is also missing. This panel contributes to fill this gap by addressing the role of institutions and the dynamics of social changes in rural countryside through case-studies and comparisons from the Italian peninsula and western Europe (France, England). More specifically, it aims to question and to explore, first, the role of seigneurial powers and credit market in shaping overall growth in 1100–1200 and, second, the impact of leasing system such as sharecropping as well as urban and seigneurial power relations and law enforcement in shaping economic inequalities and peasant resistance in rural society. For instance, research on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is often rife with the narrative of the expansion of urban mercantile classes into the countryside as one of the main factors of economic development – in both Italy and Europe. In this regard, however, several questions can be asked: what was the role played by rural aristocracies? Were they backward, ‘feudal’ lords? Or did they share the entrepreneurial attitude of the bourgeoisie? Similarly, Italian and European scholarship on the central and late Middle Ages has mostly focused on large-scale credit activities – the bedrock on which international networks of trade were built; petty credit to agriculturists has been comparatively less studied. Is the evolution of small-scale rural credit a symptom of economic growth? And how is it related to the transformations of land management? Finally, inequalities represent one of the major fields of investigation of current economic research, and the way these were shaped by – or else adapted to – extant ecosystems and farming regimes is of paramount importance for the understanding of society and economy as a whole. The wealth of information enshrined by late medieval sources does make room for new research: what was the interplay between different farming regimes (sharecropping, leasehold, seigneurial domain) and socio-economic inequalities in the countryside? And how did the institutional structures of urban governing bodies contribute to shaping debt relations between landlords and tenants? Addressing these questions, moreover, will contribute to throw light on how inequalities could lead to social unrest and peasant resistance.

Chair & discussant: Daniel R. Curtis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands

5.4.1. Introduction

Davide Cristoferi, Ghent University, Belgium, Lorenzo Tabarrini, University of Bologna, Italy

5.4.2. Countryside and City in central Middle Ages, a Paradigm from Italy to Europe

Philippe Lefevre, Ecole Française de Rome, Laboratoire de Médiévisiologie Occidentale de Paris (UMR 8589), France

During the Middle Ages, the demographic growth of the city, shaped by political and socio-economic institutions, created a set of new relationships between urban and rural territories. Around 1300, city-centered territories had emerged in Flanders, in Central and Northern Italy, in the Mediterranean West and in many European countries. In those territories, townspeople were deeply involved in agrarian life, traded on grain, on agricultural commodities and were active in rural land market. Meanwhile, they experienced ways of eating, dressing, and living which distinguished them from peasants. The wealthiest inhabitants of these cities owned farms and had their own leaseholder working for them. The usual narrative about the origins of modern countryside owes a lot to Italian medieval history. This narrative has stressed the importance played by the formation of a new class of urban landowners during the Thirteenth century. Those new landowners developed new forms of land management that led to strengthen the economic domination of the city over the countryside. To explain the extent of transformations, the role played by emigration, urban growth, war, credit and juridical improvements have been emphasized. Historians have highlighted the emergence of a new aristocracy of both urban and rural landlords to explain the sudden transformation of relationships between city and countryside. In spite of those explanations, the very nature of the process leading to the creation of city-centered territories remains unclear. In former centuries, rural land market was dominated by urban or rural churches, rural aristocracy and local landholders, many of them peasants. It has particularly been argued that rural emigration would have weakened local solidarity. This paper will focus on this paradigm, discuss its influence in European history and explore some of its limitations.

5.4.3. Institutions and the Commercialisation of the Economy: Credit to Agriculturists in Medieval Lucca in the Light of Northern-European Historiography

Lorenzo Tabarrini, Università di Bologna, Italy

The social, political and economic aspects of credit to agriculturists in medieval Europe have been the object of a renewed interest over the last fifteen years. The studies on northern Europe, in particular, have been numerous and innovative: some ground-breaking books have been published (Briggs 2009; Schofield & Lambrecht 2009; Briggs & Zuijderdujn 2018), along with many excellent articles. But medieval Italy has been relatively neglected in this respect. While credit for long-distance trade has had an enduring tradition of studies, rural credit has received less attention (exceptions are Gaulin & Menant 1998; Menant & Redon 2004; Menant 2019); it can be observed, indeed, that this topic lies outside of the current research agenda of rural historians. This paper aims to contribute to filling this gap by putting the historiography on northern Europe into dialogue with Italian primary sources. In more detail, it examines the development of small-scale rural credit in the countryside of Lucca by analysing the register that a local notary kept for one of his clients, a moneylender named Usacco, from 1230 to 1242. The first objective of the paper is to set Usacco’s register into its socioeconomic context. The decades from c. 1170 to c. 1250 witnessed major changes in the patterns of rural economy across Tuscany, due to the steep rise of the prices of landed estates and agricultural commodities. As a consequence, the tenantry needed, on an increasingly regular basis, to take out loans of cash and cereals in order to meet the landowners’ heightened demand, ward off the spectre of starvation and make investments when possible. Institutional economics and the literature on the commercialisation of the economy will shape the analysis of the data included within Usacco’s register. From the second half of the twelfth century, new courts were created in Lucca, and the bureaucratic structure of the city governing body became increasingly complex. This sharpening of local institutions thus provided the necessary background to the development of credit transactions. This process was matched by substantial transformations in the forms of land management across the Lucchesia: land-clearances grew in number and size; accustomed renders were replaced by short-term commercial leases; sharecropping agreements began to be issued, namely on the initiative of urban mercantile strata. By employing the conceptual tools of institutional change and commercialisation, the rural history of medieval Lucca will be analysed as part of a European interpretative framework.

5.5. Contested boundaries after the Great War – views from the former Habsburg countryside

Christian Promitzer, University of Graz, Austria; Jernej Kosi, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; Ionela Zaharia, University of Graz, Austria

The end of the Great War signified the demise of the Habsburg Empire and the extension of nation states on its territory. Victorious national movements from within the former Empire and irredentist claims from already existing nation states (like Romania, Serbia and Italy) became the pace-makers of unfolding events. Their actions – conceived in urban centres and often staged in the countryside – tended to be mutually exclusive with respect to their claims and therefore encompassed potentials for new armed conflicts. While urban elites thus tried to round off national territories by use of arms and on the conference table, the rural population was rarely asked for its will which was often taken for granted. This session concentrates on the agency of the rural population on whose soil these events took place. The villagers were not only roped into ethnic struggles, but due to the new borders they were also often cut off from their former sales markets which additionally aggravated their need to make a living. One has therefore to pose the question, if the villagers did consider their incorporation into a new body politic really a chance for welfare or at least a surrogate for the loss of traditional certainties. Within the new post war contexts subsistence certainly became more difficult, even when the ethnic identity of the population in concern coincided with the new state's eponymous nation. But what if that was not the case? Most of them, like Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in particular, were hybrid by nature and would incorporate ethnic minorities – as was also the case with Hungary and Austria. In a situation of already radicalized ethnic tensions former privileged ethnic groups now became subaltern and vice versa. In other cases, people developed features of switching identities or of national indifference, be it as strategies of mimicry, or because they assessed ethnic identity less important than a peaceful adoption to the new political circumstances. Sujets mixtes, however, people of pendant ethnic identity who still had existed within the former imperial context, started to vanish. In-depth research of the diverse survival strategies of rural populations in the post war period furthermore has to consider that each village / settlement had its contingencies with single features and traditions, whereby forms of settlement, geography and ecotype, as well as the overhanging cultural and ethnic determinants have to be taken into consideration. Below this *genius loci* one has also to regard internal differentiations which can be pursued onto the level of sub-peasant strata and of separate households. Inns, priests, teachers, local councils, members of police and military patrols, in turn, served as intersections between the local community and the external world; thereby, rivalling factors from the latter would affect the local communities. The contributions of the session are based on records from private, regional, church and state archives and on contemporary printed sources.

Chair: Christian Promitzer

5.5.1. Feeling (un)bounded: The Border(less) Transylvanian Countryside After the Great War

Ionela Zaharia, University of Graz, Austria

Transylvania and Crișana /Kreischgebiet / Körösvidék were two closely related, predominantly rural regions in the southeastern part of Austria-Hungary. After the Great War, Romanian national and local leaders of those regions, mostly village teachers and priests, gathered at Alba Iulia/Karlsburg/Gyulafehérvár. They expressed their wish to unite with the Romanian Kingdom and based their power of decision on lists of signatures collected mostly among the rural population. Representatives of other nationalities living in these regions did not attend the meeting. However, it was not the villagers, but the politicians of the victorious powers in 1919 who negotiated the outcome of the war in Paris 1919 and took the final decision which was based on strategical grounds and imposed clauses on minority rights on Romania. The union of these regions with the Romanian Kingdom turned the century-old state border along the Carpathian Mountains into a Phantom-border, while drawing a new border where previously none had existed. As most of the villages were ethnically mixed and since it was impossible to apply national self-determination in order to meet all wishes, the feelings of the rural population were either those of unbounded hope/ relief/ optimism or of stifling/constraining fear. Border-drawing divides relatives, separates peasants from parts of their soil and former sales markets as well; it furthermore provokes different and multi-layered feelings which may turn into behavioural or emotional practices. The influence of borders is mostly apparent in a concrete context, therefore I want to analyse emotions and emotional practices of the populations of two more or less ethnically mixed villages in the period from 1918 to 1921: These are Șimand/Simand in Crișana, close to the new border with Hungary, and the Transylvanian village of Prejmer/Tartlau/Prázsmar, in Țara Bârsei or the Burzenland, which up to 1919 had been at the border with Romania, but had now moved to the core of this polity. I will argue that the assessment of both the individual and group-based emotional practices of villagers allows for a retrospective insight into the way in which the changing historical context generated new emotional practices and, more importantly, incentivized the agency of the rural population. It furthermore enables the evaluation of the influence of local, regional, national and international interest groups, which tried to evoke, control or even undermine emotions, perceptions and identification processes of the rural population.

5.5.2. When will annexation finally happen? Postwar national and un-national concerns in Rijeka and East-Istrian countryside

Ivan Jeličić, Institute of Political History, Croatia

Following the demise of the Habsburg Monarchy, a predominantly rural Istria was occupied by the Italian army. With the Treaty of Rapallo (November 1920) most of this multiethnic and multilingual territory became part of the Italian nation-state. A different transition occurred in the city of Fiume (Rijeka) – a Habsburg port-city, but also a major urban center for Eastern Istria – that after a series of complex events experienced incorporation to Italy in 1924. In both cases, new state borders eliminated or significantly altered preexisting Habsburg period administrative and state boundaries. While Fiume's urban post-imperial transition is well researched, less emphasis has been given on Fiume's rural outskirts and its surrounding area. For instance, Drenova, an administrative part of Fiume during the Habsburg period was split between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and Italy in 1924. Furthermore, Eastern Istrian shores and hinterland communities, revolving around Fiume, were rarely subject to an extensive inquiry. The scope of this paper is to shed light on the adaptation of some rural and mostly Croatian-speaking communities of Eastern Istria, as well as those of Fiume's outskirts, to the new Italian state authorities. What the paper addresses are locals' reactions to nation-state or nationalizing policies in periods of transitions, as well as policies carried out by local and state agents. Other important aspects concern the border changes implementation and its consequences on reshaping the cultural, economic, and social life of these communities. The research is based on materials from local archives and local newspapers.

5.6. Public intervention and the birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th–20th Centuries) 1

Luciano Maffi, Catholic University – Milan, Italy; Dario Dall’Osa, University of Bari Aldo Moro, Italy

This panel is addressed to studies concerning European wines and the prosecution of the panel organised in EURHO Leuven 2017 and Paris 2019. Researches, papers and discussions related to these latter panels were the base for the book by Conca Messina S.A., Le Bras S., Tedeschi P., Vaquero Piñeiro M. (eds.), *A History of Wine in Europe, 19th to 20th Centuries, 1, Winegrowing and Regional Features, 2, Markets and Trade and Regulation of Quality*, London/Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. The aims of the new proposed panel are: a) To investigate the role of public institutions (regional, national or the Common Agricultural Policy) for the transfer of knowledge and information regarding the new production system in the oenological sector: schools, lessons, conferences, bulletins/journals etc. The main focus concerns the relevance of the education relating to ampelography and oenology for the improvement and diffusion of new modern methods of vine-growing and winemaking as well as conservation of the must and wine in new barrels, bottles and cellars. Besides, panel also wants to observe the evolution in different European wine regions of the oenological education and changes regarding the students in the three steps of their vocational training: the elementary level (lessons for peasants’ sons), the secondary school (professional courses about the viticulture and winemaking) and the university (studies on the oenology in agrarian departments and faculties). b) To investigate the role the public institutions (regional, national or the Common Agricultural Policy) in favour of the modernization of viticulture and winemaking: they financed and protected the national viticulture and attempted to improve the diffusion in the international markets. They also promoted the European wines in the world and then faced the competition of the wines produced in California, South America, and, more recently, in South Africa and Australia. Finally, they organised the intervention against the diseases which invested European vines in the second half of the 19th century and the successive improvement of the quality of new European vineyards during the 20th century. c) To investigate the role of the public institutions (regional, national or the Common Agricultural Policy) for the improvement of the quality: producers progressively substituted the mellow and heavy-bodied wine (mainly addressed to taverns) with some high quality wine (sold in bottles indicating the origins/characters of the product). These changes are linked to the progressive globalisation of the markets for best wines and to the adoption of new technologies for cellars and winemaking. Papers participating at this panel will in particular focus their attention on the period including the last decades of the 19th century and the 20th century. They will allow to make some comparisons between the different European oenological areas and to improve the knowledge of the evolution of European rural society during the analysed period.

Chair: Niccolò Mignemi, CNRS, France.

Discussant: Martino Lorenzo Fagnani, University of Pavia, Italy

5.6.1. Alto Douro and Portwine in the last third of the 19th century. The impact of liberal legislation, crisis and regional claims and State intervention

Carla Sequeira, University of Porto, Paula Montes Leal, University of Porto, Portugal

In this paper proposal, we will focus on the consequences of liberal legislation (enacted in 1865) in the Douro Demarcated Region, in view of the State’s strong regulatory tradition over the Region and considering other factors of transformation, highlighting the agricultural and commercial crisis in the last quarter of the 19th century, caused by grapevine diseases, the closure of foreign markets and the development of internal frauds and counterfeits favoured by the new free-trade legal framework. This new economic and cultural conjuncture led to the emergence of demands for the return to a protectionist regime for the Upper Douro, in conflict with the interests of other socio-economic groups. The Douro claims for State intervention were expressed in several issues that developed from the third quarter of the 19th century onwards and would continue for several decades, giving rise to political and social unrest: defense of the designation of origin of Port wines, restoration of the demarcation of the producing region, creation of a bonded warehouse area for its export, the matter of alcohol and fraud, and the matter of tobacco. Finally, we will analyze the State’s action in face of crisis and demands, trying to assess the extent and the ways that, even in times of liberalism, the State intervened in the Port wine sector.

5.6.2. Note about the effects of the public institutions’ interventions on Italian viticulture and wine sector (XIX-XXI centuries)

Paolo Tedeschi, University of Milan-Bicocca, Italy; Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, University of Perugia, Italy

This paper investigates public institutions’ interventions effects on the evolution of the Italian wine sector. Regulations established by Italian parliament and by the Common Agricultural Policy shaped the Italian viticulture and winemaking and influenced producers’ decisions, concerning their productive systems, the quality of Italian wine as well as the markets where Italian wineries decided to sell their products and the related marketing strategies. Italian public institutions’ interventions in fact concerned several aspects from the oenological education of peasants to the wine export promotion in foreign markets, from the organization of the wineries and their financing to regulations of labels related to the origins of the products. They increased the knowledge and education about ampelography with the progressive diffusion of public agronomical schools, where students learnt new modern methods of vine-growing and winemaking as well as how to obtain a better conservation of must and wine in new barrels, bottles and cellars. This obviously improve the professional skills of peasants working in wineries. Besides, since the end of the Nineteenth century, they favoured the foundation of cooperative wineries and supported ampelographic and anti-phyllloxera consortia. After the fascism collapse – when producing more grapes for table consumption was preferred than having more wine – they used agriculture inspectorates and new guidelines to better discipline the production of new wines, having more quality and moreover stable characteristics along the time. In the Sixties the reform of agrarian contracts, in particular the removal of the sharecropping, which were strictly related to the viticulture, and the arrival of new loans at low interest rates, reserved to the rural producers, allowed the progressive renewal of cellars and winemaking. Furthermore, they helped the diffusion of the Italian wine not only in Europe but also in the Americas, where it was possible to take profit by Italian migrants’ demand for products remembering the taste of their native country: new free warehouses and oenotechnical stations were founded and allowed to increase the knowledge of foreign markets and the Italian wine sales. Finally, since the early Sixties, they controlled and implemented the correct application of the new CAP regulations concerning, among others, the use of chemical plant protection products for the vines, the use of additives and preservatives, the use of labels indicating the origins and main characteristics of the wine as “Controlled Designation of Origin” and then “Protected Designation of Origin”, “Protected Geographical Indication” and Organic”.

5.6.3. Public intervention in the Italian viticulture and winemaking system: quality improvement, consumer and environmental protection (1960–2010)

Luciano Maffi, University of Salento, Italy; Dario Dell’Osa, Aldo Moro University of Bari, Italy

In the second half of the twentieth century the role played by public institutions in the modernization of viticulture and winemaking in Italy was of fundamental importance, and materialized at several levels through policy guidelines, economic interventions, and incentives to conduct best practices. These factors influenced and guided the choices of farmers and industrialists by encouraging technical and technological modernization, leading to a reduction in the areas of vineyards and to an improvement in the quality and hygiene of wine. In this context, from the early 60’s, the CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) supported Italian wine production in the transition to a strategy based no longer on quantity, but rather on quality, and encouraged the diversification of supply through safeguarding the typicality and the origin of products. From the 1960s, a new business management model was also established; it was characterized by greater attention to corporate social responsibility and environmental sustainability. In the wine sector this model, for example, led to the development of agro-ecological and organic production. It was a further evolution of the wine production system, not only aimed at improving the quality of the product, but also at preserving the territory and protecting the environment. Since the 1980s the organic production sector has been the subject of important regulatory interventions, and public intervention has created a certification system to encourage the use of virtuous practices. Overall, public intervention at European community, national and regional levels in the last decades of the twentieth century effectively pursued the objective of improving human-environmental relations. This contribution aims to analyse the positive effects of public intervention on the Italian viticulture and winemaking system, considering the data relating to the implementation of PDO and PGI wine production from 1960 to 2010, and through the study of data on organic wine production and the dissemination of best agro-ecological practices. It can thus be observed how public action helped to improve the quality of products through the safeguarding of the areas of origin and production of wine. Moreover, public intervention brought about greater attention to environmental protection and encouraged agro-ecological and organic production that led to an enhancement of local products.



Milk transport, c. 1910–20.

5.7. Rural Women and Farm Work: Gender Relations, and New Research on the Lives of 20th Century Farm Women 2

Debra Reid, The Henry Ford, USA

Rural and farm life changed drastically during the 20th century as technology transformed work routines in farm fields and farmhouse environs. Virtually every farm routine changed as a result. The papers in this panel focus on domestic responsibilities and women's roles during a period of transition. Brian Cannon uses letters between a mother and daughter to document the physically exhausting routines on a family farm in Utah before the Second World War. As the children chose off-farm lives, the elders chose retirement in a growing metropolitan area. Consolidation of farms provided incentive for other changes, namely the mechanization of labor. This reduced the need for women in the fields. As women's responsibilities shifted on the farm, away from field labor and away from constant demands of food production, processing, and preservation, many women secured off-farm jobs. This diversified the farm income but did little to sustain women's investment in agriculture, proper. Exceptions existed, as Margreet van der Burg and Liskje Flapper, explore among farm women in the Netherlands who became more invested in their farm dairies, milking more cows and pursuing education in dairy science. Jeannie Whyne explores how gender continues to affect farm ownership expectations, pressures, and opportunities in Arkansas during the late-20th and into the early 21st century. Finally, many women, financial partners of farming husbands or owners-operators themselves, became indispensable to farm organizing. They contributed their perspectives to organizations that may have grudgingly accepted women's influence, such as the American Farm Bureau Federation, but they also threw themselves, heart and soul, into the life or death struggle to save the family farm, as Pam Riney-Kehrberg documents in her paper on farm women and the Farm Crisis in Iowa. It seems that, women were and remain indispensable in rural contexts because of the many responsibilities they bear.

Chair: Katherine Jellison Discussant: Karen Sayer

5.7.1. Dairy processing into the factory; shaping idle farm women or new farm labour identities? Debates and realities in the Netherlands, 1890s till 1950s.

Margreet van der Burg, Wageningen University, Netherlands; Liskje Flapper, University of Applied Sciences, Netherlands

The transition of dairy processing from the farm to the factory is often addressed in the literature. Mostly the introduction of new technologies and the upscaling by externalisation are connected to a masculinization of dairy processing. Somestad (1992) proved for Sweden that there were – temporarily – exceptions as well. But what the transition meant to the farm women and their daughters after the transition, and whether or how they substituted dairy processing, is hardly thematized. Our contribution first analyzes the discourses in agricultural circles at the end of the 19th C. Economic arguments for factory-made uniform butter and cheese to optimize export were held against social and cultural arguments emphasizing the connection between farm dairy processing and farm women's identity and dignity. Forcing farm women to leave the butter- and/or cheese-making to a factory would put them down. It was questioned whether they should instead spend their days in idleness and live like town women and girls playing the piano. We then connect these to what actually happened for which we distinguish various farming types engaged in farm dairy processing before the transition. We argue that farm women in processing dairy products for export were crucial for the farm

production as was the dairying for their identity. This was different for farm women engaged in dairying as local smaller trade. Also the first mostly lived on bigger specialized dairy farms which could expand in the transition period, and the latter on small-scale mixed farms which could specialize in dairy. Both groups got the care and milking of more cattle than before. They were also invited to learn and compete to optimize milk gift and stable interior through courses on hygiene and % milk fat but this gradually stopped. We end with connecting these changes in women's farm work to farm women's identities. Despite of growing middle-class views on women as to care for the household, children and well-being of the family and community, not all farm women and daughters stopped with dairy farm work. In the 1950s, sociologists found 'modern' big farms with farm women 'still' making Gouda cheese and small-scale farms with women being proud on their farm work. They had found their ways to keep up their farm identity and dignity. On this fertile ground, new claims could grow in the 1960s to have women's farm work acknowledged and seen as part of their identity.

5.7.2. Farm Women and Farm Politics in the Farm Crisis of the 1980s

Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, Iowa State University, USA

During the 1980s, roughly one-third of farms in Iowa were facing economic disaster. This disaster largely affected farms that entered the decade with debt, and in a climate where farm incomes were falling, this debt soon spiralled out of control. It became imperative for everyone, including Iowa's women, to fight for their farms if they wanted to see them persist into the next decade, let alone the next generation. Although they usually came from rather traditional, patriarchal farm families, Iowa's farm women exercised considerable political acumen as they fought for their family farms during the 1980s. They joined and led farm organizations, wrote their elected officials, and examined their options as they struggled to keep their farms afloat. Tapping into many traditional and new understandings of their roles, they challenged public officials and the citizenry to listen to their concerns. They argued in favor of the continuation of the "family farm", a term that farm activists used to define small to medium sized operations, run through the use of family labor. By decade's end, many women had become the most effective spokespeople for their farms and their vision of agriculture.

5.7.3. Is Gender an Issue? Managing a Farm While Female in the United States in the 21st Century

Jeannie Whyne, University of Arkansas, USA

The advent of mechanized agriculture and the incorporation of other labor-saving devices on farms in the late-twentieth century might have led a greater number of women to assume the role of farm operators. This paper examines the role of women in farm operations in the 21st century across the United States and probes the race and gender dynamics at play. It has been argued that mechanization and commercialization in some agrarian societies led to the disempowerment of women. This paper asks a different question. Does a highly mechanized modern farming system encourage or impede women from assuming farm operator roles? In other words, is gender a barrier in terms of acceptance by the white agricultural bureaucracy, farm supply and implement companies, and farm associations, and do women encounter difficulties accessing federal programs? Finally, do they bring a different sensibility to environmental issues or sustainability? This paper will rely on the few published sources available on this topic but will largely be drawn from interviews with farm women operators conducted in the fall and spring of 2020–2021. Analysis of the interviews conducted thus far suggest some possible answers to these questions. These women know they are unique and sometimes find it necessary to defend their position. While women confront resistance from certain traditionally male-dominated entities, their narratives are about how they overcome them. Married women who partner with their husbands in their farm operations believe they bring something unique to the enterprise, typically something that compliments their husbands' strengths and weaknesses. While white women operators do not appear to diverge significantly from the norm in terms of addressing environmental issues and sustainability, black women operators are more likely to have embraced the food justice movement, perhaps because they live in food deserts and with food insecurity. In the end, gender – and race – play a role in the experience of women operators but also in terms of their influence upon the character of the operation.

5.8. Social conflicts in early modern Europe: New tools and new perspectives 1

Cédric Chambru, University of Zurich, Switzerland; Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu, University of Milan, Italy

The evolution of social conflicts, their causes and consequences in early modern Europe have long been studied by historians and social scientists. This stream of literature culminated, at least with respect to France, with the seminal publication of *La Rébellion française* by Jean Nicolas in 2002. However, the recent advances in digital, statistical and geographic information system (GIS) tools now allow to link more easily large sets of data and can help to foster our understanding of this social phenomena. The objective of this panel is to provide ground for new research in this field and demonstrate how tools derived from the “digital revolution” can facilitate the development of new research. One avenue is to take advantage of the increasing number of archives and printed sources digitised by local and national archives to conduct large-scale research on specific topics. Another example is the online release of the Historical Social Conflict Database, which lists nearly 10,000 episodes of social conflict and aims at facilitating future research around this topic. This panel will focus on the evolution of social conflict in the long run. More specifically, it aims at advancing our knowledge in this area by working anew on problematic such as the evolution of living standards and social conflicts. We welcome any contribution making use of data at the local, regional or even national scale and addressing questions such as the interlink between social conflicts, climatic crises, and agricultural failures/changes; the role and the consequences of the expansion of the proto-industrialisation in the countryside with respect to social conflicts; the impact of trade and its (de-)regulation; and the local responses of government to crisis and conflict. Case studies, as well as comparative and large-N studies, are welcome. The panel’s geographical focus is on Europe, even though we also welcome contributions on different world regions. Overall, papers in the panel will seeks to construct a better understanding of the challenges related to social and economic stress and to emphasise the historical responses they generated.

Chair & discussant: Cédric Chambru

5.8.1. Sarthe countryside and riot of 1839. Issues of a micro-geohistorian digital cartography

Karl Zimmer, Le Mans Université, France

I would like to discuss the issues related to the use of cartography in the study of past social conflicts¹. I will present frumentary troubles, linked to the grain trade, in the Sarthe countryside. It is about a riot lasting several days in September 1839². The aim is to show how the processing of information from journalistic, judicial and police archives can be represented geographically. Thus, a singular event invites the historian to question the spatial dimension of the unrest. Relying on the knowledge of Spatial Turn³ and inspired by the means of so-called Radical Geography⁴, I will present an original digital map that shows an interesting proportional scale to apprehend the logics of a social conflict in the rural world. Here, the use of the uMap Open Street Map⁵ will be discussed, both as a tool for doctoral work and as a means of popularisation. This proposal for a “micro-geohistory” will be an opportunity to deal with the perspectives and limits of this approach. In the end, several elements of localisation could be developed in order to reappraise the problem of the spaces of contestation⁶: the stumbling blocks in the trade circuit by integrating at the same time the regional scale (wheat roads) and the infra-local contextualisation (markets, grain dealers, rumours); the networks and territory of law enforcement and repression (garrison, gendarmerie, mayor) or the spaces and landscapes of agricultural and proto-industrial transformations at the departmental level.

5.8.2. Introducing HiSCoD: A New Gateway for the Study of Historical Social Conflict

Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu, University of Milan, Italy

Social conflict pervades human society and fulfils a number of essential functions in its development and transformation, including the creation of new norms and institutions. The Historical Social Conflict Database (HiSCoD) is an ongoing project designed to provide to scholars and society at large with a set of resources for analysing social conflict from the Middle Ages to the late 19th century. Based on original archival research and existing repositories, the aim is to provide a global database of social conflict in past societies by collecting, aggregating, documenting and harmonising data. As of today, the database contains data more than 20,000 instances of conflict, from fiscal scuffles to urban revolts involving thousands of individuals. For every event, we provide information on the date, location, type of conflict, and, when possible, number of participants, participation of women, and a summary of events. Each individual event is documented through a hierarchical system of forms using XML-EAD technology. This article describes the data collection process and presents some descriptive statistics.

5.9. The Provision of Rural Credit in Pre-Industrial Europe 2

Hannah Robb, University of Exeter, UK

This panel explores the nature of rural credit in late medieval and early modern Europe. It pulls together ideas on the form and materiality of credit in rural society; how it was contracted, repaid and exchanged, the individuals and institutions lending money and the impact of agrarian calendars and cycles on the patterns of borrowing and lending. The ubiquity of credit and indebtedness across social hierarchies in rural communities is a recognised feature of the agrarian economy. Credit took many forms from deferred payments, reckonings of account, mortgages and the leasing of land as well as the borrowing and lending of coin and objects. Chris Briggs, Phillip Schofield, Elaine Clark, James Davis and Craig Muldrew have done much to advance our understanding of credit networks and the institutions that emerged to regulate and enforce credit agreements in medieval and early modern rural society. Yet the means by which credit was contracted and recorded in rural communities remains under explored. The words spoken in oral promises are rarely made clear in the manorial courts and the record of written credit in the form of a contract, bond, account, or register appears dependent upon access to notaries and a legal infrastructure in which written proof was taken as evidence of contract. This panel explores the forms of credit and the changing nature of borrowing and lending in a period of increased commercialisation. The panel also speaks to some of the wider historiographical questions concerning the emergence of a rural credit market; in particular whether we can identify an active “market” for credit in rural society and the relationship between credit and wider commercial activities within the agrarian economy in pre-industrial Europe.

Chair: Rosa Congost, Universitat de Girona, Spain
Discussant: Jane Whittle, University of Exeter, UK

5.9.1 Rural credit in late medieval Central Europe: The Cheb city state and the town of Znojmo

Tomáš Klír, Charles University, Czech Republic; Kajetán Holeček, Charles University, Czech Republic

The issue of the relationship of late medieval peasantry and the credit market has attracted the attention of historians, especially in recent years, as shown by a series of monographs, volumes and papers. It discusses inter alia the nature and representative nature of the available sources, the purpose of the loan, its length, amount, the interest and amount of the instalments, the social position of the parties, the share of the specialised and non-specialised creditors, the role of the cities and Jews, the institution of the security rights of the creditors, the structure of the credit market, its accessibility, the level of informational awareness of the peasants, the positive and negative impacts of the credit market on the peasant economy. Our case study deals with these important questions for the late medieval Cheb city state, situated between Bavaria and Bohemia, and Znojmo in South Moravia. In the case of the Cheb city state (c. 400 km²), we use the municipal court’s records, which recorded creditors’ claims against debtors and, to a lesser extent, debtors’ declarations of specific commitments, repayments and guarantees (books of obligation). In the first case, we see formal and informal credits, which failed. A wide range of persons who had claims against Cheb burghers could turn to the court, incl. peasants from the countryside. In the second case, they are formal credit, specifically loans, regardless of whether they were repaid. Those recorded were mainly those loans, with which the creditor wanted to secure his rights and the enforceability of the debt. It is thus not surprising that records of Jewish creditors predominate. In the contribution, we have based it on the previous pilot study and fundamentally expand-

ed the chronological scale. We present an analysis of all records in the period 1405–1470, which relate to the Cheb peasantry (c. 3,000 records). In the case of Znojmo, our research is based on books of Jewish obligations (7 books; 1415–1438), which record loans (mostly repaid) taken out by inhabitants of Znojmo and mostly by peasantry from the surroundings of the town. Despite the designation of the books, the creditors were both Jews and Christians. The books are divided in three parts: 1) Jewish obligations, 2) obligations of Christians and 3) claims to sum owed. By means of analysis of the obligations, we present the structure of rural credit in South Moravia.

5.9.2. Rural Credit Markets in medieval Tirol: The importance of small-scale credits

Stephan Nicolussi-Koehler, University of Mannheim, Germany

This paper analyses a sample of credit contracts from rural Tirol in the 14th century to examine how credit markets functioned and what role they served. Most of the people involved in these credit transactions are best described as peasants, day labourers or small artisans. The sums loaned were usually small and the maturity of the credits short. Economic historians sometimes tend to dismiss these small-scale credit arrangements as economically unimportant, although they involved the majority of the historical population. Their economic behaviour forms the basis of this paper. Of special interest are small-scale credits that amount to three months’ wages of a skilled craftsman or less. Credit arrangements in the rural areas obviously did not require an intermediation by banks (that did not yet exist) or centralization of financial institutions (in fact, credit institutions were spread across the county and located in several different towns and cities in medieval Tirol). Instead, moneylending was local or inter-regional and intermediated by other (informal) mechanisms. Whether and how people gained access to credit was determined by the specific social and economic settings. The data collected shows that rural credit was not restricted to a single form of credit, but instead several credit institutions offered different forms of credit (short-term and long-term contracts, with and without collateral, mortgage loans, pawnbroking, rents). One important way to obtain credit was to pledge houses, farms, plots of land, rents or usage rights. If collateral mattered to obtain access to capital and credit, then it would be logical to assume that many (poor) people, which had no wealth that could be used as collateral, were left behind. Nevertheless, landless people both in the countryside and in the city could resort to other forms of credit, like pawnbroking or credit provided by their social networks (family, village, etc.). This paper investigates what the (economic) reasons were for choosing to use specific credit institutions and how the credit needs of the lower social classes were effectively met. By using different sources (notary registers, court protocols, charters), it will be described how the credit markets was organised, how broadly funds were distributed and how the agricultural rhythm influenced the demand for credit.

5.9.3. The materiality of credit in the court records of early modern England

Hannah Robb, University of Exeter, UK

This paper draws on the incidental evidence in court records that describes the material forms of credit in early modern England. As part of the ‘Forms of Labour’ research project at the University of Exeter the paper analyses those work activities categorised as financial management and associated with commercial exchange. Depositions from both ecclesiastical courts and quarter sessions recall the use of written instruments of credits and accounting such as bills, bonds, accounts and debt books. In this paper I explore how these written records were contracted and the biography of the document from its creation to the court case. In particular the paper addresses the role of written obligations in a legal infrastructure that prioritised the testimony of witnesses and relied on communal memory as evidence. The credit economy was socially embedded but the documents point to a system of written obligations that supported a range of credit transactions. This paper thus considers the coexistence of written and oral obligations and the relationship between commercial practice and the courts.

5.10. The ‘Rural Consumer’ – Consumer Goods, Consumption, and Material Culture of Rural Households in Early Modern Europe 2

Henning Bovenkerk, Universität Münster, Germany

Early modern Europe has experienced an expansion of consumer goods – triggered by the intensification of global trade. Thus, this period is considered – particularly in some of the highly commercialized north Atlantic neighbouring regions – an age of ‘consumer revolution’. This process highly reflects in both an extension and a differentiation of the material culture of households, particularly regarding ‘new luxuries’ and colonial goods. A comprehensive discussion has evolved about the emergence and the scope of these developments in different European and (North-) American regions, focused mainly on the urban middle and upper social classes. Despite these findings and the research on these subjects, the consumption of rural households in this period is still a neglected research topic. Therefore, the question of the emergence of the early modern ‘rural consumer’ is still open. It is crucial to ask for its historical context of origin on a regional scope by focusing on institutional, social, and socio-economic aspects as well on those of regarding the relation between centre/periphery. Particularly, a comparative European perspective on this regard is yet still missing. The session aims to approach and contribute new insights in these questions by illuminating the consumption and change of material culture in agrarian societies. It focusses on the ‘rural consumer’ in different ways: Which different social rural groups consumed new or globally traded consumer goods? Did households in the countryside have the opportunity to change their consumer behaviour? Did they have access to markets of consumer goods at all? Did the material culture of agrarian households change? Moreover, was there a ‘rural consumer revolution’?

Chair & discussant: Cristina Prytz

5.10.1. Retailers, Consumers and the Diffusion of Consumer Goods in the Countryside. Southern Lorraine, ca. 1740–ca. 1790

Julien Villain, Université d’Evry Val d’Essonne Paris-Saclay, France

Judging by probate inventories from different regions across Europe, eighteenth-century rural households owned more or less the same types and the same qualities of goods as the households from the closest cities or market towns. We can therefore suppose that there existed uniform consumption patterns at the regional scale, and that country people took part in the long term extension of consumption Europe experienced in the 17th and 18th centuries: they certainly provided themselves second-hand goods from urban or rural resellers, but probably bought also new ones. However, did country people consume as many commodities as town people? Can we confirm that they bought the same types of goods than urban consumers? And who were those rural consumers, after all? To answer these questions, we will use among other documents retailers’ business papers which provide insights into the types and the volumes of new (“not-second hand”) goods town and country people purchased. Our study focuses on 18th-Century Central and Southern Lorraine, at a time when that region was experiencing a long era of economic growth. A relatively well-off region if compared to continental Western Europe, Lorraine was widely open to inter-regional traffic thanks to its commercial privileges. It appears that urban shopkeepers in Lorraine had a large rural consumer base, and that a great number of clothes retailers and haberdashers were active in the countryside. Many of them sold also groceries alongside their main specialization. Furthermore, as bankruptcy files and business records suggest, rural clients purchased more or less the same quantity of textiles, haberdashery or groceries as urban clients from equivalent social backgrounds. All those elements induce us to think that rural consumption in commodities must have been large. By cross-checking the information from shopkeepers’ lists of debtors on the one hand and from lists of taxpayers on the other hand, it is possible to determine from which social backgrounds rural consumers came – the better off, at least, since the poorer may have paid cash the commodities they bought, and are thus less likely to appear in lists of debtors. Unsurprisingly, traders, farmers and craftsmen formed the majority of those “recorded” customers. It should however be noticed that day laborers were fairly numerous and that women constituted approximately one fourth of the clients. Not only village elites or traders were thus involved in commodity consumption, but also poorer workers. An autonomous feminine consumption may well have existed, too.

5.10.2. of silver, silk and stoneware – consumption and change of consumption in rural areas of North-Western Germany, 17th and 18th centuries

Henning Bovenkerk, University of Münster, Germany

The concept of a premodern consumer revolution evoked – since its introduction by McKendrick – a controversial discussion about the consumption and consumption strategies of the European population. Studies to different European countries and regions have found heterogeneous results regarding the occurrence of this revolution. Yet, the question of a premodern consumer revolution is still open for a lot of European countries. The paper contributes new insights on this topic by illuminating the development of consumption in Germany. It presents data from North-Western Germany on the material culture and change of consumption in the 17th and 18th centuries. It focusses on the rural population and uses a quantitative approach to analyse a special form of probate inventories. In doing so it will give insights in the occurrence of colonial or imported products, the acquisition of new objects – like emerging popu-luxe goods – and the change of consumption strategies in rural households. The paper aims to answer the questions, if there is a change of material culture, if there are signs of a consumer revolution in North-Western Germany and if there are other or new consumption strategies in the rural areas, that might differ from the concept so far.

SESSION 6 • TUESDAY 21 JUNE • 12:00–13:30

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
6.1. Crisis narratives and strategies of women in transforming rural areas since the 1960s Zsuzsanna Varga	6.1.1. Crisis, expectations and change: The “new young woman” on the countryside in Poland Dietlind Hüchtker	6.1.2. Women as Drivers of Rural Development: Case of Latvia Dina Bite	6.1.3. Women as actors in the process of transforming rural areas after 1970 Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz		6:1 Room 1
6.2. Tourism and rural communities 2 Petra Kavrečič	6.2.1. The rural UNESCO settlements in Slovakia: Their protection, security and sustainable development from focus of tourism on example of Banska Stiavnica Ivana Ondrejmišková	6.2.2. The tourism development of Italian rural areas through agritourism, community based cooperatives and pilgrimage routes Patrizia Battilani			6:2 Room 2
6.3. Drought Effects on Rural Communities: Historical Perspectives in a Warming World 2 Nicolas Maughan	6.3.1. Impact of Droughts on Rural Communities in Early Modern Provence and Southern French Alps: a Comparative Analysis Nicolas Maughan	6.3.2. Droughts, agricultural impacts and drought prevention in medieval Hungary Andrea Kiss			6:3 Room 3
6.4. Institutions and Socio-Economic Change in the Medieval Countryside: Case-Studies and Comparisons across Italy and Europe (1100–1500) 2 Davide Cristoferi	6.4.1. Socio-Economic Inequality on the Eve of the Late Medieval Crisis: Northern France around 1300 Davide Cristoferi	6.4.2. The civil court and the debt relations between landowners and sharecroppers (Reggio Emilia, Italy, 1350–1450) Filippo Ribani	6.4.3. Economic Structures, Vulnerability and Popular Protest in Rural Flanders, c. 1300–1320. Mathijs Speecke		Panel 4 Room 4
6.5. Contested boundaries after the Great War – views from the former Habsburg countryside 2 Christian Promitzer	6.5.1. National redemption or land reform? The politicization of Rural Slavophones in Prekmurje after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire Jernej Kosi	6.5.2. “Mixed Feelings” of national belonging in the Slovenian countryside alongside the new Austro-Yugoslav border (1917–1921) Christian Promitzer			6:5 Room 5
6.6. Public intervention and the birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th–20th Centuries) 2 Luciano Maffi	6.6.1. An industrial policy for territorial development: The case of the wine sector of Aragon (Spain) Vicente Pinilla	6.6.2. The Public behind the Private: The Institutional framework fostering new Viticulture and Winemaking in the late XIX Century Romagna Omar Mazzotti	6.6.3. Wine, Viticulture and Legislation in Italy during the 20th century: The Cases of Valtellina and Trentino Ilaria Suffia		6:6 Room 6
6.7. Trading Encounters in the countryside – on practices of petty trade in Norden, 1860–1940 Ann-Catrin Östman	6.7.1. The Gift, the Feast and the Surplus of Friendship: Practices in a Hidden Economy of Petty Trading Niklas Huldén	6.7.2. Stories of hygiene and dirt – Agricultural co-operative stores as the loci of social change and folk humor Eija Stark	6.7.3. Peddlers Settling Down Anna Sundelin	6.7.4. Hospitality and Rejection: Relations Between Mobile Traders and Host Communities in the Nordic Region, 1850–1920 Johanna Wassholm	6:7 Room 7

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
6.8. Social conflicts in early modern Europe: New tools and new perspectives 2 Cédric Chambru	6.8.1. “Let Them Eat Cake”: Drought and Demand for Democracy During the French Revolution Maria Waldinger	6.8.2. The Historical Social Conflict Database: An Investigation into Trade Shocks and Rural Protest in Revolutionary Normandy Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu			6:8 Room 8
6.9. Seeds and agricultural changes in Europe (XV–XX centuries) Carlos Manuel Faisca	6.9.1. Modern breeding fails in Mediterranean drylands: modern varieties contributed to their degradation without increasing their productivity Guíomar Carranza-Gallego	6.9.2. New seeds and agricultural changes in Iberian Peninsula (XVII–XIX centuries) Carlos Manuel Faisca	6.9.3. Selecting, electing, eliminating: fruit production and agricultural improvement in Portugal, c. 1750–c.1850 Leonardo Aboim Pires		6:9 Room 9
6.10. The Seasonality of Rural Work and its Experience in Preindustrial Europe Taylor Aucoin	6.10.1. Gendered Dimensions to the Seasonality of Rural Work in Early Modern England Taylor Aucoin	6.10.2. Weather and Farming Through the Eyes of a Sixteenth-Century Highland Peasant Julian Goodare			6:10 Room 10



The new bus on the first trip, 1930.

6.1. Crisis narratives and strategies of women in transforming rural areas since the 1960s

Zsuzsanna Varga, Eötvös Lorand University, Hungary

How do women in rural landscapes experience social crisis? In what particular way are they resilient to crisis, or, do they assimilate novel ideas? Research has shown women's work and everyday lives to be most affected and vulnerable to social crisis. If there are genderspecific consequences of rural transformations, are social crises also experienced differently by women? In what particular ways do they describe their hardships? Crisis experiences can be characterised and narrated in many ways. For example, this can be done on the grounds of »enduring change«, with women fighting off specific attacks on their daily lives and well-being in the context of a wider socio-political transformation. On another note, women have always been self-empowered historical actors pushing rural transformation. Their agencies are manifold, e.g. driven by an urge to develop financial self-reliance, or to improve their children's future. What are continuities and changes to women's status on these grounds since World War II? The panel carves out the consequences of fundamental challenges to women's lives in transforming rural areas of modernity. We explore how their life and work was shaped by new constraints and opportunities. Following on from this, we show how gender roles and expectations change as a consequence of survival strategies on the one hand, and changing village communal practices on the other. We are particularly interested in a comparison between different ways of managing and narrating crisis with regard to the end and emergence of specific master narratives such as globalisation, cold war, neoliberalism, climate change, emancipation and gender war. Is there an old way to talk crisis versus a more contemporary »rural style«?

Chair & discussant: Zsuzsanna Varga

6.1.1. Crisis, expectations and change: The “new young woman” on the countryside in Poland

Dietlind Hüchtker, University of Vienna, Austria

In 1961, a memorial competition took place in the People's Republic of Poland which asked for writing about one's youth on the countryside. The contributions sent in to the organizers and published in ten volumes constitute the material for this article on transformation and socialism in Poland from a gender perspective. Especially the female authors' stories come to my attention: The stories followed a narrative of crisis and their overcoming. The female authors described poverty, resistance against modernization, hard work, obstacles regarding education and how they find the opportunities to overcome these obstacles, how they found a way out of their families or out of the village. This is not surprising. The young authors took the offers of emancipation and progress for granted and they profited from the new possibilities of education and mobility. But in their life stories they did not only follow socialist aims and socialist politics. They also used the frame of socialist emancipation to formulate their own expectations of individual respect and individual happiness: of leisure times, travelling, consumer goods and egalitarian relations to the other sex. I will analyze the contributions of young women between 16 and 24 years. Reading the memorial texts closely I will ask how the young women read the promises of socialist emancipation, how they connected the promises to difficulties, crisis and chances in their lives. The presentation contributes to the debates on overcoming a dichotomous view on state socialism and to the debates on crisis, resilience and gender regarding the countryside.

6.1.2. Women as Drivers of Rural Development: Case of Latvia

Dina Bite, Latvia University of Life Sciences and Technologies

During last decades, special attention has been paid to rural development issues in Latvia. Researchers and policy makers have sought out for different outer and inner resources that promote developmental processes in rural areas. The necessity is determined by uneven regional development in Latvia, shrinking population and infrastructure since 1990-ties. Considering the permanent situation of high unemployment level, low salaries and poor access to health and educational services in many rural villages, it can be said that people in rural territories live in circumstances of long-term crisis. Migration to cities or abroad as well as sinking into deep social problems (addictions, reliance on public benefits) are typical strategies for many rural inhabitants. Considering the context given above, a clear trend in rural territories is obvious, namely, women are the most visible and the most active part of local communities. They express affection for their place and feelings of personal responsibility for it. Individually and collectively, women devise a wide set of activities that promote and facilitate sense of community, increase attraction as well as employment rate of the place. Non-governmental organizations, mostly led by women, are main actors in rural territories of Latvia that carry on artistic, educational, cultural and social projects promoting the development of the place. In addition, during tough and unpredictable circumstances women have developed personal and professional skills of leadership and facilitation. However, coming from the post-Soviet space, path dependency features are transparent in described activities, for instance, double workload in work and at home, focusing to spheres that are classically associated with women etc. The article analyses the common social practices of women in rural territories of Latvia and gives an insight into their social and historical context. Data gathered in the frame of several research projects, case studies, individual and group interviews since 2005 were not collected with the aim to clarify women's situation. However, trends in division of gender roles and certain patterns of women's behaviour have appeared during investigation of rural activities. Patterns observed bring relatively high validity and potential for discussions both for women's devotion to cope with crisis and to promote rural development.

6.1.3. Women as actors in the process of transforming rural areas after 1970

Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

In what particular way are woman-groups resilient to crisis or assimilating novel ideas, eager to describe their hardship in particular ways, enduring change, ready to push rural transformation, for example with regard to their children's future. We will focus in the paper on the question how women after her university or technical school diplomas come into the village as working and living place, from the beginning of the seventies. We will pursue the question of how the knowledge established itself in the agricultural practice. What role did the new experience play? We will investigate the actions of the people in various communicative contexts, by means of the concept of the „knowledge-milieu“. In order to study the implicit knowledge from the milieu-practice context and its transfer through active networks, we will use letters, image documents and other archive material generated by the people in the Oderbruch region of the Mark Brandenburg.

6.2. Tourism and rural communities 2

Petra Kavrečič, University of Primorska, Slovenia; Patrizia Battilani, University of Bologna, Italy

Throughout the last century, tourism as an economic activity and social and cultural phenomena has strongly marked our society and way of living. As the fastest growing industry in the world, scholars from different research perspectives have studied the phenomena, but none of these disciplines gave enough attention to the relation between rural society/economy and tourism. Throughout the 20th century, many rural areas in different European countries have become zones of periphery. During the period of the first industrialization, but especially after the end of the Second World War, predominately rural regions had to cope with the processes of depopulation. Due to the massive industrialization (e.g. socialist countries) and new job opportunities in urban centres, the population of these areas migrated towards the industrial cities in order to find a better life. Beside economic reasons, the urban centres were offering a different lifestyle. New trends in everyday life appeared as well as diverse opportunities to spend leisure time. Paid vacations were introduced also for workers, which could then finally afford to go on holiday. In this context, some rural communities, usually the ones situated near to the seaside or in High Mountain, found their original way to the economic development becoming tourist destinations. This was the case for instance of alpine villages or Mediterranean coast towns. Most of them moved from an agriculture based economy to tourism. However, other rural areas and communities remained excluded both from the industrial and the tourist development and were economically and culturally marginalized. They did not find their development path and also their consumer pattern changed slowly. Our aim is to present scientific papers, which study and analyse the relation between tourism and the rural areas, that is whether and how is tourism related with nonurban regions. Did (does) tourism have any impact on social and economic life of the peasant population? In the frame of the proposed session, we intent to present papers, which will address how different European rural areas and communities were (are) involved in tourist activities. The aim is to understand tourist characteristics or presence in rural areas. We will consider various aspects: tourism as an additional source of peasant income; tourism in rural areas in the frame of sustainable development and economic sustainability; promotion of cultural and natural heritage of rural areas. This part of the session will be more focused on entrepreneurship of the population of the rural areas in the last century. Our attention is also going to be oriented towards a more social level of everyday life and leisure time. Our aim is also to study how tourist and spare time activities involved the rural society. Since the growing popularity of tourism in the last century, we are also interested to study these aspects: how the rural communities managed their free time; did the rural communities benefit from tourist services at all.

Chair: Anton Hruboň, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, Slovakia

6.2.1. The rural UNESCO settlements in Slovakia: Their protection, security and sustainable development from focus of tourism on example of Banska Stiavnica

Ivana Ondrejmišková, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica; Dagmar Novakova, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, Slovakia

The problem of protection, security and sustainable development of the small and rural settlements and sites of UNESCO is a very actual problem from the point of current challenges, developed level of tourism and, on the other hand, from the view of protection challenges in the context of dynamic sustainable development. In our presentation and contribution we would like to present methodological and practical issues from the experience, theory and practice in the small UNESCO town of Banska Stiavnica on the background of analysis of the positive and negative aspects of its protection and development issues. In conclusion, we would like to share our own experience with the rural tourism development, and the concerning public bodies politics on national, regional and local level focusing on protection of cultural and natural heritage in the 21st Century.

6.2.2. The tourism development of Italian rural areas through agritourism, community based cooperatives and pilgrimage routes

Patrizia Battilani, University of Bologna, Italy

Although tourists have usually privileged towns which had experienced a slow industrial development, the rural regions always attracted a limited number of tourists. High mountain areas were an exception and found their way to the economic development throughout a mix of agriculture and tourism over the 20th century. On the contrary the other rural Italian areas, particularly in middle mountains, suffered economic and social marginalization as a consequence of the industrialization and urbanization of the country. In this context since the 1960s, tourism started to be invoked also for the rural and middle mountain areas. The first opportunity came from agritourism, which in the beginning was thought as an experience in the countryside working life. This typology of activity was mentioned by the Italian legislation for the first time in 1983, although the first framework law was enacted two years later (Law 5 December 1985 n. 730). It was the beginning of a flourishing tourist activities which contributed to increase farmers' income, promote female entrepreneurship and partly reduce the depopulation of marginal rural areas. However, the 2008 crisis suggested the design of a new tool, the community-based cooperatives. Their development was the consequence of a double movement: residents started a bottom up process by inventing new cooperatives in order to improve the quality of life in marginal areas; cooperative apex organizations and public administrations accompanied these attempts by providing a legal framework and supporting them in many ways (finance, business culture, etc.). Their main goal was to support the marginal areas by creating work opportunities for young people, providing social, health, school or commercial services and promoting sustainable tourism. To complete the survey of tools and perspectives for the tourist development of Italian rural marginal areas, we need to mention the pilgrimage routes which are part of the European cultural routes of the Council of Europe. Since the first of them was established in 1987, many other routes have been designed as the via Francigena (1994) or the via Romea Germanica and the Romea Strata which are asking for the recognition. Over time these routes stimulated the development of new tourist experiences off the beaten track. In conclusion the tourist development of rural marginal areas seems to be at its initial stage. However, the intersection of new experiences as the pilgrimage routes and specific enterprises (agritourism and community-based cooperatives) could provide new perspectives to the tourist enhancement of these areas.

6.3. Drought Effects on Rural Communities: Historical Perspectives in a Warming World 2

Nicolas Maughan, Aix-Marseille University, France; Andrea Kiss, Vienna University of Technology, Austria

Global climate change has sharpened focus on the social and economic challenges associated with water deficits, particularly in regions where anthropogenic demands exceed supply. In view of global warming it is predicted that heat waves in the future will be more intense, more frequent and longer lasting. Observational evidence indeed provides some support for an increasing frequency of hot extremes across the globe. However, long-term changes in the frequency and severity of drought events and heat waves are still poorly understood, especially in rural areas. In this regard, knowledge of past climatic extremes and their impact is a research priority to derive predictive points of reference for adaptation and loss reduction. A better understanding of historical climate-driven extremes, which may range from several months to decades, on rural communities and in the functioning and productivity of different agro-ecosystems is also beneficial for other disciplines towards improving adaptation and mitigation strategies for predicted climate change. This session aims to explore rapid and short-term socio-environmental consequences as well as long-term changes induced by adverse effects of past drought events (evidence of declining impact or increasing adaptability of rural communities). So, a particular attention is given to interdisciplinary approaches linking reconstructions of specific severe drought episodes from historical and natural archives and consecutive significant socio-economic impacts, migration waves, uprisings, famines, etc... as well as landscape changes and agricultural transformations at a local or regional scale (without geographical limitation).

Chair: Andrea Kiss

6.3.1. Impact of Droughts on Rural Communities in Early Modern Provence and Southern French Alps: a Comparative Analysis

Nicolas Maughan, Aix-Marseille University, France; Georges Pichard, Aix-Marseille University, France

Both urban and rural Mediterranean societies have always coped with specific climatic constraints (i.e. summer hot waves, persistent droughts, violent and flashy floods) causing agricultural, economical but also health disasters; these events are key factors of the dynamics of coupled human and ecological systems throughout history in this part of the world. In the case of the Provence area and the Southern French Alps, if various aspects of the environmental and climate history during the Little Ice Age have already been explored, especially from the early 18th to mid-19th century, consequences due to unusual recurring extreme drought events on the long run since the early 13th century have been neglected, notwithstanding available specific regional historical archives in Southeastern France. Therefore, a long-term analysis of the impact of these strong climate fluctuations, both on urban and rural societies, but also on landscapes, in a comparative perspective between two contiguous areas, with distinct topographies, soils and natural resources, thus appears original and interesting. First, after describing the hydro-climatic context in Southeastern France during the LIA (using the newly created HISTRHONE database, <http://histrhone.cerege.fr/>), we will present major social, economic and sanitary outcomes as well as ecological crises (e.g. severe mortality of trees) due to extreme drought events which impacted this area together with their effects on urban and rural dynamics. Then, we will see if it is possible to highlight significant differences about the socio-environmental consequences of these events in lowland/coastal areas and mountainous regions of the Southern Alps.

6.3.2. Droughts, agricultural impacts and drought prevention in medieval Hungary

Andrea Kiss, Vienna University of Technology, Austria

The Carpathian Basin and especially its eastern and southern parts are particularly drought sensitive and, despite the rather different environmental conditions, this was true also in the Middle Ages. While the drought reports are evenly distributed among the major medieval source types, data on the agricultural impacts, prevention and drought management issues are available almost entirely in legal documentation (charters), and only occasionally in other source types (e.g. chronicles, town and manorial accounts). In the course of the presentation, the reconstructed medieval droughts, occurred in the Carpathian Basin, will be presented and their case-specific and general impacts on agricultural and food supply discussed. Individual case studies on single great droughts provide useful information also on drought management and prevention; however, most evidence related to droughts is available in the descriptions of land ownership practices in charters, described in detail especially in the 14th and 15th centuries. Either talking about farming or pastoral communities, through land purchases and legal ownership debates, charters reflecting on drought management and prevention issues mainly consider the use and provision of water supply in times of water shortage. Accordingly, in the second part of the presentation these practices, usually successful in buffering the negative effects of droughts, will be analysed, together with giving an insight to differences in space (depending on the level drought sensitivity) and time (e.g. frequency and intensity of droughts and their agricultural impacts related to climatic anomalies).

6.4. Institutions and Socio-Economic Change in the Medieval Countryside: Case-Studies and Comparisons across Italy and Europe (1100–1500) 2

Davide Cristoferi, Ghent University, Belgium; Lorenzo Tabarrini, University of Bologna, Italy

During the last four centuries of Middle Ages rural economy and society observed radical changes across Europe. In this regard, the role of institutions and socio-property relations such as seigneurial powers, leasing system, credit market and peasant agency have been extensively researched by rural historians and medievalists, renovating the fields and its agenda during the last three decades. Such achievements, however, have not always been homogeneous across European historiographies. The Italian one, for instance, albeit a rich tradition in rural studies, have been scarcely challenged by the current agenda in rural history, apart from themes such as commons and economic inequalities. In this respect, however, a comparative exploration embedding institutions and socio-economic change in late medieval rural Italy within a European perspective is also missing. This panel contributes to fill this gap by addressing the role of institutions and the dynamics of social changes in rural countryside through case-studies and comparisons from the Italian peninsula and western Europe (France, England). More specifically, it aims to question and to explore, first, the role of seigneurial powers and credit market in shaping overall growth in 1100–1200 and, second, the impact of leasing system such as sharecropping as well as urban and seigneurial power relations and law enforcement in shaping economic inequalities and peasant resistance in rural society. For instance, research on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is often rife with the narrative of the expansion of urban mercantile classes into the countryside as one of the main factors of economic development – in both Italy and Europe. In this regard, however, several questions can be asked: what was the role played by rural aristocracies? Were they backward, ‘feudal’ lords? Or did they share the entrepreneurial attitude of the bourgeoisie? Similarly, Italian and European scholarship on the central and late Middle Ages has mostly focused on large-scale credit activities – the bedrock on which international networks of trade were built; petty credit to agriculturists has been comparatively less studied. Is the evolution of small-scale rural credit a symptom of economic growth? And how is it related to the transformations of land management? Finally, inequalities represent one of the major fields of investigation of current economic research, and the way these were shaped by – or else adapted to – extant ecosystems and farming regimes is of paramount importance for the understanding of society and economy as a whole. The wealth of information enshrined by late medieval sources does make room for new research: what was the interplay between different farming regimes (sharecropping, leasehold, seigneurial domain) and socio-economic inequalities in the countryside? And how did the institutional structures of urban governing bodies contribute to shaping debt relations between landlords and tenants? Addressing these questions, moreover, will contribute to throw light on how inequalities could lead to social unrest and peasant resistance.

Chair & discussant: Daniel R. Curtis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands

6.4.1. Socio-Economic Inequality on the Eve of the Late Medieval Crisis: Northern France around 1300

Davide Cristoferi, Ghent University, Belgium

In 1300, medieval European society was at the tipping point, starting to experience, after over two hundred years of demographic and economic growth a profound transformation of its main features expedited by events such as the Great Plague of 1348 and a general worsening of climatic and environmental conditions. Such a period, especially that between the end of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century, has been the historiographical arena for divergent economic and social theories (Drendel 2015). Conversely, recent studies on wealth and income concentration have identified the roots of early modern inequality in post-1348 period (Alfani 2018). Within this new wave of studies, however, trends of wealth and income distribution before the Black Death have not been integrated yet, especially for Northern Europe and rural areas. As a consequence, research still needs to definitively assess the high inequality claimed on the basis of scant evidence before 1348 as well as to explain whether it was the outcome of the preceding economic growth or of the impending economic transformation or of the decline of fourteenth-century society (Piccinni 2017). This paper aims contributing to fill this gap through the analysis of two royal tax collections levied in Artois (Northern France) between 1295 and 1300. The county of Artois was a core area of demographic development and cereal production in North-Western Europe before 1348. Furthermore, the county, under the rule of the King of France, was organised in a feudal system. Although such a system was characterised by political and economic decline in favour of the self-organisation of rural villages and towns in 1100–1200, it was still determining the rural economy and society of the county in 1300. Within this area, the two tax surveys under study provide a general measure of the wealth (as the sum of real estate and financial asset values) of all the rural population of 43 villages including landless wage labourers via assessing their daily wages. As a consequence, this paper aims through statistical analyses and social agro-systemic approach 1) to provide new evidence of economic inequality before the Black Death for North-Western Europe; 2) to explore different causal factors of wealth concentration across rural society such as demographic growth, economic development, agrarian systems and property relations.

6.4.2. The civil court and the debt relations between landowners and sharecroppers (Reggio Emilia, Italy, 1350–1450)

Filippo Ribani, Università di Bologna, Italy

This paper will examine the court-cases started by landlords for the insolvency of their tenants in Reggio Emilia, approximately in the century that followed the Black Death. Italian historiography has so far made few surveys on this subject, which are mostly limited to the cities of Siena and Florence, and, for an earlier period, Perugia. Therefore, the aim is to include Reggio Emilia in a research field that has been hitherto little explored, thus allowing for the study of agrarian disputes in Italy on a larger comparative scale. As established by the city statutes from 1311 on, landowners did not have to present witnesses to prove the alleged insolvency of their sharecroppers. This usually helped them to win the case, to the point that tenants sometimes decided to flee their holdings even before judgement was delivered, in order to avoid imprisonment or foreclosure. Peasants’ flight for debts was an endemic phenomenon within the sharecropping system, and the city statutes took measures against the accomplices of such escapes, usually fellow villagers of the fugitive. Nevertheless, the analysis of the judicial registers shows that it would be wrong to think of peasants as irremediably hopeless or submissive: most of them accepted the judicial debate and were defended by lawyers; some of them won their cases, as is proved by the documentation of both Reggio Emilia and Bologna. Thus, the commune of Reggio Emilia – like many others – championed the cause of landowners against the insolvency of sharecroppers; yet, the judicial system guaranteed the latter the opportunity to defend themselves and possibly unveil the unjust accusations of their lords. Moreover, the judicial registers from Reggio Emilia, which cover a limited number of years but constitute an exceptional account of the daily functioning of the local court, show that the tenantry could also take the initiative against the wrongdoings of their masters. In July 1445, a tenant declared that the harvest had not been shared in fair proportions by his landowner, and therefore claimed to be entitled to a refund. This claim, which apparently was fulfilled, is the clearest evidence of peasants’ agency, and suggests that sharecroppers – however rarely – could consider the city courts as sufficiently reliable institutions to solve legal disputes.

6.4.3. Economic Structures, Vulnerability and Popular Protest in Rural Flanders, c. 1300–1320.

Mathijs Speecke, Ghent University, Belgium; Thijs Lambrecht, Ghent University, Belgium

This paper presents new data and results on the interaction between economic structures, vulnerability and popular protest in late medieval rural Flanders. At the start of the fourteenth century Flanders was one of the most advanced regions in Western Europe, characterized by high urban and rural population densities, progressive agricultural technologies and a booming industrial sector. At the same time, Flemish society was also a hotbed of social and political tensions. In the cities, middling groups aspired formal political power and representation. In the countryside, tensions between peasantries and the count of Flanders centred around issues of taxation and political centralization. Ultimately, urban and rural political grievances would result in the Flemish Peasant Revolt (1323–1328), one of the largest uprisings of the fourteenth century. In this paper, we reconstruct the underlying socio-economic structures and vulnerabilities of the rural regions that spearheaded popular and violent protest against political leadership in Flanders during the 1320's. We use early fourteenth-century tax lists from villages in the north-western part of the county bordering the North Sea to reconstruct population densities and patterns of landownership during the early fourteenth century. In 1304, the Count of Flanders instituted a tax on landownership to fund military campaigns during the Franco-Flemish conflict. Although only a handful of these lists has survived, they allow us to reconstruct the landholding patterns of some 1200 rural households in great detail. The picture that emerges from these lists indicates that landholding in this part of the county was already heavily fragmented; by 1300 the vast majority of the households in the region of Bergues did not own sufficient land for their own subsistence. Most of the peasant households were already highly dependent on labour, land and credit markets for their survival. This market-dependence made these peasantries highly vulnerable to shocks as the events taking place during the Great Famine (1315–1317) illustrate. In 1315, a large part of the harvest was destroyed as a result of excessive rain and flooding. The food shortages that resulted from this harvest failure triggered popular protest in this part of the country. Peasants pillaged fields, threatened comital officials and rose against regional political elites. Although order was restored by the Count, tensions resurfaced in the same villages in the early 1320's. Our analysis indicates that peasant vulnerability was an important factor in explaining the spatial dynamics of popular protest and revolt in Flanders.



Group portrait with goats, c. 1920-30.

6.5. Contested boundaries after the Great War – views from the former Habsburg countryside 2

Christian Promitzer, University of Graz, Jernej Kosi, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; Ionela Zaharia, University of Graz, Austria

The end of the Great War signified the demise of the Habsburg Empire and the extension of nation states on its territory. Victorious national movements from within the former Empire and irredentist claims from already existing nation states (like Romania, Serbia and Italy) became the pace-makers of unfolding events. Their actions – conceived in urban centres and often staged in the countryside – tended to be mutually exclusive with respect to their claims and therefore encompassed potentials for new armed conflicts. While urban elites thus tried to round off national territories by use of arms and on the conference table, the rural population was rarely asked for its will which was often taken for granted. This session concentrates on the agency of the rural population on whose soil these events took place. The villagers were not only roped into ethnic struggles, but due to the new borders they were also often cut off from their former sales markets which additionally aggravated their need to make a living. One has therefore to pose the question, if the villagers did consider their incorporation into a new body politic really a chance for welfare or at least a surrogate for the loss of traditional certainties. Within the new post war contexts subsistence certainly became more difficult, even when the ethnic identity of the population in concern coincided with the new state's eponymous nation. But what if that was not the case? Most of them, like Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in particular, were hybrid by nature and would incorporate ethnic minorities – as was also the case with Hungary and Austria. In a situation of already radicalized ethnic tensions former privileged ethnic groups now became subaltern and vice versa. In other cases, people developed features of switching identities or of national indifference, be it as strategies of mimicry, or because they assessed ethnic identity less important than a peaceful adoption to the new political circumstances. Sujets mixtes, however, people of pendant ethnic identity who still had existed within the former imperial context, started to vanish. In-depth research of the diverse survival strategies of rural populations in the post war period furthermore has to consider that each village / settlement had its contingencies with single features and traditions, whereby forms of settlement, geography and ecotype, as well as the overhanging cultural and ethnic determinants have to be taken into consideration. Below this genius loci one has also to regard internal differentiations which can be pursued onto the level of sub-peasant strata and of separate households. Inns, priests, teachers, local councils, members of police and military patrols, in turn, served as intersections between the local community and the external world; thereby, rivalling factors from the latter would affect the local communities. The contributions of the session are based on records from private, regional, church and state archives and on contemporary printed sources.

Chair: Christian Promitzer

6.5.1. National redemption or land reform? The politicization of Rural Slavophones in Prekmurje after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire

Jernej Kosi, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; Institute of Political History, Budapest, Hungary

In the western parts of Zala and Vas Counties in the Kingdom of Hungary, in the short but eventful span of time between autumn 1918 and summer 1919, the flow of historical occurrence ran faster than before. Instigated by notions of self-determination and widespread social and political instability, the rapid growth of political consciousness in autumn 1918 redefined the local political stage and created a foundation for the democratization of local society. Unlike the period before the war, the right to participate in public matters was no longer understood as a privilege of the members of educated and economic elites. Encouraged by the experience of war that contributed to the “widening of their worldview and the strengthening of their self-respect,” (Romsics) Slavophone and bilingual peasant soldiers who returned to their cities, towns, and villages were no longer afraid to openly articulate their demands and expectations in front of the rural public and its social and clerical authorities. As a result, a wider swath of the local Slovene-speaking peasantry began to demand a rapid improvement of their own situation, be it either within the Kingdom of Hungary or, at the beginning in very rare cases, in another polity. In such an atmosphere, the local Hungarian elite became increasingly concerned with the triumphant activities and accomplishments of the Slovene national movement in the territories of the former Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy; indeed, they lived right next to the former internal state border. The fears of the Hungarian elite of Vas and Zala Counties grew stronger due to the increasingly active and organized propaganda of Slovene national activists and politicians. From autumn 1918 onward, Styria’s Slovene National Councils, and Slovene national activists, began publicly promoting the idea of the annexation of the region to the newly founded South Slav state among Hungarian Slavophone peasants. Such ideas, however, were supported only by a small minority of Slavophone peasants and only a few among the local Catholic clergy in Zala and Vas. In general, the “yearning” of the local population for “Yugoslavia”, if it existed at all, did not necessarily rest on nationalistic pillars. Much more than “the national,” their concerns were of a social and pragmatic kind. Joining Yugoslavia promised improvements in the social status of the peasantry on the Hungarian side of the border.

6.5.2. “Mixed Feelings” of national belonging in the Slovenian countryside alongside the new Austro-Yugoslav border (1917–1921)

Christian Promitzer, University of Graz, Austria

This paper treats the agency of the rural population of several Slovene settlements, located in the Kozjak Mountains, in the years of 1917–1921: In the Habsburg Empire they had been part of the bilingual Archduchy of Styria; now they were included into the new Yugoslav state close to the border with the likewise newly founded Republic of Austria. During peace time the voices of the male heads of peasants’ households were decisive, given the patriarchal setting of alpine husbandry between 600–1,200 m above sea level. But in 1917/18, when part of the male population was recruited, the remaining population petitioned for the inclusion of their villages in a separate Yugoslav crownland, although within the Habsburg framework. In autumn 1918, however, national differentiation between German Austrians and Slovenes was already about separate statehoods. State borders would include customs on agricultural products in border traffic; these considerations, in turn, influenced the intentness of the local population about which state they wanted to be citizens. The male population, returning from war, also appeared to affect “mixed feelings” about national affiliation: One of the communities, Kappel – Kapla, even tended to become part of Austria because of its traditional gravitation towards the market places to the German north, while another one, Remschnig – Remšnik, due to its links towards the valley of the Drava River to the south, was clearly inclined towards the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. According to the Treaty of St. Germain, Yugoslav-Austrian talks under international supervision should consider the volition of the local population in certain sections of the future state borders. In the Kozjak Mountains, an arbitrage could not be reached, however, so that the watershed between the Mur and Drava rivers, as provisionally stipulated in the peace treaty, was put into practice. This, in turn, caused the resistance of the local population of Kapla, of whom the most courageous ones more than once tried to remove the freshly embedded landmarks of the border. In the interwar period, the political elites of both states would try to consolidate the national convictions of the respective population on their side of the border, which in retrospect only underscores their former underestimation of the agency of the local population with respect to national affiliation.

6.6. Public intervention and the birth of the new Viticulture and Winemaking in Europe (end 19th–20th Centuries) 2

Luciano Maffi, Catholic University – Milan, Italy; Dario Dall’Osa, University of Bari Aldo Moro, Italy

This panel is addressed to studies concerning European wines and the prosecution of the panel organised in EURHO Leuven 2017 and Paris 2019. Researches, papers and discussions related to these latter panels were the base for the book by Conca Messina S.A., Le Bras S., Tedeschi P., Vaquero Piñeiro M. (eds.), *A History of Wine in Europe, 19th to 20th Centuries*, 1, Winegrowing and Regional Features, 2, Markets and Trade and Regulation of Quality, London/Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. The aims of the new proposed panel are: a) To investigate the role of public institutions (regional, national or the Common Agricultural Policy) for the transfer of knowledge and information regarding the new production system in the oenological sector: schools, lessons, conferences, bulletins/journals etc. The main focus concerns the relevance of the education relating to ampelography and oenology for the improvement and diffusion of new modern methods of vine-growing and winemaking as well as conservation of the must and wine in new barrels, bottles and cellars. Besides, panel also wants to observe the evolution in different European wine regions of the oenological education and changes regarding the students in the three steps of their vocational training: the elementary level (lessons for peasants’ sons), the secondary school (professional courses about the viticulture and winemaking) and the university (studies on the oenology in agrarian departments and faculties). b) To investigate the role the public institutions (regional, national or the Common Agricultural Policy) in favour of the modernization of viticulture and winemaking: they financed and protected the national viticulture and attempted to improve the diffusion in the international markets. They also promoted the European wines in the world and then faced the competition of the wines produced in California, South America, and, more recently, in South Africa and Australia. Finally, they organised the intervention against the diseases which invested European vines in the second half of the 19th century and the successive improvement of the quality of new European vineyards during the 20th century. c) To investigate the role of the public institutions (regional, national or the Common Agricultural Policy) for the improvement of the quality: producers progressively substituted the mellow and heavy-bodied wine (mainly addressed to taverns) with some high quality wine (sold in bottles indicating the origins/characters of the product). These changes are linked to the progressive globalisation of the markets for best wines and to the adoption of new technologies for cellars and winemaking. Papers participating at this panel will in particular focus their attention on the period including the last decades of the 19th century and the 20th century. They will allow to make some comparisons between the different European oenological areas and to improve the knowledge of the evolution of European rural society during the analysed period.

Chair: Niccolo Mignemi, CNRS, France

Discussant: Martino Lorenzo Fagnani, University of Pavia, Italy

6.6.1. An industrial policy for territorial development: The case of the wine sector of Aragon (Spain)

Vicente Pinilla, University of Zaragoza, Spain; Raúl Compés, Polytechnic University of Valencia, Spain

Many governments are trying to promote the economic development of their territory by acting directly on its productive structure. This work analyzes the intervention of the Aragonese autonomous government in the regional wine sector from the end of the eighties to the present day. The results show that it is an industrial policy executed, mostly, by a public agency for regional development, the Instituto Aragonés de Fomento (IAF), in two stages and in the four protected designations of origin (Borja, Calatayud, Cariñena and Somontano). The first stage consisted of financial support to existing wineries and the creation of new ones; in the latter case, through the participation in the capital, together with other partners, of both the local wine industry -preferably cooperatives- and the regional financial sector. The second consisted in the exit of the capital of some of the wineries in which the IAF has a stake and the permanence in the rest. This is an ambitious and heterodox model of agro-industrial policy that needs to be assessed.

6.6.2. The Public behind the Private: The Institutional framework fostering new Viticulture and Winemaking in the late XIX Century Romagna

Omar Mazzotti, University of Bologna, Italy; Luca Barducci, Independent Researcher

The boundary between the private world and the public sector is frequently unclear as suggested by the dynamics of post-unification Italian agriculture, which was a still rather underdeveloped and fragmented economic sector. The public sector was strongly articulated and characterized by both the leading role of the Ministry of Agriculture and the relevant function of agriculture promotion and development carried out sometimes by provinces and municipalities, as well as by local public entities acting as delegates of the Ministry, often in a substantially independent way (agricultural experimental centres, governmental depot of agricultural machinery). Halfway between the public and private sectors, the *comizi agrari* were the most common kind of agricultural organization created with the purpose to protect the farmers' class interests, although they often indirectly pursued public utility purposes, working on the basis of governmental regulations and public subsidies. In those territories where the private sector was unable to start autonomous growth paths, the agricultural sector was characterized by the emergence of a public-private model, with a strong connection between *comizi agrari* and public institutions. In the post-unification Romagna, for instance, high-profile professionals emerged (Pasqui, Pasqualini, Moreschi, Tosi, Sbrozzi) who held positions in the public sector, but often acting with great autonomy and effectiveness also in the private sector. This research aims at investigating how much in this specific region the winemaking in particular has deviated from this evolutionary path. For this purpose, the study will focus on some aspects in particular: the policies to face the spread of phytopathogenic agents (especially *phylloxera*) activated by local institutions and the Ministry between the 1880s and the 1890s of 19th century; the various ways and methods of transferring technical knowledge (formally and informally) and the related economic outcomes; the different development accomplished by viticulture compared to that of winemaking, which adapted rather late to the market needs, facilitated by technical innovations originated locally. The paper will highlight the key role of the institutional architecture that supported and made effective the economic development policies in the region, increasingly focusing on viticulture starting from the agrarian crisis period, in a process in which the primacy in the agricultural field of certain areas within the region seemed to depend on the favourable synergy between the public and private sectors.

6.6.3. Wine, Viticulture and Legislation in Italy during the 20th century: The Cases of Valtellina and Trentino

Ilaria Suffia, Università Cattolica Milan, Italy; Andrea Maria Locatelli, Università Cattolica Milan, Italy

This communication analyses the effects of national and international legislations, especially of the CAP and the certifications of origin, on the evolution of Italian wine sector and the development of the national vineyard areas during the 20th century, from the fascist era to the Eighties. It evaluates the relationship between the introduction of institutional policies and the evolution of the Italian wine sector throughout the historical series of the wine production and the vine-growing areas. It focuses in particular on two areas, Valtellina and Trentino, both world-renowned, especially in the recent years, for their high-quality wines, many of which have certifications of origin (CDO-Controlled Designation of Origin). During the fascist period (Twenties-Forties), Italian wine sector experienced a general decrease: the wine production and consumption were in fact penalized, as the regime concentrated its attention on strengthening other agricultural productions such as wheat and fruit growing (Trentino). Moreover, the province of Trento coped with a decrease of its market, due to the result of the Versailles Peace that cut off the Austrian market. Valtellina had a similar experience before, during the 19th century, when it lost the Swiss market. In the Fifties and Sixties, the Italian wine sector was characterised by a low level of technology, both in vineyards and in cellars. In Valtellina several producers gave up; while in the province of Trento cooperative wineries continued their activity. Sales were reduced because of the rising competition with other EEC countries. The Eighties were characterized by relevant changes: a) the taste for drinking wine became popular again, in contrast to the post-World War II years when spirits, beer and other types of beverages replaced wine; b) new regulations supported the development of the wine sector enhancing technological investments and improving wine quality; c) winemakers reclaimed local wine identities and modified their production systems and marketing and emphasized on local traditions based on different terroirs thanks to new CDO. To evaluate the effects of these changes this communication shows quantitative data on grape, wine growing areas and wine productions. The main sources is the 'Annuario di Statistica Agraria' edited by Istat (Italian National Institute of Statistics): other documents provided by others institutions, as well as wine associations, were used.



Harvesting in the field, c. 1910–1930.

6.7. Trading Encounters in the countryside – on practices of petty trade in Norden, 1860–1940

Ann-Catrin Östman, Åbo Akademi University, Finland; Eija Stark, Åbo Akademi University, Finland

Peddling has been, and still is, an integral part of social, cultural and economic life in many regions of the world. In the nineteenth century, the exchange of goods increased considerably as an effect of globalization, which affected trade on global, regional and local levels. Consequently, new livelihood opportunities opened up for itinerant traders, who distributed the increasing supply of colonial and industrial commodities, handicrafts and drapery. There was a quick expansion and flood of goods in rural areas. This session presents parts of research project that focuses on petty trade and cultural encounters. As a term, petty trade refers to an economic activity that involves selling and buying goods – agricultural as well as consumer goods – and services in small scale. Petty traders, such as ‘peddlers’, ‘mongers’, ‘hucksters’, ‘hawkers’, ‘vendors’ and ‘bootleggers’, were all engaged in small-scale trade, and the epithets attached to these sellers were often pejorative. The session explores relations and encounters between itinerant traders and sedentary communities in the Nordic region. In Finland and Scandinavia, petty traders often belonged to groups in the margins of society, such as vagrants, poor peasants, and ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities, like Roma, Russians, Sámi, Jews, and Tatars. These traders not only gained their livelihoods from petty trade, but they also acted as important intermediaries in providing rural customers, often from lower social strata, with price-worthy merchandises. More importantly, people from different backgrounds, cultures and ethnicities came together in new ways, in which petty trade functioned as a significant social arena of such encounters. Yet, petty trade – partly a despised way of earning a living – has not been of greater scholarly interest, albeit this form of livelihood was in fact both notable and not uncommon. This panel addresses petty trade by tracing everyday practices that shaped trading encounters, i.e. encounters between mobile traders and resident groups in rural societies. Transnational and interregional relations characterized this sparsely populated regions, where disparate groups in terms of religion, ethnicity and language interacted. One example of this is the long tradition of barter trade between peasants, fishermen and other inhabitants of Estonia and Finland established encounters over the Gulf of Finland. In a broad sense, the overall increase in consumption had wide cultural and social consequences that greatly affected social, ethnic and language relations. It is thus a relevant area to examine social relations between incomers, persons passing through and inhabitants in the countryside.

Chair: Ann-Catrin Östman

6.7.1. The Gift, the Feast and the Surplus of Friendship: Practices in a Hidden Economy of Petty Trading

Niklas Huldén, Åbo Akademi University, Finland

A long tradition of barter trade exists between the peasants and other inhabitants of Estonia and Finland over the Gulf of Finland. The trade was mutually beneficial as the parts could switch-trade their surplus means, exporting mainly salted herring from Finland and receiving grain products, mainly rye from Estonia. The trade heritage had many variants in customs and the involved trading partners. In the eastern parts of the gulf, peasants traded directly with each other crossing the gulf in boats. In the western parts of the Gulf of Finland, peasants and fishermen mainly traveled to Tallin and sold or traded their salted herring to grain from local merchants, who in turn got it from peasants and manors in the Estonian inland. This resulted in complex networks and dependencies between merchants and peasants which also were incorporated in the cultural heritage of the Sepra-trade. In the first decades of the 20th century the trade became much more diverse incorporating exporting of wood, firewood, potatoes, apples and also whole new concepts as fish canning industries, sometimes including the coastline down to the Polish coast and to Sweden in west. The First World War struck hard on this trading tradition and by the Second World War it had almost vanished. After the 1990ies the trading contacts were once again celebrated in a symbolical way as old marketplaces were revived and still living tradesmen met again. The trading between the countries is now massive, including tourism, working migration, mutual industries and a planned tunnel. The aim is to use ethnographical questionnaires from the 1960ies to gain some insights in to the practises in this petty trade in different locations and by different participators during the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. This should also result in a synthesis of various earlier investigations based on similar source materials, but with narrower local perspectives.

6.7.2. Stories of hygiene and dirt – Agricultural co-operative stores as the loci of social change and folk humor

Eija Stark, Åbo Akademi University, Finland

Early consumer co-operatives in the Nordic countries were agricultural ones, especially dairies. In Finland, since the urban towns were few, most of the co-operative communities formed in the countryside. Consumer co-operatives were part of the European labor movement, because they were working-class responses to industrialization and urbanization from the late nineteenth century onward. Consumer co-operatives were founded by the rural working-class of limited means in order to secure supplies of basic foodstuffs at fair prices. Using the oral history narratives of the Finnish consumer co-operative storekeepers, I scrutinize the changing consumer culture of the early twentieth century. Based on the bottom-up approach – history from below – my presentation asks how individual addressed social change and changing understandings of knowledge, such as the concepts of dirt and cleanliness. It also discusses on small-scale trade as the place of encounters where people met, shared news and gossips. The oral histories of the co-operative storekeepers represent the voices of those who were ideologically engaged in the consumer co-operative society's goals.

6.7.3. Peddlers Settling Down

Anna Sundelin, Åbo Akademi University, Finland

This paper focuses on mobile traders from Russian Karelia who abandoned their itinerant livelihood and settled down in Finland. Some of these former peddlers opened up stores in the Finnish countryside, making use of their skills as traders and previously formed networks to keep their stores well supplied. I examine the relationship between local residents and former peddlers by using a wide range of sources: newspapers, ethnographic material, business licences, bankruptcy records, photographs and advertisements. The paper provides new insights into the transition from itinerant peddling to storekeeping as well as the experiences of migrant entrepreneurs in Finland in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

6.7.4. Hospitality and Rejection: Relations Between Mobile Traders and Host Communities in the Nordic Region, 1850–1920

Johanna Wassholm, Åbo Akademi University, Finland

This paper examines relations between host communities and four groups of itinerant traders and in Finland and Sweden in the late 19th century: västgötar/knallar from Western Gothia, the so called 'Rucksack Russians' from Russian Karelia, Eastern Jews from the Pale of Settlement and Muslim Tatars from the Nizhny Novgorod province. Using Finnish and Swedish digital newspaper databases and ethnographic questionnaires dealing with peddlers as sources, the paper focuses on the following questions: How did the origin of each group of peddlers affect hospitality and rejection? Who received the peddlers with hospitality and rejection, respectively, and in which situations? The point of departure is that itinerant traders raised ambivalent emotions in host communities. On the one hand, tensions commonly arose between them and local authorities and merchants, who aimed to control trade or perceived the peddlers as unfair competitors. On the other, consumers desired the peddlers' goods and commonly protected them from the authorities. The peddlers also depended on host communities for lodging and food, which made the relations between them and locals close, at times so much so that peddlers settled in the host community permanently. The aim of the paper is to illuminate the ambivalence in the reception of mobile traders in two ways: first, it illustrates how the origin of the group affected relations with host communities, and, second, how the type of sources used to study the relations affect the outcome.



Family outside a timber building in Dalarna, 1887.

6.8. Social conflicts in early modern Europe: New tools and new perspectives 2

Cédric Chambru, University of Zurich, Switzerland; Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu, University of Milan, Italy

The evolution of social conflicts, their causes and consequences in early modern Europe have long been studied by historians and social scientists. This stream of literature culminated, at least with respect to France, with the seminal publication of *La Rébellion française* by Jean Nicolas in 2002. However, the recent advances in digital, statistical and geographic information system (GIS) tools now allow to link more easily large sets of data and can help to foster our understanding of this social phenomena. The objective of this panel is to provide ground for new research in this field and demonstrate how tools derived from the “digital revolution” can facilitate the development of new research. One avenue is to take advantage of the increasing number of archives and printed sources digitised by local and national archives to conduct large-scale research on specific topics. Another example is the online release of the Historical Social Conflict Database (HiSCoD; <https://www.unicaen.fr/hiscod>), which lists nearly 10,000 episodes of social conflict and aims at facilitating future research around this topic. This panel will focus on the evolution of social conflict in the long run. More specifically, it aims at advancing our knowledge in this area by working anew on problematic such as the evolution of living standards and social conflicts. We welcome any contribution making use of data at the local, regional or even national scale and addressing questions such as the interlink between social conflicts, climatic crises, and agricultural failures/changes; the role and the consequences of the expansion of the proto-industrialisation in the countryside with respect to social conflicts; the impact of trade and its (de-)regulation; and the local responses of government to crisis and conflict. Case studies, as well as comparative and large-N studies, are welcome. The panel’s geographical focus is on Europe, even though we also welcome contributions on different world regions. Overall, papers in the panel will seeks to construct a better understanding of the challenges related to social and economic stress and to emphasise the historical responses they generated.

Chair & discussant: Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu

6.8.1. “Let Them Eat Cake”: Drought and Demand for Democracy During the French Revolution

Maria Waldinger, ifo Institute Munich, Germany

Can an extreme weather event affect demand for democracy among the disenfranchised in an authoritarian system? I show that a drought in 1788 increased demand for democracy during the French Revolution. Drawing on rich historical data on low-cost and high-cost manifestations of demand for democracy, I show that the drought increased not only manifestations, but the underlying demand for democracy itself. More affected areas participated more in (high-cost) revolts, sought more institutional changes in lists of grievances, and more frequently established citizen-led political societies (both low-cost). Demand for democracy among the disenfranchised is a key prerequisite for democratization. In this paper, I examine whether extreme weather events may impact demand for democracy. The relationship between a weather shock and demand for democracy is also relevant as a mechanism underlying the well-documented relationship between adverse weather conditions and the outbreak of political conflict. Popular demand for institutional change among the disenfranchised in authoritarian systems, a key determinant of democratization (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006), is notoriously difficult to measure. In this paper, I draw on the uniquely rich documentation of the French Revolution and obtain local-level information on two types of manifestations of demand for democratic change: those that are punishable and involve high personal risk (high-cost), and those that are not punishable and involve low personal risk (low-cost). I focus on the impact that drought in the growing season of 1788 had on three measures of demand for democratic change in 1789. 1) In the spring of 1789, the common population in areas especially affected by the drought incorporated more demands for institutional change of the feudal system into the lists of grievances, which King Louis XVI had requested to gauge public sentiment at the time (lowcost). 2) In the summer of 1789, they participated more often in revolts against feudal institutions (high-cost). 3) And, after 1789, they were more likely to establish political societies that enabled political participation at the local level (low-cost). I add to the literature on weather shocks and conflict by examining weather’s effects on demand for democracy which can be interpreted as one of the key mechanisms underlying the relationship between weather events and the outbreak of civil war.

6.8.2. The Historical Social Conflict Database: An Investigation into Trade Shocks and Rural Protest in Revolutionary Normandy

Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu, University of Milan, Italy; Cédric Chambru, University of Zurich, Switzerland

This paper relies on the newly created Historical Social Conflict Database (HISCOD) to analyse the occurrence of social conflict in Normandy during the late 18th century. We take advantage of the signature of a new trade agreement concluded between England and France in 1786, the so-called “Eden Treaty”, to investigate the socio-economic effects of a rapidly increasing competitive environment. In Normandy, one of the most industrialised region of France at the time, the imports of cotton’s textile from Britain provoked an important decrease of the region’s industrial production and a severe socio-economic crisis from 1787 onward. Within few months, Norman textile manufacturers had to reduce their production, dismiss workers, and, sometimes declare bankruptcy. Unemployment and vagrancy quickly rose and many social conflict occurred in different parts of the province. Using this case study, we show how the Historical Social Conflict Database can be combined with various set of socio-economic data to provide new insights into the historiography of social conflict. We further showcase the various possibilities to use HISCOD as a working repository for both qualitative and quantitative studies.

6.9. Seeds and agricultural changes in Europe (XV-XX centuries)

Carlos Manuel Faisca, ReSEED Project, University of Coimbra, Portugal; Alberto González Remuiñán, ReSEED Project, University of Coimbra, Portugal; Dulce Freire, ReSEED Project, University of Coimbra, Portugal

For centuries agriculture was the main sector of economic activity. For this reason, studying the changes of Agriculture has become a recurring subject of History. This topic has been explained under different points of view, either isolated or through combined perspectives. Therefore, there are social and institutional approaches that focus on the action of public or private organizations, social groups and traditions; economic perspectives, by analysing elements such as prices, labour or land; environmental approaches, around climate and soil issues; and innovation ones, such as the introduction of fertilisers or machinery. However, within the changes in Agriculture, the biotechnological innovations (methods that involves the use of living organisms to create or modify plants and animals) has been little studied. In the United States, since early 2000s, some scholars started to include seed selection and plant improvement into the explanation of agriculture productivity growth. Also, about Russia and Eastern Europe, there are some academic production on this subject (Borojevic, Borojevic, 2005). However, for Western Europe this kind of analysis has deserved few approaches. Additionally, the majority of the studies on biotechnology have focused more on the action of formal organizations, either public or private, than on the role of farmers, as well as their scope regards only 19th and, above all, 20th centuries. Therefore, this session aims to host papers that can contribute to build a long-term perspective about the impact biological innovations connected to agricultural change. The approaches can be either in modern or contemporary historic eras, studying seed selection and plant improvement, the introduction of new vegetable species and the economic, environmental and social consequences of it in Europe. Preference will be given to proposals that focus on farmer selection, especially in early modern era including the impact of the cultivation of new crops since the 15th century. Nevertheless, latter chronologies and/or approaches on the role of formal organizations can also be accepted. Papers on methods and sources that can help to clarify these questions are welcome.

Chair: Dulce Freire, ReSEED Project, University of Coimbra, Portugal
Discussant: Edmund Cannon, University of Bristol, UK

6.9.1. Modern breeding fails in Mediterranean drylands: modern varieties contributed to their degradation without increasing their productivity

Guiomar Carranza-Gallego, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Spain; Gloria I. Guzman, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Spain; David Soto, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Spain; Manuel González de Molina, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Spain

Traditionally, historians have considered old varieties (OV) to belong to a backward agriculture that had to be overcome. However, the high grain yields of modern varieties is expressed only with high nutrient and water availability, and the widespread belief that they are more productive than OV is biased. One the one hand, productivity considers only the marketable biomass, while the rest of the NPP component are discarded (such as root biomass and other unharvested biomass, UHB). On the other hand, field comparisons of OV and modern varieties (MV) have normally been conducted under industrialized farming conditions, which is detrimental for OV performance. The aim of this study is to try to elucidate if these biases have compromised agroecosystems sustainability throughout the reductions

of NPP components different from marketable biomass, specifically those under rainfed Mediterranean conditions. To accomplish this objective, we carried out three field experiments in the Southern Spain under traditional, organic and conventional farming conditions to compare 6 old wheat varieties and 6 modern wheat cultivars, all of them under rainfed conditions. Then, from the data of our trials, bibliographic review and information from historical sources, we have reconstructed the NPP and destinations of biomass of Spanish wheat fields (1900–2000). Fields data show that, under Mediterranean rainfed conditions, modern varieties do not outyield old ones. On the contrary, old varieties had higher root and straw biomass, traits that make it possible to maintain in good condition the biophysical fund elements of the agroecosystem such as soil and biodiversity. The higher biomass production that can be incorporated to the soil reveals a higher organic matter contribution, supporting better soil quality conditions and higher soil water retention capacity. Additionally, taller and higher biomass producer wheat cultivars are related to biodiversity conservation, both through the higher food availability within the heterotrophic chain of cereal agroecosystems and by higher habitats availability for little vertebrates and invertebrates. Finally, better weed competition ability of OV showed by the experimental data can help to biodiversity conservation through the reduction of herbicides use. The NPP reconstruction, along with the experiments data, points out that the abandonment of old varieties and their replacement by modern cultivars caused the degradation of the Spanish drylands in the last century. Our results suggest that OV can increase the sustainability of rainfed Mediterranean agroecosystems at present through the improvement of soil quality, the reduction of herbicides use, and the recovery of biodiversity.

6.9.2. New seeds and agricultural changes in Iberian Peninsula (XVII-XIX centuries)

Carlos Manuel Faisca, University of Coimbra, Portugal; Alberto González Remuiñán, University of Coimbra, Portugal

Agriculture changes has been explained from many different points of view: institutional improvement, introduction of machinery, use of fertilizers, building of irrigation systems, among others. However, biotechnological innovations, such as seed selection and/or new crops dissemination, have been neglected, especially when looking into the Western Europe and chronologies that go back beyond the late 19th century. In order to fill this gap, different historical sources have been explored (such as agricultural leases, agricultural exhibition catalogues and agronomic and botanic reports), providing information on changes in regional crops across the Iberian Peninsula since the 16th century. This proposal aims to discuss the methodological approaches and some preliminary outputs of an ongoing research. By identifying the changes on regional crops, namely the dissemination of new seeds, the paper analyses the different roles of both farmers and/or public and private organizations in the Portuguese and Spanish agriculture.

6.9.3. Selecting, electing, eliminating: fruit production and agricultural improvement in Portugal, c. 1750– c.1850

Leonardo Aboim Pires, University of Coimbra, Portugal; Dulce Freire, University of Coimbra, Portugal

Since the Early Modern Age, the idea of Portugal's ideal natural conditions to produce abundant and good fruits gains momentum, being propagated in different texts such as chorographies, geographical descriptions and travel literature. During the Enlightenment, those ideas were scrutinized by new theories that aimed to promote innovative agriculture practices, which had objectives more focused on cash crops (peaches, pears, grapes, citrus, and other fruits) and clear pragmatic sense. This paper discusses how, between the 18th and 19th centuries, intellectuals sought to shape an environmental mindset and social awareness for the agricultural changes they considered necessary. In this initial phase of science dissemination, it is interesting to assess how the arguments that supported the change from a traditional ecological knowledge to a scientific understanding of Nature were built. The research is based on a wide range of historical sources. It includes the exploration of handbooks, guides, almanacs or catechisms that aimed to disseminate innovative ideas among farmers, landowners and other agents acting in the countryside. Also analyzed are memories, reports and other writings of scholars linked to various scientific organizations, with emphasis on the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, funded in 1779. These visions contributed to projected a future Portugal as a vegetable garden or a green garden growing by the sea.

6.10. The Seasonality of Rural Work and its Experience in Preindustrial Europe

Taylor Aucoin, University of Exeter, UK

This session explores the seasonality of rural work, and its varying impact upon labour experiences and practices across several countries in preindustrial Europe. Agrarian societies of premodern Europe were governed by religious, social, economic, and environmental rhythms. Seasonal work patterns manifested accordingly: in the yearly rounds of sowing, reaping, lambing, and shearing, but also in the cycles of holy days, annual fairs, quarterly rents, and fixed-term contracts of servants. Historians have long recognised the seasonal nature of agrarian work, mapping its regional variance according to the needs and demands of different pastoral and arable systems, and measuring its change across time in terms of the frequency of religious holidays. Yet, despite the rich breadth of this historiography, less research has been done on the contemporary experience and conceptualisation of seasonal rural work, and how this varied across time, setting, and identity. Understandings of the latter subject often rest upon certain entrenched assumptions: the immutability of seasonal work; the stereotypical work patterns attributed to particular genders, age-groups, or professions; the artificial separation between rural and urban economies. This session aims to challenge such perspectives and open new avenues of interrogation on the seasonality of rural work and its experience in preindustrial Europe, with papers encompassing a wide range of methodologies, sources, time-periods, and regions. Papers will include: an examination of the seasonality of rural work in seventeenth-century England among different identity groups (i.e. gender, age), based upon quantitative analysis of witness testimonies; an analysis of how seasonal work and the experience of winter weather was remembered and recorded in a sixteenth-century Scottish peasant's chronicle; and an exploration of the dynamic relationships between rural seasonal work and urban labour patterns in the Low Countries, as recorded in eighteenth-century court depositions.

Chair: Jane Whittle, University of Exeter, UK
Discussant: Mark Hailwood, University of Bristol, UK

6.10.1. Gendered Dimensions to the Seasonality of Rural Work in Early Modern England

Taylor Aucoin, University of Exeter, UK

This paper presents a quantitative analysis of seasonal rural work patterns in early modern England, examining how such seasonality may have differed across genders and other identity groups. Scholars have long understood the seasonal nature of work to have been key in structuring premodern agrarian economies and societies. Historians of early modern England, for example, have mapped variances in seasonal labour needs and practices according to geography, as yearly rhythms of work, rest and play could differ substantially across arable, pastoral, industrial and mixed local economies. Yet, while the early modern labour force was as diverse as the English landscape, the season-

ality of rural work and its experience has rarely been evaluated in terms of identity. Did seasonal rural work patterns differ substantially between men and women, young and old, across status and profession? And if so, how and why? To answer such questions, this paper utilizes the pioneering task-based methodology of the research project 'Forms of Labour: Gender, Freedom and Experience of Work in the Preindustrial Economy'. Rather than focusing on occupational titles or wage-rates to evaluate rural labour patterns, the project attempts to uncover and collect specific references to people directly engaged in various types of work. It examines court depositions (witness testimonies) from early modern England (1500–1700), compiling incidental references to work from these into a database of work activities. Details on the identity of witnesses and actors, and the location, date and timing of the work activity are all recorded. The result is a dataset of thousands of individually contextualized and categorized work tasks, enabling robust quantitative analysis of the varying experience of rural labour. Using this dataset's information on the identities of workers, as well as the nature and seasonal context of their tasks, this paper will query similarities and differences in the seasonality of rural work within early modern England's labour force. Specifically, it will explore the extent to which archetypal rhythms of the agrarian year were reflected in the work experiences of women, examining what types of work were truly seasonal, how these activities were gendered, and whether or not this created two distinct (gendered) agrarian years. Additionally, the paper will look at discrepancies in seasonal work across age, as well as among rural craftsmen, husbandmen and labourers. Through this, the aim is to complicate idyllic assumptions about the premodern agrarian year with the real experiences of early modern men and women.

6.10.2. Weather and Farming Through the Eyes of a Sixteenth-Century Highland Peasant

Julian Goodare, University of Edinburgh, UK

This paper is a detailed micro-analysis of a single primary source from Highland Perthshire in Scotland: the Chronicle of Fortingall. The chronicler, a curate with the surname MacGregor, was a peasant, farming himself. He writes about farming in the first person singular, thus: 'The xxii da of Merche I began til saw aytis' (On 26 March I began to sow oats). Such a direct voice from the sixteenth century is highly unusual. Most of the text of the chronicle is local obituaries and other such events, but there are about two dozen entries about farming, dated between 1554 and 1577, totalling something over a thousand words. These mostly comprise comments on the weather and its effect on farming, and on the variability of local prices. The farming information in the chronicle is highly seasonal. The only seasons mentioned by name are summer and winter, but there are many details about ploughing and sowing, and about harvests. The longest entries are graphic descriptions of harsh winters and the deaths of livestock. There are also periodic comments on good weather. Sometimes we are merely told of 'evil' or 'fair' weather, but there are also more precise comments about wind, rain, frost or snow, or about dry or hot weather. Annual markets and fairs are discussed, as is the Scottish system of 'fiars prices' (official grain prices set annually in the spring). There are no mentions of famine or starvation; these may be hidden behind the discussions of high prices, but it is noteworthy that the chronicle ends before the really bad years of the 1580s and 1590s in which we know of starvation from other Scottish sources. The chronicler's sympathies are clearly with 'poor men' like himself. The chronicle's discourse slips easily between what we might regard as meteorological data (actual weather), economic data (prices, meagre harvests, or deaths of livestock), moral commentary (sufferings of poor men, or landlords' extortion) and providential commentary (God's grace, for instance in keeping prices low). By close reading, the paper will disentangle these different threads, and set them in a broader comparative context. In the process it is hoped to reveal something of how the seasonality of rural work was experienced by a farmer on the ground.

SESSION 7 • WEDNESDAY 22 JUNE • 09:00–11:00

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
7.1. Meet-the-author: Zsuzsanna Varga, <i>The Hungarian Agricultural Miracle? – Sovietization and Americanization in a Communist Country</i> Zsuzsanna Varga						7:1 Room 1
7.2. Young rural history scholars – a network introduction Anna R. Locke	7.2.1. A young network Martin Andersson	7.2.2. Gender, rural history, and finding one's place – post doc experiences Carolina Uppenberg	7.2.3. The Problem of Estimating Incomes and Living Standards in the Agrarian Sector: Sweden, 1870–1920 Erik Bengtsson	7.2.4. A spatial analysis of landscape change in Flemish river valleys, 1771–1965 Eline Lathouwers	7.2.5. Northern Rural Youth in Flux – Seeking for the immanence of the past in Finnish Sámi Homeland Helena Ristaniemi	7:2 Room 2
7.3. Consumer markets and services in the countryside, 1650–1950 Christine Fertig	7.3.1. Women and early rural shops – Sources on women's trading practices in late 19th century Finland Ann-Catrin Östman	7.3.2. Competition between shopkeepers and artisans in the nineteenth century rural Finland Merja Uotila	7.3.3. A regional perspective on Swedish rural retailing 1850–1910 Fredrik Sandgren	7.3.4. Buying food in the village: Customers, sales and supply of a country butcher's shop in the South of France at the beginning of the 20th century Corinne Marache		7:3 Room 3
7.4. Maize for the people. Cultivation, consumption and trade in the northeastern Mediterranean (16th–19th c.) Aleksander Panjek	7.4.1. Innovations in agriculture and population growth in Friuli (north-eastern Italy, seventeenth century) Alessio Fornasin	7.4.2. Maize diffusion in the Republic of Venice: the case of the province of Vicenza (XVI–XVIII cents.) Giulio Ongaro	7.4.3. The Slovenian experience with maize in the 19th and 20th century Zarko Lazarevic	7.4.4. Tracing maize in the Slovene regions, 16th–18th c. An interpretation of the factors of diffusion Aleksander Panjek		7:4 Room 4
7.5. Digital Tools and Property. From the extraction of data to spatial analysis 1 Gérard Béaur	7.5.1. Mapping the divided property. The spatial dynamics of the emphyteusis in Catalonia (1768–1862) Rosa Congost	7.5.2. On the value of spatial analysis: revisiting inheritance patterns through mapping (19th–20th century) Fabrice Boudjaaba	7.5.3. Inhabiting the terroir of Early Modern Marseille: the contribution of GIS and Databases Florie Imbert-Pellissier			7:5 Room 5
7.6. Meet the Authors: <i>Oxford Handbook of Agricultural History</i> Ernst Langthaler	7.6.1. Timeless Essential of Agriculture: The Case of Land Frank Uekötter	7.6.2. Modern Essentials of Agriculture: The Case of Commodity Frontiers Eric Vanhaute	7.6.3. Exemplary Commodities of Agriculture: The Case of Soy Ernst Langthaler	7.6.4. Timeless Essential of Agriculture: The Case of the Environment and Soil Depletion Jeannie Whyne		7:6 Room 6

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
7.7. Environmental and Biological Hazards and Redistribution in Rural History 1 Daniel R. Curtis	7.7.1. The famine of 1737 and changes in peasants' land possession. An example of the royal estate in southern Poland Piotr Miodunka	7.7.2. "Cause or effect? The proletarianisation of peasants and sand drifts in the East Anglian Brecklands" Maïka De Keyzer	7.7.3. Redistribution and access to land in response to epidemics. A long-term perspective from a seventeenth-century rural community Daniel R. Curtis			7:7 Room 7
7.8. Food Security in the Early Modern and Modern Era 1 Erik Hallberg	7.8.1. Fierce Debate, a Failing State and the Coming of Philanthropy: How the Famine of 1772–73 Changed the Food System in Sweden Erik Hallberg	7.8.2. "Challenges of writing a book about a famine in Sweden" Magnus Västerbro	7.8.3. A Multi-faceted Finnish Province: Dramatic History of Kainuu Timo Myllyntaus			7:8 Room 8
7.9. Farmers that count: standardisation and tutelage in farm accounting, 18th and 20th century 1 Federico D'Onofrio	7.9.1. Farm Accountancy Offices and the spread of accounting practices in the European countryside (1870–1950) Federico D'Onofrio	7.9.2. 'Rational' Farmers and the Emergence of Modern Accounting in Danish Dairying Markus Lampe	7.9.3. About administrators, formalizations and standardizations: Accounting on rural manors in Westphalia and the Rhineland area 18th and 19th century Friederike Scholten-Buschhoff	7.9.4. 'The advocacy and practice of farm accounts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England' Richard W Hoyle		7:9 Room 9

7.1. Meet-the-author: Zsuzsanna Varga, The Hungarian Agricultural Miracle? – Sovietization and Americanization in a Communist Country

Zsuzsanna Varga, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

Abundance or shortage in food supply has been a fateful and strategic issue throughout human history. This was no less true in the post-1945 period, when food played a decisive role alongside weapons and ideologies in the competition between capitalism and socialism. In socialist Eastern Europe, queuing for food was the everyday experience everywhere – except Hungary. Zsuzsanna Varga's monograph (The Hungarian Agricultural Miracle?

–Sovietization and Americanization in a Communist Country. Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series, Lexington Books, 2020.) presents a historical analysis of the 'Hungarian agricultural miracle', a successful hybrid agriculture created by dual transfer processes of 'sovietization' and 'americanization'. The „Meet-the-author” session gives a good opportunity on the one hand to discuss the methodological novelties of her book, on the other hand to identify the factors influencing the success or failure of economic transfers between countries with different political systems. Three prepared comments will be given by Hans Jörgensen, University of Umeå, Ildikó Asztalos Morell, The Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences and Nigel Swain, University of Liverpool.

**Discussants: Hans Jörgensen, Umeå University, Sweden;
Ildikó Asztalos Morell, Swedish University of Agricultural Science**

7.2. Young rural history scholars – a network introduction

Anna R. Locke, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

In Sweden, the field of rural history has for a long time been prominent within history research. The field is well established among senior scholars, but PhD-students and post-docs can often find themselves to be the only young scholar within the field at their home department. To ensure the survival and development of the field it is crucial for young scholars to be encouraged to choose rural history as a subject for their dissertations, and to keep doing research within the field after the dissertations is completed. Therefore a group of young scholars have taken the initiative to form a network, to create a platform where young scholars from different universities can meet and help each other to challenge and navigate in the world of academia. In this session we will introduce the network, and some of the scholars that are already included will shortly present their ongoing research. We also aim at having a discussion regarding how the network can function to: help PhD-students and young scholars to gain access to other networks, national and international, get academic feedback from a broader arena than their home-faculties and get tips on how to find funding for future research. To the session we invite scholars from all over the broad field of rural history, to exchange experiences and ideas regarding networks for young scholars, and how these can function to encourage young scholars to stay in the field of rural history.

Chair & discussant: Anna R. Locke

7.2.1. A young network

Martin Andersson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Presentation will discuss how rural history research may benefit from a newly-founded network of 'young' rural historians, and how such a network may further be developed in the future.

7.2.2. Gender, rural history, and finding one's place – post doc experiences

Carolina Uppenberg, Lund University, Sweden

In this presentation, I will discuss experiences of trying to incorporate gender theories in a field with long traditions as well as take part in the general discussion among young rural historians on finding one's place. I will also shortly present a new project: "Challenging the domestic. Gender division of labour and economic change studied through 19th century crofters' households".

7.2.3. The Problem of Estimating Incomes and Living Standards in the Agrarian Sector: Sweden, 1870–1920

Erik Bengtsson, Lund University, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

In recent years historical estimates of economic inequality has become a booming field of research, not the least following the path-breaking studies by Thomas Piketty in the 2000s. The leading methodology is to identify top income earners' incomes in income tax statistics and compare these incomes with national income totals, to estimate inequality as top income shares – the share of national income accruing to the top one per cent, top ten per cent etc. This methodology however has a possibly severe industrial society-bias, as it does not consider subsistence production. In Sweden for example not even the richest farmers were taxed on their _incomes_ in the early twentieth century; they were taxed on their _wealth_, their farm, cattle etc., from which they derived incomes but also important subsistence production. This means that they are not counted in research based on income taxes, which is by far the dominant approach in inequality studies. If we are interested in the inequality of consumption, which is the inequality concept closest to an idea of material living standards, and not just inequality of monetary incomes, then this is a big problem for an agrarian society like Sweden in the early twentieth century. This paper estimates, using probate inventories, public investigations, qualitative evidence and other sources, living standards and imputed incomes for agrarian groups in Sweden from the 1870s to 1920 and presents how considering these groups changes our estimates of inequality. The paper shows that existing estimates of income inequality in Sweden in the early twentieth century overstates inequality since it does not consider the agrarian nature of the economy. The paper ends by discussing the implications for the comparative history of modern economic inequality.

7.2.4. A spatial analysis of landscape change in Flemish river valleys, 1771–1965

Elaine Lathouwers, KU Leuven; Gert Verstraeten, KU Leuven; Yves Segers, KU Leuven

How do rural historians go about researching (long term) landscape change, when there are no means to travel back in time – yet? This paper proposes a spatial analysis, using GIS software, to identify and explain primarily human-induced land cover changes in a river valley landscape in Flanders, Belgium. River valleys are very dynamic and layered landscapes, meaning a spatial study of its land-use evolution requires a basic understanding of each valley's unique ecology and hydrology. Glimpses of the historic water regime – often altered by people – are also displayed on topographic maps, including old meanders, irrigation and drainage canals. The presence or vicinity of drinkable water has always been crucial in rural areas. Therefore, this paper comes to question how and to what extent the exploitation (or farming) of a river valley has changed over the past 200 years, driven by human needs. The primary source base consists out of six georeferenced topographic maps, ranging in date from 1771 to 1965. Firstly, a GIS database is compiled, containing important land-use and water-related feature classes (e.g. river, pond, ditch). Secondly, inspired by techniques of the Historic Landscape Characterization (HLC), a time series map is simulated and visually analysed. The main purpose of this visualisation exercise is to detect major changes in land-use within the studied river valley. Only then, the explanatory phase can start. For instance, can we see a noteworthy shift or conversion from arable land toward pasture for grazing at the end of the 19th century – as to be expected given the region's rural history? Furthermore, we will focus on processes of (de)forestation, land consolidation and development. Also of interest are small (linear) landscape elements found in and near the river valley, such as hedge- and tree rows, footpaths and sunken roads, ditches and puddles. From ca. 1950 onwards their disappearance seemed inevitable, mainly due to a modernisation and upscaling of the farming industry. Is this true: can we in fact see a major reduction in wooden hedgerows and an increase in barbed wire, planted poplars and the return to an "open" landscape? The spatial analysis results will be contextualised and regularly confronted with literature on agricultural developments and local practices, archival sources and census data.

7.2.5. Northern Rural Youth in Flux – Seeking for the immanence of the past in Finnish Sámi Homeland

Helena Ristaniemi, University of Oulu, Finland

Finnish Sámi Homeland is a sparsely populated area in Northernmost Finland. It is a multicultural and multilingual area, that has gone thru drastic structural, economic, and social changes over the past century. Nowadays, due to limited opportunities to study and work, young people are forced to make their life decisions at a very young age. Northern Rural Youth in Flux -project (NorFlux) explores the role of the past, future expectations, and constructions of girlhood at this fragile moment of decision making. Historical consciousness as a theoretical framework enables paying attention to the role of local cultures and -histories and life choices as part of the historical continuum. The project has an interdisciplinary stance, combining methods from history, indigenous studies, and girl studies. A feminist new-materialist approach along with historical consciousness illuminates the new possibilities to examine the importance of the past in everyday life and future. This presentation introduces interdisciplinary dissertation research and its early results. It also focuses on theoretical and methodological possibilities to conduct rural history research among contemporary youth; How young people perceive the presence of history and what kind of effects it has on their lives in the northernmost rural areas of Finland? The presentation is based on longitudinal semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation, and lifeline drawings with 12 Sámi and non-Sámi girls, who were in the middle of the transition phase from compulsory school to upper secondary schools at the time of data collection period (2019–2020).



7.3. Consumer markets and services in the countryside, 1650–1950

Christine Fertig, University of Münster, Germany

Although several studies in the 1980s noted the growing importance of the non-agrarian rural population over the course of the early modern period, village shops and craftsmen have received less attention than their urban counterparts. Towns are seen as distribution and redistribution centres, supplying the needs of their surrounding hinterlands and linking their produce to more distant markets. By contrast, rural economies, settlements and people are cast in a passive role. This picture is remarkably resilient, remaining largely untouched by the recent surge of interest in urban retailing and its role in consumer transformation. The occasional studies that have focused on these trades suggest a long „golden“ 18th century, followed by a marked decline from the later 19th century. Yet the universality of this trajectory and the underlying causal mechanisms have yet to be fully explored. Was the growth in rural services occurring in response to evolutions in agriculture or was it linked to consumer transformation that introduced a plethora of new consumables in the countryside? In short, we need to know more about the socio-economic conditions that encouraged rural shops and services to thrive and/or led to their demise. At the same time, we need to explore the capacity of village shops and craftspeople to shape systems of production. To what extent did they influence local agriculture; what was their role in providing farmers with the machines and fertilizers to follow the agricultural transformations at work in this decisive period? What role did they play in linking rural production to urban and rural demand, especially for food, and how did this bring them into contact or conflict with urban retailers and service producers?

Chair: Henning Bovenkerk, University of Münster, Germany

7.3.1. Women and early rural shops – Sources on women’s trading practices in late 19th century Finland

Ann-Catrin Östman, FHPT Åbo Akademi, Finland

This paper studies women who opened various forms of shops in rural areas in the late 19th century Finland. The aim is methodological: how are these women, often invisible in official documents, depicted in ethnological questionnaires? In these regions the consumer culture had been undeveloped and there was a quick expansion in trading. Thus, new livelihood opportunities opened up for women, single as well as married. How are these women remembered? How are the goods offered and their trading practices described? How is their position in rural communities understood?

7.3.2. Competition between shopkeepers and artisans in the nineteenth century rural Finland

Merja Uotila, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

In early modern Finland, the rural population was considered to be very self-sufficient; until the middle of the 19th century, their needs were served only by a limited number of artisans. Many necessary items had to be purchased from the shops in few small towns or country fairs – rural shops were not simply allowed. Rural artisans were organised in the parish artisan institution, which enabled the state to control and restrict their trades. Urban commercial activities and guild-based crafts in the towns were protected according to the mercantilist principles. In the latter part of 19th century, the situation changed as liberal economic policies gained more ground in Finland. Not only did the state allow retail stores to be established in rural areas, but they also liberalised the practice of crafts. In 1859 everybody was awarded the right to be engaged in rural crafts. The parish artisan system, however, remained in force. In this paper, the focus is on the growth of the rural services and the competition between various actors around the middle of the nineteenth century. How did these new regulations affect the working and living conditions of parish artisans and what role did the new shopkeepers play? I study one rural parish in southern Finland more closely and examine the quality and quantity of artisans’ as well as rural shops’ services available there. With the help of a prosopographic method – in other words, biographical profiles of artisans working in this area – I can examine their number, trades, and development of craft trades over time and compare that to the number of rural shops and their owners’ economic situation. Overall, this paper attempts to show how self-sufficient landholding farmers in a highly agrarian country became consumers. The paper is based on a wide variety of source materials including church records, tax rolls and various other legal and administrative documents.

7.3.3. A regional perspective on Swedish rural retailing 1850–1910

Fredrik Sandgren, Uppsala University, Sweden

The aim of this paper is to study and discuss regional differences in the structure and character of Swedish rural retailing 1850–1910. In Sweden, rural retailing, at least in fixed locations, was in general prohibited until 1846. There were several exceptions to this rule, but since the country was relatively poor, not the least in rural areas, a main surge in the development of fixed shop rural retailers did not appear until the 1850s. The paper will present data on the county level for rural retailing approx. every fifth year 1846–1910. The data is derived from Swedish official statistics of the time and include the number of retailers, employees, in both cases divided by gender, and tax payments (as an indicator of turnover). Using data on rural population, it will also be possible to compute the number of rural retailers per capita as an indicator of the density of rural retailing. For the later part of the 19th century it will also be possible to track the regional development of the consumer cooperatives as well as the development of limited companies within retailing. The regional structure shown will be discussed in relation to what we at present know about regional and local income levels and consumption patterns. The concept of what is “rural” about rural retailing will also be discussed since the rapid economic change in Sweden transferred areas with a rural agrarian character into more or less urban industrial areas in a short period of time.

7.3.4. Buying food in the village: Customers, sales and supply of a country butcher's shop in the South of France at the beginning of the 20th century

Corinne Marache, Bordeaux Montaigne University, France

The departmental archives of the Landes have the account book of a butcher's shop located in the south-west of France (in Pontenx les Forges, a large village in the Landes with 1980 inhabitants at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries). This book contains all the transactions carried out by the Benoits firm from 1901 to 1929, whether it be the retail sale of meat (the bulk of the operations), the purchase of whole animals or various other business (trade, transport, etc.). The systematic analysis of this account book, which is as rich as it is rare, provides us with a wealth of information on the profile of the customers: socio-professional background, place of residence and therefore journeys made to buy their meat, purchasing practices (frequency, average expenditure, payment methods, etc.), feeding practices, etc. It also provides us with information, albeit imperfectly, on the method of supplying the butcher's shop, which obtains its supplies from neighbours who are also customers. This leads us to reflect on the way in which butcher's shops, like other catering businesses, participate in the evolution of agricultural practices. Finally, this account book attests to the importance of pluriactivity in rural areas. In fact, Benoît's butcher is also a landowner who owns at least two tenant farms and probably his own farm, on which it can be assumed that he raises and/or fattens cattle and grows cereals, which are also occasionally sold to the butcher's shop. It is therefore understandable to what extent this butcher's shop and the purchases that take place there are in fact part of a more global territorial and agricultural dynamic, which involves many actors in the village and its surroundings. Beyond the results obtained, this work will also be an opportunity to show all the interest of these sources, too little used to date in France to make the history of the retail trade and rural craftsmanship in contemporary times, which are the account books, but also the difficulties of processing them and the methods to be adopted to get the most out of them. We propose to explain in detail the database created to process this account book and the methods of its exploitation.

7.4. Maize for the people. Cultivation, consumption and trade in the northeastern Mediterranean (16th–19th c.)

Aleksander Panjek, University of Primorska, Slovenia; Luca Mocarelli, University of Milan Bicocca, Italy

This panel is a first attempt to examine one of the most important and yet little studied aspects of the Colombian exchange: the introduction and diffusion of maize in some countries of Southern Europe. While the potato and its impact on European history have been examined in quite some detail, thanks to a large number of articles and monographs, the same cannot be said for maize – despite the incontrovertible importance achieved by this crop as a foodstuff in many rural areas of the Mediterranean area, as it is probably best known for Italy. But even in the case of Italy, we can mostly find only short contributions or some agile syntheses. However, much the same may be said with regard to other Mediterranean regions and countries since the historiographical 'state of the art' regarding maize is quite similar if not even more scarce. Apart from the generally unsatisfying number of specific regional studies on maize in the earlier stages of its diffusion, one thing is certainly even more true: we miss a comprehensive vision and a comparative perspective on this process that would embrace the whole of southern Europe. For this reason, this session collects contributions, each with a specific geographical scope. By combining regional historiographical reviews and case-studies and researches, it gathers and offers a wider spectre of information about maize introduction, diffusion in the regions surrounding the Adriatic sea. The idea was to embrace the Adriatic area from the Alps to the Danube, asking the scholars to tackle the same issues in order to produce a steady basis for a truly comparative work, that are: • the chronology and geography of the diffusion of maize; • the reasons of greater or lesser success of maize; • the supposed dichotomy self-consumption versus market; • nutrition and demographic impact. The panel presents contributions from a book published in the SSSH – Slovene Scientific Series in Humanities, University of Primorska Press.

Chair: Paolo Tedeschi, University of Milan Bicocca, Italy

7.4.1. Innovations in agriculture and population growth in Friuli (north-eastern Italy, seventeenth century)

Alessio Fornasin, University of Udine, Italy

The presentation proposes an empirical verification of population growth, determined by the increase in the carrying capacity of a territory. The presentation explores this topic with reference to Friuli (north-eastern Italy) during the seventeenth century when maize cultivation began to spread. It is used data on population and on the availability of cereals to build a statistical model that allows us to see if the spread of maize determined the population growth of Friuli in the first half of the seventeenth century. The model is a multiple regression in which the dependent variable, or the characteristic that is explained by the other variables, is population growth between 1628 and 1656. The evidences of the model demonstrate that the spread of maize directly affected population growth and that this growth was more sustained in those territories that had adopted it earlier.

7.4.2. Maize diffusion in the Republic of Venice: the case of the province of Vicenza (XVI-XVIII cents.)

Giulio Ongaro, University of Milan – Bicocca, Italy

The paper has a threefold aim: on the one hand, it wants to contribute to the dating of the first examples of the diffusion of maize in the Republic of Venice, and specifically in the province of Vicenza. In other words, it aims observing when this cereal appeared for the first time in that area. On the other hand, the chronology and the geography of the first appearance can give some useful elements in order to think about why and where maize started to be cultivated. Finally, the paper will propose a first and provisional analysis of how this happened. Indeed, as many scholars who dealt with this topic underlined, maize was not extensively cultivated at the beginning, and its production was not a market-oriented one; this is valid also for those areas (such as the Veneto and Friuli regions) where until the late twelfth century the most part of the rural population survived thanks to this cereal. More, it is still not clear if the use of the so-called *sorgo turco* for feeding the animals preceded its introduction in peasants' gardens in order to integrate the diet of the day labourers and of the small tenants and landowners was. The analysis of some archival sources related to the province of Vicenza helps in proposing some hypothesis about the itinerary that maize followed since the last thirty years of the sixteenth century in the piedmont area of the province: from the presence of small amounts among the provisions of cereals of the households, to its inclusion – quite precocious – in the market mechanisms.

7.4.3. The Slovenian experience with maize in the 19th and 20th century

Zarko Lazarevic, Institute of Contemporary History, Slovenia

Aim of presentation is to show how the adoption of maize in Slovenia represented an integral part of the restructuring and modernisation of agriculture as well as the peasant economy. In terms of its significance and impact, maize was similar to potatoes. A broader look reveals the process of a long-term rational economisation of agricultural labour, called for by the modern capitalist economy. During this process, it was crucial to increase the yield or the profitability of agricultural labour to allow for the social modernisation of the peasant population and encourage general economic development. Peasants would gradually adopt the most profitable crops with regard to the necessary investments of money and labour. Apart from potatoes, maize represented an impetus for changes in the agricultural structure and the foundations of the peasant economy. Maize and potatoes did not compete in the Slovenian territory. As imported and adapted crops, they supplemented each other in view of the pedological and weather conditions. They allowed the peasants as well as the society in the broadest sense to diversify and rationally exploit their economic potentials and avoid nutritional risks. In light of the increasing population and modest living standard, the latter was extremely important.

7.4.4. Tracing maize in the Slovene regions, 16th–18th c. An interpretation of the factors of diffusion

Aleksander Panjek, University of Primorska, Slovenia

The aim of the paper is to outline the state of the art in the field of research on maize diffusion in the Slovene regions, from its earliest appearance until the end of the 18th century. In doing so, it concentrates on a period in which knowledge is not satisfactory yet. With the first decades of the 19th century, the situation becomes much clearer, since we may rely on the systematic mentions contained in the Austrian Franciscan Cadastre (1819–1830), but at the same time it is already mature, in the sense that maize is quite well known and widespread. The focus is to reconstruct the times and ways by which by the end of the 18th century maize was wide-spread in some regions, while still lagging behind in others. The paper starts with presenting the situation as shown by the earliest known mentions of maize in the wider area between the eastern Alps, the Adriatic Sea and the Pannonian plain around 1600, continues by reconstructing the diffusion of maize as a crop, a foodstuff and a trade-good, proceeding through half-century time-spans and distinguishing by different provinces or micro-areas, in order to get a picture both of the progression and of the provenience of maize diffusion. At the end, by connecting the achieved results and combining them with existing interpretations, I propose an upgraded interpretation of the factors of diffusion of maize, distinguishing between social-economic factors and factors of localisation, with a third one being the “potato factor”, that is the concurrence it represented to maize in central Slovenia. In fact, by the end of the 18th c. maize spread widely in western (Adriatic Littoral) and eastern (Styria) Slovenian regions, but not in its central one (Carniola).



Woman outside hercroft, c. 1910–1930.

7.5. Digital Tools and Property. From the extraction of data to spatial analysis 1

G rard B aur, CNRS & EHESS, Paris, France; Rosa Congost, Universitat de Girona, Spain; Enric Saguer, Universitat de Girona, Spain; Anne Vitu, CNRS, Paris, France

The issue of property, either dealing with its definition, the various overlapping of property rights, or with its distribution among social groups, the transfers of land through the market or the inheritance systems, the land use practices, and finally with all kinds of changes over time concerning these topics has since long attracted the interest of historians. With conventional statistical tools, they have greatly advanced our knowledge in this area by working with data at the local or regional or even national scale and by comparing their results. Many unknown factors remain however while this kind of approach is marking time, and while this decline raises a lot of questions. The eclipse of quantitative studies is all the more surprising in that the computer opened up hitherto unexpected perspectives. Today, it is possible to go further with the digital tools that have recently been developed and which offer even more possibilities to improve our analysis and to enhance our knowledge. This is the case with a lot of progress in the automation of manuscript transcription methods, which assist the researcher from data entry to statistical processing. This is the case too with the Geographic Information Systems which provide extremely efficient instruments for spatializing phenomena. The objective of this panel is to present new applications resulting from these techniques of analysis and representation and to highlight the range of possibilities which are henceforth accessible to develop much finer and more efficient studies than in the past. Property in its social and spatial dimensions will therefore be considered through the prism of these tools, the contributions of which need to be circumscribed. We will focus on the qualitative changes in ownership, on the forms of transaction, on the price systems, on the extent of the movements of ownership through the market, for sale or for rent, on the flows of credit, as well as on the methods of allocation of land and urban buildings through inheritance processes, on the organization of land or the structure of urban housing. We will endeavor to take advantage of the new techniques which are thus offered to us to put these data in relation and ultimately to obtain a better understanding of the functioning of property relations in different societies.

Chair: G rard B aur. Discussant: Jos -Miguel Lana, Public University of Navarre, Spain

7.5.1. Mapping the divided property. The spatial dynamics of the emphyteusis in Catalonia (1768–1862)

Rosa Congost, University of Girona; Ricard Garcia-Orallo, University of Girona; Jordi Reginc , University of Girona; Enric Saguer, University of Girona, Spain

The agrarian expansion of the second half of 18th century was based, in some areas of Catalonia such as Girona region, in land transfer by means of emphyteotical contracts conducted, in most cases, by the owners of the dominium utile. Currently, this process has been quantified, its global characteristics analysed, its chronology determined and the social flows of land rights transfer evaluated. However, it is still necessary to deepen in the analysis of its geographical distribution and its relation with other aspects of land market –especially the perpetual sales dynamics– or credit market –as a means of accessing the ownership. It must also be explored, at a spatial level, the relations between dominium directum and dominium utile, as well as the fraudulent practices in the subestabliments (second transfers of dominium utile by means of emphyteotical contracts). The use of spatial analysis tools (GIS) may provide a new insight into the mechanisms which enabled the land rights transfer and agrarian transformation processes that take place in this period. The aim of this paper is to inquire about those questions from the provisional results

of an ongoing project based on the automatic transcription of the books from Oficio de Hipotecas of Girona between 1768 and 1805. The collaboration with the Pattern Recognition and Human Language Technology Research centre (PRHLT) from the Universitat Polit cnica de Val ncia gave us the opportunity to digitalize, transcript and tag more than 61,000 documents corresponding to the period from 1768 to 1779, which have been integrated into a database. Such amount of information implies great challenges to the historians, who are pushed to develop new data managing procedures and strategies. The paper will describe the methods we are implementing for extracting data from the automatically transcribed files. Furthermore, it will show how a treatment based on geographical information layers' superposition enables the detection of patterns of concordances or divergences which may lead to new hypotheses.

7.5.2. On the value of spatial analysis: revisiting inheritance patterns through mapping (19th–20th century)

Fabrice Boudjaaba, CRH- CNRS, France; Hessam Khorasani Zadeh, EHESS, France, Universit  luav di Venezia, Italy

This paper considers how Geographic Information Systems can serve as a tool to spatialize property-related data, and cross-reference them with other types of data—including those concerning family ties between property owners, as well as their places of residence and agricultural holdings. This allows a finer examination of inheritance patterns of peasant families, which considers not only the quantity but also the quality of land and buildings inherited by each heir. Such a qualitative assessment can, for instance, center on land parcels and buildings' relationship to one another (compactness or dispersion) and their geographical environment, such as the proximity with heir's place of residence, or explore the links between each heir's property and holdings. Thanks to this approach, it becomes possible to better evaluate whether inheritance patterns are egalitarian. This type of spatial analysis can be conducted statically by mapping properties and holdings of individuals whose family ties at a given time are known. It can also be performed dynamically through the monitoring of land and holding transmission practices among a sample of land owner and agricultural holder families. In this paper, we aim to carry out such an analysis on small samples of families and territories located in Flanders (France) and Veneto (Italy), two European regions where egalitarian transmission patterns are generally considered to be widespread. By focusing on a period ranging from 1850 to 2000 approximately, this paper will shed light on the nexus between inheritance, "succession" and residence. We will underscore how mapping can foster a greater understanding of inheritance rationales that would otherwise be difficult to comprehend, and, more broadly, how spatial and relational investigations provide valuable insight into the transformation of the countryside.

7.5.3. Inhabiting the terroir of Early Modern Marseille: the contribution of GIS and Databases

Florie Imbert-Pellissier, EHESS, CNE, France

During the early modern period the word terroir is used to describe the part of the territory of Marseille located outside the city walls. This vast area of more than 23,000 hectares concentrates nearly a third of the total population and its main function is to feed the city. The bastides, individual houses with agricultural lands, structure the production and the territory. It is therefore essential to know their spatial distribution and occupation in order to understand the organization of Marseille's terroir and its uses. Although a few studies were carried out in the 1980s to locate the remaining bastides, the use of new technologies now makes it possible to envisage new study prospects. This paper proposes to show how the constitution of a database based on military and fiscal enumerations of the 17th century permits to reconstitute the landed estates, the density of occupation and the mobility of the inhabitants within the terroir. This database can also be supplemented by the use of GIS. Indeed, thanks to the improve of the cartography of the 16th and 17th century, GIS are now frequently used to study early modern city center and produce innovant mappings but their use remains rare for the study of rural areas because cartography is less precise. The map entitled "Terroir, ville, port et rade de Marseille et ses environs" made by Pierre Chevallier de Soisson in 1704 allows us to consider the use of GIS to study the terroir. In spite of certain difficulties, geolocalization permits to envisage a study of the time of circulation within the terroir and towards the city but also a reconstitution of the landscapes of this territory. Thus, the use of digital tools not only permits us to increase our knowledge of the forms of housing and property under the old regime, but also enables us to envisage a study of the spatial practices essential to understand the notion of inhabiting.

7.6. Meet the Authors: Oxford Handbook of Agricultural History

Ernst Langthaler, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria; Jeannie Whayne, University of Arkansas, USA

This session will introduce the forthcoming Oxford Handbook of Agricultural History. The editor will outline the general concept of the volume and, together with three of its authors, present specific aspects among the thirty-five chapters. Two discussants will assess the volume and selected chapters from multiple perspectives. The idea for the volume arose from the editor's attendance at EURHO meetings and conversations with many other attendees – conversations that demonstrated the connectedness of agriculture across the globe. There are many agricultural historiographical traditions within geographic regions across the world that intersect either directly in the historiography or indirectly in subject matter. This volume is designed to promote a broader perspective on subjects often discussed in geographic isolation. Authors were invited to eschew the restriction of local or national boundaries and write within a comparative framework. In that sense, the volume promotes the development of a global agricultural historiography. Nevertheless, the volume also serves the purpose of showcasing the historiographical trends on topics already written in a global framework, exposing a new generation of scholars to those debates. The chapters are divided into four sections. Part I, Timeless Essentials, introduces the crucial elements of agricultural production as they change over time. It begins with the basic material ingredients necessary for agriculture to exist: soil fertility and seeds. It proceeds from there to include another basic staple, livestock, and the challenges that have plagued farmers from agriculture's earliest appearance: pests, epidemics and other biological contestations. From there the volume moves to the human component: labor, the peasantry, and the role of women in agriculture. Part II, Modern Essentials, captures the fundamental differences of modern production methods. It includes chapters on mechanization, scientific agriculture, and expert networks, among others. Part III, Exemplary Commodities, speaks to how issues raised in Parts I and II work in concert. This section consists of chapters on various commodities from food products like wheat, corn, and rice, to non-food items like cotton, tobacco, and sericulture. Part IV, Key Transitions, probes watershed moments and includes chapters covering the current debate over the Neolithic Revolution and its contestations, the Atlantic Plantation, and the Arab and British agricultural revolutions.

Chair: Katherine Jellison. Discussants: Leen Van Molle, KU Leuven, Belgium; Patrick Svensson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

7.6.1. Timeless Essential of Agriculture: The Case of Land

Frank Uekötter, University of Birmingham, UK

Land is the essential agricultural resource - and one of the most complicated realms of farming. The article proposes to study it as an intersection of separate, overlapping and highly contradictory trends: property and land reform, scientific and practical knowledge about soil fertility, changing trade networks, social justice and fairness in rural society, and, not least of all, the enigma and ecological fragility of healthy soil. The basic idea is to present a framework that

applies to agricultural lands around the globe without predetermining results. Throughout the modern era, it was (and is) completely open whether land would be fertile, whether land use would be profitable, whether ownership structures would be contested, and even whether land would remain significant for agricultural production. The global history of agricultural land is a history where things do not add up, and it needs to be told accordingly.

7.6.2. Modern Essentials of Agriculture: The Case of Commodity Frontiers

Eric Vanhaute, Ghent University, Belgium

Over the past 600 years, commodity frontiers – processes and sites of the incorporation of resources into the expanding capitalist world economy – have incorporated ever more land, ever more labour and ever more resources. In this paper I argue that studying the global history of capitalism through the lenses of commodity frontiers and commodity regimes is crucial to understand rural and agrarian change since 1500. Commodity frontiers identify capitalism as a process rooted in a profound restructuring of rural societies and their relation to nature. They connect core processes of extraction and exchange with degradation, adaptation and resistance in rural peripheries. To account for the enormous variety of actors and places involved in this history is a critical challenge in the social sciences, and one to which the study of commodity frontiers can contribute crucial insights.

7.6.3. Exemplary Commodities of Agriculture: The Case of Soy

Ernst Langthaler, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria

Taking soy's omnipresence in everyday life as point of departure, the paper investigates agro-food globalization in the twentieth century through the lens of soy as a commodity. From an exogenous view, soy's commodification was driven by state and corporate projects, widening and deepening the regional commodity frontiers of global food regimes. From an endogenous view, soy as a versatile crop rich in fat and protein drove these projects as industrial raw material, animal feed, and human food. The cases of Northeast China and the US and Brazilian Midwest highlight various modes, systemic forces, and actors as well as socio-natural impacts of soy expansions as regional sites of globalization. Soy was not only passively transformed into a global commodity but also played an active albeit paradoxical role as both protagonist and antagonist of the prevailing food regime.

7.6.4. Timeless Essential of Agriculture: The Case of the Environment and Soil Depletion

Jeannie Whayne, University of Arkansas, USA

This paper explores the Atlantic Plantation as it operated in a specific setting: The U.S South between 1607 and the Civil War. It focuses on the role of the plantation economy's dependence on three factors: its reliance on monoculture and the resulting degradation of soils; the use of forests as reserve lands to be used in place of worn-out lands; and third, the necessity of a substantial labor force to cultivate and harvest the crops but also to perform various tasks associated with mitigating the soil depletive characteristics of monoculture. While the work of enslaved people was essential to the health of the plantation complex, the forest reserves provided them with a haven from the watchful eyes of plantation masters and overseers but also a source of food secured through hunting and fishing. It also served as a lesson in geography that served them well during the Civil War when their knowledge of the landscape offered avenues to freedom. The war's destructive force in terms of military operations led to soil erosion and damage to forests, which, together with the flight of the enslaved, revealed the vulnerability of the plantation system.

7.7. Environmental and Biological Hazards and Redistribution in Rural History 1

Daniel R. Curtis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands; Bram van Besouw, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands

Throughout history, environmental and biological hazards have caused distress and suffering for rural societies. However, as well as aggregate damages – sometimes leading to disasters – hazards also had powers of redistribution for wealth, property and resources. In some cases, this created a ‘leveling effect’, making societies more equitable, and in some cases, buffers, consolidation or speculation combined to further widen or entrench inequalities. Questions remain unanswered, however. What explains the different redistributive directions seen after hazards, and furthermore, what explains the different magnitudes of redistribution? Why is some redistribution more structural and long lasting, but other redistributive effects prove temporary and disappear quickly? Who gains from this redistribution, and who loses? In this session, we offer a set of papers on post-hazard redistribution of wealth, property and resources in the countryside. Focus can be on any environmental or biological hazard – epidemic disease, earthquake, or extreme weather event (leading to a flood, drought, ruination of crops) – during any period of history in any part of the rural world. Measurements of redistribution should be restricted to wealth, property, or resources that guarantee welfare, and the mechanisms of redistribution can range from the functioning of land and lease markets, inheritance systems, commodity markets, state interventions, and collective institutions such as poor relief and commons. The nature of redistribution can also be down various lines – not just between rich and poor, but also between men and women, between the elderly and the young, and between community ‘insiders’ and community ‘outsiders’ such as recent migrants.

Chair & discussant: Daniel R. Curtis

7.7.1. The famine of 1737 and changes in peasants’ land possession. An example of the royal estate in southern Poland

Piotr Miodunka, Cracow University of Economics, Poland

The 18th-century Poland was plagued by two great famines: one in 1714/15 and the other, even more severe, in 1737. The short and long-term consequences of these crises for the agricultural economy as well as for peasants are unknown. By peasants, we mean the different groups of the rural population, both with and without land. It should be remembered that in the case of early modern Poland, agricultural production for the market was dominated by folwarks, i.e. large farms of feudal lords. Nevertheless, peasant farms were the key component of their successful functioning. They provided a very important resource – unpaid labor (corvee). Hence, it is impossible to consider the economic situation of peasants independently. The peasants’ possession of the land was closely related to the policy of the landlords and the demand for corvee with draught animals and “pedestrian” corvee, i.e. manual. The main goal of this paper, will be a detailed insight into the changes in peasant land possession resulting from the famine of 1737. At the current stage of research, it is known that such changes took place, not only related to the death of some farmers during the famine, but also the abandonment of farms. An open question is – which I will try to explain – what reasons determined both the resignation from and taking over of farms; who were the new farm-holders; to what extent the landlords’ administration took into account the principles of an inheritance among peasants? The study will be based on primary material relating to the royal estate of Niepołomice near Krakow. At the time when lease contracts of the estate were signed, detailed inventories of property and serfs’ duties were made (e.g. 1733, 1736, 1739, and 1744), identifying all peasant farms by the given name and surname, and type of possessor: full peasant, smallholder, cottager or lodger. Moreover, parish registers are available for two

parishes located within the Niepołomice estate, which will yield demographic information. The study will be a contribution to a broader discussion on the consequences of massive harvest failures among peasants living under serfdom.

7.7.2. “Cause or effect? The proletarianisation of peasants and sand drifts in the East Anglian Brecklands”

Maïka De Keyzer, KU Leuven, Belgium

Inequality and disasters are often linked to each other. Currently, the focus lies on the impact of disasters on inequality levels. Piketty, Scheidel, Alfani and Milanovich have pointed at the profound influence disasters could have on inequality levels. While inequality tends to rise continually, shocks like this could lower inequality, even though it was no certainty. As this session will show, more and more empirical evidence is studied to understand the correlation between disasters and inequality decline in the aftermath. But on the other hand, we need to ask the question: Is (in)equality a result or also a cause of disasters? Do high inequality levels lead to higher vulnerability levels towards hazards? This hypothesis has been put forward multiple times, but our understanding of the relationship between inequality and vulnerability remains unclear. By looking at one particular type of biological hazard, sand drifts in the Brecklands (East Anglia, England), I will look at the effects of inequality both before and after environmental disasters. How did the growing inequality and proletarianization in the Brecklands affect vulnerability towards this hazard? How were these inequality levels affected by the disastrous sand drifts?

7.7.3. Redistribution and access to land in response to epidemics. A long-term perspective from a seventeenth-century rural community

Daniel R. Curtis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands; Bram van Besouw, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands

Recent literature suggests that epidemics have often historically acted as ‘levelers’ – equitably redistributing wealth and property – although empirical evidence to support that view is still scarce for the pre-industrial period, and especially for the countryside. We are confronted with two challenges. First, it is rare to find markers for distribution of wealth or property shortly before an outbreak and shortly after an outbreak – a basic requirement for establishing the epidemic-redistribution link. Second, it is often difficult to distinguish between outright ownership and use rights – an issue revealed in the rural world by the fact that farmers, peasants and laborers often accessed resources necessary for their welfare via lease, rent or collective-pooled agreements. We suggest that distribution of land at the user level is arguably a more relevant indicator of inequality within pre-industrial rural communities – and yet, up to now, has been ignored. This paper makes an empirical contribution to help solve these problems by presenting a new large database of land distribution over time within a village, Oudenbosch, in seventeenth-century Brabant (Dutch Republic) using the veldboeken. The value of this source is that (a) we reconstruct land distribution across a long period (1611–1697) with few gaps, (b) we provide annual assessments, zooming in with more temporal precision on the redistributive effects of epidemics, and (c) we are able to systematically separate owners and tenants, allowing for an entirely novel long-term reconstruction of land distribution at owner- and user level. We integrate another rare source – serial household census information (hoofdgeldkohieren, 1639–1702) – to more accurately estimate the proportion of landless within the community, and how that changes over time. Overall, the effects of epidemics seem modest – inequality in landownership declines after most outbreaks (through estate fragmentation), though it is not substantial or lasting. The Gini coefficient is almost the same at the start of the century as the end. One barrier to post-epidemic redistribution is that many larger landowners already dispersed much of their estate to other family members, gradually and incrementally, *intervivos*. At the user level, for some epidemics, we see a different trend – a small temporary rise in inequality, caused by the polarizing effects of vacant tenancies consolidated by acquisitive farmers combined with some land going out of cultivation for difficulty of finding new tenants. Women inherited land (as owners) and tenancies (as users) but within 1–2 years had passed this property onto a man, possibly through remarriage.

7.8. Food Security in the Early Modern and Modern Era 1

Erik Hallberg, Gothenburg University, Sweden; Timo Myllyntaus, University of Turku, Finland

From strict regulation to the submission to market power, the state management of food systems fundamentally impacts societies and cultures. Today's food challenges are dire: food poverty caused by social inequality, inefficiencies, and maldistribution. Few people still believe that money can buy food security. Reforms are needed. Structural changes to enable people to eat and live better, and within planet boundaries, must play a central role in tomorrow's politics. From the last few centuries, we know that such reforms can go utterly different ways, from heavy regulation over mixed-economy systems to entirely free-traded ones. In each of these, the control is transferred from big firms and landowners to local retailers and smallholders or vice versa. Any revision or reform of the food system is an extensive and delicate political process, transforming the relationships between consumers, producers and distributors, as well as between the people and the state. In this session we want to develop a comparative perspective on how states have introduced and handled food systems during the early modern and modern era in the Baltic Sea area.

- How and by whom are food systems implemented? What role do popular demands play?
- What is the economic, social and ecological impact of food systems? Why do they succeed or fail? What is the interaction between reforms of food systems and supply and mortality crises?
- How are different national food systems related? What are the ideological and practical associations and implications?
- How do food systems interact with various stakeholders: peasant households, proletarian households, large landowners, village institutions, urban communities, large wholesalers, political movements, and governments?

Chair & discussant: Gudmundur Jonsson, University of Iceland

7.8.1. Fierce Debate, a Failing State and the Coming of Philanthropy: How the Famine of 1772–73 Changed the Food System in Sweden

Erik Hallberg, Gothenburg university, Lars Nyström, Gothenburg university, Sweden

In 1771, the crop failed in Sweden. The population was facing the risk of starvation and those in power tried to take action. Towards the winter and spring of 1772, it nevertheless became increasingly clear that the government had failed to prevent famine. There was hardly any grain to buy and domestic reserves were scarce. The years 1772 and 1773 witnessed horrible death rates. In the midst of it all, King Gustaf III carried out a coup d'état without any major resistance. This paper discusses the relationship between the famine, the public debate and food policy during these turbulent years. In 1766, the ruling party, "mössorna", had introduced freedom of the press. This decision opened up a short-lived public space – lasting up until Gustav III's coup in August 1772 – where shortcomings in society could be discussed openly. For historians this period 1766–1772 offers unique opportunities to study early modern public opinion in the event of a crisis. Pamphlets and newspaper articles tell of great concern for the starving and demand for action from the government. As a result, the strictly regulated grain trade was actually eased, but too little and too late. In the post-famine era, domestic agriculture was encouraged, a system of granaries was introduced and the grain trade was deregulated. The hunger of 1772–73 also brought to life a philanthropic commitment. Funds were raised for the poor relief. Agricultural schools for young people were founded. Paradoxically, optimism grew in the aftermath of famine.

7.8.2. "Challenges of writing a book about a famine in Sweden"

Magnus Västerbro, writer, Sweden

In the years 1867–69, large parts of Sweden were hit by severe crop failure. The first year, that struck especially hard in the northern part of the country, was due to extremely cold weather. In the second year an unusual drought occurred, which had devastating effects on large parts of middle and southern Sweden. The effects of the failed harvest were also exacerbated by political disinterest in helping the starving, especially during 1868–69. In Swedish history these years are remembered as "nödåren", the years of want. In parts of the country the lack of food had serious consequences for large sections of the rural population, especially for the landless. The failed harvests caused rising social tensions and might have cost as many as 27 000 lives. These years also became a trigger for the mass migration from Sweden, mainly to North America. In 2018 writer Magnus Västerbro published a non-fiction book called "The Famine. The Years of Hunger that Shaped Sweden", that describes these years. It is based on research by a number of historians, as well as by using written recollections gathered from individuals who experienced the years in question. When the book was published it was met with huge interest – much more so than either the author or publishing company expected. The book also received the prestigious August prize, one of Sweden's foremost literary awards. One explanation for the enthusiastic reception to the book might be the fact that it happened to be published at a time when Sweden was once again experiencing a severe drought, that reminded in many ways of the events described in the book. These circumstances made it possible to read the book as commentary on a contemporary situation, especially in the context of the possible consequences of global warming. Magnus Västerbro will briefly summarize the events of those fateful years, as well as discuss the problems involved with writing this kind of work, that is based on historical research and striving for accuracy, though still aiming to function as a "gripping story".

7.8.3. A Multi-faceted Finnish Province: Dramatic History of Kainuu

Timo Myllyntaus, University of Turku, Finland

The province of Kainuu (Kajanaland in Swedish) has a complex history. It is the Eastern half of the Oulu county on the same latitude as Skellefteå, the Swedish city on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. Kainuu's population is now nearly 74,000 and area 22,687 square kilometres, of which 80% is forests of birch, pine and spruce. It has a long border with Russia. This hilly province has been regarded as the cradle of Finnishness because plenty of poems of Finland's national epic, Kalevala, was collected in Kainuu in the 19th century. Therefore, one can claim that Kainuu means for the Finns the same as forested and mountainous Transylvania represents to the Hungarians. Both are the mythological birthplaces of a nation. Kainuu was well-known as the noteworthy producer of tar for centuries, too; at best, the province supplied half of Finland's tar output. It was also the last traditional tar producing area in the country; Kainuu's pit-tar was sold until WWII. Timber resources have been used for industrial purposes, although most people have earned their living by agriculture. Nowadays, thanks to the EU subsidies, Kainuu is one of Finland's milk provinces. Other main industries are mining and tourism. In 2012, the Province Association of Kainuu described the province figuratively in its image research with the slogan "Kainuu – beautiful but remote?" There is also another side of the coin. Since the 19th-century Kainuu has been called a "hunger country". Some of the contemporary inhabitants argue that artists have just created this image by their art. They challenge this grim image as a "haven of poverty" and claim that in the past, "poor Kainuu was by no means an exception among Finland's peripheral regions." Nevertheless, official documents including statistics of mortality indicate that especially in the 19th century, harvest failures and severe famines struck Kainuu more frequently than any other Finnish province. According to records, crop failures and rises of mortality took place in Kainuu in 1830–32, the mid-1850s and 1867–1868, 1891–1892 and 1902–1903. In the province, the poor rural people ate bark bread, emergency food, even in the years of a normal harvest. This paper aims to find out why food shortages were so common in the province, and why poverty and famines in the history of Kainuu are still sensitive issues.

7.9. Farmers that count: standardisation and tutelage in farm accounting, 18th and 20th century 1

Federico D'Onofrio, University of Vienna, Austria; Nathalie Joly, University of Bourgogne, France

This session is dedicated to accountancy literacy among farmers and its increase over the course of the past two centuries. The spread of accounting techniques in Europe has been traditionally associated with the rise of a merchant class in the centres of capitalist development: Northern Italy, the Low Countries, England. But what about the case of agriculture? If large estates have a long tradition of formal accounting, small farmers have a reputation for resistance to managerial as well as technological innovations and are often associated in the literature with forms of agriculture only marginally affected by markets until well into the 20th century. In fact, starting with the 18th century, the accounting literacy of farmers became a central topic for agricultural experts and reformers. Agronomic treatises predominantly targeted future administrators of large estates and landowners and taught them how to keep double entry accounting, but, already in the first half of the 19th century, textbooks and schools heralded an era of popularisation of accounting techniques. Medium and small peasants were introduced to book-keeping that should help them open up to markets. Moreover, alternative means of record-keeping existed that encapsulated facts and figures in written memories and publishers successfully sold record documents accessible to all types of farmers in the 19th century. Accounting offices appeared in the second half of the 19th century, with the task of assisting different kinds of farmers with more formal and standardised kinds of book-keeping. In response to the agricultural crisis of the last quarter of the century, rural associations of certain European countries began establishing courses targeted at small and medium farmers. In Germany and eventually in Switzerland and elsewhere, the education of farmers became a key concern of rural associations. The fostering of “farmers that counted” was an essential element of agricultural modernization. Such a deliberate attempt at spreading accountancy methods from above has little parallel in other contexts and reveals how states, agricultural experts and large landowners tried to establish their tutelage over farmers in agricultural modernization. It was also accompanied by an effort to standardize accounting methods for statistical purposes not just at national but at international level that was actually made possible by the tight control exerted by agricultural experts on accounting courses. This session intends to track the evolution of accountancy in agriculture, by collecting contributions dedicated to the creation of the “accounting farmer” between the 18th and 20th century. Our contributions investigate the connections between control and standardization in the spreading of accounting techniques and/or focus on the emergence of accounting courses and accounting offices in order to understand how this key managerial technology shaped the everyday life of farmers. Papers discuss the forms of discipline and control that the accounting technology introduces in the practice of farmers and examine the types of distortion, translation and goal-shifting involved in actual accounting practices. Gender-based approaches are particularly welcome since accounting practices prescribed specific roles to women and sanctioned ideals of exclusion and inclusion of women in the farming business.

Chair & discussant: Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland

7.9.1. Farm Accountancy Offices and the spread of accounting practices in the European countryside (1870–1950)

Federico D'Onofrio, University of Vienna, Austria

The spread of bookkeeping to ordinary farmers that started in the second half of the 19th century represents a revolutionary phenomenon whose importance and magnitude have been underestimated by historians. After overseas competition hit European farmers in the 1870s, the diffusion of bookkeeping techniques among ordinary European farmers was an important component of the recovery. It introduced a new managerial understanding of farming, enabled farmers to measure the profit of technical innovations, and allowed a rationalisation of the relationship between farmers and governments. The farm accountancy offices that mushroomed in northern and central Europe thanks to the work of economists and agricultural unions were crucial for accounting practices to reach medium and small farmers. Such offices acted as consulting agencies to farmers, helping them manage their farms more efficiently. But the offices also aggregated farm accountancy data from individual farms to produce benchmarks and for statistical purposes. Farmers unions could thus use micro-data to enlighten macro-economic issues and guide policy decisions at different levels in a striking example of “stakeholders’ statistics.” In this contribution, based on the preliminary results of the Farmaccounta MSCA project, I will follow the rise of farm accountancy offices and farm accountancy statistics in different European contexts, in particular Austria, the Netherlands and Switzerland, showing how the spread of accounting practices reflected complex agency structures, that differed in different regions. At the same time, I will highlight how theoretical and methodological choices were determined by a broad trans-European debate among accountancy experts and agricultural economists. Finally, I will compare the data collected by farm accountancy offices and those collected by means of surveys in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.

7.9.2. ‘Rational’ Farmers and the Emergence of Modern Accounting in Danish Dairying

Markus Lampe, Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria; Paul Sharp, University of Southern Denmark

We argue that Danish agriculture provides an ideal opportunity to understand how and why modern accounting emerged. Denmark underwent an unusually rapid and successful agricultural transformation in the second half of the nineteenth century, largely based on dairying, for which we present unique ‘real time’ data on the process of the development of accounting. We observe that economic actors first argued for the introduction of modern accounting at a time of crisis during the Napoleonic Wars and immediately after, when the proscriptive arguments offered failed to take hold. Then, in the 1850s and 1860s, a group of ‘rational farmers’ –owners and administrators of landed estates –made a second attempt. During this latter period, they succeeded in spreading their ideas: initially to their peers, but later even to the peasantry through the cooperative movement, thus transforming agricultural practice in their wake. We analyze this within a theoretical framework borrowed from the international relations literature, and see the rational farmers as an example of the creation of an ‘epistemic community’: they emerged during a period of uncertainty, offered interpretations based on their normative understanding of reality, and finally institutionalized praxis through for example scientific journals and schooling.

7.9.3. About administrators, formalizations and standardizations: Accounting on rural manors in Westphalia and the Rhineland area 18th and 19th century

Friederike Scholten-Buschhoff, University of Münster, Germany

The administration of rural manors always involved, at least since the 17th century, a more or less meticulous book-keeping with the administrator (“Rentmeister”) as protagonist. On the basis of the administrative document of five noble manors for the period 1650–1850 (Rhineland and Westphalia), structural premises in the noble accounting can be identified. In addition, it turns out that the noble administration was subject to structural changes during the observation period, aiming at greater transparency and uniformity. The processes, which were mainly limited to formalizations and rationalizations, began as early as the 18th century and extended well into the 19th century. They included at least five central aspects: (1) the establishment of a commercial accounting, (2) the implementation of a double bookkeeping, (3) a distinct correspondence by letter about operational processes between administrator and landlord, (4) the drafting of monthly journals and (5) a dense checks of the invoices carried out by a third party or by the landlords themselves. However, these changes did not happen ad hoc, but gradually. Besides, they occurred for a number of different reasons; including the growing scope and complexity of the manors as many aristocratic families expanded their property in the 18th and especially 19th century.

7.9.4. ‘The advocacy and practice of farm accounts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England’

Richard W Hoyle, University of Reading, UK

There can be no question that the simple income and expenditure accounts were familiar in England from at least the end of the middle ages, they were extensively used by people with public responsibilities – churchwardens, overseers of the poor and other local officers – to provide a record of receipts and expenditures which might be audited. The accounts would end with a balance to show how much was to be paid over to their successors or to be claimed from them to make up a shortfall. If these accounts had a public aspect and served to protect officeholders from accusations of peculation or fraud, it is far from clear how many farmers maintained even income and expenditure accounts. More sophisticated accounts were found, notably the ones maintained by Robert Loder in the early seventeenth century who used them to try and calculate profit in a modern sense. This paper considers the thinking about farm accounts in the later eighteenth century. Four distinct approaches can be seen. The first may be called scientific or experimental, in which the costs and income arising from particular forms of activity are compared with others and analysed. To take an instance, there was a great interest in the use of different crops to fatten animals. The second are published accounts intended to persuade farmers of the higher profits to be made from innovative forms of husbandry over others. The third are accounts kept by farm bailiffs and managers as a check on their activities. They are intended to be audited and approved and might correctly be seen as a dimension of estate management. The fourth are farm accounts in a purest sense and it is with these that the paper is chiefly concerned. The advocacy of farm accounts by Young and others suggests that farmers did not in all cases keep accounts and the idea needed to be sold to them. The recommended form of these accounts will be considered, and the advantages that they were held to bring the farmer explained.



SESSION 8 • WEDNESDAY 22 JUNE • 11:30–13:30

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
8.1. Class differentiation in contemporary rural societies Alba Díaz Geada	8.1.1. Rural Labor in Chile's Agrarian Capitalism Claudio Robles-Ortiz	8.1.2. Peasantry and social differentiation in an agro-export oriented system: capitalism from below in the Bolivian Andes Francesca Uleri	8.1.3. Class differentiation processes in Contemporary Rural Galicia Alba Díaz-Geada	8.1.4. The rise of peasant property as a driver of social differentiation and family reproduction? An preliminary analysis (Veneto, ca 1850–2000) Hessam Khorasani Zadeh		8:1 Room 1
8.2. Common places: Settlements, local actors and collective property in an emic perspective Vittorio Tigrino	8.2.1. Common Places in Southern Italy Alessandra Bulgarelli	8.2.2. The promised land. Conflicts for the management of collective property: the redefinition of local spaces (Terra d'Otranto, first half of 19th century) Aurora Mastore	8.2.3. Communities, locality and common resources in Northern Italy (18th–19th century.) Vittorio Tigrino	8.2.4. Towards a modern property. Local finance and common goods in Southern Italy of 19th century Marianosaria Rescigno		8:2 Room 2
8.3. Experts, institutions and networks in international rural development in the second half of the 20th century 1 Mario De Prospo	8.3.1. Parallel networks of plants and experts; the origins of the Africa Rice Center Harro Maat	8.3.2. UNRRA, FAO, and US Point Four Rural Development in Early Post-War Ethiopia: Plans, Practices, and Colonial Legacies Michele Sollai	8.3.3. Drilling the Bekaa: Temporality, Technology, and Vernacular Development in Postcolonial Lebanon Owain Lawson	8.3.4. 'A Bed, a Cover, and possibly a Pillow'. The ILO and the Development of better Housing Conditions for Agricultural Workers 1920s–1960s Amalia Ribi Forclaz		8:3 Room 3
8.4. Developing a taste for the new: Global exchange and regional adoption of foods Maximilian Martsch	8.4.1. Prestigious Pork for Culinary Peaks – How German Immigrants Influenced Diets and Eating Habits in Industrialising Great Britain Karl-Heinz Wüstner	8.4.2. From farm to fork: new crops challenging agriculture and food in the Iberian Peninsula (16th and 18th centuries) Dulce Freire	8.4.3. Introducing the Crop of the Future. The different stories of soy in Austria and the USA, c. 1918–1938. Maximilian Martsch	8.4.4. The Urban Chicken: local consumption patterns of a global commodity Melina Teubner	8.4.5. Lifting the Veil: The Hidden History of Maize in Southeast Asia Peter Coclanis	8:4 Room 4
8.5. Digital Tools and Property. From the extraction of data to spatial analysis 2 Gérard Béaur	8.5.1. The data processing GIS of the State Inquiry of 1810 about property transfers in the Napoleonic Empire Gérard Béaur	8.5.2. Landownership and social organization of farming in Iceland around 1700 Gudmundur Jonsson	8.5.3. Modelling Farfa's Liber Largitorius Chartulary Production Process: Writing History from Rights of Property Bastien Tourenc			8:5 Room 5
8.6. Enclosure and productivity in pre-industrial Europe: ways to measure and explanatory mechanisms Marja Erikson	8.6.1. 'So why do it? Making the case for enclosure in England in the later eighteenth century'. Richard W Hoyle	8.6.2. Enclosures and land productivity change. Evidence from East-central Sweden 1827–1890 Viktor Persarvet	8.6.3. The Process of Radical Enclosure and Land Clearance in Uppsala County 1750–1900 Maja Lundqvist	8.6.4. Large landowners and enclosure in East Central Sweden during 19th century -A case study of Österby ironwork Ellen Lindblom	8.6.5. Forests and enclosures: the case of Gamla Norberg Hedvig Widmalm	8:6 Room 6

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
8.7. Environmental and Biological Hazards and Redistribution in Rural History 2 Daniel R. Curtis	8.7.1. Who lives, who dies, who gains? Differential mortality and wealth redistribution during epidemics in 17th and 18th century in Flanders and Brabant Arnoud Jensen	8.7.2. Living off the Land? An empirical investigation of land and lease distribution in central Holland, 1600–1700 Bram Hilken	8.7.3. Crisis Feudalism, Crisis Communalism – and those not fitting the pattern Eva Svensson	8.7.4. Golden opportunities? Economic redistribution and labour opportunities in the southern Low Countries after the Black Death. Sam Geens		8:7 Room 7
8.8. Food Security in the Early Modern and Modern Era 2 Timo Myllyntaus	8.8.1. Crop Failures and Famine in Livonia in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries Pauls Daija	8.8.2. Religious rivalry and hunger relief during the 1868–69 crisis in Livonia Kersti Lust	8.8.3. Famine in Norden: Contacts and Contrasts between Västergötten and Ostrobothnia during the 1860s famine Henrik Forsberg			8:8 Room 8
8.9. Farmers that count: standardisation and tutelage in farm accounting, 18th and 20th century 2 Federico D'Onofrio	8.9.1. Who counts? Accounting, book-knowledge and the division of agricultural labour in eighteenth-century Britain James Fisher	8.9.2. Women that count. The missing link in the economic normalization of agriculture in nineteenth-century France Nathalie Joly	8.9.3. Accounting practices of big French farms during in the middle of the nineteenth century. Laurent Herment			8:9 Room 9

8.1. Class differentiation in contemporary rural societies

Alba Díaz Geadá, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain; Lisandro Cañon Voirin, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

The main objective of this session is to delve into the study of changes in social differentiation in rural societies throughout the contemporary history, to understand the extent to which the process of peasant ownership or peasant proletarianization affected such differentiation. In a way, our aim is to retake or draw links with that debate on the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and the historiographical interest in that object of study. We are also interested in the study of the possible specific changes motivated by civil wars, genocides and post-war famines that, as a hypothesis, seem to have accentuated social inequality within communities. We welcome investigations that address the reconfigurations of class differentiation during the processes of intensification of capitalist relations of production in the Second World War, at that time of modernization, deruralization and migration to urban and industrial areas. Studies from all continents are welcomed, with special interest in European and Latin American case studies. The comparative look will undoubtedly contribute to making the approaches more complex and rethinking the possible answers to a classic question, but not for that reason finished.

Chair & discussant: Erik Bengtsson, Lund University, Sweden

8.1.1. Rural Labor in Chile's Agrarian Capitalism

Claudio Robles-Ortiz, Universidad de Santiago de Chile, Chile

This paper deals with transformations in rural labor systems as specific processes of the development of agrarian capitalism in Chile, from the 1870s to the agrarian reform and counter reform (1967–1980). On the one hand, adopting the hacienda-system approach (Kay, 1971), I examine the changing relationships between the large estate's 'landowner enterprise' and both the internal and external 'peasant enterprises' in Chile's main agrarian regions: Central Chile and the Frontier. On the other hand, I discuss the role of the state in the agrarian political economy, particularly after 1930 and throughout the agrarian reform and counter-reform processes. Rejecting conventional views of the Chilean large estate as a "semi-feudal" or archaic entity, the main argument holds that the historical trajectory of the hacienda should be understood as the development of a form of agrarian capitalism within a peripheral economy and in an oligarchic rural society. Agrarian capitalism in the hacienda system began taking shape in the 1870s through a "landowner road", and proceeded under the agrarian expansion that occurred in Chile's "second export economy" during the Nitrate Era (c. 1880–1930). Then, the capitalist transformation of the countryside was slowed down first by the Great Depression and, after 1930, by the poor performance of the agricultural sector, itself primarily the consequence of economic policy aimed at promoting industrial expansion. Yet, at the end of the period of "agricultural stagnation" under the "inward-looking development" model, what had emerged was, for the most part, an agrarian bourgeoisie and a capitalist agricultural enterprise. By then, the early 1960s, political intervention, first in the form of a conflict-ridden agrarian reform and then as violent neoliberal counter-reform decisively impacted the agrarian system; thus, its long structural transformation through market mechanisms was completed from above by the state.

8.1.2. Peasantry and social differentiation in an agro-export oriented system: capitalism from below in the Bolivian Andes

Francesca Uleri, Free University of Bolzano, Italy

Over the last three decades the development of the global food system has undergone a process of progressive globalization which is currently contributing to incorporate – into the global agro-food chain – new territories and groups of producers which, instead, remained excluded during the previous Fordist period. Nonetheless, the integration in the global market has proceeded in connection with processes of commodification of the production cycle that, on the one hand, have detached the product from the territories of origin in a sort of dynamic of fetishization, and on the other hand, have fostered the restructuration of the agrarian ground. This proposal aims to define this last trajectory by focusing on a specific case study regarding the analysis of the social impact of the international quinoa boom in the Bolivian quinoa producing communities. The contribution is based on an empirical research carried out in the area of three rural municipalities of the Bolivian Southern Highlands (Altiplano Sur). Data deriving from the fieldwork are here interpreted through the lenses of the Marxist debate on capitalist origination and class differentiation. Building on the reconstruction of the traditional way through which the Andean communities have historically organized themselves in order to provide the peasant households with sufficient access to land and labor as to satisfy their reproduction needs, the article wants to specifically show how peasant communities may embark a path of social differentiation, fueled by a form of capitalism 'from below', when the productive forces and macroeconomic sphere – in which they are embedded – change. In this respect, here the element of macro-change is individuated in the shift of quinoa from subsistence crop to cash crop favored, mainly between the early 2000s and 2014, by the surge in the international quinoa price. At the same time, it is essentially a study on today's articulation of agrarian capitalism and its development. Capitalism is interpreted not only as an economic system but as historical process that moves making economic relations flow into social non-economic relations. Although the results of this process of expansion which is far to be linear and stable, are not obvious or always adaptable to solid predictions, the contribution, by referring specifically to a path of 'capitalism from below' look at the peasantry not as a homogeneous body but as a body that – differentiating itself – may trigger and fuel the origin and consolidation of agrarian capitalism.

8.1.3. Class differentiation processes in Contemporary Rural Galicia

Alba Díaz-Geadá, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

During the second half of the XXth century, like many other peasant societies, rural communities in Galicia suffered a deep transformation. Through the study of State policies regarding the agrarian sphere and the micro study of their implementation on the ground during the dictatorship period (1939–1975) we have argued the conflictive nature of this transformation process and we have proposed a conceptualization of the common in an alternative and confrontational sense. In other words, in previous works our interest concerned the space in which the ideology and praxis of modernization that accompanied the needs of post-WWII capitalism interacted with the communitarian relations of production and reproduction that were inserted into it. The aim of this paper is to integrate in the analysis of communitarian resistances and changes, the process of class differentiation they experienced over these decades. Our objective is to study this process by placing it in the long term, tracing its genealogy from the end of the 19th century, at which point a part of the peasant households have access to land ownership. We will rely on bibliographic consultation, documentary sources and oral sources.

8.1.4. The rise of peasant property as a driver of social differentiation and family reproduction? An preliminary analysis (Veneto, ca 1850–2000)

Hessam Khorasani Zadeh, CRH, EHESS, France

In the northeastern Italy countryside in general and the Veneto region in particular, peasant property rose at the end of the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century, with a marked increase after World War I. The causes of these major changes in the ownership structure, as well their timescales, remain little studied to this day. More interestingly, their consequences are rarely examined in conjunction with the emergence of Northeast Italy's specific type of capitalism—which is characterized by so-called reticular or diffuse industrialization and urbanization processes. Even less attention has been paid to the way in which changes in the ownership structures have informed identity narratives of far-right regionalist and autonomist movements like Liga Veneta, the forerunner of Lega Nord. By focusing on certain socioeconomic effects of peasants' access to property, this article provides preliminary responses to the above questions, drawing from a historical and ethnographic survey on social reproduction patterns of peasant-owner families. Sketching a timeline of the increase in peasant's access to property, I will first analyze its consequences on the evolution of socioeconomic categories at a time when the concerned territories' economy remained largely reliant on agriculture (1850–1950). This will allow me to show how changes in property relations have progressively increased the agricultural sector's dependence on families' labor force, and caused the gradual disappearance of the rural proletariat—laborers, day laborers, domestic workers, etc. In this context, I will examine the often overlooked evolution of household structures, aiming to shed light on the statistical rise of “multiple family households”. I will then turn to the social reproduction of these families over the entire period examined (1850–2000) through a microanalytical approach. In this context, I will examine their inheritance practices. What role did property play in the reproduction of peasant families? How has people's relationship to land ownership and the inheritance patterns evolved as the economy shifted from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sector? What kind of society emerged as a result of this process? By addressing these questions, this article considers the extent to which the reproduction patterns of peasant owner families correspond to the typology of capitalism/development models used by economists and political scientists. To that end, I will occasionally refer to case studies concerning other European regions.



The potatoes are picked, 1920.

8.2. Common places: Settlements, local actors and collective property in an emic perspective

Vittorio Tigrino, Università del Piemonte orientale, Italy; Giulia Beltrametti, University of Primorska, Slovenia

In our panel we would like to shed light on the ethnographic permutations and transformations in the collective management of natural resources in local spaces. Through a combined anthropological and historical reflection on institutional changes in different areas we want to analyse how different administrations interpreted the concrete reality of the commons in uplands areas and particularly how this interpretation qualified the places, the local spaces, and consequently caused effects on the actual management of the resources. Our goal is to focus – in order to have a comparative perspective – on different moments of deep institutional change in different geographical areas and with different cronologie, with their radical administrative re-configuration of the political relations. As we know one of the most typical tool of the administrations were inquiries, statistics or surveys, reports, investigations. We would like to analyse these inquiries always rooting the research in the spatial (local) dimension, confronting different sources as well and trying to read the local space beyond the answers given during the inquiry surveys (in modern and contemporary times). We would like to point out how the local institutions re-interpreted the issue itself of the collective management of natural resources in the local space and all the previous administrative and legal debate on it. We would like to dedicate a reflection, also using ethnographic insights on the caesuras, the institutional “black outs”, or changes. One of our main points will be to explore the relation among the administrative structure are the local settlements, the local institutions of collective management. The local space was built over time by these dynamics (often taking the form of a conflict), and our purpose is to analyse, thanks to a comparative perspective with different case studies, the redefinition over the time of the relationship between local communities and common resources (regarding uses, practices, ownership, claims. The real “stakeholders” were very disparate and “irregular” local groups existing often exactly in relation to the common resources they were managing, or using, or claiming. So, the administrative “de-coupage” caused not only local conflicts, disputes, or – quite the opposite – offered the opportunity to new actors to claim rights on resources in a new way, but constituted and constitute still today – as the ethnographic perspective will show – a sort of filter in historical sources: a filter that is however possible to use as a perspective for the interpretation of the continuous process of construction of the local space.

Chair: Vittorio Tigrino, Università del Piemonte orientale, Italy

Discussant: Giulia Beltrametti

8.2.1. Common Places in Southern Italy

Alessandra Bulgarelli, University of Naples Federico II, Italy

This paper aims to analyse the relationships between local communities and common resources (regarding uses, practices, ownership, claims) in a wide temporal dimension starting from the Ancien régime and reaching up to the fascist era. The institutional changes that took place in this long period are very significant as well as the affirmation of the liberal ideology favourable to the unhinging of collective property. The affirmation of property rights, the processes of quotation, the contraction of economic value recorded by agro-forestry-pastoral practices in the age of industrialization and capitalist development, how did they impact on the collective goods of the places? how did they refined the local space such as the forms of relations between local communities and collective resources? These are the questions at the centre of the analysis to which we will try to answer. The case study is a valley of the uplands of the Campania Apennines located in the north-eastern part of the province of Avellino. In southern Italy there were no specific local institutions of collective management, since the municipalities managed common resources. The local space was built over time through the dynamics with the neighbouring municipalities and with villages of the district in search of their administrative autonomy. Attention will be given to the bottom-up definition of the perimeter of commons such as that of municipalities. If we consider that the term *ad quem* is imposed by the absence of documented information for the contemporary decades, it is clear that the results expected from this research are a better knowledge of the territory being analysed also in the dimensions, boundaries and perimeters of collective goods, today in some cases of uncertain identity. The hope is that it can also be a tool for local administrations in the planning and protection of the landscape, the territory and biodiversity.

8.2.2. The promised land. Conflicts for the management of collective property: the redefinition of local spaces (Terra d’Otranto, first half of 19th century)

Aurora Mastore, Università del Salento, Italy

This proposal focuses on how the institutional caesura represented by the abolition of feudality of 1806 in the southern provinces of Italy became the crucial moment for the redefinition of the management strategy of collective property in the peripheral area of the north-west part of the ancient province of Terra d’Otranto during the first half of the 19th century. The area – a hilly landscape rich in woods and pastures – was characterized by the interdependence between grazing and agriculture and was part of the transhumance routes connecting the close regions of Abruzzo and Basilicata. Through an analytical approach based on a topographic perspective, the goal is to highlight how the institutional changes divided local communities into parties conflicting for the management of collective property, causing the redefinition of local spaces. Most of the collective property was turned into private property and the access to the land ownership became the central element around which local communities defined gradually their new identity. The violence between factions gave rise to riots during the crucial moments of the nation-building process (such as 1848 and 1860) by staging socially across-the-borders conflicts with the participation of both old and new actors. Peasants and artisans came to the political scene claiming the promised land and the lost rights on collective property, while the economic fortunes of the families who were able to claim the right to manage natural resources – not always obtained through legal strategies – were built. Also the rural landscape and the economic equilibrium of local communities were upset: the big open fields destined for collective grazing were turned into private lands, hectares of woods were cut down, a lot of municipal forests were subject to forestry law and the local population was prevented from getting wood. The dynamics related to conflicts and to rural landscape transformations are recreated through the intertwining of judicial and administrative sources. Trials for common and political crimes (documents are kept at the State archive of Lecce) about the events occurred in 1848 and 1860 allow us to go deeper in the social and political conflicting dynamics thanks to the testimonies of members of local communities. The reconstruction of the transformations of rural landscape is possible by studying the documents stored at the archival fond “Demani comunali” of the Terra d’Otranto Intendancy and Prefecture (State archive of Lecce) and to those kept at the Office for Civic Uses of Apulia Region (Bari).

8.2.3. Communities, locality and common resources in Northern Italy (18th–19th century.)

Vittorio Tigrino, Università del Piemonte Orientale, Italy; Angelo Torre, Università del Piemonte Orientale, Italy

This paper will address the topic of the commons between 18th and 19th c. in the North Italian regions of Piedmont and Liguria, investigating resources and practices without dissociating them from the people who used them, from their motivations and aspirations. The delimited focus of the analysis makes it possible to “locate” actions taken around or on common resources. The relations between common resources and conflict it is further stressed by the fact that we can historically study them through statistical sources but also disputes in the courts, which demonstrates their pragmatic and dialogical nature. Not only do we know about common goods through documented claims over their possession in different kind of sources, but their very existence implicates tense communication among particular social protagonists. Institutions and groups involved in surveys or disputes on the commons can be mapped through a spatial perspective at the topographical scale: brotherhoods, confraternities, farmhouses, hamlets or “sections de commune”, chapelries, oratories, but also groups of relatives, were all conveyors of rights on collective resources, and they all legitimated their possession by performing their own legal capability and practical knowledge. Analysing contextually the attempt performed by statal institutions in order to “organize” and classify local common resources, allow us to identify a range of different social actors – in their relation with the local space – not usually considered in the traditional portrait of the social history. The aim is to emphasize, through the discussion of general statistical survey and specific case studies, the fluidity of social groups and settlement frames in which local practices were inserted, abandoning the conception of a local space with at its centre the township as a monolithic administrative element.

8.2.4. Towards a modern property. Local finance and common goods in Southern Italy of 19th century

Mariarosaria Rescigno, ISMed - CNR, Naples, Italy

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Southern Italy was hit by a profound institutional change. The introduction of a modern state system, like the one arrived with the French domination (1806–1815), has the effect of irreversibly changing the country. Among other initiatives, to account for the importance of the transformation in progress, there is a disruptive measure such as the abolition of the feudal regime. This is a measure by which communities see part of their collective properties reintegrated. To give further depth to this transformation, the profile of local government is redesigned; starting from this moment, the local administrators, in addition to representing the communities symbolically and politically, are also attributed the ownership of their collective resources. This contribution aims to analyze how and with what results those local authorities “interpret” these assets, that is, they deal with them, through what is a source recently defined as a dark hero: local finance. Significantly, among the new tasks now assigned to local administrators there is also the qualifying one linked to the drafting of municipal budgets. The restyling that they experienced in the French years translates into a rationalization of the accounting tool, which increases its interpretative potential. In the budget of each municipality, within the Introit item, the section relating to the Property Income available to the community, offers, among other things, information that allows you to follow the reorganization known by those possessions over the pre-unification decades. The case studies identified, qualifying local dimensions of a different scale – from that of a provincial capital, Caserta, to a district capital, as in the case of Vasto, to arrive, with a progressive reduction of the demographic size, to some Lucan communities – now see the institutional actors in the foreground, now the management of the territory, now its control. The various combination of these plans allows the affirmation, not without contradictions, of a modern system of property. A system through which it is possible to read the new structuring of the local space which, in an increasingly coherent way, is confirmed as a category of social practice, that is, as a whole of population and resources.

8.3. Experts, institutions and networks in international rural development in the second half of the 20th century 1

Mario De Prospo, Università di Bologna, Italy; Harro Maat, Wageningen University & Research, Netherlands

The decades after the Second World War saw a strong political commitment to improving the conditions of the poorest and less developed populations of the planet. This goal could be achieved through the contribution of experts and the further employment of scientific knowledge and Western technology. This period also witnessed a debate about the definition of “underdevelopment” and possible solutions to it, which involved new and old participants, with different approaches and ideas. Under the shared moral imperative of decent living conditions for all humans, different actors and organisations appeared to have different ideological commitments, different economic interests, and preferred strategies to implement ‘development’. Agriculture and the welfare of the rural population were one of the main areas of intervention of the development aid programmes and projects. Policymakers and experts were well aware of the opportunities provided by the considerable technical and scientific progress achieved in this field. The goal of prosperous worldwide agriculture, capable of providing sufficient food for all and ensuring a good quality of life for rural populations, seemed to be at hand in those years. Along with these enormous expectations and possibilities, it was soon clear that there were significant complications and challenges in achieving these ambitious objectives: lack of understanding of socio-cultural contexts and of local know-hows; low involvement of the institutions of recipient countries; environmental problems; persistence of famine in many regions; political instability; difficulties in accessing markets; gaps in the supply chains. This session aims to present studies that focus on historical cases regarding practices and discourses of rural development in the global arena in the post-war years. Each contribution will present recent research on the activities of organisations and experts involved in international cooperation programs and projects in this field, analysing different aspects of their efforts: role of the overall debate on development, the dialectic between top-down approach versus the bottom-up, influence of the profiles and previous experience of the experts and personnel involved, the role of the technology available and of knowledge exchange, the weight of conflicts and imbalances in the international political arena. This panel will try to stimulate the debate, by understanding and comparing the main ideas, discussions, different paradigms, procedures, experiences that were promoted for the common development goal.

Chair & discussant: Niccolo Mignemi, CNRS, France

8.3.1. Parallel networks of plants and experts; the origins of the Africa Rice Center

Harro Maat, Wageningen University, Netherlands

In the first decade of the millennium African governments and international aid agencies created an Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA). The initiative is based on the claimed success of the Green Revolution in Asia, boosting food production by breeding high-yielding varieties (HYVs) of mainly wheat and rice. The international research centres, where the HYVs for the Green Revolution in Asia were conceived, became a model for the expansion of the successes. This paper looks into historical origins of AGRA, in particular the scientific networks and exchange of plant material within and between different continents with a focus on rice. In 1971 the West Africa Rice Development Association (WARDA) was created by 11 West African states. In 1975, WARDA joined the umbrella organisation of international agricultural research centres, the CGIAR consortium. In 2009 the centre continued as AfricaRice. Research and breeding activities at the centre followed the Asian model, aiming for increased production of lowland and irrigated rice. The exchange of knowledge coincided with the exchange of rice varieties. The paper argues that the circulation of plant material shows very different patterns than the circulation of scientific knowledge. Where the latter was encrypted in research papers and colonial connections, many of the rice varieties were passed on between farmers and local traders, below the radar of the colonial and international experts. These below-the-radar networks continue to exist and, the paper concludes, continue to be ignored in the recent AGRA.

8.3.2. UNRRA, FAO, and US Point Four Rural Development in Early Post-War Ethiopia: Plans, Practices, and Colonial Legacies

Michele Sollai, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID), Switzerland

Historiography as well as various institutional accounts have so far viewed the 1960s as the foundational period of the present-day structure of rural development in Ethiopia. Three main events are regarded as constitutive of this periodisation: the formal establishment of a State network of agricultural institutions; the intensification of international technical assistance geared towards small farming alongside the expansion of large-scale commercial agriculture; the ensuing spread of Green Revolution technologies. One major consequence of this historical narrative is that the period before the 1960s tends to be interpreted – and often dismissed – as a pre-history of following events, predominantly characterised by a kind of subsistence agriculture outside markets and untouched by ‘modern’ agricultural expertise. This paper challenges this view by showing how agricultural and rural development acquired great importance for the economic and social progress of Ethiopia already in the 1930s and in the early post-war years. In particular, the paper concentrates on the rural development efforts of the UNRRA and FAO Missions to Ethiopia, active respectively in 1944–46 and 1947–1953. It then connects these activities to those of the US “Point Four” Mission, devoted since the early 1950s mainly – but not only – to the establishment of a national program of agricultural education. By shedding light on these little known historical actors, this paper makes three main cases. In the first place, it aims to rehabilitate the early post-war period as a key conjuncture within the long-term trajectory of Ethiopia’s agriculture in the 20th century. Moreover, the paper shows how international experts purported a low-modernist, gradual approach revolving around the welfare and productivity of Ethiopian small farmers. In partial contrast to mainstream top-down ‘modernising’ blueprints, the observation and co-optation of ‘traditional’ crops and farming techniques became indeed one major aspect of the practice of agricultural and rural development in early post-war Ethiopia. Last but not least, the paper reveals the many interesting connections and continuities between the various colonial development projects set in motion during the fascist occupation (1936–1941) and the framework of rural development in post-war Ethiopia. Despite the political watershed caused by the war, the Italian program of agrarian development provided a considerable intellectual, practical, and material legacy on which international experts could build since the post-war years.

8.3.3. Drilling the Bekaa: Temporality, Technology, and Vernacular Development in Postcolonial Lebanon

Owain Lawson, Columbia University, USA

Critical development scholars have interrogated two principles that animated United States development interventions in the Global South: development as a temporal imaginary and the idea that technological systems travelled, epitomized by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) model. By reconsidering postcolonial development from the perspective of farming communities in Lebanon's Bekaa valley, this paper argues these farmers successfully pursued vernacular development by rejecting both principles. They enrolled US experts in their struggles for just resource distribution, which predated and outlived the "development era." Lebanon's postcolonial government planned a development project for the Bekaa valley's Litani River. In 1951–53, the US Bureau of Reclamation (USBR) engineers began researching the Litani, one of their first overseas missions seeking to implement the TVA model for multi-use river basin development. Their report formed the basis of the Litani Project (1955–65), Lebanon's largest twentieth-century development project. Animating the USBR's work in Lebanon were the principles of development as a temporal imaginary and the TVA as a travelling technology. But agrarian communities in the Bekaa valley experienced these events differently. Scholars of development have long critiqued that the temporality of development requires communities to sacrifice their present needs for a developed future that continually vanishes behind a receding horizon. Bekaa farmers, by contrast, manipulated the USBR for immediate and tangible gains. They did not seek to affect the Litani Project, a tenuous abstract proposition at that time. Instead, they insisted that the USBR drill wells for them. Their demands equally rejected the USBR's perception that they the TVA was the important technology that travelled. Rather than seeking benefit from the abstract TVA template, Bekaa communities focused on the technology the USBR actually brought with them: a state-of-the-art drill. The USBR's research entailed drilling core samples and investigating aquifers. As a byproduct of these investigations, they left fresh wells behind them. When Bekaa farmers discovered these wells, they began petitioning the USBR's Beirut office for more, embroiling the Americans in inter-village disputes. The USBR's 1954 final report did not mention these activities. But the Bekaa farmers' perspective proved prescient: these wells were the only benefit they garnered from Litani development for decades. The ultimate Litani infrastructure extracted water from the Bekaa and transmitted electricity exclusively to Beirut, driving rural grievances. By rejecting the temporality of development and focusing on the technology that had tangibly traveled, Bekaa villagers secured gains from an otherwise disastrous process.

8.3.4. 'A Bed, a Cover, and possibly a Pillow'. The ILO and the Development of better Housing Conditions for Agricultural Workers 1920s–1960s

Amalia Ribí Forclaz, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland

This contribution looks at the discourse on agricultural improvement and development within the International Labour Organizations (ILO) in the period after the First World War. From the 1920s onwards, the ILO began to discuss the working and living conditions of hired agricultural workers as an object of reform. One problem that attracted particular attention was the housing and sleeping accommodation of hired farmhands that was perceived as particularly 'backwards' and 'primitive' even in so-called 'advanced' countries in Europe. In the eyes of ILO officials and labor experts the custom of letting hired farm workers sleep in stables, often without proper beds or access to sanitary facilities raised socio-economic, moral, and public health issues that ultimately also threatened productivity in rural areas. Examining the debates that accompanied processes of standardization and social reform within the ILO, the paper argues that internationalist efforts to minimize the difference between labour condition in rural and urban areas were driven as much by ideas of social justice as they were by anxiety about rural exodus. They also showcase a vision of rural modernity that ultimately had much in common with later development rhetoric. The paper ends by looking at how debates evolved and became more globalized in the period following World War II.

8.4. Developing a taste for the new: Global exchange and regional adoption of foods

Maximilian Martsch, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Institute of Rural History, Austria

The powerful but often subtle ways in which food has shaped human lives has gained increasing attention from historians and other scholars in recent years. The panel focuses on global food exchanges and their influence on agrarian systems, culinary practices, and consumption. Throughout history, alien food items have been incorporated into rural societies and eventually became cash crops or staple dishes. Exchange processes of food, crops, and dishes were interwoven in complex webs of knowledge, environment, technologies, practices, and tastes connecting people from different backgrounds and places. Investigating these entanglements can reveal specific modes of adaptation, acculturation, and knowledge formation. The "success" of new plants and dishes was bound to a myriad of political, social, economic, and cultural factors. By studying these different factors, we identify patterns and pathways, which led to the establishment – or the failure – of certain foods and crops. The contributors discuss case studies covering various regions, foodstuffs, and periods. Their talks focus on processes of acclimatization involving field trails, public and scientific debates regarding dietary values and possible applications, the role of diasporic communities, campaigns promoting the cultivation and consumption of specific foods or even sensory aspects such as taste, look, and smell. Thus, the panel draws a varied picture of the multifaceted role of food in human culture, life, history.

Chair & discussant: Ernst Langthaler, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria

8.4.1. Prestigious Pork for Culinary Peaks – How German Immigrants Influenced Diets and Eating Habits in Industrialising Great Britain

Karl-Heinz Wüstner, Historical Society for Württemberg-Franconia, Germany

At the end of last year, a German entrepreneur had to close all four of his fast-food outlets in London because of Brexit and the Covid 19 crisis. His range of meat dishes and in particular various grilled sausages for quick consumption was much loved by the British and was a big success in the city's business districts. It is interesting that he and his much accepted 21st century business model, already had countless forerunners in the 19th century. They also came from Germany, from a narrowly defined rural area called Hohenlohe, located in the north-east of Baden-Württemberg. Thousands of young people, mainly sons and daughters of farmers from small villages emigrated to Britain and filled a need in the food supply there. These people slaughtered pigs and processed their meat into a variety of tasty products like sausages and hams. In addition, they also offered readily prepared, hot meals. There was a custom in Hohenlohe that butchers also ran a village inn. Based on their rich experiences, the young men and women established the first take-aways in Britain and in so doing met the needs of the working population in the expanding industrial cities. Many women in the textile factories had no time to cook. For them and their families, the pre-cooked meals and the meat and sausage products that needed only a little preparation, were very convenient. By slaughtering pigs, cooking, roasting and baking, the Germans occupied a niche, as British butchers usually sold fresh, unprocessed, and more expensive meat from cows and sheep. Apart from the significant migration patterns my talk focuses on the impacts that the émigré pork butchers evoked. I will explain what know-how the immigrants brought with them and what transfer of knowledge and skills took place in the fields of meat processing and food preparation. With their new methods in providing convenient take-away food to the working populations in the industrial conurbations they not only influenced the food supply but also fashioned new eating habits. Besides some dishes were adapted to the tastes of the British population and on the other hand British foods adopted into their own menus

and enhanced with pork. Moreover, in their marketing strategies visual sensation, smell and taste played an important role. The success story of these German immigrants ultimately came to an unforeseen end with the outbreak of the First World War.

8.4.2. From farm to fork: new crops challenging agriculture and food in the Iberian Peninsula (16th and 18th centuries)

Dulce Freire, University of Coimbra; Anabela Ramos, University of Coimbra; Inês Gomes, University of Coimbra, Portugal

From the 15th century onwards, the Iberian Peninsula became the European gateway for different foods from Africa, Asia, and America. In addition to foods that remained dependent on imports (such as spices, coffee, or cocoa), many others found suitable ecological conditions in Europe and started to be grown (peppers, tomatoes, squash, maize, beans, potatoes, etc.). Despite the recognition of the global impact of these crops in reshaping Europe's agricultural and food paradigms, it is still necessary to clarify historically the dynamics that underlie the local dissemination of these new seeds. Crossing several historical sources (including agriculture treaties, diet books, cookbooks, accounting records, or surveys), this paper discusses the regional social, economic, and ecological circumstances connected with the cultivation and consumption of some of these foods. As part of broader research (ReSEED project), this paper analyzes, in particular, the trajectories "from farm to fork" of peppers, tomatoes, and maize. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, these were some of the new foods that were already successful, changing the landscape and cuisine through the different regions of the Iberian Peninsula.

8.4.3. Introducing the Crop of the Future.

The different stories of soy in Austria and the USA, c. 1918—1938.

Maximilian Martsch, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Institute of Rural History, Austria

In 1929 W. J. Morse and P. H. Dorsett set out for a two-year expedition to East Asia fully funded by the US Department of Agriculture. The principal objective of the expedition was the acquisition of new soybean varieties and know-how on processing methods. The Morse-Dorsett expedition was the outcome of a longstanding collaboration of agronomists and US state institutions. It reflected the efforts of US agronomists to expand the genetic pool of available soy strains in order to improve crop yields and promote cultivation of soybeans. Since the turn of the century soy enthusiasts, with their leading figure William Morse, collected over 3,000 seed samples from Asia and tested them on US soil. This coordinated research work eventually transformed the East Asian plant into a major farm crop of US agriculture in the interwar period. In Austria, one of the leading countries of late 19th century soy research, the story went differently. The First World War led to a revival of public and scientific interest in soy. Under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture, large-scale field trials were conducted between 1814—1817. However, these trials delivered underwhelming results, proving that soy was no immediate solution for pressing nutritional problems. Although agronomic trials were reinitiated in the 1920s and first attempts were made to commercialize soyfoods, soy did not become established in the agricultural system. The paper seeks to reveal factors that determined the success or failure of soy as an agricultural innovation. It investigates the different stories of soy in Austria and the USA during the interwar period by focusing on networks and the interactions of individual actors and institutions. The comparative approach not only contextualizes the individual case studies but also delivers insights into the adoption of foreign crops.

8.4.4. The Urban Chicken: local consumption patterns of a global commodity

Melina Teubner, University of Bern, Switzerland

Brazil has long been one of the world's leading exporters of beef. However, the highest growth rates are no longer in the beef trade, but in poultry products. In recent decades, Brazil has become one of the global players in this business and for some years now has been home to the world's largest meat processing group (JBS Foods), which is represented in 15 other countries and slaughters up to 14 million poultry animals every day. Chicken meat from Brazil can therefore be found almost everywhere in the world – especially on the Asian markets, but not least also in the European Union and Switzerland. Despite the immense importance that chicken meat from Brazil has on the world market, the majority of its production (about 70%) is destined for the domestic market. This is the result of an increasing demand from growing urban consumer societies in the region for chicken products from supermarkets since the 1990s. Against the backdrop of these developments, the paper analyses changes in chicken meat production, distribution, and consumption since the 1990s in a global perspective. The focus is on how industrially produced chicken has been increasingly integrated into the consumption habits of urban populations and how food systems and practices have changed. This includes critical discussions around the consumption of industrially produced chicken, in contrast to other forms of production, taking also into account contemporary discourses on (good) nutrition, health and wealth. In contrast to existing studies on meat production, this analysis no longer views the region only as a significant producer of low-cost animal proteins for the global meat economy. Instead, the focus shifts to the important role that their populations play as consumers, particularly in urban areas. The project analyses the commodity chicken from a critical nutritional and consumption perspective.

8.4.5. Lifting the Veil: The Hidden History of Maize in Southeast Asia

Peter Coclanis, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, USA

Over the past fifty years the concept of the Columbian Exchange has become integral to understanding the transmission and diffusion not only of plants, animals, and pathogens between Afro-Eurasia and the Western Hemisphere, but also technology, ideas, and the like. Most of the scholarship thus far, however, has focused in particular on exchanges between and among Europe, Africa, and the Americas. In this paper, I shall focus instead on the transmission and diffusion on one hugely important American crop, maize, from the Western Hemisphere to Asia. In the case of maize, transmission to and diffusion in Asia was rapid: Before the middle of the sixteenth century, it was being grown in various parts of Asia, most notably in several regions of China. Its diffusion continued steadily over the centuries, and it became incorporated into agricultural and food regimes throughout Asia. Although many scholars—and the general public—continue to associate Asia primarily with rice cultivation and to a lesser extent with millet and other small grains, maize production has actually outpaced rice production in several recent years in China, and maize is the second most important crop in the Philippines and the third most important food crop in India. It is also very important in other parts of Southeast Asia and South Asia, particularly in Indonesia, Pakistan, Thailand, Vietnam, and Bangladesh. Over the past few decades, maize production in Asia has grown rapidly. As various parts of Asia have developed, the uses of maize have expanded from food production for humans to greater use as an animal feed and as an industrial crop. In this paper, I shall trace the transmission and diffusion processes, focusing on maize in Southeast Asia, where the transmission and diffusion processes are still particularly under-researched.

8.5. Digital Tools and Property. From the extraction of data to spatial analysis 2

G rard B aur, CNRS & EHESS, Paris, France; Rosa Congost, Universitat de Girona, Spain; Enric Saguer, Universitat de Girona, Spain; Anne Vitu, CNRS, Paris, France

The issue of property, either dealing with its definition, the various overlapping of property rights, or with its distribution among social groups, the transfers of land through the market or the inheritance systems, the land use practices, and finally with all kinds of changes over time concerning these topics has since long attracted the interest of historians. With conventional statistical tools, they have greatly advanced our knowledge in this area by working with data at the local or regional or even national scale and by comparing their results. Many unknown factors remain however while this kind of approach is marking time, and while this decline raises a lot of questions. The eclipse of quantitative studies is all the more surprising in that the computer opened up hitherto unexpected perspectives. Today, it is possible to go further with the digital tools that have recently been developed and which offer even more possibilities to improve our analysis and to enhance our knowledge. This is the case with a lot of progress in the automation of manuscript transcription methods, which assist the researcher from data entry to statistical processing. This is the case too with the Geographic Information Systems which provide extremely efficient instruments for spatializing phenomena. The objective of this panel is to present new applications resulting from these techniques of analysis and representation and to highlight the range of possibilities which are henceforth accessible to develop much finer and more efficient studies than in the past. Property in its social and spatial dimensions will therefore be considered through the prism of these tools, the contributions of which need to be circumscribed. We will focus on the qualitative changes in ownership, on the forms of transaction, on the price systems, on the extent of the movements of ownership through the market, for sale or for rent, on the flows of credit, as well as on the methods of allocation of land and urban buildings through inheritance processes, on the organization of land or the structure of urban housing. We will endeavor to take advantage of the new techniques which are thus offered to us to put these data in relation and ultimately to obtain a better understanding of the functioning of property relations in different societies.

Chair: Rosa Congost, University of Girona, Spain
Discussant: Pierre Cornu, University of Lyon 2, France

8.5.1. The data processing GIS of the State Inquiry of 1810 about property transfers in the Napoleonic Empire

G rard B aur, CNRS & EHESS, CRH, France; Anne Vitu, CNRS, CRH, France

Geographic information systems open up new perspectives for historical research by providing methods of spatial analysis to process geolocated and semantic data recorded in a geodatabase and by translating these data into cartographic forms. The objective is to provide answers to the problems of research, by trying to understand how space participates in the emergence of different spatial and semantic phenomena. We will use GIS to decipher all property movements in several European states at the beginning of the 19th century. What do we know indeed about the mobility of land and urban buildings through the market in European space at this time? Few. Even though we have data for contemporary periods, they are seldom compatible and they are generally so aggregated at the national level that spatial shifts are undetectable. There is however a single source that allows to go beyond national boundaries for the beginning of the 19th century. In 1810, the imperial government undertook a large statistical survey to assess the activity of the real estate market whatever was its legal form in the Great Napoleonic Empire. The administration required to be informed about the number and value of transactions (and all forms of inheritance and donation) for each of the 445 districts then under French rule. Even if the departments incorporated in 1811 could not unfortunately be included, the survey covers French territory strictly speaking but also present-day Belgium and Luxembourg, the part of Germany located on the left bank of the Rhine and some parts of Italy, from Piedmont to Tuscany. By mobilizing geoprocessing systems as well as space operators and statistical and treatments specific to GIS, the reading of the results, once they have been translated in a collection of maps, provides tools for interpretation. We may therefore scrutinize the real estate market by linking the various indicators established on a small Europe scale and at a sufficiently fine level, in order to produce thematic, transnational maps and to gain more insight into the real estate market.

8.5.2. Landownership and social organization of farming in Iceland around 1700

Gudmundur Jonsson, University of Iceland; Oskar Gudlaugsson, University of Iceland

The extreme concentration of landed property is a well-known feature of the rural economy of Iceland in the early modern period. Less known are wealth acquisition strategies and the different forms of landowner control of land and other resources. And, crucially, there are no studies on a national level that systematically examine the geographical dimensions of these features. In this paper we examine landownership patterns and several other important features of the social organization of farming in Iceland at the beginning of the 18th century. We pay attention to spatial dimensions of these features, especially with regard to property categories, i.e. ecclesiastical property, crown land and private land; tenancy vs. self-ownership; and the social hierarchy of farms from manors to cottages. The paper is conceived within the research project The pillars of rural society: Family and household economy in early eighteenth century Iceland in which we employ GIS techniques and a national database on population, households, farms and livestock to carry out statistical and spatial analysis. In the paper we consider a number of methodological and operational issues that have confronted us in the construction of the database and in collecting and processing the data.

8.5.3. Modelling Farfa's Liber Largitorius Chartulary Production Process: Writing History from Rights of Property

Bastien Tourenc, Universit  Lumiere Lyon 2, France

In 1092, Gregorio di Catino was ordered by Berard II, abbas of the Abbey of Farfa (Latium, Italy), to organize the archives of the monastery. One of the four documents he produced was the Liber Largitorius, a chartulary which

compiled rental property contracts. It enables to reconstruct the abbey's landholding production process. Abbots ought to accumulate land to increase monastery wealth; it was their job. Combining deeds of property, Catino crafted a document which was a part of a larger dispositive engaged to shape Farfa's identity : to establish its dominium and to build up its history. Upstream a quantitative analysis of the transactions, a preceding one was led upon document production process in order to understand this phenomenon. This is the subject of this proposal. This study is based on a modelling of the documentation and distant reading methods. For each deed, the elements of information about the transactions and the contract terms are systematically implemented into a database. Thereby analysis could be performed, firstly to understand what represents this cartulary as a codex ; about its uses and functions in the contemporary society of its production. The aim is to identify classification criteria and to map deeds cluster. Firstly, deeds are ordered by the abbot; secondly, by the datation scheme, that could be understood as a reference to particular authorities : here the Emperor or the Pope; finally, by the territories where are located the land granted by contract, which could refer to the places where the power of above-mentioned authorities is exercised. It might indicate that Gregorio di Catino structured the Liber Largitorius following its own representations of power spatializations. Farfa was in between the Papacy and the Empire, but was not able to compete with both of them. However, to establish its power, the monastery must define its own space, its own territory – as it was the case with the dioceses. Farfa's territory was at lower scale, in which it competed with other monasteries. Concatenating singletons, Catino conferred a dual utility to this set of contracts, both practical and memorial. First, chartularies are tools used to manage and administer a domain. Then, gathering the rights of property accumulated by the abbey, Catino defined Farfa's territory. Therefore, Farfa was settled in space and history; thenceforce it was an immanent part of the ecclesiastical system. Landholding formed the basis of power, it characterizes the formation of the ecclesiastical dominium.



The farmer family's best horse, early 1900s.

8.6. Enclosure and productivity in pre-industrial Europe: ways to measure and explanatory mechanisms

Marja Erikson, Uppsala University

The importance of enclosures, signifying privatization of land use, privatization of ownership of commons and consolidation of shattered arable open field strips have been a perennial topic in discussions on agricultural progress before the industrial breakthrough. It has been proposed that enclosures, by efficiently establishing private property rights liberated innovative entrepreneurs from the bondage of village communities and that enclosure was a prerequisite for land use changes and introduction of new crops which raised land productivity. Others have presented data objecting to this. For some regions e.g. Scania, southern Sweden, it has been shown that production per farm, controlling for other factors was distinctly higher on enclosed than non-enclosed farms. Some researchers, focusing the classical English case, insist that enclosures and the formation of large capitalist farms were the centrepiece of the agricultural revolution and that rents, reflecting productivity, rose due to enclosures. Others claim that the rent rise did not reflect productivity growth but income redistribution. Others still claim there were no rent rises connected to enclosures and for much of the continent the importance of enclosures has often been played down. This session addresses methods to measure productivity increase in a way rendering it possible to determine the influence of enclosures (or similar changes of institutional arrangements). Furthermore, it shall explore the mechanisms, by which, enclosures may have affected land productivity. Regional, empirical studies discussing these topics will be presented.

Chair: Marja Erikson

Discussant: Lars Nyström, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

8.6.1. 'So why do it? Making the case for enclosure in England in the later eighteenth century'

Richard W Hoyle, University of Reading, UK

Given that in the eyes of Europe the English invented enclosure, contemporaries were often sceptical as to whether it lived up to all that was claimed for it but the lacked the hard information to prove or disprove the case. Economic historians have not had much success either in showing that enclosure produced a rise in productivity, however defined. The problem in part is one of documentation. We lack probate inventories for the classic period of parliamentary enclosure. Evidence for tithes is always scarce in the eighteenth century but parliamentary enclosure normally abolished tithes, giving tithes owners a parcel of land in its place. Hence we cannot compare productivity before and after enclosure from tithes. And no one has ever found a set of farm accounts which cover the years of enclosure. In fact enclosure often involved the conversion of arable to pasture so no comparison between pre- and post-enclosure arable is possible. Moreover, the context in which agriculture operated was transformed by the outbreak of war in 1794 and comparisons of enclosure pre- and post-1794 are largely invalid. The fullest and most sophisticated attempt by a modern historian to estimate the increase of productivity brought by enclosure is that by Allen (1992). In fact there is more data available in the contemporary sources than he drew on, including model accounts which a number of writers produced to justify enclosure. These are, of course, incapable of shedding light on the actual experience of enclosure, but they do reveal the ways in which enclosure was supposed to raise the profitability of agriculture and suggest where we should look. A number of contemporaries, including Arthur Young, collected data which so far has remained unexploited. Whilst no great claims should be made for this, an examination of it deepens our knowledge

whilst the fact that they gathered statistical evidence of transformation wrought by enclosure shows the uncertainty that contemporaries had about the advantages of enclosure and the ambivalence towards it which many of them felt. The data was collected because enclosure had to be justified: it was not automatically or invariably seen as a good thing. In the event, there were only two forms of data which could be collected consistently, on rents and the burden of poor rates, and neither of these were capable of clinching an argument, either then or now.

8.6.2. Enclosures and land productivity change. Evidence from East-central Sweden 1827–1890

Viktor Persarvet, Uppsala University; Marja Erikson, Uppsala University, Sweden

This paper analyses the impact of enclosures on land productivity. It is presupposed, that land prices per farm unit of equitable size, reflect productivity. Higher prices on enclosed rather than not enclosed farms, are supposed to reflect a higher productivity of those enclosed. Part of the price increase is related to land clearance, i.e. intensification through the transformation of meadows to arable, but data also allows the calculation of price per hectare equitable arable before and after enclosure. Additionally, parish level data reflecting changes in land use systems makes it possible to discuss the mechanisms whereby productivity might have changed due to enclosures. Data is fetched from ca 5000 land price notations found in the hundred court registers in Västmanland County and from on line registers showing which of the villages were enclosed and when.

8.6.3. The Process of Radical Enclosure and Land Clearance in Uppsala County 1750–1900

Maja Lundqvist, Uppsala University, Sweden

Land clearance has been seen as a pivotal aspect of the Swedish agricultural revolution, and it was allegedly intensified by the enclosure movement and the privatisation of property rights. By converting meadows into arable, the land use intensity as well as productivity increased. But the history of radical enclosure was also a slow process. In some regions, like Uppsala, radical enclosure was introduced during a time span of 80–100 years, making it difficult to discern the relationship between the two and thus to grasp the full gravity of the agricultural revolution in the region. In this paper I will examine the development of land clearance in the county of Uppsala by using source material such as cadastral maps, mid-19th century economic mapping and early official statistics covering the growth of arable land at village level in several parishes throughout the county. I will address the following questions: How did enclosure affect the land clearance curves in various villages? Where did land clearance take place and to what degree? What could be the reason for its slow implementation in the area?

8.6.4. Large landowners and enclosure in East Central Sweden during 19th century -A case study of Österby ironwork

Ellen Lindblom, Uppsala University, Sweden

This paper focus on the enclosure reforms on land owned by patrons of the ironwork industry in East Central Sweden. The Swedish ironworks were an important part of the Swedish economy from the 17th century and onwards, producing iron for the international market. Many of the ironworks in Sweden were also large landowners and the reason for that was twofold; the ironworks needed to support their workers with foodstuff and most importantly they needed the farmers' households to produce and transport charcoal for the production of iron. Therefore, they acquired and owned land in villages around in the nearby region. Despite being well researched subjects separately, enclosures and ironworks have not before been thoroughly investigated in relation to each other. The main questions are: Did the heads of the ironworks use the enclosure legislation (which from 1827 allowed for any one single landowner in a village to apply for and force enclosure upon other landowners in the village) for their business purposes – to secure charcoal and food deliveries, or the efficiency of their land management – and if they did so, to what extent and in what way? If they did not, then why? The above questions will be answered through a case study of the ironwork Österby in northern part of Uppsala County. Österby was the second largest owner of land in the county at the time for this study – circa 1820–1870. Hence this paper investigates the enclosure reforms on land that was worked by people who did not own the land they lived on. The decision whether to enclose or not was not solely – as it otherwise commonly was in Sweden – in the hand of landowning villagers but also in the hand of a large, distant landowner, that at least some of the villagers had an economic bond to.

8.6.5. Forests and enclosures: the case of Gamla Norberg

Hedvig Widmalm, Umeå University, Sweden

This paper focuses on the role forests played in the Swedish enclosure reforms of the early- to mid-19th century. It is a part of the project “Institutional change and rural economic growth. Enclosures, land prices and population growth 1810–1880.” For this project, data has been collected showing how prices of land in the province of Västmanland changed during a period when enclosure legislation was implemented. One goal with this is to examine whether the enclosures affected the price of land. If they did and the prices rose, this could show that the enclosures were a rational investment, an institutional reform that made agriculture more efficient, made the soil yield more and become more valuable. As of yet, the result of this investigation is inconclusive. The prices might have risen in the longer run, but the question is why farmers invested in implementing costly reforms when the economic effects would only be apparent decades later. As a way of tackling this question, I look closer at one of the districts within the region, Gamla Norberg. Gamla Norberg is a part of Bergslagen, an old conglomeration of mines and metal works in western Sweden. Because of this, many landowners in the area worked with mining and smelting, keeping smelting huts on their own plots of land. Access to wood had always been crucial as source for charcoal fuel in this metal production, from fire setting in the mines to smelting and refining metals. For this reason, forests in Bergslagen had to be carefully managed so as not to be over-exploited. In the records of land sales for Gamla Norberg, access to forests is often mentioned along with the size of the land. On maps of Gamla Norberg from the early 18th century, the surrounding woods are divided up in a particular system of enclosures, and the local Mine inspectors' records on forest management reveal how the forests were owned and divided up by villages of the region. When enclosure legislation began to be implemented in the 1820s, the reforms effects on access and ownership of forests became a source of contention in Gamla Norberg. Through studying these conflicts of ownership, this paper aims to show how the specific social and geographical conditions of this region affected the implementation of enclosure legislation in the 19th century.

8.7. Environmental and Biological Hazards and Redistribution in Rural History 2

Daniel R. Curtis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Bram van Besouw, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands

Throughout history, environmental and biological hazards have caused distress and suffering for rural societies. However, as well as aggregate damages – sometimes leading to disasters – hazards also had powers of redistribution for wealth, property and resources. In some cases, this created a ‘leveling effect’, making societies more equitable, and in some cases, buffers, consolidation or speculation combined to further widen or entrench inequalities. Questions remain unanswered, however. What explains the different redistributive directions seen after hazards, and furthermore, what explains the different magnitudes of redistribution? Why is some redistribution more structural and long lasting, but other redistributive effects prove temporary and disappear quickly? Who gains from this redistribution, and who loses? In this session, we offer a set of papers on post-hazard redistribution of wealth, property and resources in the countryside. Focus can be on any environmental or biological hazard – epidemic disease, earthquake, or extreme weather event (leading to a flood, drought, ruination of crops) – during any period of history in any part of the rural world. Measurements of redistribution should be restricted to wealth, property, or resources that guarantee welfare, and the mechanisms of redistribution can range from the functioning of land and lease markets, inheritance systems, commodity markets, state interventions, and collective institutions such as poor relief and commons. The nature of redistribution can also be down various lines – not just between rich and poor, but also between men and women, between the elderly and the young, and between community ‘insiders’ and community ‘outsiders’ such as recent migrants.

Chair & discussant: Daniel R. Curtis

8.7.1. Who lives, who dies, who gains?

Differential mortality and wealth redistribution during epidemics in 17th and 18th century in Flanders and Brabant

Arnoud Jensen, University of Antwerp, Belgium; Tim Soens, University of Antwerp, Belgium

During the late 17th and 18th century, the county of Flanders and the duchy of Brabant were regularly hit by deadly outbreaks of dysentery, which gradually became more lethal than plague. Although the mortality of these epidemics and their impact on rural demography are well documented, we crucially lack insight on the social dynamics of the epidemic: the social inequalities in the epidemic mortality, and vice versa, the redistributive impact of the epidemic mortality. Over the past decade, new research by Guido Alfani (2020), Walter Scheidel (2017) and others has argued for the redistributive impact of major shocks like epidemic outbreaks, although at the same time stressing that not every major mortality crisis produced redistribution. According to Alfani, the impact is often asymmetric: even mortality crises of equal intensity and territorial pervasiveness might produce highly different outcomes. The causal relations between epidemic mortality and redistribution are complex and difficult to unravel. For this reason, this paper aims to move beyond the aggregated averages that are often used to support the dominant narrative of violent shocks affecting inequality, by carefully studying the impact of two major epidemic outbreaks of dysentery (in 1676 and 1741/1742) on a selection of villages in different parts of Brabant and Flanders. For this research, three types of sources are used: parochial registers, tax registers and, where available, proto-cadastrals. First, the burial registers will be processed to measure the mortality in the villages. Secondly, this information will be confronted with accurate year-to-year fiscal data, which became available for some villages from the mid-17th century onwards. Through this combination a broader image of the village community can be constructed, which can be used to identify not only the different social groups, but also the socio-economic status of those who died. This will allow us to reconstruct the differential mortality. Following this, the changes in inequality will be measured by combining a quantitative analysis with a more qualitative approach (who inherits, who gains). Lastly, we will reflect on which factors played a role in the differences in both general and differential mortality, and in whether redistribution of property took place and how. For this part, factors will be considered such as: the pre-disaster inequality, the distance to local cities, the impact of other events (e.g. a reduced poor population due to famines), and, most importantly, the social organisation of the rural economy (the regional “socio-agrosystem”).

8.7.2. Living off the Land? An empirical investigation of land and lease distribution in central Holland, 1600–1700

Bram Hilken, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands

Horrible as the hardships of epidemics may generally be, epidemic mortality had until recently been heralded for its equalizing effects to struck societies. Research on the socioeconomic effects of epidemic mortality in the preindustrial period has thus far had three main issues; firstly, it has provided only systematic evidence for small localities; secondly, it has focused mainly on income inequality; and thirdly, it has overly focused on the effects of the Black Death. The current project attempts to add to the state of the art by systematically assessing wealth inequalities in an under-explored, yet important area and time span, namely seventeenth century Holland. It will reconstruct distribution of land and real estate and align those with mortality spikes, assessing the mechanisms informing the makeup of these distributions and fluctuations in it over time. Thus, rather than accepting a general law of epidemic mortality leading to greater equality, the current project attempts to explore the mechanisms that inform preindustrial inequality and the role epidemic mortality plays in it. This paper aims to explore the role of land in the agrarian economy of seventeenth century Holland, asking questions on the importance of land for subsistence, its market mechanisms, and the factors influencing the importance of land ownership and leaseholds over time. It attempts to do so by reconstructing land ownership and leaseholds across seventeenth century Holland. Its main argument is that the role of land ownership vis-à-vis tenure in Holland’s agrarian economy in the seventeenth century evolved non-linearly, and was mostly,

though not always, affected by a combination of market pressures, demographic fluctuations, and institutional arrangements. By doing so, it attempts to add to continuous debate concerning the causes of institutional change, particularly the transition to agrarian capitalism. Holland proves an interesting case study for this transition, as it is widely regarded the 'first modern economy', while the debate regarding when, how, or why this transition happened has not yet been resolved. The paper serves as an elaborate explanation of the workings of land distributions and land markets, so as to provide a solid base for assessing the effects of epidemic mortality on land- and lease distributions. In other words, before zooming in on the direct effects of demographic fluctuations on land distributions and institutional transition, it is vital that we first understand general trends and patterns in land distributions and leaseholds in the region and period under investigation.

8.7.3. Crisis Feudalism, Crisis Communalism – and those not fitting the pattern

Eva Svensson, Karlstad University, Sweden

An (presumed) outcome of the late medieval agrarian crisis (LMAC), including the Black Death, the onset of the little ice age (LIA) etc., was a major desertion of rural settlements. However, desertion, especially structural desertion, was not random. Some settlements were resilient whereas others were vulnerable, and more long-term desertion may be part of strategies played out by different actors. Deserted settlements were assets, and redistribution of those appears to have been part of local strategies. Here settlement desertion presumably due to the LMAC, and the subsequent fates of the deserted settlements, will be explored with the help of interdisciplinary sources in two regions in western Sweden; Jämtland and Värmland. In both cases it was the question of rural societies greatly dominated by self-owned, tax paying, peasants, who were pursuing versatile economies involving multiple, mostly forest based, resource extraction, commodity production and trade. There were hardly any presence of nobility or ecclesiastical institutions apart from parish churches, and no urban centers, in either region. In spite of many similarities between the peasant communities in the two regions, and the likelihood that also the immediate effects of the Black Death and other LMAC hazards were quite similar, the situation concerning deserted settlements is completely different. In Jämtland there are more than 600 known deserted settlements whereas there are only a handful in Värmland. Here is proposed that were different strategies for redistribution / claiming of the deserted settlements. In Jämtland the deserted settlements with land and forest resources were presumably divided between the landed peasants in the local communities, who prohibited resettlement. In Värmland the deserted settlements were most likely used as resources for settlement expansion, as there was a strong inheritance tradition of dividing land between all children in a family. Regarding the few known deserted settlements, there are local traditions connection them to ecclesiastical activities, and the hypothesis forwarded here is that the parish vicars were active in acquiring deserted land as church property. Lately, we have discovered deserted medieval settlements falling outside of the two patterns, namely farmsteads ESTABLISHED during the LMAC in presumably marginal locations, on moraine heights. The investigations of such a farmstead have provided indications of strong adaptations, including agrarian innovations, to climate change (the onset of LIA). Although open for alternative interpretations, we consider the possibility of these settlers as innovative and adaptive peasant families able to break the norms in their local communities.

8.7.4. Golden opportunities? Economic redistribution and labour opportunities in the southern Low Countries after the Black Death.

Sam Geens, University of Antwerp, Belgium

Economic historians traditionally view the Black Death as the beginning of a golden age for labour. Mass mortality fundamentally altered the functional distribution of income: the labour force suddenly declined while the stock of land and capital remained largely unchanged. Wages soared to unprecedented heights across the whole European continent and remained high during a century and half. Whereas this functional redistribution is well attested, its impact on the personal distribution of income is less clear. In the last decade, historians have increasingly criticized the use of wages as the sole proxy for the income of labourers and stressed the importance of other determinants, like the demand for labour or access to land. Some exceptions aside, most studies pertain to a single, often urban, locality, without considering the evolving importance of labour in the economy at large. Employers and employees are hereby implicitly portrayed as merely undergoing the consequences of the mortality crises. In stark contrast, a whole body of literature exists on the many transformations of the European economies after the Black Death, such as the rise of agrarian capitalism. Beyond the observation of a universal increase in wages lays a reality of wildly diverging responses, determining to what extent labourers really profited, if at all. The paper aims to bridge the gap between the two historiographies. It seeks to move beyond the a uniform golden age by reconstructing and contextualizing regional rather than local wage series for the southern Low Countries. To this end, data for 72 locations, both urban and rural, for the period between 1275 and 1550 has been collected, grouped and analyzed according to the theory of social agrosystems. This framework distinguishes different regions based on shared characteristics, including access to land and other natural resources, capital, labour (surplus extraction, free vs. unfree), and markets. Since the general evolutions of these characteristics have been well documented for the southern Low Countries, the new wage series can be readily confronted. Special attention will be given to the changing urban premium, rural markets, and seasonal labour migration. The paper shows that after a short period of convergence following the Black Death, labour opportunities started to diverge significantly between regions. In some, the golden age lost its shine rather quickly when large employers made the transition from intensive cereal cultivation to cattle breeding to cut on labour expenses.

8.8. Food Security in the Early Modern and Modern Era 2

Timo Myllyntaus, University of Turku, Finland; Eric Hallberg, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

A Comparative Perspective to Distressed Regions in Nordic and Eastern Europe

Although countries are often observed as more or less homogenous entities, regional heterogeneity may be considerable. Cities differ from the countryside and both rural and urban areas contain significant diversity. Natural disasters seldom hit the entire countries and epidemics, poverty, famines, unemployment and crimes tend to concentrate on some regions. We will examine what factors make some regions more vulnerable than others. Misfortunes may strike randomly, but in some cases, regions have faced successive setbacks. The focus is, on the one hand, natural circumstances, and on the other hand, structural and administrative factors of regional and local societies and the economy. Topical research questions include whether adversities were caused by natural factors, economic backwardness or poor administration – or combinations of them. Contributors examine spatial inequality and regional underperformance during the 19th century and deal in one way or another with crop damages failing food security and undernourishment. In preindustrial time, famine has been regarded as the most serious underperformance of both the economy and administration. Especially successive famines highlighted regional and local differences in the well-being of people. Were the failures of food security random events or regular vicious circles of the underperforming economy at the regional level? Creating Food Insecurity? The State and the Market in Times of Short Food Supply During the 19th and 20th century, the idea of free trade has been important in many liberal European countries. In the event of crises, however, the functioning of the market was tested. Not seldom, leaders began to advocate a protectionist attitude to domestic food production. Creating trade barriers could, nevertheless, result in less and worse food on the table. This session discusses market functioning and market access during times of crisis using 19th and 20th examples from the Baltic Sea area. Until the twentieth century, market access was to a varying degree regionally unequal, not least due to regional differences in transport and transaction costs. Due to the spatial functioning of the market, a food crisis ran the risk of having markedly different regional effects. Additionally, the policies pursued could promote or hinder the functioning of the market. In the Baltic Sea area, the central power was relatively strong and was able to regulate relatively successfully, which producers were allowed to compete on the market and which were not. In 20th-century Sweden, agriculture was ever more protected to ensure food security while horticulture was not.

Chair & discussant: Timo Myllyntaus

8.8.1. Crop Failures and Famine in Livonia in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries

Pauls Daija, National Library of Latvia

The paper analyzes the Latvian and Baltic German agricultural literature published in the period from the 1770s until 1840s in order to explore the development and reasons of successive crop failures in Livonia (Liefland in old German), one of the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire. In the second part of the 18th century, widespread and general crop failures became a regular occurrence in Livonia and have been recorded in 1779–1782, 1785–1788, 1798–1800, 1803–1804, 1832–1835, 1844–1845. Small-scale crop failures were recorded even more often. Some contemporaries tended to explain the crop failures by weather conditions, however, available studies demonstrate that there was no or little connection between weather and crop failures. Another hypothesis of the contemporaneous authors suggested that crop failures could be explained by laziness, lack of motivation and poor living conditions of the peasant serfs. This approach further led to the development of the discourse of economic reforms as the ideas of the abolishment of serfdom increasingly gained popularity. Analysis of contemporaneous economic literature suggests yet another factor that could have influenced crop failures—intensification of grain production in the Baltic provinces during the aftermath of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). In the 1760s and 1770s, the Baltic provinces started to focus on grain production mostly for the foreign market in Central and Western Europe where the increasing demand for grain (and linen) was also connected with the First Industrial Revolution. The demand for hard liquor also influenced the rising dominance of grain production in other Russian governorates. The prices of grain rocketed during the second part of the 18th century, and grain production for foreign markets became the most important source of income for Baltic landowners. However, new agricultural methods were not implemented, and the peasants continued to cultivate land in traditional ways. As a result, the cornfields were extended at the expense of forests while the livestock farming was increasingly neglected. In this way, the intensification of grain production resulted in its opposite. Contemporaries were aware of the poor results of fallow crop rotation and criticized the attempts to combine corn production for foreign markets with traditional agricultural methods. However, the agricultural reforms were slow. Therefore, various other smaller-scale reforms were elaborated. This paper explores the following two research questions, how the agricultural discourse developed in response to poor harvests and famine, and how it led to wider social changes in the region.

8.8.2. Religious rivalry and hunger relief during the 1868–69 crisis in Livonia

Kersti Lust, Tallinn University, Estonia

The paper explores the measures taken by the institutions of state government, the Lutheran and Orthodox Church, and charitable committees to relieve suffering in villages during the hunger crisis of 1868–69. In particular, it asks for the impact of religious rivalry upon relief measures: Did the rivalry cause indifference towards the suffering of “others” and discrimination against in the aid distribution or not? Drawing on official correspondence, peasant grievances, newspaper reports, and the relief committees' documents, the paper considers three different localities in Livland: the island of Saaremaa, Rõngu and Pilstvere Parishes in southern Estonia and fishing villages near Lake Peipus. Saaremaa and Rõngu and Pilstvere Parishes were confessionally mixed and the twelve fishing villages near Lake Peipus were also ethnically mixed (Russians and Estonians). In Livonia, religious rivalry started in the mid-1840s. Roughly 17% of the peasant population in the Estonian part of Livonia converted from the Lutheranism of the nobility to the Russian Orthodox Church in the hope for purported social and material benefits of taking the “tsar's faith”. Baltic German elite feared that this inroad of Orthodoxy might be the beginning of the loss of its privileged and autonomous position and the relationships between the two churches became hostile. For the first time in Baltic and Russian history famine became a matter of increasing public concern in the 1860s. Also private charities were actively engaged in hunger relief, in addition to pre-existing institutions and lines of finance. They served as information suppliers for the central relief committee and distributed funds raised mainly by the central relief committee. Baltic

German clergy assumed an important role in local relief committees. The Russian Orthodox Church could effectively mediate information about the situation on spot and exert pressure on institutions of state government, but it lacked its own resources to offer aid to people. Differently from the Baltic German clergymen, they had no (key) position in local relief committees. The three case studies suggest that religious rivalry between the Russian Orthodox and Lutheran church did not prevent collaboration of otherwise opposing institutions and groups in hunger relief work, but probably motivated to be more active in relief instead. Occasionally, the rivalry also significantly increased public and bureaucratic attention to the starving individuals in the localities with confessionally mixed populations.

8.8.3. Famine in Norden: Contacts and Contrasts between Västerbotten and Ostrobothnia during the 1860s famine

Henrik Forsberg, Umeå University, Sweden

This project investigates the experiences the 1860s famine in parishes in the Kvarken region. Together the province of Västerbotten in Sweden and the historical province of Wasa in the Grandduchy of Finland had one Europe's highest mortality rates during the harvest failures in the 1860s. However, mortality rates differed significantly between Finland and Sweden and both between and within these provinces. Hitherto, no-one has been able to give a good explanation to why they differed. The aim is to track the progression of famine in the 87 parishes of Wasa province and in the 15 parishes of the province of Västerbotten from 1861 to 1870 in order to create a complete picture of the economic foundations, food availability and answer how the famine progressed in this region. Consequently, this research can be categorised as quantitative microhistory and as both comparative and transnational history. I will look at similarities and differences between parishes and consider how economy, demography, geography, trade networks, social structure, linguistic groups and relief measures shaped the outcome. The timing and extent of the food trade between Ostrobothnia and Västerbotten during the famine years is of great interest too. I will use population tables, trade statistics and scrutinise contemporary newspapers, business records, local archives and folklore. The main research question is: How was distress, scarcity and death confronted locally and regionally and how did decisions on the state and regional levels affect the experiences amongst the local populations? The research project will have an impact in local, Finnish, Swedish and international famine history. This project will present the crisis as a transnational famine with deep yet different ramifications for each locality. In Sweden the famine has often been referred to in the context of migration history but with scant empirical studies on its worst struck province, and rarely in the context of Finland's simultaneous and by far much more deadly famine. By examining the localities and their interdependencies we will get a better overview of the famine as a process and as a mosaic of events. Kvarken with its abundant sources in both countries offers a rare historical case for detailed analysis of how states, geopolitical structures and intertwined economies contribute to the famine's manifestation.

8.9. Farmers that count: standardisation and tutelage in farm accounting, 18th and 20th century 2

Federico D'Onofrio, University of Vienna, Austria; Nathalie Joly, University of Bourgogne, France

This session is dedicated to accountancy literacy among farmers and its increase over the course of the past two centuries. The spread of accounting techniques in Europe has been traditionally associated with the rise of a merchant class in the centres of capitalist development: Northern Italy, the Low Countries, England. But what about the case of agriculture? If large estates have a long tradition of formal accounting, small farmers have a reputation for resistance to managerial as well as technological innovations and are often associated in the literature with forms of agriculture only marginally affected by markets until well into the 20th century. In fact, starting with the 18th century, the accounting literacy of farmers became a central topic for agricultural experts and reformers. Agronomic treatises predominantly targeted future administrators of large estates and landowners and taught them how to keep double entry accounting, but, already in the first half of the 19th century, textbooks and schools heralded an era of popularisation of accounting techniques. Medium and small peasants were introduced to book-keeping that should help them open up to markets. Moreover, alternative means of record-keeping existed that encapsulated facts and figures in written memories and publishers successfully sold record documents accessible to all types of farmers in the 19th century. Accounting offices appeared in the second half of the 19th century, with the task of assisting different kinds of farmers with more formal and standardised kinds of book-keeping. In response to the agricultural crisis of the last quarter of the century, rural associations of certain European countries began establishing courses targeted at small and medium farmers. In Germany and eventually in Switzerland and elsewhere, the education of farmers became a key concern of rural associations. The fostering of "farmers that counted" was an essential element of agricultural modernization. Such a deliberate attempt at spreading accountancy methods from above has little parallel in other contexts and reveals how states, agricultural experts and large landowners tried to establish their tutelage over farmers in agricultural modernization. It was also accompanied by an effort to standardize accounting methods for statistical purposes not just at national but at international level that was actually made possible by the tight control exerted by agricultural experts on accounting courses. This session intends to track the evolution of accountancy in agriculture, by collecting contributions dedicated to the creation of the "accounting farmer" between the 18th and 20th century. Our contributions investigate the connections between control and standardization in the spreading of accounting techniques and/or focus on the emergence of accounting courses and accounting offices in order to understand how this key managerial technology shaped the everyday life of farmers. Papers discuss the forms of discipline and control that the accounting technology introduces in the practice of farmers and examine the types of distortion, translation and goal-shifting involved in actual accounting practices. Gender-based approaches are particularly welcome since accounting practices prescribed specific roles to women and sanctioned ideals of exclusion and inclusion of women in the farming business.

Chair & discussant: Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History, Bern, Switzerland

8.9.1. Who counts? Accounting, book-knowledge and the division of agricultural labour in eighteenth-century Britain

James Fisher, University of Exeter, UK

This paper presents an outline for a social history of accounting knowledge in eighteenth-century British agriculture. In contrast to most approaches, it is less about the accounting methods themselves and more about the social groups for whom they were designed; less about their effects on farming practice and more about their effects on labour relations between different levels in the occupational structure. The promotion of accounting was part of the wider campaign for agricultural improvement, which must be understood as a campaign for social reform as much as technological advancement. New knowledge of farm management was combined with new ideas about the division of knowledge and labour within agricultural production. While scholars such as Bryer and Tribe have traced the development of a capitalist mentality based on new forms of accounting, especially double-entry bookkeeping, we have yet to explore accounting as part of wider changes in agricultural knowledge which contributed to new divisions of knowledge and labour on capitalist farms. The development of accounting knowledge in printed manuals is considered from two perspectives. Firstly, the moral framework in which accounting advice was offered. This includes criticisms of the lack (or poor quality) of accounting among common farmers, which was used to argue that oversight was necessary by men of sufficient education. Plus the anxiety among farm managers and landowners about being cheated by their servants, establishing the need for careful control over the accounting process. Secondly, the role of accounting in the planned curricula in the various educational schemes proposed throughout the eighteenth century, which specified what knowledge was required by different occupational groups and how accounting fitted within an ideal managerial structure. This paper argues that this social dimension is necessary to understanding how agricultural authors envisioned the crucial role of accounting in a reformed, capitalist agriculture. A key feature was a greater division between mental and manual labour; the ideal farmer was reimagined as someone who labours with their head more than their hands. Accounting was part of a new theoretical expertise championed by an emerging class of agricultural professionals who claimed possession of specialist knowledge. It was promoted in agricultural books which themselves helped separate the intellectual elements of farming by offering codified knowledge in an agreeable form for gentlemen. Control over accounting knowledge, and the intellectual powers of agricultural production in general, was crucial for full control of the labour process.

8.9.2. Women that count. The missing link in the economic normalization of agriculture in nineteenth-century France

Nathalie Joly, Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté, Dijon, France

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the development of a model for estate management in France in which literacy and numeracy practices reigned supreme (Joly, 2011 and 2016). Treatises on rural economy stigmatized careless bookkeeping by large landowners; they likewise criticized the informal management underlying the ethos of the small producer. For the erudite and economic elites, only the technique of double-entry bookkeeping was worthy of interest because it led with rigor and assurance to the most profitable speculations. They worked to refine the details of its implementation in the management of their model farms and to communicate and encourage its adoption among the greatest number. But what fate did the elites reserve for women in their quest to reform the economic conduct of rural inhabitants? To what extent have accounting and management tasks positioned them as actors in the transition to modernity? We cannot ignore the fact that women had lucrative activities in their hands (farmyard, dairy, pigsty, gardening, apiary and orchard) and that they had the proverbial power to “make and break houses”. This communication aims to shed light on the social construction of women’s role in the economic management of the farm, taking the nineteenth century as a reference period and the literature aimed at women as a powerful producer of norms. Based on a total corpus of 97 home economics textbooks published from 1804 to 1899, the paper will highlight the educational project designed to different strata of the rural female population, from wives on large estates to young peasant girls. Emphasis will be placed on how the authors strove to prescribe roles and develop

accounting and management skills among this composite female readership and naturalize gender qualities, such as regularity and accuracy, which were so valuable in the keeping of accounts. Thanks to the series of manuals published throughout the nineteenth century, we will see ready circulation between elitist and popular models, breaking with a strictly top-down scheme of analysis of the popularization of accounting. Similarly, there will be blurred gender differences. Although government-sponsored awards went to accounting manuals designed for landowners, a parallel literature seems to have found its audience, and in studying it closely, we note that the model of the “woman farmer” as a partner in economic speculation can very well coexist alongside the model of the wife accountant as merely her husband’s helper.

8.9.3. Accounting practices of big French farms during in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Laurent Herment, CRH EHESS/CNRS, Paris, France

Accounting books are often considered as a sign of the introduction of capitalist ethos among farmers. The double parts accounting should be considered as the best way to implement such ethos based on the research of profit. But indeed beyond the printed sources (textbook), the practice of accounting among farmers was unknown. Yet there are many account books in French Archives available to assess the way to that farmers adopted to keep account books. They were usually kept by big and wealthy farmer who not only experimented new ways to farm but, often, were industrialists also. Such an accounting books is available at Lille (Archives du monde du travail). It constitutes a precocious example of account books kept by one of the most advanced farmers of the Île-de-France who also managed a starch factory (c. 1835–c. 1880). Such an archive allows us to demonstrate that, even among the most advanced and wealthy farmers, the accounting practices was far from a perfect model promoted by textbook. Indeed, the capitalist ethos did not lay in the technical aspect of accounting books, but in the daily management of farm and industry that these books reveal.

SESSION 9 • WEDNESDAY 22 JUNE • 15:00–17:00

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
9.1. Cattle and Colonization 2 Claire Strom	9.1.1. British colonial policies towards agriculture-grazing lands-forests and its impact on cattle in Central India: A nineteenth century study Laxman Satya	9.1.2. Common Lands and Cattle: The Problem of Grazing Lands in Colonial Andhra during the Nineteenth Century Vijay Kumar Thangellapali	9.1.3. Conquering the "Cattle Complex": How Europeans Utilized Cattle in the Colonization of Africa Claire Strom	9.1.4. Creating the Renitelo. Cattle Breeding and Veterinary Science in Late Colonial and Early Postcolonial Madagascar Samuël Coghe	9:1 Room 1
9.2. Rural Politics and Society: Representing and representation in rural society 1 George Vascik	9.2.1. The evolution of the agrarian parties in Spain and Greece during the interwar period Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis	9.2.2. When land reform is not enough: small farmers and political representation in interwar Europe James Simpson	9.2.3. Whose interest? Whose politics? The debate over representation in Northwest Germany, 1928–1930 George Vascik	9.2.4. Black, White, Farmer: Race and the Political Economy of Agrarian Representation in the US Farm Crisis Rebecca Shimoni-Stoil	9:2 Room 2
9.3. New theoretical approaches to pre-industrial rural household labour Carolina Uppenberg	9.3.1. Challenging the domestic. Understanding the semi-landless household through social reproduction theory Carolina Uppenberg	9.3.2. Forms of Servitude: Indentures for Poor Child Apprentices in England 1598–1700 James Fisher	9.3.3. Free to be coerced: The rural working poor in Medieval Sweden Martin Andersson		9:3 Room 3
9.4. The History of Horticulture 1 Inger Olausson	9.4.1. From Dewy Apples to Sprayed Fruit: Plant Protection in Swedish Orchards 1850–1950 Inger Olausson	9.4.2. From Small-Scale and Locally Grown to a Global Trade. A Hundred Years of Growth and Transformation for Swedish Horticultural Production. Magnus Bohman	9.4.3. The structural role of vegetable garden in the reproduction of peasant families in Catalonia (18th and 19th centuries) Llorenc Ferrer-Alos	9.4.3. The structural role of vegetable garden in the reproduction of peasant families in Catalonia (18th and 19th centuries) Llorenc Ferrer-Alos	9:4 Room 4
9.5. The social construction of the market. Market land transfers in customary systems in Europe and developing countries, 18th–21st centuries 1 Eric Léonard	9.5.1. Land market within family groups. Effects and functioning of a land market embedded in kinship relations in Madagascar Highlands Hadrien Di Roberto	9.5.2. Redeemable sales: from customary practices to their re-framing under state law. An ethno-historical perspective Jean-Pierre Jacob	9.5.3. The Emergence and Dynamics of Rural Land Transactions in West African Contexts Jean-Philippe Colin		9:5 Room 5
9.6. (Trans)national Mobilization: The March 1971 Farm Protest 50 years on Chantal Bisschop	9.6.1. No farmer in the field. The Belgian agricultural organizations and the 1971 demonstration(s) against the Mansholt Plan Chantal Bisschop	9.6.2. The Pork is a Lion. Italian Farmers' Reactions to the CAP Reform Before, During and After the 1971 Brussels Demonstration Kalliopi Geronymaki	9.6.3. Transnationalizing farm protest to avoid marginalization? COPA-COGECA and the challenge of the Mansholt Plan Carine Germond		9:6 Room 6
9.7. The role of agriculture in economic development and structural change: a 20th Century macro perspective Angel Luis Gonzalez-Esteban	9.7.1. A Special Product? Expansion and Geography of the International Meat Trade in the First Globalization and the Great Depression Pablo Delgado	9.7.2. The CAP and the social and economic development of EEC/EU countries from the Sixties to the New Millennium: the cases of dairy and wine sectors Andrea Maria	9.7.3. Past, present and future of the farm problem: a global vision Angel Luis Gonzalez-Esteban		9:7 Room 7

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
9.8. The Seamy Side of Rural Commons? Inequality and Exclusion in the Management of Early Modern Collective Resources Niels Grüne	9.8.1. Exclusion mechanisms and environmental consequences in premodern commons. A comparative analysis. Maïka De Keyzer	9.8.2. Management of the Commons and Inequality Growth in the Republic of Venice: 16th to 18th century Giulio Ongaro	9.8.3. Inequality and the management of complexity. Individuals, classes and communities in struggle for shared common lands in modern Spain José-Miguel Lana	9.8.4. 'The Subversion of "Common Pool Resources": entitlement and the corruption of common pasture lands in English towns, 1600–1870' Henry French	9:8 Room 8
9.9. New model peasant. Income integration in peasant economies in central and eastern Europe Aleksander Panjek	9.9.1. Rural Non-Agricultural Activities in South Bohemia During the Second Half of the Seventeenth and in the Eighteenth Century Josef Grulic	9.9.2. Non-agricultural activity of Polish peasants in the 16th century in the light of tax registers and inventories of royal and church estates. Piotr Guzowski	9.9.3. Work Obligations and Incomes of the Peasant Population in Medieval Serbia from the 13th to 15th Century Miloš Ivanović	9.9.4. Industrious peasants in socialist Slovenia between struggle for survival and the desire to improve their well-being Polona Sitar	9:9 Room 9



Working with the laundry, c. 1910–1930.

9.1. Cattle and Colonization 2

Claire Strom, Rollins College, UK

This panel will explore the connections between cattle and colonization in different locations around the globe. Europeans viewed livestock as an important driver of imperialism, both intentionally and otherwise. From the Cape Colony to Colombia, cattle helped Europeans take over new lands, dominate indigenous peoples, and realize vast profits. This had a variety of consequences. Non-native species, when introduced to an ecology, frequently fundamentally altered it. Their very animality impacted colonized ecosystems and indigenous economies, facilitating imperialism. Nonetheless, the ability of cattle to succeed in new environments was not inevitable. Deliberate actions of the colonizing humans often proved vital in facilitating the biological irruption of Old World domestic livestock. Colonizers encouraged the killing of native animals that competed with their livestock. They also ensured the success of their cattle by cultural domination. As conquerors, the Europeans imposed their laws regarding land and stock. Conveniently, the colonists articulated that ownership of land was tied to intensive, “European-style” use of land. They did not recognize most of the land management practiced by indigenous peoples throughout the New World and Antipodes as agriculture and, thus, did not recognize the land as being owned. Thus, native resources were legally appropriated for western cattle, enhancing this species’ odds of survival. Where biological pressures and legal advantages proved insufficient, colonists ensured the domination of Old World cattle with violence. The histories of European expansion are rife with violence from official military campaigns to extralegal massacres. These frequently had the effect, either intended or ancillary, of benefiting stockraising. Thus, over the course of four to five hundred years, Europeans succeeded in colonizing much of the globe. Cattle facilitated this process, which altered countless ecosystems and resulted in huge species loss and the disintegration of indigenous cultures. However, European livestock and conceptions of stockraising also changed. New environments dramatically altered animal breeds, and colonists purposefully bred animals to prosper in local conditions and meet market requirements. The introduction of non-native species also allowed indigenous peoples to interact with animals previously unknown to them. This changed their relationship with the land and other peoples. Interactions – usually unequal – between colonists and indigenous peoples grew around cattle production, which had economic, social, and political consequences.

Chair: Claire Strom

Discussant: Abigail Woods, King’s College, London, UK

9.1.1. British colonial policies towards agriculture-grazing lands-forests and its impact on cattle in Central India: A nineteenth century study

Laxman Satya, Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania, USA

This is a study in the modern environmental history of the British Empire in South Asia. The imperial and colonial era is placed in the broader ecological history of this entire region. At the microscopic level, the paper will be focused on Central India. At the macroscopic level, this region will be placed in the experience of the Indian Sub-continent. The approaching timeframe is nineteenth century colonial rule in India. The traditional interdependency between agriculture, grazing lands, and forests were massively disrupted by the British colonial policies during the nineteenth century. Its impact on the overall environmental and ecological conditions were drastic and devastating. The paper will critically analyze the nature of this impact on cattle and people in Central India whose lives were deeply intertwined with the surrounding natural environment. Colonial commercialization in India led to an all-out attack on village commons that were designated as ‘wastelands’ to be fully exploited. But for the cattle and people, these lands were a cushion to survive during droughts and scarcities. The colonial takeover and restructuring of the grazing lands, forests, and agriculture proved to be quite detrimental. Imperial restrictions on hitherto free access to these resources removed the survival cushion to ward off devastating events such as acute scarcity, famine, and disease. In addition to forests and pastures, the region also experienced problem of water availability, manure, fodder, firewood, soil erosion, salination, medicines, etc. Even hunting and gathering for survival was declared illegal. Institutional attempts were made to force cattle out of free range grazing and into stall feeding. This endangered the livelihood of cultivators, grazers, animal husbandry, forest dwellers, and most significantly women. The consequences of all this were dramatic. Nineteenth century became a watershed in the long ecological history of the Indian Sub-continent with natural calamities, scarcities, epidemic diseases, famines, and death happening every decade. It is estimated that some thirty to forty million people may have died, along with more than double the number of cattle. It will be argued that the British colonial policies towards agriculture, grazing lands and forests was commercial in nature. And that its impact has been devastating to the health and wellbeing of cattle and people. This was the case of British India in general, and Central India in particular.

9.1.2. Common Lands and Cattle: The Problem of Grazing Lands in Colonial Andhra during the Nineteenth Century

Vijay Kumar Thangellapali, Sikkim University, Gangtok, India

This paper analyses the impact of the British Indian government policies through their land systems and institutions on the common lands like grazing lands and forests. It shows how they affected the cattle in South India and particularly in Andhra during the nineteenth century. The newly introduced property rights institution caused to wither away gradually the concept of common land. The main effect of such policy of the colonial state was non-availability of sufficient grazing lands to cattle. It lost tax free pasture lands and less rated pastures. Since the colonial state considered they were the owners of all waste lands and forests, they imposed various taxes for cattle grazing such as pullari (grazing tax). They had imposed pullari on all non-cultivated lands in the name of waste and forests. On the other hand, colonial forest policies shrunk the areas for grazing. The peasant communities suffered from the heavy taxes for grazing and strict forest rules led to the imposing taxes on the peasantry. The Forest Conservancy Act further affected the peasantry and cattle as their pasture lands either decreased or unavailable due to high rates to be paid to the government. The Madras Forest Conservancy Act was passed in 1882. With this, there were several changes in the cattle grazing. It caused the reduction of pasture lands in Andhra region. Free access to the forests for various purposes was stopped. It became serious discussion even among the British officials. The cattle grazers had to pay grazing tax more than what they paid earlier. Meanwhile, the waste lands, which were free for grazing, came under the forest conservancy rules. Many cattle crossed the lines of forest conservancy areas were impounded and the peasants had to pay heavy fines. With new forest rules, the grazing lands declined. People started alternative methods, like taking the dry lands at dry rates of land tax and using them for pastures. This further affected dry land cultivation. Conse-

quently, cattle rearing became less profitable. Despite having the world famous cattle breeds, the peasants and cattle traders of Andhra suffered due to such policies. Peasantry felt that it was difficult to send their cattle to grazing lands as they had to pay heavy taxes. The declining of pasture lands led to various cattle diseases and the decline of cattle.

9.1.3. Conquering the “Cattle Complex”: How Europeans Utilized Cattle in the Colonization of Africa

Claire Strom, Rollins College, UK

In the Americas and Antipodes, cattle along with other Old World beasts, acted as agents of colonization, destroying the ecosystems that maintained indigenous fauna. The situation in Africa was vastly different. There, Europeans encountered human cultures that were fundamentally based on the ownership and use of cattle. Nevertheless, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, European governments and corporations still managed to utilize cattle to facilitate their conquests. This played out in three broad arenas: first, the Europeans seized land that was vital to supporting a thriving cattle culture. From the Dutch taking land from the Khoikhois, to the seizure of Xhosa territory after the Great Cattle Killings, to the appropriation of land in modern-day Zimbabwe by the British South Africa Company, colonists reduced native landholdings—especially of good land—and therefore African capacity to maintain their herds. Second, colonists took native herds. Some of this was blatantly illegal—indeed, many of the men who participated in the invasion of Zimbabwe were promised “loot,” which was often in the form of cattle. However, as colonial governments developed, they legalized their seizure in the form of taxation or guarantors of good behavior by natives. Finally, cattle diseases and colonial response to them reduced African holdings. The growing trade on the continent spread bovine diseases quickly and efficiently, resulting in devastating plagues of babesiosis, East Coast fever, anaplasmosis, bovine pleuropneumonia, and, above all, rinderpest. Colonial policies prioritized colonial cattle for treatment and native cattle for culling, often requiring Africans work for the state during the epizootics, which reduced their ability to protect their herds. Moving into the twentieth century, scientific responses to disease increasingly involved expense and expertise that Africans usually lacked, and the consequence of non-participation was frequently the culling of the herd. Overall, cattle played an important part in the colonization of Africa, as Europeans consistently undermined this mainstay of native culture, thus weakening any potential resistance to their dominance.

9.1.4. Creating the Renitelo. Cattle Breeding and Veterinary Science in Late Colonial and Early Postcolonial Madagascar

Samuël Coghe, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Improving livestock and livestock farming practices became an important field of intervention in late nineteenth and twentieth-century colonial Africa and Asia. Veterinary experts not only fought animal diseases or tried to change the perceived laissez faire attitudes of indigenous livestock owners, they also introduced new species or new breeds that seemed economically more promising than indigenous ones. At least in the case of bovine cattle, however, “pure” breeds from Europe or other temperate climates usually proved badly adapted to (sub)tropical diseases, environments and pastoralist practices. Many died prematurely, yet others were used to cross-breed with local cattle breeds. This paper presents a case study on the creation of the so-called Renitelo (‘three mothers’ in Malgasy) in late colonial and early postcolonial Madagascar. Officially presented as a new ‘race’ in 1966, the Renitelo was the result of almost four decades of cross-breeding efforts at the experimental station of Kianjasoa, involving local zebu cattle, Limousins from France and Afrikanders from South Africa. It was said to combine high economic productivity (of tasteful meat, milk and draught power) with a desirable level of ‘rusticité’ or hardiness, needed to face the challenging environmental conditions and extensive farming practices of Central Madagascar. The paper first disentangles the economic, medical and also nationalist motives that led to the Renitelo. In a second step, it explores the shifting scientific paradigms and breeding practices adopted by French and Malgasy vets in Kianjasoa. Finally, it asks to what extent and on what basis the Renitelo was accepted by Malgasy stockmen.

9.2. Rural Politics and Society: Representing and representation in rural society 1

George Vascik, Miami University, Ohio, USA; Daniel Brett, University College London, UK

This panel is interested broadly in the problems associated with how rural society organized in order to advance its political, economic and social interests. Is the attempt to represent rural society destined to fail and if so why? Alternatively, what have movements and organizations that have sustained themselves done in order to do so? We pose the question – is the structure and nature of rural society inimical to effective collective action and the creation of organizations to represent rural interests? We are interested in the reasons behind and the processes involved the formation of groups and organizations as well and their collapse. We are interested in questions of voice, agency and power within rural society and how this is reflected in rural organizations. We are keen to explore the barriers to effective collective action and representation at a local, national and international level. We consider these to be the critical question at the heart of understanding the countryside and its relations with wider society and to understanding the dynamics of rural society itself. We welcome papers exploring any time period or location and from any disciplinary approach. We are seeking to explore comparisons across regions and time to develop a broader picture of rural politics and the problems of representation. As this is a broad topic we invite papers to focus on one of four potential areas: i) Voice and Agency of rural actors (individuals and groups) ii) The problems of collective action and representation of groups or sections of rural society (i.e. what social, political, cultural barriers hinder collective action – locally, regionally, nationally, globally?) iii) Power structures and hierarchies – the effects of social, economic, cultural transformations upon these structures and its impact on attempts to represent the countryside iv) Local – National interactions – how do local actors interact at a national level and with national level actors?

Chair: Ulrich Schwarz-Graeber

Discussant: Jordi Planas, University of Barcelona, Spain

9.2.1. The evolution of the agrarian parties in Spain and Greece during the interwar period

Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain

The development of the agrarian parties in Spain and Greece during the interwar period will be the backbone of this paper. The early 1920s will be our starting point as they coincide with the first efforts for the establishment of an agrarian party in the two countries. The year 1936 will be a turning point in our study, since in both countries the operation of an agrarian party or the initiatives for its setting-up were suspended for different reasons. The outbreak of the civil war in Spain on 18 July 1936, on the one hand, and the imposition of the Metaxas dictatorship in Greece on 4 August of the same year, on the other, created a new framework in the two countries which, among other things, affected the evolution of these specific political formations. After a brief reference to aspects of the social, economic and political reality in both countries during the interwar period, we will focus on the initiatives taken in the direction of the establishment of an agrarian party. Which were the ideological characteristics of the parties founded and their stands in certain basic issues as, for example, the redistribution of land, the role of the State in the regulation of the market and the labour relations in the rural space? What was the role of the agrarian organisations and the agri-

cultural co-operatives in the formation of the parties? These are some of the questions we will try to answer in this paper so as to help us to outline the similarities and differences between the Spanish and the Greek case. Moreover, we would like to examine the dynamism of the local networks and their impact on the efforts for the formation of the agrarian parties. Within this context it would be very interesting to examine whether the agrarian parties established in the two countries managed eventually to obtain a national appeal acting as exponents of the demands of the agrarian population – or certain parts of it – or, on the contrary, they only penetrated specific regions. Finally, the presence of heterogeneous trends in their ranks and the extent to which the rivalries among local agrarian leaders influenced their overall development will be some additional points of concern in this paper.

9.2.2. When land reform is not enough: small farmers and political representation in interwar Europe

James Simpson, Universidad Carlos III, Madrid, Spain

Europe's family farms by the interwar period had established themselves as the most important production unit. In Western Europe this had been realized by the steady erosion of the economic and political powers of the landed elites, especially from the 1870s, but in Eastern Europe it was achieved by land reform in the wake of the First World War. At a time when male suffrage was being extended, small farmers came to account for between a quarter and half of all voters in many countries.

This paper looks at the experience of land reform, and in particular its ability, by changing economic incentives, to increase farm output and raise living standards of the poorest groups of society, as well as its ability to empower them politically. It argues that the results differed according to whether land reform took place in transforming economies (Czechoslovakia, Spain), where the relative importance of the farm sector had already begun to decline in the face of industrialization, or in agricultural-based societies (Bulgaria, Romania), where agriculture employed two-thirds or more of the active population. Because European land reforms took place in economies where the stock of underutilized land was minimal, and traditional cultivation techniques had been reasonably efficient on the expropriated estates, there was too little land to allocate to the landless to create self-supporting farms. This problem might have been alleviated if there had been strong possibilities for export, but instead most farmers in interwar Europe saw a closing of opportunities. Instead, there was a tendency for settled farmers to accumulate underutilized resources in the form of farm implements and work animals. Finally, the possibilities offered by universal male suffrage, land reform, and cooperatives to establish new Agrarian states failed, both because of the land shortages (and the economic retreat of small farmers) and the fact that cooperatives were too often organized 'top-down' rather than 'bottom-up'.

9.2.3. Whose interest? Whose politics?

The debate over representation in Northwest Germany, 1928–1930

George Vascik, Miami University, Ohio, USA

How to best represent the interests of Germany's rural population was a matter of enormous contestation from the agrarian crisis of the 1890s through to the creation of the Third Reich in 1933. In Protestant northern Germany, the Agrarian League (or Bund der Landwirte) claimed to represent the rural interest. Beneath this overarching, simplistic schema, regional and class conflict were continually at play. As far as northern Germany was concerned, the post-War political and economic situation seemed to solve many of these differences. In December 1918, the provisional government or Congress of People's Deputies, ordered the creation of county-level peasants' councils (Bauernräte) to assist with the maintenance of order in the countryside and to facilitate the transport of food to the cities. These councils in time transformed themselves in county peasant leagues that in 1920 were consolidated into a national organization, the Reichslandbund (RLB). Although the new RLB employed many BdL functionaries, operated out of the old BdL headquarters on Dessauerstraße and published the old League newspaper, it was a far different animal. Unlike its predecessor, it was a far different animal. It was confederal rather than unitary and non-partisan (support-

ing all political parties. The onset of a deep and lasting agricultural crisis in the late fall of 1927 brought this era of relative comity to an end. Officials in the RLB Berlin offices and the editors of the Deutsche Tageszeitung decided that support for the established political parties could not solve the new crisis and in February formed a new political party, the Christian Nationalist Peasants and Rural Peoples Party (CNBLP) to contest the upcoming May 1928 national election. This was an unprecedented break with both the recent and the longer-term past within German rural organizational life. In this paper, I will explore the long-term debate within German agrarianism about the best vehicle for influencing rural policy (party or interest group) and explore the conflicting interests and individuals that brought this break to a head in 1928. Relatively little work has been done on the RLB and only one monograph exists on the CNBLP. Using the political press, archival documents from the Bundesarchiv in Berlin and local electoral statistics, this paper is a first step towards understanding the dynamics of German rural politics in the critical era between the onset of economic depression and the Nazi ascension to power in 1933.

9.2.4. Black, White, Farmer: Race and the Political Economy of Agrarian Representation in the US Farm Crisis

Rebecca Shimoni-Stoil, Clemson University, USA

In 2013, Dodge Ram entered one of the most difficult public relations competitions in the United States, spending between \$15–20 million on a Super Bowl commercial that would be viewed by 108 million live viewers. The commercial, named simply "Farmer," has been viewed at least 300 million additional times on YouTube, demonstrating the continuing appeal of its romantic imagery evoking an American agricultural landscape of small family farms, emphasizing masculinity and whiteness as key components of that identity. The power of this imagery within American political and cultural rhetoric enabled farmers in the post-war period to advocate for their interests through these appeals to emotion and sentimentality, a tactic gaining greater importance as the numerical and thus legislative influence of farmers declined. This messaging complicated, however, avenues of advocacy for farmers who did not conform to this socially conservative mold. This paper examines the ways in which farmers of color presented themselves, organized, and advocated for their survival during the critical period of the late twentieth-century Farm Crisis, arguing that while mainstream farm advocates grounded their claims in an affirmation of a capitalist-entrepreneurial model of family farming, marginalized farmers deployed these affirmations alongside radical reinterpretations of the economic models for farming and subsidies. Historically marginalized within the legacy organizations for agrarian advocacy, these farmers of color relied upon other community structures and identity framework, most notably church systems and civil rights organizations, to provide the advocacy and support necessary for their survival. Relying on oral history transcripts, legal records, contemporary news accounts, and a careful reading of popular cultural production, this paper ultimately demonstrates how the dynamics of subaltern positionality generated an assertion of agency characterized by creative reimagination of norms and institutions coupled with reliance on historical community structures.

9.3. New theoretical approaches to pre-industrial rural household labour

Carolina Uppenberg, Lund University, Sweden; James Fisher, University of Exeter, UK; Martin Andersson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

In pre-industrial societies, the household was the main site of production and a pivotal form of labour organization. Consequently, rural dynamics must be understood by analyzing the social role of different labouring groups and their relation to each other: masters and mistresses, children and foster-children, servants, apprentices and occasional labourers, as well as comparing how rural labour was organized differently within landed, semi-landless and landless households. In this session, we will take advantage of theoretical perspectives in gender history, labour history, agrarian political economy and development studies in order to expand our understanding of rural household labour organization. The number of studies of women's and children's contribution both to pre-industrial economic growth and to household living standards have expanded rapidly over the last decades. The results are unequivocal in illustrating how rural household members had different work tasks, different statuses and were subject to different legal restrictions. Yet, the pre-industrial agrarian household is surrounded by a host of assumptions, not least concerning the gender division of labour, such that it is rarely subject to in-depth studies of its internal power dimensions. Similarly, to the extent that household labour is studied, it is usually in relation to market dynamics rather than the extensive set of labour laws that regulated the distribution of household labour. Following the admonitions recently (2019) delivered by Jane Whittle, we believe that the study of pre-modern rural household labour organization has a lot to gain from studies of modern internal household labour organization and recent theoretical advances made in gender history, labour history, and sociological theories of power and resistance in work relations: the division of labour in a household is never a natural order but instead structured by dimensions of power, based on gender, age, nationality, social status etc, and shaped by external pressures from community and state. Treating the pre-industrial household as a coherent entity with a single common interest not only lacks empirical precision, but also fails to make use of the theoretical advancements in the history of labour. In this session, we want to combine empirical studies of various types of pre-industrial rural households, and the labour organization in which they were engaged, with theoretical perspectives addressing both internal and external power relations. The theoretical perspectives may include, but are not limited to, theories on gender, free/unfree labour, as well as economic theories of agrarian change. We welcome contributions studying all time periods or societies that may be regarded as pre-industrial. Examples of questions that may be addressed in the individual papers are: What role did legislation have in defining and structuring the division of labour between household members? How did gendered divisions of labour interact with other dimensions such as legal position, ethnicity, age, civil status? How did external demands and extraction of household labour or resources influence the household labour organization? How did different kinds of pluri-activity and/or proto-industrialisation interact with or change household power dynamics?

Chair & discussant: Isidora Grubacki, Central European University, Hungary

9.3.1. Challenging the domestic. Understanding the semi-landless household through social reproduction theory

Carolina Uppenberg, Lund University, Sweden

This paper is part of a project studying gender division of labour and economic change through crofters' households. In this paper, crofters' households are analysed theoretically with the Marxist gender theory social reproduction theory. While the Marxist conviction is that labour produces wealth, the question of social reproduction theory is: what work, under what conditions and in what kind of relations produces labourers? (cf. Bhattacharya (ed.) 2017) This is a question with the potential to open up the crofter's household for a new understanding of pre-industrial gender division of labour, since the reproductive work that is needed to produce labourers has also in studies of pre-industrial societies been i) taken-for-granted and ii) women's work. To capture women's work is an empirical challenge, but as important is the theoretical aspect: to challenge the understanding of women's work as 'domestic' (cf. Whittle 2019). While the crofter institution was defined by its feudal labour organisation with day labouring for the landowner, the enabling of the day labour duties was an enormous amount of work done to 'produce the day labourer'. Not only food preparation, clothes production and heating of the croft was needed in order to make the day labourer ready for another day of work for the landowner, but the institution depended also upon work at the crofter's plot of land and livestock as well as birth giving and upbringing of a new generation of crofters. Crofters were married to a very large extent, indicating the need for female labour to sustain the institution. The point of social reproduction theory is that it is not possible to understand the productive labour without analysing the reproductive labour that necessarily was part of it – it was only thanks to this work that the productive power of the crofter institution could be realized. Through an analysis of the institutional framework of the crofter institution and empirically the work of crofters' wives, this paper is a theoretical intervention in order to analyse what a pre-industrial household is and how it could be studied, as well as how women's work and domestic work could be understood. I suggest that the analysis developed in the realm of social reproduction theory can advance our understanding also of pre-industrial gender division of labour and labour organisation.

9.3.2. Forms of Servitude: Indentures for Poor Child Apprentices in England 1598–1700

James Fisher, University of Exeter, UK

This paper offers a systematic analysis of indentures to explore the relative freedom/unfreedom of parish apprentices in rural households in seventeenth-century England. The 1598 Poor Law created a new form of bonded labour for poor children, requiring new legal forms to bind them. Local state officials were granted power to bind young children from poor families to live and work unpaid in other households as an apprentice until 21 (girls) or 24 (boys) years old, often in 'husbandry' or 'housewifery'. Such children lacked freedom relative to older and more prosperous peers whose parents negotiated a private apprenticeship or who voluntarily entered annual service. Parish apprenticeships therefore provide a rich lens to explore the intersection of multiple dimensions of domination in pre-industrial rural household labour – youth, poverty and gender – where the internal power dynamics of the household were directly shaped by the external hand of the state. Previous studies using indentures have been almost entirely quantitative, counting key characteristics such as the age and gender of the child, relying on eighteenth-century indentures which had settled into a standardised form. Yet there was no standard form in the early seventeenth century as local areas interpreted and implemented the new law differently. Indeed, even relatively standard clauses could be selected and combined to produce a diverse range of contracts. Early indentures show variation in whether the child was named as a contracting party, who was exercising the power of binding the child, the description of the labour relation, and the duties of apprentice and master, including clauses obliging the master to provide training. A systematic qualitative analysis of early indentures reveals how local authorities understood and administered this new form of servitude. This paper provides evidence from over a thousand seventeenth-century indentures from the counties of Devon and Somerset in south west England. It examines what clauses early indentures contained, how this varied in relation to

the child's age, gender or family circumstance, and the process of standardisation in different economic contexts over time. The extent to which certain clauses in indentures were actually enforced will be addressed using evidence from the county courts that regulated apprenticeships (Quarter Sessions). Since it was their indentures that legally distinguished parish apprentices from servants performing similar tasks in the same rural household, this analysis enables a more precise understanding of their relative freedom/unfreedom.

9.3.3. Free to be coerced: The rural working poor in Medieval Sweden

Martin Andersson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Since the beginning of the fourteenth century, slavery (in the form of thralldom) had disappeared as a means of organising labour in Sweden. Although all people were technically free, there existed a number of labour institutions through which the rural poor could be coerced into working for landholders. Among these, the servant institution is the most well-known, and although it was widely used, most poor people who made a living working for others were not servants. Using theoretical concepts of coercion, developed by labour historians, this paper explores a few of the most common other forms of labour institutions that structured rural labour in late medieval Sweden. Specifically, it asks how changes in institutional arrangements regarding contracts, remunerations and means of coercion might have affected the labour division within the households of the rural poor, as well as how these arrangements were argued politically and ideologically understood.



Harrowing with the tractor, 1962.

9.4. The History of Horticulture 1

Inger Olausson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden; Matti Leino, Stockholm University, Sweden; Magnus Bohman, Umeå University, Sweden

The history of horticulture is a rather new research field. As such, the borders of the field are wide and this session aims to illustrate that by welcoming proposals from many disciplines. However, in order to bridge gaps and find common denominators in terms of theory, methods and sources, we especially welcome proposals that consider long-term, comparative and inter-disciplinary perspectives. Thus, a paramount aim of the session is to help define and develop this dynamic and expansive research field further. The history of horticulture is a novel field of research in many parts of the world. It is distinguished from the field of garden history, which emerges more out of art history and landscape architecture. It is also distinguished from agrarian history through its objects of investigation, i.e. garden produce such as vegetables, fruits and ornamentals – all of which are typically distinguished from agricultural production in terms of the scale, crop species, and intensity of cultivation. Traditionally, research on food supply focuses primarily on agricultural production, but recent research within garden archaeology, agrarian history and economic history has revealed a significant importance of garden produce throughout history, in towns and on the countryside and in all social strata.

Chair: Matti Leino

Discussant: Per Larsson, Association for the Cultural History of Southern Sweden

9.4.1. From Dewy Apples to Sprayed Fruit: Plant Protection in Swedish Orchards 1850–1950

Inger Olausson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

This paper will focus on the transition of methods used for plant protection in Swedish orchards between 1850 and 1950. During the second half of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth, commercial horticulture expanded rapidly in Sweden and in other parts of the world. Rapid technological development, especially in the transport sector, contributed to the growth of national and international trade. Because fruit was in demand and commanded premium prices during this period, it was one of the early horticultural products transported over long distances. This resulted in dramatic increases in competition in the market, and thus growers were forced to adapt their cultivation practices to meet competitive demands for higher quality products. Simultaneously, many new (imported) pests and diseases started to occur in Sweden, affecting quality aspects of domestic fruit. During the last decades of the 19th century, a new form of large-scale, highly specialized commercial orchard was introduced into Sweden. In order to achieve higher quality appearances of fruit crops, without investing too much in costly labor, growers turned to pesticides which were often promoted as an agent to improve fruit quality. New generations of more effective – and more harmful – pesticides were introduced to the Swedish horticulturists from the early 20th century; initially carbolineum (derived from coal tar) and arsenic compounds like Paris green and lead arsenate, and these were followed by synthetic compounds like DDT. By the end of the 19th century, a combination of methods were used for pest control: preventive cultivation methods, mechanical methods, biological pest control and pesticides. During the first decades of the 20th century, the use of pesticides increased sharply, e.g. due to successful marketing campaigns, a changed competition for horticultural produce and the introduction of new pests and diseases.

9.4.2. From Small-Scale and Locally Grown to a Global Trade. A Hundred Years of Growth and Transformation for Swedish Horticultural Production.

Magnus Bohman, Umeå University, Sweden; Inger Olausson, Gothenburg University, Sweden

This paper investigates long-term development of horticultural production in Sweden, from a boom in the wake of the industrial revolution in the late 19th century and up until the 1970s. It argues for future research within the field history of horticulture, and aims to provide a supportive analytical framework for further comparative investigations. The analysis draws on previous research concerning nutritional transition, and the paper specifies influencing factors during formative periods and relates them to changing consumer preferences, and categorizes them according to their effects on demand and supply capacity. A breakthrough for a Swedish horticultural industry during the late 19th century is mainly explained by increased demand capacity caused by rising incomes and new consumption patterns. The shortcomings of domestic supply capacity soon became evident as imports started to increase rapidly from around 1900, and global competition has remained hard and has shaped domestic production ever since. The world wars swiftly changed competition in favour of domestic producers, who were still unable to keep up with demand. The interwar period brought increased State regulations of agriculture, but horticultural production remained unregulated. The rapid expansion of global trade after the second world war brought back intense competition, but also a successful transformation and increased efficiency supported by State aid. The recession and rising energy prices caused by the oil crises of the 1970s hit Swedish producers hard, especially greenhouse production. However, it also brought a new wave of increased efficiency of for instance energy and surface use, and new innovations spread worldwide. Increased efficiency also meant that visual appearance and sturdiness became paramount for quality at the expense of taste and scent. Negative reports concerning for instance consequences of using pesticides occurred already in the late 1960s, but the integration of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and fossil fuels into rationalized production systems complicated flexibility for change. In summary, horticultural production in Sweden has since the industrial revolution been unable to fully satisfy an ever-growing domestic demand. With the exception of disruptions caused by the world wars, growing imports has put a hard pressure on Swedish producers who have responded through innovativeness and increased efficiency. However, part of the explanation to why Swedish producers have persevered in global competition lies in consumer preferences: that a favoring of domestic production has remained.

9.4.3. The structural role of vegetable garden in the reproduction of peasant families in Catalonia (18th and 19th centuries)

Llorenç Ferrer-Alos, University of Barcelona, Spain

In Mediterranean Europe, water was in short supply. Crops are described as rainfed because they are cultivated in conditions of water scarcity and, therefore, the land needs to rest for a period of time (fallow land) in the case of cereals, or they have to resort to bush crops (vines, olives, almonds, garrots, etc.). They produce annual crops that are not particularly abundant. Irrigating the land is the solution to achieve an exponential increase in harvests. Wherever it has been possible, infrastructures have been built to convey water to areas to be irrigated. However, the cost of these infrastructures meant that very little was built in the area studied. There was another widespread way of using water and cultivating the land intensively to obtain vegetables, legumes and fruit for subsistence. These were the vegetable gardens. The vegetable gardens were small plots of land (200/400 m²), irrigated, fertilised with vegetable waste, manure from domestic animals and from the people themselves, where the vegetables necessary for subsistence were grown. Where were these vegetable gardens located? It could be behind the houses, watered with rainwater; near a fountain or a well with whose water they irrigated... As the water was at a certain point (for example near a river course), all the families had their vegetable garden there. A communal organisation of the irrigation system was then necessary. Each neighbour had a certain time to irrigate and at a certain hour. This generated conflicts that required mediation processes. Having a garden was very widespread. In reality it became a complement to the main activity. The farmer complemented his main rainfed crops. The artisan cultivated it even if he was engaged in weaving, shoemaking or any other activity. And gardens are found in rural areas, but also in urban areas. The gardens became the best way to deal with crises that might occur. If there was no weaving work, the loom was stopped and better times were expected and the products of the garden helped the subsistence. This paper aims to explain and show the different types of vegetable gardens, the logic they had within the rural community, the community organisation and the geography in Catalonia in the 18th and 19th centuries.

9.5. The social construction of the market. Market land transfers in customary systems in Europe and developing countries, 18th–21st centuries 1

Eric Léonard, French Institute for Development Research, France; Jean-Philippe Colin, French Institute for Development Research, France

The panel aims at giving an opportunity to bring together historiographical studies of the land markets in the ancient regimes of Europe and Latin America, and ethnographic work regarding this issue in customary systems of developing countries – notably in Sub-Saharan Africa. The privileged angle of attack is the social construction of the land markets and their forms of social embeddedness (in the complementary perspectives offered by Karl Polanyi and Mark Granovetter). More broadly, the panel aims at exploring the issue of the emergence and transformation of land markets as part of a broader dynamic of integration of rural societies into market economies. Proposals may examine in particular: • the trajectories of emergence and transformations of market land transfers regulated by social networks or community organizations, in a perspective of institutional change and through an analysis of actors' agency regarding institutions (understood in the sense of 'rules of the game'); • the relationship between transfers of land within family groups and participation in land markets, in terms of inclusion and exclusion of family members regarding access to family land; • the impact of the development of land markets on land-use et land ownership structures; • the impact of the development of land markets on 'commons' (dissolution, redefinition of the perimeters of social membership, redefinition of rules of use and administration, etc.); • the trajectories of conflicts and the emergence of local devices securing market land transfers; • the forms and processes of interaction between social actors and public authorities in the regulation of market land transactions, in particular from the point of view of the relationship between local practices and the legal / regulatory framework

Chair: Eric Leonard, French Research Institute for Development
Discussant: Juan Carmona, Foundation for Research & Technology, Greece

9.5.1. Land market within family groups. Effects and functioning of a land market embedded in kinship relations in Madagascar Highlands

Hadrien Di Roberto, MOISA, Montpellier, France

Increased competition for access to agricultural land in Africa has led to a renewed interest in land markets. While there is a growing literature on the economic effects of markets, equity of land markets in south Saharan Africa is still a controversial issue. Based on a study conducted in the Malagasy Highlands, the presentation analyzes the characteristics of land markets, their institutional foundations, and how they contribute to the processes of land allocation. Family appears as a fundamental institution regarding land sales market. We underline how kinship ties and relations shape market transactions and enforce "priority rules". The presentation asks why do most land sales transactions take place within family groups and what are the effects on land allocation and inequality? This communication is based on field research on land transactions in Madagascar in 2 rural communes of the Malagasy central highlands (Vakinankaratra region). We used mixed methods integrating qualitative and quantitative data. First, we used data from 300 rural households (SALIMA Project from INRAE/CIRAD partnership). Then, between 2016 and 2017, we conducted around 200 qualitative interviews about access to land, as well as direct on-field observations. First, the

presentation analyses the effects on equity of land sales market. Particularly, we try to identify what is the effect of initial land inheritance on land market participation. As a first result, econometric analyses show a less pessimistic picture of land-sales market than we expected in a context of severe land scarcity. Indeed, land markets contribute to equalize the distribution of land in favor of households with less inheritance. Then, the presentation shows that the mitigation of inequalities stemming from inheritance is partly explained by specific family rules that channel land sales offers to relatively less endowed households. It underlines that family and local norms about land transactions lead to market segmentation. Relevant information on land sales mainly circulates within family networks which enable a diversity of household to access land, and may reduce the risk of elite concentration.

9.5.2. Redeemable sales: from customary practices to their re-framing under state law. An ethno-historical perspective

Jean-Pierre Jacob, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland; Eric Léonard, French Research Institute for Development

The sale with an option of repurchase, or redeemable sale, is a widespread institution, which can be found in many customary systems, both across space and time. It can be described as an arrangement by which the owner of real estate, a plot of land or a building, transfers his possession in exchange for a loan, while retaining the possibility, for him and his close relatives, of recovering the full ownership thereof by restitution (without interest, in contrast with mortgage) of the received amount from to the buyer or to his heirs. Redeemable sales have developed as legitimate arrangements in contexts where lending money while perceiving interests suffers from moral (and legal) prohibition, such as Islamic societies, but are hardly reduced to them, since we find them in many “animistic” contexts. The transfer of possession while maintaining the option of redeemability allows both the moneylender to secure his capital (and perceive an interest through the direct use of the transferred property, or its rental), and the borrower to recover the property when his economic situation has improved. In traditional contexts, the redeemability of the land transferred is, in fact, imprescriptible and can be transmitted from generation to generation. This paper aims at exploring the contents and meanings of these practices in reference to several empirical situations, in 19th Century and contemporary Mexico, Madagascar, Burma and Burkina Faso. It will then examine the essential question of the re-framing of the redeemability quality in the context of institutional change, linked to legal transformations of customary property rights and its registration by non-local authorities. Some works, such as those of E. Léonard, in Mexico (2008 and 2020), or S. Huard, in Burma (2014), show how the transformations induced by reforms in the content of property rights and in the system of authorities who ensure the regulation of these rights cause major changes in the meaning of redeemable sales. These conditions create fields of opportunity for capitalized players, such as agricultural entrepreneurs, merchants, officials, or other villagers, to constrain the redeemability option of the seller, and permanently appropriate rights that were transferred only on a temporary basis. The analysis of such processes and of the controversies they can cause makes it possible to decipher the mechanisms of social dis-embeddedness of land practices and land markets.

9.5.3. The Emergence and Dynamics of Rural Land Transactions in West African Contexts

Jean-Philippe Colin, French Institute for Development Research, France

My communication will sketch the conditions and processes of land commodification in West African contexts. Based on a literature review and on field research I conducted in Lower Côte d’Ivoire along these past four decades, it will shed light on four key issues. The factors and processes of land commodification. Land commodification can be related to the increase of land pressure and to the economic valorization of land. The shift from customary transfers to market transactions is most often progressive, and land transfers often remain socio-politically embedded. The commodification of land usually takes place outside the formal legal framework. The divorces between land practices and the legal framework, and between land practices and customary norms, result in the development of informal transactions, and issues of land transfers security (cf infra). The institutional arrangements organizing transactions. The range of types of transactions is very broad (sales, rentals, sharecropping, etc.), with high diversity within generic categories. This diversity bears witness to the institutional innovation capacity of local societies. The actors. Land commoditization in West African contexts is closely related to the arrival of national or foreign ‘outsiders’ – as, until recently, natives in most regions had access to family or lineage land. On the supply side, besides individual owners, heirs of family land estates, and customary authorities, one category is attracting attention: landowners’ young relatives. These actors, sometimes city dwellers, are mentioned in all contexts in ‘hidden’ sales, made with no legitimacy and without the knowledge of the family. On the demand side, two categories stand out: national or foreign non-native family farmers, who have long been identified as key actors in land transactions; and, more recently, national urban actors. The tensions and conflicts induced by land transactions. I’ll focus here on 3 points. (i) When transactions develop on a large scale, tensions sometimes arise from young natives who find themselves marginalized. (ii) Tensions may come from contestation of sales by the assignor’s relatives, when the land sold had been inherited as a family estate. (iii) Conflicts arise when the rights transferred through a ‘sale’ remain largely unspecified, opening the transaction to divergent interpretations.



9.6. (Trans)national Mobilization: The March 1971 Farm Protest 50 years on

Chantal Bisschop Centre for Agrarian History, Belgium; **Carine Germond**, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway

On 23 March 1971, 80.000 to 100.000 farmers from all over the member states of the European Communities flocked the streets of the Belgian Capital to protest against Commissioner Mansholt's plans for reforming the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and tumbling farm prices and incomes. This massive demonstration went into the rural historical annals on multiple accounts. It was the first truly transnationally coordinated farm protest since the creation of the CAP. Staged to show the unity and solidarity of Community farmers across national borders, the demonstration epitomized the emergence of a transnational farm alliance against CAP reform attempts by the European Commission. Unlike past farm protests, the March 1971 demonstration had a unique character. It was not only massive, but it took novel forms too, i.a. cows interrupting the Agriculture Ministers' discussions as they were ushered in the Council's meeting room; and it climaxed in a destructive riot. The violence that accompanied the protest made newspaper headlines and marked the minds of the contemporaries. Lastly, it succeeded to a large extent in achieving its aim, namely to pressure the national agricultural ministers into substantially watering down the Commission's initial reform proposal and adopting in 1972 three Directives that were more in line with farm interests and preferences. As the demonstration's 50th anniversary will be commemorated in 2021, the aim of the panel is twofold. First, we set out to take a fresh stock of this seminal protest based on archival records and oral history interviews. Second, we seek to embed it into the history of farm protest in the European Union and that of the CAP. The papers revisit this pivotal farm protest by engaging with different, national, transnational and supranational vantage points, examining the reactions to and reception of the protest, and assessing the legacy of the demonstration on farm protest patterns and forms. All papers will draw upon a variety of archival records from e.g. national and transnational farm groups, European institutions, private papers, and oral history interviews. The panel contributors are both senior and junior academics from across Europe.

Chair: Leen Van Molle, KU Leuven, Belgium
Discussant: Katja Seidel, University of Westminster, UK

9.6.1. No farmer in the field. The Belgian agricultural organizations and the 1971 demonstration(s) against the Mansholt Plan

Chantal Bisschop, Centre for Agrarian History, Belgium; Yves Segers, KU Leuven, Belgium

In the early morning of March 23, 1971 nearly a hundred thousand Belgian farmers left their farm. Buses and trains full of disgruntled farmers departed from all corners of the country to the capital. "No peasant in the field" was the call, or rather the order, repeated over and over again the weeks before, in agricultural journals, on peasant expulsions in parish halls and on pamphlets. The single farmer who dared to work in his field that morning was literally taken from his land by his agricultural colleagues and put on a bus to Brussels, the big city where most of them had never been before. This massive and violent demonstration against the Mansholt Plan is engraved in the memory of farmers and politicians. For the first time the three largest Belgian farm organizations (Belgian Boerenbond, Fédération des Unions Professionnelles Agricoles and Alliance Agricole Belge) united in the Green Front to streamline the preparations of the demonstration. Their logo, a green fist knocking on the table, reflected well the anger and discontent of their members. The Green Front was pushed forward by the smaller and more radical farm organizations, such as ABS (Algemeen Boerensyndicaat), founded in 1962. They were not involved in the organization from above, but gathered the major part of the most discontented and disgruntled farmers. This paper seeks to better understand the role and internal dynamics of the different agricultural organizations in Belgium in preparing, organizing and evaluating the protest. By examining the communication, reactions to and reception of the protest, this paper will assess the legacy of the demonstration. Can it be seen as a pivotal point in farm protest in Belgium as is often assumed? The fiftieth anniversary of the demonstration is an ideal moment to investigate what meanings, changes and emotions are attached to the event. The paper will be based on research of newspapers and agricultural magazines, archival records of farm organizations and oral history interviews of a different range of participants and witnesses of this farm demonstration.

9.6.2. The Pork is a Lion. Italian Farmers' Reactions to the CAP Reform Before, During and After the 1971 Brussels Demonstration

Kalliopi Geronymaki, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

The aim of the present paper is to study the characteristics of different Italian lobbying groups that stood for and against the CAP reform before, during, and after the 1971 demonstration. To the approach of this contribution, the 1971 demonstration is a point of departure that summarizes an antecedent socio-political osmosis on the future of Italian agriculture in the European Common Market. The historical background of the 1971 Brussels manifestation covers a chronological horizon of four years (1968–1972). The initial point of reference is the 1968 Mansholt Memorandum, a reformist plan that suggested the radical structural reform of European agriculture. Its conflictual content divided the Italian public opinion, thus paving the path for clashes and violent manifestations within the country, already before 1971. The Italian Communist Party (PCI), along with labor syndicates (CGIL, UIL) backed the agricultural laborers' manifestations for income parity that culminated in 1969 in Rome. For its part, the Italian governmental delegation worried about CAP's inability to address overproduction and its damaging effects on the Italian agricultural exports, while professional agricultural organizations (Coldiretti, Confagricoltura) searched immediately for a compromise with the European Commission. Since the turmoil evolved around the access to agricultural welfare, its end is affixed at the conclusive 1972 European regulations, with which the CAP reoriented societal demands towards rural welfare, and not exclusively on welfare for 'people engaged into the farming sector'. The Italian case provides insight into the 1971 demonstration as one whose participants shared and invoked 'farmers' rights' through the lens of the past national peasant agendas in different member states. From this perspective, the paper also examines the transnational bonds that brought together, for instance, Italian agricultural workers with the parallel French agricul-

tural syndicate on small-scale farmers (MODEF), in their shared self-representation of ‘peasants’ (paysans, contadini). Given the parallel reformist turn of the official EEC discourse from the figure of the ‘family farmer’ to that of ‘farm entrepreneur’, political imaginaries of the demonstrators also interest this study, inasmuch as they reveal changing perceptions of agricultural modernization for both the demonstrators and the European policymakers. Therefore, the paper examines to what extent Italian welfare demands formed an ultimate form of lobbying for the Europeanization of peasant politics during the 1971 demonstration. Press releases, archival material, and oral interviews on the CAP reform and its repercussions for the Italian farmers provide the basic materials of this study.

9.6.3. Transnationalizing farm protest to avoid marginalization? COPA-COGECA and the challenge of the Mansholt Plan

Carine Germond, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Sponsored by COPA-COGECA, the Community-level interest group representing farm interests, the 1971 March demonstration was a show of force, of unity and solidarity of Community farmers across national borders. It demonstrated that despite their often-competing interests, they could form a transnational green alliance to oppose the Commission’s reform plans. These protest actions marked the first cross-border mobilization of farmers since the inception of the CAP. If the 1971 March rally was a success for its main initiator, the “Agriculture 1980” plan presented by Agriculture Commissioner Sicco Mansholt three years before and the strong opposition it met amongst European farmers presented major challenges for COPA-COGECA. The paper sets out to explore how COPA-COGECA responded to these challenges. At this critical juncture of its and the CAP’s history, the group needed to demonstrate its ability to unite and mobilize Community farmers. Yet, it faced both contestation by and competition from its member farm groups. Not only did they question COPA’s ability to synthesize and impose the interests it was supposed to represent but they also took the lead in organizing domestic rallies and various lobbying actions against the Mansholt Plan in the member states. The paper posits that the transnationalization of farm protests, which culminated in the March 1971 demonstration in Brussels, was the result of COPA-COGECA’s attempt to avert marginalization by its member organizations. This was essential to safeguard its position as the sole representative of European farmers’ interests in Brussels, a position that would be undermined if national federations acted alone or coordinated their actions outside of the COPA platform. In addition, the March 1971 rally set a precedent whose legacy persists to this day as such transnationally coordinated, mass protest have become a conventional feature of COPA-COGECA’s lobbying toolbox since then.

9.7. The role of agriculture in economic development and structural change: a 20th Century macro perspective

Angel Luis Gonzalez-Esteban, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Spain; Elisa Botella-Rodríguez, Universidad de Salamanca; Miguel Martín-Retortillo, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, Spain

The role of agriculture in promoting structural change has always been an inspiring topic of study. Since the British Industrial Revolution and the beginnings of “modern economic growth”, both academics and policymakers have been consistently engaged in a far-reaching discussion about the process of agricultural transformation and its effects on industrialization and economic growth. This matter has not only inspired the conception of numerous theoretical models but has also encouraged the proliferation of a wide range of empirical studies. In this context, there is European concern in several regions about structural change and rural depopulation. This session, however, would not be only aimed at analysing particular country case studies but also at making macro comparisons at the regional and the international level. Drawing from the diverse models and trajectories of Asian, American, African and European countries, our major aim is to arrive at general conclusions (as well as parallels and differences) on the implications of the diverse agricultural models for the possibilities of structural change and economic growth. The discussion will have a historical perspective (including quantitative and qualitative approaches) and will mainly focus on the second half of the 20th Century and the first decades of the 21st Century.

Chair: Vicente Pinilla, University of Zaragoza, Spain

Discussants: Angel Luis Gonzalez-Esteban, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain; Pablo Delgado, University of Zaragoza, Spain

9.7.1. A Special Product? Expansion and Geography of the International Meat Trade in the First Globalization and the Great Depression

Pablo Delgado University of Zaragoza; Vicente Pinilla, University of Zaragoza

It is well known that the expansion of international trade was one of the key elements of the first globalization. Many studies have pointed out that the main factors of this expansion were the increase in demand, technological progress, the fall in transport costs and tariff liberalization. However, the weight that these factors could have had in the expansion of trade in different products could have been very varied. Although a symmetrical impact of these factors on the growth of trade in the various products is generally assumed, some studies have shown that important differences that the studies on the first globalization do not always reflect. In general, a perspective that places more emphasis on the characteristics and peculiarities of each product is missing to understand how the international market for them was formed in the first globalization and the reasons for the growth of their trade. In this context, the meat trade is an ideal candidate for this type of historical analysis. It was a relevant product in agri-food trade in the first globalization and has some distinctive characteristics compared to other goods that make it especially interesting: it is a rapidly perishable product in whose trade Great Britain maintained a very dominant position throughout the first globalization. These two characteristics make it very attractive. On the one hand, the technical difficulties involved in transport and on the other hand the almost monopolist nature of Great Britain. Our aim is precisely to study the extent to which these two characteristics affected both the evolution of its trade and its geography throughout the first globalization and during its collapse as a result of the crash of 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression. Our work highlights the great importance of a technological change that was crucial to the expansion of their trade,

such as the invention and diffusion of mechanical refrigeration. For some countries in the Southern Hemisphere, this new technology allowed them not only to enter the market as relevant players, but to reach leading positions. The development of the meat industry was for these countries an important element in their industrialization process. In addition, the dominant position of Great Britain had a significant impact in explaining the participation of the various countries as exporters, both during the first globalization, and very significantly in the thirties as a result of the Ottawa agreements between Great Britain and the empire.

9.7.2. The CAP and the social and economic development of EEC/EU countries from the Sixties to the New Millennium: the cases of dairy and wine sectors

Andrea Maria Locatelli Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Italy, Milan; Paolo Tedeschi, Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca

The CAP strongly influenced the evolution of the European primary sector and, by this way, the social and economic development of EEC/EU countries. From the Sixties to the new Millennium, CAP regulatory action modified the productive processes, the real quality of products as well as the information for customers about the product they consumed. Besides, the mechanism of price intervention and other subsidies for the rural producers increased the farm profitability and favoured the investments to improve the cultivation technology and the agricultural yield. This communication discusses the main effects of CAP regulations on two sectors with a high rate of export of quality commodities and, at the same time, a relevant share of the GDP in some EEC/EU countries. Since the Sixties, the evolution of the wine as well as dairy products, in particular cheese, was influenced by CAP regulations: respecting them, producers changed their productive systems because CAP progressively increased productive costs (even if it also gave financial aids and, until early Nineties, guaranteed high tariffs to protect EEC products). Besides, new regulations concerning the cattle breeding and conservation of the milk or related to cellars and the winemaking (including new planting restrictions for vines) obliged producers to improve the level of production and output of dairy farms and wineries. In addition, the best producers had to indicate the main characteristics of their wine or dairy products with the introduction of new labels as “Protected Designation of Origin”, “Protected Geographical Indication” and “Organic”. So, EEC/EU consumers could make informed choices because they had a wide range of products, having different (but highest than in the past) quality/price ratios. Furthermore, protections and subsidies initially favored the milk production in each EEC countries, also in the areas where there did not exist a relevant tradition: e.g. Germany progressively became the first EU cheese producer, while France and Italy preserved their primacy in quality. Moreover, new guidelines established by wine makers’ associations following new rules allowed to strengthen the quality of wine also outside of French and Italian vineyards. Conclusion: CAP regulations progressively influenced the EEC/EU social and economic development modifying EEC/EU wine and dairy products and markets. New EU policies influenced the path of some sectors against others, the relation between supply and demand and also the distribution of income among farmers. This communication indicates how this happened with a correlation between facts and data (making some examples too).

9.7.3. Past, present and future of the farm problem: a global vision

Angel Luis Gonzalez-Esteban, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Elisa Botella-Rodríguez, Universidad de Salamanca (Usal), Spain

It has been more than a century since the “farm-income problem”, or “farm-adjustment problem” made its appearance in industrialised countries. Since then, many efforts have been made to understand the nature and origins of this huge political economy issue. The key idea is that gains in agricultural efficiency are not usually matched by a comparable advance in farm revenues. The realization of this problem, especially from the 1930s onwards, fostered a complex academic debate on its causes and posed the big political challenge of ensuring western farmers a ‘fair income’. The most common political response, both in the United States and in Western Europe, was directed towards the demand side, comprising price supports, export subsidies, and a wide range of protectionist measures. However, relief in the medium/long term came mostly from the supply side: millions of farmers left the country and started living in the cities. This led to an increased availability of land per worker and to substantial gains in agricultural productivity due to motorisation. This “success” in the history of western agriculture has sometimes been referred to as the “Lewis Path” and has commonly been put forward as a major road to economic growth elsewhere. However, this paper draws on global data from 1980–2015 to argue that this process has not been accompanied by a reduction in the income gap between the agricultural sector and the rest of the economy. In fact, there is little reason to believe that economic growth would reduce differences in labour productivity between agriculture and the rest of the economy in the future, just as it has not done so in the past. After conducting a literature review on the farm problem, we analyse the evolution of several productivity indicators and identify the main sources of income convergence between agriculture and the other sectors. The results suggest the existence of long-term distinctive characteristics within the agricultural sector, thus questioning some of the key ideas advocated by the Chicago Rationality School.



9.8. The Seamy Side of Rural Commons? Inequality and Exclusion in the Management of Early Modern Collective Resources

Niels Grüne, University of Innsbruck, Austria; José-Miguel Lana Berasain, Public University of Navarre, Spain

Research on common pool resources in the last decades has led to a fundamental reassessment of collective ownership and use practices. Along interpretive lines such as ‘sustainability’ and ‘social integration’, rural commons in particular have been salvaged from the once prevalent ‘tragedy’ paradigm (G. Hardin) and portrayed in a much more favourable light. To a certain degree, however, this rehabilitation feeds on downplaying a fact which social scientists readily acknowledge: Successful, i.e. enduring, common property regimes are based on ‘excludability’ (e.g. E. Ostrom) and normally on some sort of internal differentiation as well. After a brief introduction, the session assembles four comparative case studies from various European regions in the early modern period and a concluding response by Nadine Vivier (University of Maine). It aims at tackling the problem of inequality and exclusion in two complementary ways: First, the papers start with an outline of how outsiders were defined and use rights allotted in each example – and how local arrangements in this respect changed with the effect of creating more closed (or, probably in rarer instances, more inclusive) communities. Second, and more importantly, the presenters will explore how such mechanisms for safeguarding hierarchised access were viewed and judged by contemporaries (inhabitants, stakeholders, feudal lords, state authorities, scholars etc.). Were the rules determining who participated to what extent, deemed to be in tune with the order of society at large? Which actors and groups disagreed on which grounds? Did conflicts over access reflect a more general challenge to the institutions and principles governing the commons? In which historical circumstances (e.g. agrarian reform initiatives) was criticism of discrimination and segregation most likely to turn into a political weapon? Answers to these questions might go some way towards accounting for the factors why inequality and exclusion in the management of rural commons did not meet with serious opposition for most of the time, but came to be denounced as their ‘seamy side’ in specific settings.

Chair: Niels Grune

Discussant: Nadine Vivier, Le Mans université, France

9.8.1. Exclusion mechanisms and environmental consequences in premodern commons. A comparative analysis

Maïka De Keyzer, KU Leuven, Belgium

Inclusiveness and sustainability are often perceived as contradictions. In a world that is limited, unrestrained resource use is risky. This point of view has been prevalent among commons’ scholars. Since Hardin’s thesis about freedom in the commons, scholars such as Ostrom have stressed that boundaries and delimiting communities of users were an essential part of managing collective resources to retain sustainable management of those resources. Exclusivity has, therefore obtained a positive image. In this paper, I want to put forward the opposite argument: inclusivity and including all interest groups of a community had beneficial effects for sustainably managing resources. By comparing the Campine area (Belgium) with the Brecklands (England), I will show the impact of exclusion mechanisms on land-

scape management. The Campine area was an example of a very inclusive system, while in the Brecklands communal benefits were reserved for the happy few from the Early Modern period onwards. I will discuss how inclusivity and a balance of power between different interest groups were essential for the development of the management system in the Campine area that led to centuries of sustainable management of the landscape. At the same time, the Brecklands’ exclusivity went hand in hand with environmental disaster.

9.8.2. Management of the Commons and Inequality Growth in the Republic of Venice: 16th to 18th century

Giulio Ongaro, University of Milan, Bicocca, Italy; Matteo Di Tullio, University of Pavia, Italy; Guido Alfani, Bocconi University, Milan, Italy

During the early modern period, in Italy as in other areas of Europe, common properties experienced significant changes in their management, with consequences both for private and for public finances. The commons automatically required to define those groups who were entitled to their exploitation and those who were excluded from it, as is clear from the medieval statutes of rural communities. However, especially during the second half of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth, changes in the socio-economic stratification experienced by rural societies led to a closing of rural councils, a narrowing of the local political elites, and an increasingly exclusive management of the commons. This often meant their privatization or their exclusive use by the ruling families. Focusing on the Republic of Venice, and on the province of Vicenza as a case-study, this paper aims to demonstrate that the processes of economic inequality growth and of narrowing of those groups entitled to have a say in the management of the commons are two related process that fostered each other. Recent researches demonstrated that taxation was one of the main drivers of economic inequality growth in the Early Modern period. At the local level, this meant the increase in direct taxation in rural communities, which in its turn contributed to produce the increasing economic and social closure. Direct taxation increased substantially especially between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries because of the historical process leading to the rise of fiscal-military States. However, increases in taxation did not only follow from increases in State demands, but also from the decline of the sources of income held by rural communities. Indeed, the commons were rented out, pawned and sold in order to meet the State needs, but also in the interest of the rural élites. In summary, direct taxation increased, this produced an increase in the economic inequality at the local level, which fostered changes in the management of the commons, which contributed to exacerbate the growth of both direct local taxation and economic inequality and so on, in a continuous loop. The evolution of the two processes (increase in direct taxation due to the fall of the incomes from the commons; growth of economic inequality) and their interconnection will be analyzed based on the books of the expenditures of some rural communities and the local property tax records.

9.8.3. Inequality and the management of complexity. Individuals, classes and communities in struggle for shared common lands in modern Spain

José-Miguel Lana, Public University of Navarre, Spain; Vicente Cendrero-Almodóvar, IES La Jara, Córdoba, Spain

The rehabilitation of the commons in the Social Sciences since 1990 has not had a single interpretation. Whilst some scholars highlighted the capacity of excluding potential users through boundary rules, other scholars remarked the benefits for the poors and the inclusive nature of this institution. Indeed, the relation between common lands and inequality is not univocal. Some authors defended its importance for lower rural classes’ income, whilst others concluded that the benefits were directly proportional to private wealth. These approaches are not necessarily incompatible. Although in absolute terms benefits could go for the wealthier, the share of communal rents in household incomes could be higher for the poor. Inequality is usually approached in terms of individual incomes and, as these are stratified, through the lens of social classes. However, there are other dimensions of inequality to take into account. The most obvious is gender inequality. Another one is spatial inequality. This paper proposal combine all these dimensions through the study of two cases of large commons that involved several rural communities. The first one

is Los Pedroches, in the province of Córdoba at the south of Spain, shared by the Siete Villas, that jointly managed its resources until the division of the estate among the seven towns in 1836. The second one is Montes de Cierzo y Argenzón (28,359 hectares), in northern Spain, shared by seven communities of different size and a monastery until its division decreed by the Court in 1901. These stories run in parallel from its Christian conquest during the Twelve century to the division of the shared land ('mancomunidad') during the Nineteenth century. For centuries rightholders managed to share the governance of the common resources through the approval of byelaws, the appointment of officials, the imposition of fines, and the auction of specific resources. Conflicts were frequent, but did not threaten the continuity of the organization. The benefits of the common lands were not equally distributed, as big towns extracted a larger amount of resources than small villages, and as large stockbreeders obtained more benefits than labourers. We aim to compare these two cases in order to explain how complex management of common lands was possible for several centuries and how growing tensions in a new context allow a rapid dissolution in a few decades.

9.8.4. 'The Subversion of "Common Pool Resources": entitlement and the corruption of common pasture lands in English towns, 1600–1870'

Henry French, University of Exeter, UK

In Britain, 'common pool resources' such as pasture commons were owned and administered by territorial jurisdictions, which were either manors (owned by manorial lords) or corporate governments of towns (boroughs). Access to these resources was granted, nominally, to all tenants of the manor, or all those possessed of public political and economic rights of freedom in boroughs. Over time, three trends developed which complicated and subverted these entitlements: • As the population grew in manors and boroughs in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, more and more residents lacked access to common property rights and entitlements, because these were finite in size. • Consequently, access to such resources was increasingly restricted, by the introduction of financial tolls, restrictions on animal numbers, or tying them to the occupation of specific houses within the jurisdiction. • This meant that two groups were created: those who wanted to use pasture rights, but who did not possess them; and those who had pasture rights, but who did not use them. The interests of these two groups could be reconciled by the creation of semi-official markets to sub-contract these rights, but it also created opportunities for political corruption, particularly where local or national voting rights were linked to rights of civic freedom. This paper will explore these patterns in the subversion of 'common pool resources' by focusing on the experiences of the c. 180 large and small English towns that possessed pasture commons. These ranged from small communities of c. 5–800 residents in 1800, up to large corporate boroughs, of 20–40,000 inhabitants in 1800, which possessed rural hinterlands totalling several hundred hectares. It will illustrate the processes by which access entitlements were limited by financial tariffs that created social restrictions, and then trace the effects of the operation of markets to sub-contract common rights, before examining several examples in which access to common resources was linked explicitly to political corruption in the 19th century.

9.9. New model peasant. Income integration in peasant economies in central and eastern Europe

Aleksander Panjek, University of Primorska, Slovenia; Jesper Larsson, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Sweden

Income integration based on the peasants' engagement in non-agrarian sectors is a prominent and widespread feature in the history of the European countryside. While listing a multitude of activities outside the narrow scope of farm management aimed at self-consumption, prevailing interpretations emphasize how survival was the goal of peasant economies and societies. The "Integrated peasant economy" is a new paradigm that considers the peasant economy as a comprehensive system of agrarian and non-agrarian activities, disclosing how peasants demonstrate agency, aspirations and the ability to proactively change and improve their economic and social condition. All stages of the internationally and comparatively based research on the Integrated peasant economy (IPE) concept have been so far presented at previous Rural History conferences. After having been successfully applied to the Alpine and Scandinavian areas (mainly Slovenia, Italy and Sweden), the research expanded to test the IPE concept on the "eastern half" of Europe, involving case studies on Finland, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia, Ukraine and Russia. While enhancing our knowledge and questioning the assumption that central and eastern Europe were "different", we tackle the relative underrepresentation of this part of Europe in international scholarly literature on rural and economic history. The panel presents contributions from a book on this topic that is being prepared for the Rural History in Europe series at Brepols.

Chair: Jesper Larsson

Discussants: Zarko Lazarevic, Institute of Contemporary History, Slovenia; Aleksander Panjek

9.9.1. Rural Non-Agricultural Activities in South Bohemia During the Second Half of the Seventeenth and in the Eighteenth Century

Josef Grulic, University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice, Czech Republic; Václav Černý, University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice, Czech Republic

Cottage manufacturing in South Bohemia was not as extensive and important as in North-East Bohemia. Due to lower population density it was observable here to a much lower extent. Most of the rural inhabitants were employed by the textile proto-industry, especially spinning. South Bohemian spinners were concentrated in villages, especially around the full towns and small market towns which were the traditional centres of textile production. Although South Bohemia was an important glass region which also produced for export, the only cottage occupation related to this industry was the painting and cutting the glass. The richness of the forests in South Bohemia stimulated cottage manufacturing in the processing of wood, as well. Its basis lay in the primitive division of labour of medieval small-scale production when people made simple tools and furniture for themselves. In the areas that were rich in forests, villagers cut down trees and made timber, craft and fuel wood for transport to towns and forestless areas. Another profitable activity was salt importing from Upper Austria and Bavaria. Exports from Bohemia included cereal, textile and glass products and fish from the South Bohemian fishpond areas. In the second half of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century, rural non-agricultural activities in Bohemia were oriented around the interests and needs of the noble estates. Some activities were part of the coerced labour owed by serfs to their lords; these included bobbin lacemaking, mining, wood-transporting, transporting raw materials to ironworks, "long-distance cartling", and transporting the output of the landlord's demesne operations to the market. The Czech noble landlords

permitted those non-agricultural activities by serf from which they themselves could extort rents. The nobility experienced problems with men who had been released from the army but had lost the habit of manual work and sought an easier source of livelihood. This situation was apparent after the end of the Seven Years' War (1763) when useless soldiers were released from the army. To some men, military service provided an opportunity for social mobility. However, if a released soldier was interested returning to rural society, how did he proceed? The first step was to get married and start a family. The second was to gain a landholding or practise a craft.

9.9.2. Non-agricultural activity of Polish peasants in the 16th century in the light of tax registers and inventories of royal and church estates.

Piotr Guzowski, University of Białystok, Poland; Radosław Poniat, University of Białystok, Poland

The basic source for the study of the economic activity of Polish peasants in the early modern period is inventories of estates belonging to the king or church institutions. Their disadvantage is that they focus primarily on the income from peasant farming. Meanwhile, as a result of the development of the fiscal system, especially in the second half of the 16th century, the taxation of the non-agricultural activity of villagers emerged. The confrontation of inventory sources and tax sources from the Greater Poland region will make it possible to identify the phenomenon and to assess the proportion of bi-professionalism among the peasant population.

9.9.3. Work Obligations and Incomes of the Peasant Population in Medieval Serbia from the 13th to 15th Century

Miloš Ivanović, Institute of History Belgrade, Serbia

One Serbian manuscript contains the description of a well-known medieval trifunctional scheme of society. According to that pattern, the duty of a farmer was to feed the priest and the soldier. Therefore, this scheme foresaw the role of a peasant as a food producer. Indeed, the rural population was in a large number connected with the performance of different kinds of physical work, but it is clear that their production was not limited to their own subsistence and meeting the needs of the privileged layers. This research will essentially cover only the period from the late 12th to the mid-15th century due to the lack of sources. It is necessary to mention that this research does not refer to the nobility who lived in the villages. Some petty nobles will be mentioned because of their origin and the fact that they performed physical work. The charters are the main source about the activities of the rural population of medieval Serbia. Their regulations contain the list of work obligations that the dependent peasants owed to the rulers and their masters. At the same time, these sources sometimes testify that peasants produced not only for themselves and needs of their lords. The other sources contain information that they sold a part of their products on the market. Therefore, it is possible that activities of the Serbian medieval rural population be considered in accordance with the concept of the integrated peasant economy. According to this concept, peasants combine agricultural and market-oriented activities to make a living and (or) raise their living standard. In addition, peasants did non-agricultural jobs not only to survive but to improve their standard. All economic activities which provided income to peasants belonged to three sectors. The primary activities include agricultural specialization, intensification of cultivation, animal husbandry, forest exploitation, extension of cultivated land, wage/day labour in agriculture, work in quarries and fishing. The production of cheese, wine, meat products, charcoal and lime, rural crafts, the putting-out system, work in manufacturing and mining, mobile craftsmen and wage labour in industry belong to the secondary sector. Finally, the tertiary group of activities includes transport services, trafficking of own products, peddling, smuggling, mobile workers, works of trust and tourism. Moreover, peasants did not passively adapt to the external conditions and pressures, but they were active participants in the wider environment of production and consumption.

9.9.4. Industrious peasants in socialist Slovenia between struggle for survival and the desire to improve their well-being

Polona Sitar, University of Primorska, Slovenia; Lev Centrih, University of Primorska, Slovenia

The aim of the presentation is to elucidate integrated peasant economy in socialist Slovenia between 1960s and 1980s. The period was marked by steady decline of the peasant population and extensive deployment of agricultural machinery to the private farming sector. Modernization was in full swing but not without contradictions. At the beginning of a period in question the new urban – rural type of a family emerged. After 1945 labels such as semi-proletarians, part – time farmers, workers – peasants, or just “peasants” were employed to comprehend the reality of the significant part of the labour force which was migrating from small family farms to industrial centres on daily bases. Rural households by no means combined their incomes exclusively from agriculture and off-farm work. For this reason, the attention is also put on the complementary activities, performed on the farms but only indirectly related to agriculture, such as lumbering, beekeeping, transportation services, crafts, tourism etc. The share of peasants in official statistics for Slovenia in 1981 was only 9.1 %, however, as much as 58 % of the population still lived in the countryside. Development in question was shaped by two factors: a) changes in agricultural policy and attitude regarding the peasantry by the socialist state; b) rapid industrialisation immediately after 1945 but relatively slow urbanization until 1960s. In the following contribution two basic questions will be addressed: a) what were the main economic activities combined by the peasant households between 1960s and 1980s and their motives; b) how did the peasant families manage these activities? In the first part we discuss sources and methodology, the second part explores the economy of Slovenian peasant households, their combination of different income sources in the broadest perspective according to the official statistical data and research conducted on large samples; the third part presents a case study of individual peasant households and it is based on the interviews; conclusion follows.

SESSION 10 • THURSDAY 23 JUNE • 08:30–10:30

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
10.1. Demeter in the Classrooms: Agricultural Education for Children, Mid-18th–20th Centuries Laurent Brassart	10.1.1. Agriculture and environment in Italy's primary schools: from necessity to innovative teaching (1861–1950) Luciano Maffi	10.1.2. A 'failed reform' in agricultural education for children? Italy in the European scenario, 1765–1815 Martino Lorenzo Fagnani	10.1.3. Educating the French about plants: between social utopia and economic necessity, the vicissitudes of a political project (1780–1815). Laurent Brassart	10.1.4. Farming schools for children in late-19th century Hungary Zsuzsanna Kiss	10.1.5. Were the eighties a turning point for the agricultural education in Italian post-unification primary schools? The case of the Romagna region Omar Mazzotti	10:1 Room 1
10.2. Meet the author: Paul Brassley et al. The real agricultural revolution – Farmers, large and small, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Richard W Hoyle						10:2 Room 2
10.3. Meet-the-author: "Peasants in World History" Eric Vanhaute						10:3 Room 3
10.4. The History of Horticulture 2 Inger Olausson	10.4.1. Historical propagation methods as a key to conservational values and cultural heritage Erik De Vahl	10.4.2. Horticultural production at 16th century Swedish crown estates Matti Leino	10.4.3. Horticulture in northwestern Germany as a factor of securing the livelihood of the rural population Florian Probst			10:4 Room 4
10.5. Experts, institutions and networks in international rural development in the second half of the 20th century 2 Mario De Prospo	10.5.1. Along the routes of knowledge travels: FAO and rural welfare as a hub of expertise exchange, the case of Latin America Mario De Prospo	10.5.2. Moving beyond grand narratives and stigmatizations: provincializing the Green Revolution from Mexican fields Marianna Fenzi	10.5.3. Technical and Scientific Cooperation in Agriculture between Hungary and Countries in the Middle East from the 1960s to the early 1980s Dániel Luka			10:5 Room 5
10.6. Hidden Modernizers. Working Animals in 19th and 20th Century Agriculture Juri Auderset	10.6.1. Making hidden modernizers visible Peter Moser	10.6.2. Partners in milking and plowing: Working cows and agricultural intensification in Franconia, ca. 1800–1950 Jadon Nisly-Goretzki	10.6.3. Studying the Animal Machine: Working Animals, Energy Conversion and Companionship between Laboratory and Farm, 1890–1950 Juri Auderset	10.6.4. 'Like a shepherd lead us' Bert Theunissen		10:6 Room 6

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
10.7. The Great Depression and the rural world in South-eastern Europe; evaluating and representing the agrarian change. Trans-MonEA's research results Catherine Brégianni	10.7.1. Introduction: Geo-Historical Differentiations in the Analysis of the Interwar Crisis. South-eastern Europe in the Context of the Interwar Crisis Catherine Brégianni	10.7.2. Agricultural Commodities: Data on local economies and visual representations of agrarian changes in interwar Greece Antonis Antoniou	10.7.3. Germany's Drang nach Südosten and the Marketing of Southeastern European Agricultural Products in the Interwar Period Juan Carmona-Zabala	10.7.4. The Great Depression in Eastern Europe as a Catalyst for the Regulation of the European Agricultural Market Uwe Mueller		10:7 Room 7



Van at the country store, 1930s.

10.1. Demeter in the Classrooms: Agricultural Education for Children, Mid-18th–20th Centuries

Laurent Brassart, Université de Lille, France; Luciano Maffi, Catholic University, Milan, Italy; Martino Lorenzo Fagnani, Università di Pavia, Italy

Historiography is more and more interested in the development of rural education, especially in the training of the teachers and their didactic strategies. In this panel, we focus on the study of agricultural education, a technical branch that has been investigated above all for the history of secondary and higher education, less so in primary education. The scenario in which we want to collect the paper proposals is from the whole of Europe from the late eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries, comparing different realities, considering points of contact and rupture. Our goals are four: 1. We want to investigate the presence of basic agricultural knowledge in the training of primary teachers. Already during the nineteenth century, the European governments became increasingly aware that teachers must have a solid background in humanities as well as in technical and scientific subjects. In rural schools, were teachers expected to give a first education in agriculture? How did their background change during the period analysed? Did the increasing mobility lead to an enrichment of their preparation? Given the importance of parish schools in many European areas, we can also reason on the preparation that ministers of all religions had in the field of elementary agriculture education. In Europe, still at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the clergymen had the role of bearers of simple agricultural notions in the rural society. How were they instructed in that field? 2. We want to study the didactic material used in schools for the transmission of basic agricultural knowledge to children. From this point of view, the synergy between material history, cultural history and the history of publishing is important. The teaching “tools” could include complete sections in real textbooks, but also self-help books with instructive tales. Moreover, small gardens and natural collections set up by the teachers, and trips to farms and workshops had a great didactic value. 3. We want to analyse the role of social actors. Beyond the concerned Ministries, which other agents supported the importance of elementary agriculture education and by what means? Municipalities, farmers’ associations, entrepreneurs, religious orders, scientific institutions collaborated, supporting the circulation of technical knowledge. How did this “mobilization” take place? What were the differences from one geographical area to another? What was the relationship between the social actors: cooperation or competition? 4. We also want to consider the link between scientific and peasant knowledge. Did the teachers synthesize those two types of knowledge or were they part of a top-down system? Can we consider them as intermediaries between the peasant world in which they lived everyday (and from which many of them came) and the “cultivated” world they were familiar with? What were their own level of scientific contribution?

Chair: Laurent Brassart, Université de Lille, France

10.1.1. Agriculture and environment in Italy’s primary schools: from necessity to innovative teaching (1861–1950)

Luciano Maffi, University of Salento, Italy

The increased environmental, ecological and agricultural knowledge from primary school age is an important aspect of the deliberation on children’s education in post-unification Italy. Today, environmental education is still part of didactic programmes. It is an aim of many study courses, including cross-curricular ones, and it is the sign of lengthy reflection about these aspects. The paper intends to investigate the contribution of agricultural and environmental education by looking at cases from northern Italy, noting how these aspects progressively became the object of experimental, innovative teaching in cities (so as to encourage agricultural knowledge and respect for the environment in youngsters, often with the ulterior aim of favouring dietary education), starting from a utilitarian view in rural villages. Moreover, these practices led to a new awareness of social and cultural problems in rural areas. The students were put into direct contact with the territory and its resources. Thus workshops and fieldtrips played a fundamental role in these didactic strategies. As regards the diffusion of basic elements of agriculture in rural areas, the paper analyses the texts of debates in order to understand the theoretical background and the aims of the teaching of these subjects. Furthermore, to see precisely what was taught, the paper analyses the text of Ernesto Podestà, which contains school courses for elementary school pupils, grouped by age. As regards the experimental projects in the first half of the 1900s, the paper considers the documentation of Milan’s Casa del Sole, a city school characterised by outdoor teaching. Generally speaking, the Italian experience shows innovative characteristics at the end of the 1800s, paying particular attention to its territories and their different characteristics, and later, develops agricultural and environmental expertise in cities too, taking from the most successful didactic experiences in more developed countries. Thus the paper’s intent is to pave the way for international discussion among scholars in order to compare various European areas.

10.1.2. A ‘failed reform’ in agricultural education for children? Italy in the European scenario, 1765–1815

Martino Lorenzo Fagnani, Università di Pavia, Italy

Between the mid-1760s and the mid-1810s, Italian agricultural science started to develop as a more defined discipline, with greater autonomy from other technical and scientific branches. Alongside research and experimentation, already in many of the Old-Regime States that made up the fragmented Italian scenario, governments and scholars gave great importance to the ‘teaching of agriculture’. Later on, the situation benefited from the standardization and strengthening guaranteed by the Napoleonic rule, especially in those areas of northern and central Italy reunited as Italian Republic (1802–05) and Kingdom of Italy (1805–14). However, the ‘teaching of agriculture’ found its space above all in secondary and higher education on the one hand, and in technical-specialist courses on the other. The reforms implemented both in the Old Regime and in the Napoleonic era tended to neglect a structured intervention that included some form of agricultural teaching in elementary education, a quite uneven level of instruction as a whole. Yet the elementary teaching of agricultural notions, especially if addressed to children, was not entirely absent from intellectuals’ proposals and from the debates conducted in cultural and scientific institutes, such as academies. This talk analyzes proposals and debates interested in elementary agricultural education in northern and central Italy during the aforementioned decades. In particular, it considers how much the debate absorbed the thought of foreign ‘pedagogues’ and how much was instead elaborated by Italian scholars aware of the socio-cultural and natural context of their regions. On a comparative level, the talk proposes a brief analysis of the Spanish situation, another Mediterranean area that partially shared with Italy agricultural techniques that were not always advanced, conditions of rural society that were rather difficult, but on the other hand lively centers of scientific research. The intent is to pave the way for the debate between scholars from different disciplinary fields interested in European agricultural education for children at the turn of the nineteenth century.

10.1.3. Educating the French about plants: between social utopia and economic necessity, the vicissitudes of a political project (1780–1815).

Laurent Brassart, University of Lille, France

Emma Spary established the genealogy of the french revolutionary utopia of the regeneration of man and society in the scientific work carried out in the Enlightenment by French naturalists and in particular botanists (Spary, *Utopia's garden, French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution*, 2000) Ordering the plant sphere, regenerate it by acclimatization trials had to re-found the distinction between the government of nature and the government of society. Botany became the metaphor of politics. The spectacle and the knowledge of nature had to re-create man, society and politics on a natural order. In return, men enlightened by education had to act in favour of the harmony of nature. This interplay between plants and politics was expressed from the start of the Revolution in 1789 in a spectacular way with the planting of the Trees of Liberty, which continued until 1799, and by the creation in 1793 of the Natural History Museum on the rubble of the Jardin du roi. It will not be a surprise to note that the revolutionary regimes of 1789 to 1799 gave an important place to the learning of botany and the "rural arts" (agronomy) in their various educational plans. The aim was to train citizen and new farmers. What strategies for plants education was then deployed during the Revolution of 1789 to 1799? Where did plant education take place? Who was the target audience? What were its program and ideals? Napoleon's Empire (1800–1815) was the moment of the return to order, including in the field of science, as Jean-Luc Chappey's research has shown. Against the ideal of the regeneration of man and nature, a new principle is promoted : usefulness. The main challenge is now producing more and better the most botanical species useful to the rural economy. How this economic necessity has transformed the educational relationship with plants? What botanical and agricultural knowledge was taught during the Napoleonic Empire? In what places and by what means did this knowledge was taught? and for whom? Our communication will enlighten the issue of the continuities and breaks in the knowledge of plants taught to the French from the Revolution to the end of the Empire. But measuring the impact of teaching of botanical and agronomic knowledge implies looking at the conditions of its reception and appropriation by various audiences. Then we will focus the issue of "popular knowledge" resistance versus the top-bottom diffusion of scientific botanical knowledge.

10.1.4. Farming schools for children in late-19th century Hungary

Zsuzsanna Kiss, ELTE University, Budapest, Hungary

An order to ensure agricultural education to 8–11 year-old boys in standard elementary schools (both in schools maintained by confessional orders and those under state supervision as well) was first enacted into legislation in 1868 in Hungary. The teaching curriculum provided for the education also contained direction for practical lessons, twice weekly. However, contemporary accounts of agricultural specialist repeatedly complained about the absence or the ineffectiveness of agricultural education in standard elementary-schools. As a consequence various agents activated their resources to promote children's and young adults agricultural training in specialized schools. Apart from the State itself confessional orders, agricultural associations and private entrepreneurs did also support the initiative, but finally it was the State that monopolised the market of agricultural education and established several "farming schools" by the end of the 19th century. A small number of private schools could also be established, but these were supervised by the Minister of Agriculture as well. In my presentation I first introduce the institutional palette of farming schools of the late 19th and early 20th century Hungary – highlighting the structural and ideological differences of state funded and private schools. Investigating their structure and aims provides ground for comparison how Western-European models were transferred to local needs. Then, based on a selection from the reports/bulletins and the teaching materials of the schools I analyse the similarities and differences of their curriculums and the composition of their students. This helps me to show what role these schools could overall play in the agricultural modernisation of Hungary.

10.1.5. Were the eighties a turning point for the agricultural education in Italian post-unification primary schools? The case of the Romagna region

Omar Mazzotti, University of Bologna, Italy

Within the broader picture of the history of education during Italy's Liberal era, the theme of agricultural education has been given a certain amount of attention at the secondary and university level, however, it does not seem to have been adequately explored at the primary level. The transfer of basic agricultural knowledge appears to have been a very challenging task in the post-unification Italy, not least because of the scant interest that national ruling class showed towards this issue. This paper aims at investigating the dissemination of agricultural education in primary schools in the Romagna region, an important Italian rural area, during the late XIX century. Two particular elements of the process will be examined: students – as the intended beneficiaries of the educational process – and teachers, who as well as having a key role in reducing the extent of illiteracy were also involved in disseminating agricultural knowledge. The topic will be explored within a wider perspective, analysing on one side the positive impact of social, cultural and institutional changes and economic developments – at both the national and local levels – on the transmission of agricultural knowledge for children during the Eighties. Increasing importance seems indeed to have been given to agricultural education in primary schools during the economic crisis of the 1880s, when the expansion of this provision was thought to be among the factors that might help to foster an improvement of the national agricultural sector. We will investigate also the factors responsible for the negative trend of this phenomenon during the last decade of the century, when initially efforts to encourage agricultural awareness by the ruling classes seemed to reverse, with the return to a conservative vision in ministerial policy on primary school education. The aim of this study is to verify, taking the Romagna region as a significant case study, if the 1880s represented a turning point in the process of disseminating agricultural education or if it was only a temporary phase of progress in that field, with no long-term consequences. The paper will finally focus on the degree of divergence emerging in the region, which relates both to the specific features of the territory and to variations in the degree and quality of involvement by local bodies in training and education.

10.2. Meet the author: Paul Brassley et al. The real agricultural revolution – Farmers, large and small, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Richard W Hoyle, University of Reading, UK

Farmers have received much attention from agricultural and rural historians than might be assumed. In part this is because most farmers left very little in the way in records – and in many cases, the little they kept were regarded as ephemeral. But farmers have failed poorly in a competition with landowners for the historian’s attention, and historians rooted in the left have often seen them as the enemy, the oppressor of the working man on the land. Yet it was farmers who made the tripartite system of English capitalism work as both tenants and employers. This session is a celebration of one of the most eagerly anticipated works on farmers of recent years. Paul Brassley et al., *The real agricultural revolution* gets round the lack of farmer’s records by combining the Farm Management Survey with the recollections of farmers. It is hoped that copies of the book will be available at the conference. Paul Brassley will present a foretaste of it and consider a key question: technical innovation by farmers. He will examine the variations between farmers in their adoption of technical change, using a sample from the south-west of England. The results highlight the significance of tenurial change, specialisation, access to capital and generational succession in determining when farmers adopted new technologies and explaining why some farmers left agriculture altogether. Paul Brassley is supported by three discussants all exploring this pivotal but overlooked category of people. Richard W. Hoyle will, under the heading ‘The prose-pography of nineteenth-century English farming communities, c. 1840–1920’ discuss the possibilities for historians of farming in the sources which have been put online, over the past decade and offer a worked example from north Shropshire of how farmers entered and left the business. The census, newspapers and directories will be used. Catherine Glover will, under the heading ‘Smallholding in “A country fit for heroes”, 1916–26’ discuss the issue that the development of smallholdings in England and Wales, at the end of the nineteenth century, was seen as the answer to a number of rural problems including labour supply and rural depopulation. She looks at the way in which smallholdings were seen as a means of recruiting the next generation of farmers by offering opportunities to ex-servicemen after the First World War. Finally, James Bowen, will examine the transformation of commercial poultry farming in Britain and the paradox it created of farmers without land. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was small-scale, often being a sideline activity for the farmer’s wife, with poultry and eggs being sold with milk or exchanged for groceries. In the interwar period poultry became an increasingly specialised branch of farming with the emergence of specialist poultry producers and the establishment of co-operative marketing societies.

Chair: Richard W Hoyle

Discussants: Paul Brassley, Centre for Rural Policy Research, UK; Karen Sayer, Leeds Trinity University, UK; Carin Martiin, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

10.3. Meet-the-author: “Peasants in World History”

Eric Vanhaute, Ghent University, Belgium

A roundtable about the new publication of Eric Vanhaute, *Peasants in World History*, published by Routledge in 2021 (Themes in World History). “*Peasants in World History*” analyzes the multiple transformations of peasant life through history by focusing on three primary areas: the organization of peasant societies, their integration within wider societal structures, and the changing connections between local, regional, and global processes. Peasants have been a vital component in human history over the last 10,000 years, with nearly one-third of the world’s population still living a similar lifestyle today. Their role as rural producers of ever-new surpluses instigated complex and often-opposing processes of social and spatial change throughout the world. Eric Vanhaute frames this social change in a story of evolving peasant frontiers. These frontiers provide a global comparative-historical lens to look at the social, economic, and ecological changes within village-systems, agrarian empires, and global capitalism. Bringing the story of the peasantry up through the modern period and looking to the future, the author offers a succinct overview with students in mind. This book is recommended reading to anyone interested in the history and future of peasantries, and is a valuable addition to undergraduate and graduate courses in World History, Global Economic History, and Rural Sociology. Eric Vanhaute is Professor in Economic and Social History and World History at Ghent University, Belgium. He has published extensively on agrarian and rural history, the history of labor markets and social inequality, and world history.

Discussants: Dulce Freire, University of Coimbra/CEIS20, Portugal; Ernst Langthaler, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria; Jane Whittle, University of Exeter, UK; Phillipp Schofield, Aberystwyth University, UK



Farm labourer, 1930.

10.4. The History of Horticulture 2

Inger Olausson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden; Matti Wiking Leino, Stockholm University, Sweden; Magnus Bohman, Umeå University, Sweden

The history of horticulture is a rather new research field. As such, the borders of the field are wide and this session aims to illustrate that by welcoming proposals from many disciplines. However, in order to bridge gaps and find common denominators in terms of theory, methods and sources, we especially welcome proposals that consider long-term, comparative and inter-disciplinary perspectives. Thus, a paramount aim of the session is to help define and develop this dynamic and expansive research field further. The history of horticulture is a novel field of research in many parts of the world. It is distinguished from the field of garden history, which emerges more out of art history and landscape architecture. It is also distinguished from agrarian history through its objects of investigation, i.e. garden produce such as vegetables, fruits and ornamentals – all of which are typically distinguished from agricultural production in terms of the scale, crop species, and intensity of cultivation. Traditionally, research on food supply focuses primarily on agricultural production, but recent research within garden archaeology, agrarian history and economic history has revealed a significant importance of garden produce throughout history, in towns and on the countryside and in all social strata. Due to the session's interdisciplinary character, there is no definite chronological delimitation for periods concerned by investigations of contributing researchers. In terms of topics, papers may concern garden produce with different end-uses, for commercial purposes or for self-sufficiency in both rural and urban environments. This includes for instance aspects of labor and organization, such as professional gardeners, employees and family enterprises; aspects of cultivation and horticultural techniques, e.g. soil management, plant protection, tools, machinery, building; and adaptation, breeding and preservations of historical plant material.

Chair: Magnus Bohman, Umeå University, Sweden
Discussant: Jens Heimdahl, National Historical Museums, Sweden

10.4.1. Historical propagation methods as a key to conservational values and cultural heritage

Erik De Vahl, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Alnarp, Sweden

In surveys organized by the National Program for Cultivated Plants (Pom) between 2002 and 2010, eight nationwide inventories searched for, evaluated and selected the most valuable cultigens for conservation in the Swedish National Gene Bank. The inventories focused on ornamental plants, fruit trees and berries, and vegetatively propagated kitchen plants. Pom were able to collect not only thousands of heirloom plant samples, but also histories and documentation tied to the plants and their use. The work with conservation of genetic resources, as approached by Pom, calls for greater knowledge of both the biological values of cultivated plants, and for an understanding of the values connected to cultural history. These values might be referred to as biocultural values, cultural ecosystem services or social values. The aim of the paper is twofold: 1) to investigate how historical knowledge of propagation methods can add to the understanding of the genetic spread of preserved plant material and 2) to investigate how this particular knowledge can contribute to the formulation of values. The method used is a literature study of historical propagation methods of Common Lime, *Tilia x europea* L., Rhubarb, *Rheum rhabarbarum* L., Multiplying onion, *Allium cepa* Aggregatum-Group and Dahlias *Dahlia x pinnata* Cav. Historical records of propagation methods described in literature and other written documents are essential to understand the diversity of the plant material collected in Poms inventories. For example, in Variation in common lime (*Tilia x europaea* L.) in Swedish Gardens of the 17th and 18th centuries, Rune Bengtsson describes the layering method, which mainly was used in the 17th and 18th century and later was replaced by supplementary seed-propagation. From this, Bengtsson discuss the occurrence and diversity of specific relict clones of Common lime. The Common lime, often planted by the Swedish noblemen of the late 17th century, held significant social values. The Rhubarb in a similar manner became a favorite in the gardening elite, tied to the Swedish Horticultural Association established in 1832. The introduction history of Rhubarb and the plants' early propagation methods are, like the Common lime, essential parts of the plants' cultural historic values; at first, Rhubarb was introduced as a medical plant, then reintroduced as a kitchen plant by the gardening elite, and later spread and grown by the people as one of the most beloved garden plant. As for Dahlias and Multiplying onion, there are parallels to be explored and further discussed.

10.4.2. Horticultural production at 16th century Swedish crown estates

Matti Leino, Stockholm University, Sweden; Per Larsson, Kulturen, Sweden

Between 1530 and 1630 the Swedish crown managed over one-hundred estates, or breeding farms, in Southern and Central Sweden. The estates made detailed accounts on crop and animal husbandry, fishery, textiles, building materials etc. resulting in hundreds of thousands of preserved account pages – a source material from the 16th century probably without equivalents elsewhere in Europe. The material has previously been used for studies of cereal production, labour division and other cultural history aspects. No comprehensive study of records on horticultural production have however yet been performed. Here, we present the first systematic compilation and analysis of horticultural production, from a large selection of crown estates in the rural areas, from the period 1540 to 1630. Five major production branches were identified: hops, fruit (mainly pears and apples, but also cherries and plums), Brassicas, turnips and vegetables (including herbs). Among vegetables, carrot was by far the most common crop. Several minor crops are found where no earlier record on their cultivation in Sweden is known. The different crops were cultivated in designated yards, but regional variations exist on how the yards were named or combined. Gardeners and hop yard managers can be found at several of the estates giving some insight in the work behind the production records. Horticultural production was obviously not seen as important as other food production (cereals, fish, meat, beer and butter) as records are lacking for many estates and years. The exception is hops, that is recorded at almost all estates for every year, either by own production, as tax or purchased from other farms. The dataset allows for analysis of temporal trends in horticultural production. In general the most extensive production seems to have taken place in the 1550s and in the 1580s and 90s. Political disturbance and harsh weather conditions might have suppressed horti-

culture in the period in between. Further, we note more production of fruit in the beginning of the time period than towards the end. In contrast, hops production increases steadily during the whole time period. The end of the 16th century is also characterized by an increased diversification of vegetables under cultivation. The horticultural production is discussed in the light of climate deterioration, political influences and changes in food culture.

10.4.3. Horticulture in northwestern Germany as a factor of securing the livelihood of the rural population

Florian Probst, University of Münster, Germany

The paper addresses the question of the influence that horticulture had on the livelihoods of ordinary rural people. This can be determined in two ways: Firstly, by analysing the gardens of noble manors and secondly by looking at simple cottage gardens. The analysis focuses primarily on Westphalia, a region in northwestern Germany, and covers the period from the 16th to the first third of the 20th century. 1) Almost every manor had its own garden, some of which were purely pleasure gardens, most of them were a mixture of pleasure gardens and commercial gardens. In the account books of rural estates these gardens often represented one of the largest items of expenditure, along with agriculture and forestry. The gardens were cultivated not only by permanent staff such as gardeners and servants but also by numerous day labourers. Although the demand for work in the garden has a certain seasonality, it is hardly influenced by exogenous effects such as weather or political crises. Because of this planning security, work in the gardens of noble estates was an important way for day labourers to secure a basic income. 2) Many rural dwellers also cultivated their own cottage gardens. The produce from these gardens could be both self-sufficiency goods and market goods. For the area of Westphalia, drawings and development plans have been preserved from the time around 1900. When analysing these testimonies about small-scale horticulture, it becomes clear that cottage gardens played an important role in supplying households. At the same time, the sources can be used to show which plants were cultivated and which tools and machines were used. Apart from smaller reports on individual gardens (mainly monastery gardens), horticulture in Westphalia is hitherto largely unexplored. To investigate horticulture on rural estates, wages of different contract durations from the period 1570 to 1930 are gathered and interpreted by applying statistical methods. Further information on the organisation of horticulture and the payment of individual workers is obtained from work contracts, instructions and work diaries. The farm gardens of the late 19th and early 20th centuries are being examined through qualitative sources such as journals, letters, drawings and also contemporary photographs. The joint consideration of horticulture as a source of employment for the rural population as well as a way of guaranteeing small-scale subsistence closes a gap in the understanding of securing the daily survival in the rural population.

10.5. Experts, institutions and networks in international rural development in the second half of the 20th century 2

Mario De Prospo, Università di Bologna, Italy; Harro Maat, Wageningen University & Research, Netherlands

The decades after the Second World War saw a strong political commitment to improving the conditions of the poorest and less developed populations of the planet. This goal could be achieved through the contribution of experts and the further employment of scientific knowledge and Western technology. This period also witnessed a debate about the definition of “underdevelopment” and possible solutions to it, which involved new and old participants, with different approaches and ideas. Under the shared moral imperative of decent living conditions for all humans, different actors and organisations appeared to have different ideological commitments, different economic interests, and preferred strategies to implement ‘development’. Agriculture and the welfare of the rural population were one of the main areas of intervention of the development aid programmes and projects. Policymakers and experts were well aware of the opportunities provided by the considerable technical and scientific progress achieved in this field. The goal of prosperous worldwide agriculture, capable of providing sufficient food for all and ensuring a good quality of life for rural populations, seemed to be at hand in those years. Along with these enormous expectations and possibilities, it was soon clear that there were significant complications and challenges in achieving these ambitious objectives: lack of understanding of socio-cultural contexts and of local know-hows; low involvement of the institutions of recipient countries; environmental problems; persistence of famine in many regions; political instability; difficulties in accessing markets; gaps in the supply chains. This session aims to present studies that focus on historical cases regarding practices and discourses of rural development in the global arena in the post-war years. Each contribution will present recent research on the activities of organisations and experts involved in international cooperation programs and projects in this field, analysing different aspects of their efforts: role of the overall debate on development, the dialectic between top-down approach versus the bottom-up, influence of the profiles and previous experience of the experts and personnel involved, the role of the technology available and of knowledge exchange, the weight of conflicts and imbalances in the international political arena. This panel will try to stimulate the debate, by understanding and comparing the main ideas, discussions, different paradigms, procedures, experiences that were promoted for the common development goal.

Chair & discussant: Harro Maat

10.5.1. Along the routes of knowledge travels: FAO and rural welfare as a hub of expertise exchange, the case of Latin America

Mario De Prospo, Università di Bologna, Italy

This presentation examines FAO's work in the rural welfare sector between the 1950s and 1960s. The main focus is the role of experts in an international institution, their relationship with the top management of the organization, the influence of local institutions and society in the field activity, with a regional focus on Latin America. This paper shares the partial results of an ongoing research project based on FAO's and other UN agencies published reports, archival records, memoirs and personal papers of experts and diplomats. Particular attention is given to FAO's activities and main achievements in South America, focusing on the relationship between land reform, community development and services for agricultural workers. Given this thematic and geographical framework, the analysis follows the Food and Agricultural Organization's evolution and changes, with a specific interest in social scientists and how they achieved a relevant role within the agency. This group of experts focused his work on improving rural societies' living conditions, institutions, and economies in underdeveloped countries, putting at the centre of their approach the projects' beneficiaries' needs, well-being, and their direct involvement in development programs. It is important to underline that FAO activities in rural welfare were frequently based on a small scale approach, thus not immediately quantifiable. On the contrary, those decades' dominant theories were characterized by top-down dynamics, large-scale projects, and methods that can be measured in detail. Therefore, this contribution aims to understand the role and weight of different perspectives, dimensions, and scope of development theories and practices, which have been considered marginal within the broad debate about international development.

10.5.2. Moving beyond grand narratives and stigmatizations: provincializing the Green Revolution from Mexican fields

Marianna Fenzi, Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne, Switzerland

With the dissolution of the agricultural projects that the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) was leading in China in 1940, it is in Mexico that a new testing ground for development programs based on the dissemination of new agronomic knowledge opens up. Science is seen as a key vector of progress, meant to replace the more political and social dimensions of the reforms needed to transform rural societies. The Mexican State sees, in turn, the possibility of accelerating the emergence of a modern science that would allow the depoliticization of the agrarian reform for technical solutions. In this perspective, Mexico has been a cradle of experimentation of the principles of the Green Revolution, hosting the Mexican Agricultural Program (MAP). It focused on the dissemination of high-yielding varieties and the coordination of extensive variety collection campaigns and breeding. We will review the results of this program through the scientific debates around the idea that poverty in rural areas was mainly due to the lack of technical knowledge. Today the failure of spreading innovations, like hybrid maize or GMOs, is still stigmatized. For some, it is a sign of an irrational attachment to certain habits, for others a laudable expression of political resistance against a modernization imposed from above. While remaining attentive to the political dimension underlying the idea of knowledge and technology transfer, we want to highlight other aspects. On the one hand, we identify more pragmatic reasons that motivate farmers' choices; on the other hand, we show that scientific approaches were more contrasted than unanimous in the scientific and technical course undertaken in Mexico during the MAP years.

10.5.3. Technical and Scientific Cooperation in Agriculture between Hungary and Countries in the Middle East from the 1960s to the early 1980s

Dániel Luka, Pécsi Tudományegyetem (PTE), Hungary

In 1962 an enterprise for international cooperation was founded in Hungary, the Office of International Technical and Scientific Cooperation and Consulting (Technical and Scientific Cooperation, TESCO). It was a state-owned company which coordinated economic cooperation and trade between Hungary and the countries which were members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), but it initiated and established economic connections with developing countries around the world. TESCO transferred Hungarian technology and knowledge everywhere, specialists and experts went abroad to share skills and develop economy. Hungary hosted foreign students from abroad; they received for instance agricultural training and education. The main field of Hungarian activities was Africa, but ties were made with numerous countries in the Middle East in the 1960s, and especially in the 1970s. According to new researches Hungarian intelligence conducted through TESCO foreign activities in the hosting countries. Hungary fulfilled COMECON commitments and provided technical and scientific aid for developing countries in the Middle East, for instance in Syria, in Iraq and in Iran. TESCO had in Iraq permanent representative, hosted hundreds of Iraqi students and through the office many Hungarian specialists went to Iraq. They tasks were to plan regional agricultural development, to set up new research institutions, buildings and infrastructure. This paper aims to reveal details of Hungarian technical and scientific cooperation in the Middle East by focusing on agriculture. Bilateral agreements boosted foreign trade and scientific endeavors in this region from the first half of the 1970s. How many Hungarian experts went to the Middle East? What did they plan and accomplish? Archival sources of the Hungarian Department of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, articles and papers shed light on intensity and extent of Hungarian agricultural foreign relations in developing countries in the Middle East in the age of the Cold War. The analysis contributes to debates on transfer of different economic systems and agricultural technologies to less developed parts of the world in modern history. As many researchers concluded, COMECON countries intended to gain political and economic influence in developing countries by establishing technical and scientific cooperation.



Potatoe planting, 1910s.

10.6. Hidden Modernizers. Working Animals in 19th and 20th Century Agriculture

Juri Auderset, Archives of Rural History, Bern

Working animals were an integral part of agricultural production throughout the 19th and well into the second half of the 20th century. Working animal's historical agency influenced material and social arrangements on the farms and its surroundings, they provided physical power, energy and skills necessary for farm work and they shaped human perception and interpretation of farming, nature and the rural world. Despite this ubiquity of working animals and the intensity of human-animal interactions in agricultural contexts, historical research has treated them mainly as remnants of a pre-modern past and symbols of backward farming practices that lingered on into the modern age, only to be replaced finally by tractors and motorized machinery. This narrative logic of "overcoming" working animals by technological progress has not only pushed them to the margins of historical research, but also acted as a blinker for understanding the complexities of technological and environmental change in agriculture and the roles played by working animals therein. This panel proposes to question this interpretation and to explore the modernization of agriculture through the prism of working animals. It invites contributions that account for the numerical significance and the diverse roles of working animals on farms and that analyze the work relationships between humans and animals in 19th and 20th century agriculture. The aim of the panel is to test the hypothesis that working animals were by no means obstacles for the modernization of agricultural production, but rather a versatile and resilient living source of power, skill, companionship and emotional attachment that structured the transformation of modern agriculture in decisive ways.

Chair: Melina Teubner, University of Bern, Switzerland

10.6.1. Making hidden modernizers visible

Peter Moser, Archives of Rural History, Bern; Hans Ulrich Schiedt, Archives of Rural History, Bern

In the period from the 18th until the first half of the 20th century working animals were omnipresent in rural areas as well as in urban surroundings. Yet, in spite of their ubiquity, they have rather seldom received serious attention by historians. One of the reasons for this incongruity can be found in the disparate, often equivocal source material. While a variety of sources is documenting the importance of working animals in modern societies, others, often used by historians, are actively, if unintentionally hiding their presence. Working cows and dogs, for example, are hardly ever recorded as such because official statistics classified them in other categories. Thus, statistics transformed multifunctional phenomena into single purpose items and, as a consequence, fostered the numerical disappearance of cows and dogs as working animals in spite of their indispensable role as co-workers on many farms. In this contribution methods are discussed which allow working animals to be made visible. Moreover, it presents film sources, where activities of working animals and their relationship with men are documented even though the intentions of the filmmakers were different altogether.

10.6.2. Partners in milking and plowing: Working cows and agricultural intensification in Franconia, ca. 1800–1950

Jadon Nisly-Goretzki, Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, Germany

One prominent narrative of the development of working animals in agriculture holds that oxen were gradually replaced by horses, until horses were in turn replaced by tractors. As Troßbach (2016) has pointed out, in many parts of Germany, the steadily sinking number of oxen did not necessarily mean more farmers were using horses, but could also reflect the spread of cow traction. Cow traction not only allowed a redirection of resources from raising oxen, but also gave many small farmers who could not afford oxen direct access to traction. With the refinement of the three-part collar around 1900 and continuous academic research, the use of cows was far from backwards, but an evolving agricultural technology well into the 20th century. Not only horses, but also working cows were able to make use of new ground-driven machinery such as mowers. The cow's parallel use for milking created a unique emotional relationship distinct from that of either oxen or horses. The Bavarian region of Franconia is well-suited for a micro-historical perspective on the development of working cows, since very small farms meant that bovine traction dominated, and trained oxen were a major export. By 1783, the spread of working cows had come to the disapproving attention of the Prince-Bishop of Bamberg, and by the early 1900s, 72% of cows in Lower Franconia were used for traction. Cow traction heavily impacted the transition from summer grazing to intensive year-round stalling, as working cows owners preferred letting their cows graze individually after work, rather than sending them to the communal cowherd. The use of cows instead of oxen shaped both emotional and practical aspects of the working relationship in many ways. The partnership was far more likely to extend over a significant number of years, even a lifetime, than was the case for oxen, who were sometimes even replaced within a growing season. Years of work experience must have affected how well cows followed commands and maneuvered. There were also profound implications for the working relationship with respect to normative gendering of labor: the same cow was both the intimate working partner of women leaning against her flank to milk her, but now also of men verbally directing her in front of a plow.

10.6.3. Studying the Animal Machine: Working Animals, Energy Conversion and Companionship between Laboratory and Farm, 1890–1950

Juri Auderset, Archives of Rural History, Bern

Working animals were an integral and important part of agricultural production in many parts of Europe until the mid-20th century. Horses, oxen, donkeys and cattle provided muscular energy, draft power and intellectual skills for countless farming operations and were thus highly versatile and mobile prime movers in the agricultural economy. Given this ubiquity of working animals in rural society, it comes as no surprise that they increasingly became an object of scientific observation and study from the 19th century on. This contribution explores how and why working animals in agriculture attracted considerable scientific and practical attention from the late 19th century on and how farmers, engineers, zoologists, agricultural scientists and veterinarians tried to come to terms with the idiosyncrasies of what they increasingly perceived as the 'organic motors' and 'animal machines' that farmers in large numbers relied on as a source of power and work companionship. By drawing on sources from Switzerland and embedding the local debates on animal work in transnational agronomist discourses, this paper investigates the circulation of knowledge regarding working animals in agriculture and examines how the draft power and intellectual skills of farm animals became a contested object of scientific and practical preoccupation alike.

10.6.4. 'Like a shepherd lead us'

Bert Theunissen, Descartes Centre, Utrecht University, Netherlands

Sheep dogs are among the few species of working animals that have not lost their role in animal husbandry, and they may even be said to experience a revival, of sorts: heritage sheep breeds are popular in many European countries, and the shepherds that manage heritage flocks often use sheep dogs to herd them. So do many hobby sheep breeders. The British border collie is considered to be the proverbial sheep dog. But it seems to have attained this status only recently – one wonders if the 'One man and his dog' shows broadcasted by the BBC have something to do with this. The way these dogs work, however, by driving and gathering the sheep, predatory style, has not been the default working method of sheep dogs historically. For long centuries, definitely outside Britain and Australia, sheep dogs did not push and drive the sheep from behind, but merely kept the moving flock together by flanking it, or they did not herd the flock at all but protected it against predators. Most importantly: sheep were not driven, but led by the shepherd. Cultural and art historical evidence amply supports this. Could it be that the whole idea that sheep need to be driven and, as a corollary, that sheep are pretty stupid, is an artifact of the British agricultural heritage tradition? Recent Youtube videos testify to a growing awareness that leading sheep instead of driving them is a much to be preferred alternative which, moreover, makes sheep behave much more intelligently. One may also ask if new technologies that replace sheepdogs, such as quads and drones, have been designed on the basis of the same misconception.

10.7. The Great Depression and the rural world in South-eastern Europe; evaluating and representing the agrarian change. TransMonEA's research results

Catherine Brégianni, Academy of Athens, HFRI/PI Project 1310, Greece

The Great Depression initially appeared in Europe in the form of an agrarian crisis; In the beginning of the 1930s the agrarian crisis had a general negative influence on European economies and societies, evidenced by the considerable fall in the prices of agricultural products. Especially, but not solely, the rural countries of South-Eastern Europe faced deep changes in their structures of foreign trade which were brought about by the international crisis. In the first place, the session aims to link the structures of the rural economy of the South-eastern European region to the economic recession following the Great Depression. Secondly, a global conception is required, with regards to transnational action taken in order to tackle the new conditions in national economies based on the primary sector: for example, the Stresa Conference, in September 1932, considered means of reviving European trade in order to counterbalance the expanding economic protectionism, as concerns especially the tariffs and quotas on agricultural product. The Stresa Conference results provide us with an image of the European rural crisis in the early 1930s, just a few steps before the generalization of economic protectionism, emphasizing primarily on the organization of the rural markets. Having traced the intersections between the European interwar rural crisis and the overall economic conditions during the Great Depression, the proposed session targets the evaluation of unexplored primary sources describing the quantitative indicators in the -largely agricultural- countries of South-Eastern Europe. The aim is to associate this objective parameter with the centralized modernization policies applied in the geographical region under examination, accentuating thus the State's intervention and role. Besides the emergence of a technocratic framework and the technical and organizational innovation, the recession provoked social responses, such as the strengthening of rural cooperatives -although, in some cases these were progressively assimilated into centralized mechanisms- or significant protest movements in rural areas. The exploration of the social impact of the crisis is then included in the Session's goals, as is the analysis of visual representations of the interwar rural crisis: we will attempt a bottom-up interpretation, in the sense that questions arise as to how the effects of the crisis in the rural world are depicted in photography, film, and art works. As a methodological stake, the session proposes that recession phenomena in the rural world could be investigated in an interdisciplinary approach.

Chair: Catherine Brégianni

Discussant: Laurent Herment, CNRS, France

10.7.1. Introduction: Geo-Historical Differentiations in the Analysis of the Interwar Crisis. South-eastern Europe in the Context of the Interwar Crisis

Catherine Brégianni, Academy of Athens, HFRI/PI Project 1310, Greece

As market expansion incorporates the space dimension (Harvey, 2008 & Harvey, 2011), while studying a global phenomenon as the Great Depression, it is important to show not only the organizing of the capital flows around international financial centres but also to highlight the aspect of national examples. Moreover, the territorial axis, in the proposed analysis, underlines the conjunctions but also the national differentiations between the consolidation of a central power and the attempted diffusion of forms of social economy (Gueslin, 1998). The existing contradiction of these concepts is explained if we take into consideration the hetero-directed forms of social economy's institutions implemented as the State's economic role progressively strengthen. In the framework of the Session's introduction, the above-mentioned questions are also explored via archival evidence (FO 434 series)

10.7.2. Agricultural Commodities: Data on local economies and visual representations of agrarian changes in interwar Greece

Antonis Antoniou, Academy of Athens, HFRI/PI Project 1310, Greece; Manolis Arkolakis, Academy of Athens, HFRI/PI Project 1310, Greece

The paper firstly discusses why currant is selected as the product analyzed, foregrounding the significance of the product and its links to interwar international trade. Parts of the TransMonEA Serial Database on prices and exchange rates are presented concerning the buying prices of currant (in current drachmas) at the main export port of Patras from 1925 to 1935. It is also explained the impact of the Great Depression on the currant commercial prices as regards its international trade. The currant prices in foreign currency will be thoroughly discussed, while the stances and attitudes of social actors in rural areas are highlighted in relation to product prices fluctuation. In the second part, the paper explores audiovisual documents from the period of economic crisis in the agricultural sector of interwar Greece. Focusing on the rural communities of Thessaly, it will present photographic and cinematic depictions by particular professional photographers and cinematographers. On the one hand, the use of audiovisual media by state entrepreneurial institutions will be read as a new means of propaganda and advertisement and on the other, emphasis is given on the visual representation of the interwar crisis on local level. The research is funded by the TransMonEA project, HFRI / Academy of Athens.

10.7.3. Germany's Drang nach Südosten and the Marketing of Southeastern European Agricultural Products in the Interwar Period

Juan Carmona-Zabala, Foundation for Research and Technology, Greece

The strengthening of economic and cultural ties between Germany and a number of southeastern European countries in the interwar period has been referred to as Drang nach Südosten (thrust towards the southeast). Driven by a German aim to boost its international standing after its defeat in World War I, and shaped by the constraints of the Great Depression (falling demand, clearing agreements, foreign exchange controls...), the Drang nach Südosten resulted in increased economic and diplomatic influence over the region. However, as Gross has shown in *Export Empire: German Soft Power in Southeastern Europe, 1890–1945* (2015), this was far from a unidirectional process of power projection. Actors from southeastern Europe, both state and private, actively shaped these interactions and pursued their own goals. The purpose of this paper is to describe, and account for, the efforts that German, Greek, Bulgarian and Turkish actors made for the promotion of southeastern European agricultural products in Germany in

the interwar period. More concretely, the paper focuses on the participation of Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey in the Leipzig Fair, and a number of initiatives undertaken for the marketing of one of the region's main exports to Germany: Oriental-type tobacco. Such initiatives included the establishment of cooperative companies and industrial facilities, as well as new forms of state intervention in the market. The picture that emerges from this analysis is one of path dependence (different countries took different approaches to the same problem), and of an understanding of the legitimate scope of foreign economic policy that was in flux, at a time of great economic and social upheaval in southeastern Europe. This paper falls within the scope of the session "The Great Depression and the rural world in South-eastern Europe; evaluating and representing the agrarian change." It presents a number of cases that could be characterized as "transnational action taken in order to tackle the new conditions in national economies based on the primary sector."

10.7.4. The Great Depression in Eastern Europe as a Catalyst for the Regulation of the European Agricultural Market

Uwe Mueller, Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Germany

Agriculture in Eastern Europe was hit particularly hard by the Great Depression (1929–1933). This hardship was experienced both within the framework of the individual national economies and in the export of agricultural goods. In the late 1920s, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland, as well as the Soviet Union, had tried to revive traditional exports to Western and Central Europe after the collapse of these exports because of the First World War and its aftermath. However, competition from overseas and the protectionism of agricultural importers made Eastern European agricultural exports enormously difficult. In this crisis situation, Eastern European actors, such as Romanian economist, sociologist, politician and the main theorist of the Peasants' Party Virgil Madgearu, fought for a fundamental change in the order of international agricultural markets. The first request of the Eastern European stakeholders and agricultural politicians was the taking out of the most-favoured-nation clause contained in most of the trade contracts. The Eastern European exporters argued that deleting this clause, while greatly helping Eastern European agrarian producers, would only minimally reduce the sales of the overseas cereal and meat exporters that dominated the market and not harm Western European farmers. As a next step, the Eastern Europeans argued for the introduction of a system of preferential tariffs within Europe. They managed to get the Commission Internationale d'Agriculture (CIA) to adopt their demands. Thus, the idea of a common European agricultural market was discussed within the League of Nations and at the Stresa Agricultural Conference in September 1932 and at the London World Financial and Economic Conference in June and July 1933. The paper examines how all the Eastern European states except the Soviet Union put aside their differences and founded a so-called agricultural bloc in Warsaw in 1930, in the face of the challenges of the Great Depression. It presents the means and arguments with which Eastern European interest groups and agricultural politicians attempted to assert their positions in international negotiations. The main objective of the paper is to determine both the opportunities and the limits that actors from the periphery face in shaping global economic conditions.

SESSION 11 • THURSDAY 23 JUNE • 11:00–13:00

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	ROOM
11.1. Representations of the Countryside 1 Sarah Holland	11.1.1. "We Have Taken": Indigenous Dispossession in the Agricultural Reform Movement Michael Belding	11.1.2. Between Subordination and Emancipation. Peasants and Photography in Poland (1864–1937) Agata Koprowicz	11.1.3. Farm at the End of the World: Representations of Rural Southwestern History, Environmental Crisis, and Settler Colonialism in US Dystopian Fiction Tjalling Valdés Olmos	11.1.4. Representing Rural History as a Haunting Force in Colson Whitehead's John Henry Days and Apex Hides the Hurt Esther Peeren	11:1 Room 1
11.2. Food Security in the Early Modern and Modern Era 3 Eric Hallberg	11.2.1. Public famine relief strategies in pre-industrial Iceland: The transition to a liberal framework Gudmundur Jonsson	11.2.2. Rice Agriculture, Famine, and Development-induced Scarcity in Japan's North Joshua Linkous	11.2.3. Good times, bad times: The development of the Swedish horticultural industry 1900–1955 Inger Olausson	11.2.4. Foreign trade and food security in Iceland and Northern Norway in the late 18th Century Pétur G. Kristjánsson	11:2 Room 2
11.3. Global Pathogens, Local Pathologies: How agricultural epidemics are shaping global and local agrarian and environmental change Christian Colella	11.3.1. The "invasion" of the Colorado potato beetle in Europe during the 20th Century. The case of France and Germany (1920's–1950's) Margot Lyautey	11.3.2. Care, Intra-action and the Politics of Pathogenicity: <i>Xyella fastidiosa</i> in Spanish almonds Emily Reisman			11:3 Room 3
11.4. New Evidence about Women, Rural Places, and Gender Relations during the Nineteenth Century Debra Reid	11.4.1. Outdoor Workers. Swedish Women, Sexuality and Property Rights in a Utopian Community in Illinois. The Bishop Hill Colony Case Irene Flygare	11.4.2. Escape from New York: Family Letters to Document Gender and the Urban New York to Rural Massachusetts Safety Valve, 1856–1884 Katherine Jellison	11.4.3. Rural Women Build a Local Food Environment at Detroit's Public Market, 1840s–1890s Debra Reid		11:4 Room 4
11.5. From rural modernities to agricultural modernisation, 1930s–1960s 1 Juan Pan-Montojo	11.5.1. Agricultural modernisation as a trans-systemic transfer: the Hungarian case in the in the Cold War era Zsuzsanna Varga	11.5.2. Adolf Hitler's Agricultural Revolution: developments in UK farming, 1920–1970 Paul Brassley			11:5 Room 5
11.6. Land conflicts and property rights in the Iberian empires 1 Márcia Motta	11.6.1. Dispossessed settlers. Olvera (Spain) and Santa Cruz (Argentina), two case-studies in the context of the Spanish expansion (14th–18th centuries) Ignacio Díaz Sierra	11.6.2. The Naturalist and His Guides: A Contest over Diamonds, Royal Sovereignty, and Property Rights in the Brazilian Backlands, ca. 1800 Hal Langfur	11.6.3. "Nobody's Land?": Property, conflicts and justice in Amazonas, Brazil (19th and 20th centuries) Alan Dutra Cardoso		11:6 Room 6
11.7. The social construction of the market. Market land transfers in customary systems in Europe and developing countries, 18th–21st centuries 2 Eric Léonard	11.7.1. Between fantasy and reality. Indigenous participation in the land sales market within settled areas in Algeria (1877–1960) Didier Guignard	11.7.2. The impact of liberal reforms, titling and market access in Spain, 1820–1900 Juan Carmona			11:7 Room 7
11.8. Re-inventing rurality? Contemporary debates and historical perspectives 1 Dietlind Hüchtker	11.8.1. Alternative Approaches of living Ranjana Kunwar	11.8.2. Negotiating rurality under the perspectives of Thomas Luckmann's Invisible Religion Werner Nell	11.8.3. Peasant Community and Peasant Rebellion in the Ukrainian Lands of the 18th-Century Poland-Lithuania Iurii Zazuliak		11:8 Room 8



Promising harvest on the Uppsala plains, 1952.

11.1. Representations of the Countryside 1

Sarah Holland, University of Nottingham, UK; Esther Peeren, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands; Tjalling Valdés Olmos, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Representations of the countryside have always been varied, ranging from the idyllic to the highly emotive. Some representations are more omnipresent whereas others are context specific. They can be found in many places including popular culture, art and literature and the media. Ultimately, contrasting representations of the countryside can have a powerful impact on how people perceive, imagine and use rural spaces. This session seeks to examine how and why these representations of the countryside are constructed, and to compare and contrast different types of representations. It will consider the role different representations have played in shaping perceptions, creating meaning and determining understanding of the countryside, rural places and rural people. It is particularly interested in how representations of the countryside are inter-connected with local, regional, national and international events (including industrialisation, globalisation, sustainability, Covid-19), and how representations that are products of a specific time, place or context are understood or perceived outside of those chronological, geographic or contextual frameworks. The panel aims to contribute new and international perspectives on this subject, comparing and contrasting representations of the countryside produced in different places, at different times and in different contexts, and for different reasons.

Chair: Tjalling Valdés Olmos

11.1.1. "We Have Taken": Indigenous Dispossession in the Agricultural Reform Movement

Michael Belding, Iowa State University of Science and Technology, USA

Organized agricultural reform in the American state of Illinois – one of the central North American states where the tallgrass "Prairie Peninsula" was located on the eve of Euro-American colonization in the early- to mid-nineteenth-century and which is now part of the "Corn Belt" that produces so much maize and pork – was inaugurated in October 1853 with a speech that declared a race war. Jonathan Baldwin Turner, formerly a professor at a college on the Illinois prairie and now an advocate of practical education and leader in a movement to modernize agriculture and make it more scientific, gave the keynote address at the first annual fair of the Illinois State Agricultural Society. Turner built a sense of continuity with Native Americans as a prelude to breaking with them, a difference between Indigenous and Euro-American societies that gave the latter the right to dispossess the former. He declared, "It has been said that the aboriginal inhabitants who preceded us on this soil were the first men then upon the continent. They were called the 'Illini,' which means pre-eminently 'the men'—and their country 'Illinois' or 'the land of the men.' We have taken their name and their heritage....We thus call ourselves 'the men' and our state 'the land of the men.'" Turner and other leaders in the agricultural reform movement of the prairies who spoke on Native Americans, such as John Reynolds, a former Governor of Illinois, and Matthias L. Dunlap, editor of the noted agricultural journal *Prairie Farmer*, published in Chicago, claimed the right to use and alter the prairie environment by describing Native Americans as unable to reason and grow intellectually and white settler colonists as adaptive, enterprising, and thinking – more genuinely human and masculine, the rightful inhabitants of Illinois. This storytelling was critical to agricultural reformers' portrayal of the grasslands as wild and themselves as a civilizing force engaging in the "arts of peace" by thinking scientifically and consuming scientific knowledge, buying and raising blooded livestock, obtaining crop seeds from dealers, adopting manufactured steel machines, and selling the products of their farms in commercial centers. In discussing agricultural reformers' representations of Indigenous land use and the Indigenous country-

side, this paper works to continue the decolonization of modern industrial agriculture's origins in the mid-nineteenth century, which is especially important for a region that today regards its agriculture as divinely ordered and timeless rather than historically constructed.

11.1.2. Between Subordination and Emancipation. Peasants and Photography in Poland (1864–1937)

Agata Koprowicz, University of Warsaw, Poland

The practice of photography was nearly unknown in the Polish countryside until the end of the nineteenth century. The photographs of peasants in this period were taken mostly by professional photographers from outside the presented culture, frequently on the request of folklorists. Despite its scientific application, they were equally used for political interests of the intelligentsia and landed gentry. Such presentations showed peasants as anti-historical and emphasized the subordination of the peasantry to the Tsar (i.e. photographs taken by Karol Beyer in 1867) or Polish elite (i.e. photographs taken by Walery Rzewuski in 1870). At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as a result of the growing level of education in the countryside, as well as the activities of the intelligentsia, peasants slowly began to gain political awareness. They used the services of itinerant photographers and nearby ateliers and portrayed themselves in a different way than the above-mentioned cycles. The folk elite, i.e. village mayors, were most willing to pose for photographs. First photographers from the peasantry, i.e. Ignacy Kobus or Wojciech Migacz, started to take portraits of themselves and create images of the life in the countryside. As a consequence, photography previously belonging to upper classes, began to be used by excluded groups, playing identity-forming role. The turning point came when Poland regained independence in 1918. Peasants began to be perceived not only as an object of elite activities, but they were the significant part of the modern society. At that time, the first peasant political parties were active. Their members wore traditional folk costumes, which they urged their voters to do. The most famous example was the Prime Minister of Poland in the 1920s, Wincenty Witos, who eagerly photographed himself wearing it at political ceremonies. Photography was also used as a tool for legitimizing peasants' political claims. When the Great Peasant Uprising broke out in 1937, protesters in various villages and small towns photographed themselves with the bodies of those murdered by the army to mobilize others to fight for their rights. Photography had emancipated itself and became a grassroots tool for creating peasants' own image. In this paper I will investigate the changes in the identity of the peasantry reflected in photography from 1864 to 1937. I will compare ethnographical photographs presented Polish peasantry with images produced by peasants themselves and analyze their ideological and political dimension.

11.1.3. Farm at the End of the World: Representations of Rural Southwestern History, Environmental Crisis, and Settler Colonialism in US Dystopian Fiction

Tjalling Valdés Olmos, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

There is a vast cultural archive that represents the US countryside repeatedly as an idyllic safe haven or as a space of decline and danger, especially in times of critical change. The popular and widely acclaimed film *Interstellar* is set in a dystopian future where the US is encumbered by a global environmental crisis that threatens humanity's food system and the planet's overall livability. Central to this science fiction film's story is the role farming and the farm plays within its narrative on ecological devastation. Farming and the farm are simultaneously represented here as both a praxis and space of sustainability and as one of decline and ruin. Through situating this seemingly paradoxical representation of the countryside in *Interstellar* as part of a historical cultural imagination that capitalizes on rural-urban binaries, my paper asks the following: in what ways does *Interstellar* make visible and invisible the historical and contemporary effects of global industrial farming? This question is particularly probed through a focus on the film's

references to the Dust Bowl of the 1930s, an ecological event caused by 19th and early 20th century white settlers who conducted extensive deep plowing of virgin topsoil in the Great Plains. By reading and analyzing the film within a larger cultural archive of the western and southwestern US rural—an archive that is especially characterized by the genre of frontier and pioneer fiction—I ask how and why the dystopian reiteration of The Dust Bowl in *Interstellar* obfuscates historical structural connections between settler colonialism, indigenous displacement/genocide, and the globalized modern-industrial food system. By drawing on the notion of affect, the paper furthermore draws out what kind of affective management is performed through *Interstellar*'s dystopian imagination of the rural, and how such an affective management relates to contemporary national (and global) political dis/investments regarding climate change and environmental crises.

11.1.4. Representing Rural History as a Haunting Force in Colson Whitehead's *John Henry Days* and *Apex Hides the Hurt*

Esther Peeren, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Bryan Stevenson's remark, in the context of the New York Times 1619 Project, that "we must acknowledge the 400 years of injustice that haunt us" is somewhat of a paradox, for if the history of slavery truly haunted American society, it would not still be in need of acknowledgment. The many dismissive reactions to the 1619 Project and movements like Black Lives Matter suggest that the American "we" is not yet pervasively haunted by this violent history. Rural America and dominant representations of rural America appear particularly resistant to such haunting, exhibiting a tendency to either ignore or romanticize histories of slavery and its afterlives. In this paper, I turn to Colson Whitehead's novels *John Henry Days* (2001) and *Apex Hides the Hurt* (2006), which have been read as reflecting on the intertwined histories of American racism and capitalism, but have not been engaged specifically as representations of how the rural factors into these histories and their reverberations in the present. Both are set (mainly) in rural towns busy negotiating racially charged local histories: the first by holding a festival honoring John Henry Days, a black railway worker who competed against a steam drill, and the second by contemplating a name change that would acknowledge it as an originally black settlement. Significantly, both novels have as their main protagonist an urban-based Black man who travels to these rural towns as, respectively, a junket-chasing journalist and a marketing consultant, and who experiences anxiety about being Black in the American rural. I will argue that, in presenting the towns' engagement with their histories through the eyes of these protagonists, the novels allow (some of) the rural-based ghosts of plantation slavery and its afterlives to be acknowledged, challenging the notion of America as a post-racial society. At the same time, they highlight how dominant representations of the American rural – and the affective structures that sustain them – ordinarily pre-empt such ghosts from acquiring the power to haunt. My argument will draw on the work of Jacques Derrida, Avery Gordon, Sharon Holland and Hershini Bhana Young on history – and specifically the history of plantation slavery – as a haunting structure, and on Lauren Berlant's work on affect.

11.2. Food Security in the Early Modern and Modern Era 3

Eric Hallberg, University of Gothenburg, Sweden; Timo Myllyntaus University of Turku, Finland

From strict regulation to the submission to market power, the state management of food systems fundamentally impacts societies and cultures. Today's food challenges are dire: food poverty caused by social inequality, inefficiencies, and maldistribution. Few people still believe that money can buy food security. Reforms are needed. Structural changes to enable people to eat and live better, and within planet boundaries, must play a central role in tomorrow's politics. From the last few centuries, we know that such reforms can go utterly different ways, from heavy regulation over mixed-economy systems to entirely free-traded ones. In each of these, the control is transferred from big firms and landowners to local retailers and smallholders or vice versa. Any revision or reform of the food system is an extensive and delicate political process, transforming the relationships between consumers, producers and distributors, as well as between the people and the state. In this session we want to develop a comparative perspective on how states have introduced and handled food systems during the early modern and modern era in the Baltic Sea area.

- How and by whom are food systems implemented? What role do popular demands play?
- What is the economic, social and ecological impact of food systems? Why do they succeed or fail? What is the interaction between reforms of food systems and supply and mortality crises?
- How are different national food systems related? What are the ideological and practical associations and implications? How do food systems interact with various stakeholders: peasant households, proletarian households, large landowners, village institutions, urban communities, large wholesalers, political movements, and governments?

Chair & discussant: Erik Hallberg, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

11.2.1. Public famine relief strategies in pre-industrial Iceland: The transition to a liberal framework

Gudmundur Jonsson, University of Iceland

Given the fact that Icelanders did not grow grain and foreign markets played an insignificant role in the economy during the early modern period, one might have expected an active public response in times of distress to mitigate the effects of famines. This paper argues, however, that government did not assume an active role in protecting the population in times of food crisis nor did it develop any long-term strategies to enhance the resilience of the people – although attempts to form a coherent public policy on food security can be discerned after 1770. The paper examines public responses to famine in Iceland during the 18th and 19th centuries, a period of transition from a highly regulated, mercantilist system dominated by the Royal Danish Trade Monopoly to a more open market economy with stronger ties to international markets. We identify various means of public relief on both central and local level and look for recurrent themes in these efforts. We address the central question: How can we best explain the fairly limited role played by public institutions in alleviating the effects of food crises. Is the answer to be found in Iceland's difficult terrain and rudimentary transport or other structural features of the economy? Was the organization of state power, being divided between central government in Copenhagen and the regional authorities in Iceland, a major impediment to a decisive and coordinated public response? Or was the passive role of government, in the final analysis, dictated by the mindset of the Icelandic power elite, its narrow view of its moral obligations and political responsibility towards those most at risk during famines? With freer trade after 1787 foreign markets played a slightly greater role in the provision of food but did it enhance the food security of the nation? Lastly, we explore whether the advance

of a more liberal trade policy around the middle of the 19th century changed the government's stance on assistance to the poor in hard times. Here we attempt to give, at least tentative, answers to these fundamental questions surrounding public famine relief efforts, a topic still under-researched in Icelandic famine studies.

11.2.2. Rice Agriculture, Famine, and Development-induced Scarcity in Japan's North

Joshua Linkous, Harvard University, USA

In this paper, I track the longue durée development of rice agriculture in the Tsugaru region of Japan, arguing that its rise led to what I term development-induced scarcity. The intensification of rice production in the region led to the destruction of local ecologies, the loss of crop diversity, land dispossession and the loss of commons, creating a cycle of famine and poverty that gripped the region throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Though this process has been little studied, scholars who have briefly examined the region have tended to naturalize the famines by considering them historically endemic to the region. Consequently, they focus on the underdeveloped nature of industry in the region or assume poor governance as the root cause of the persistence of these famines. Such framing inhibits our understanding of the material conditions that brought about this situation of perpetual scarcity and fails to consider the systemic nature of the problem. Far from endemic, famines were a historical product of the increasing inequality between urban and rural regions wrought by early modern economic development and the transformation of those rural spaces into extractive regions. To show this, I follow a model similar to Egyptian economist Samir Amin's characterization of the world economy, in which "conditions in the periphery represent not an earlier stage of development but an equally modern consequence of the continuous "structural adjustment" to which societies outside the West have been subjected." In doing so, I argue that, rather than a space awaiting change, Tsugaru should instead be viewed as having already been deeply shaped by its absorption into the market. In other words, the "underdeveloped economy" of Tsugaru should not be construed as the manifestation of a time-lag in a natural tendency toward development, but rather as an economic situation produced through integration into a larger economic network through which development-induced scarcity is continually reproduced and intensified.

11.2.3. Good times, bad times: The development of the Swedish horticultural industry 1900–1955

Inger Olausson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

From the breakthrough in the wake of the industrial revolution in late 19th century, commercial horticulture expanded rapidly in Sweden. As many horticultural crops (e.g. vegetables, fruit, berries and ornamentals) are perishable, the number of horticultural businesses increased especially in and nearby cities, with short distance to the market. When the development of the transport system became more efficient, the geographic distance between production and sale increased. This favored large-scale cultivation in climatically favorable parts of the country. As domestic production increased sharply, so did the international trade of horticultural products. Throughout the following decades, with the exception of the war years, imported horticultural products posed a constant threat to domestic horticulture by tightening the competition and thus the profit margins. The imported horticultural produce were of the highest quality, grown in large-scale, highly rationalised cultivating systems, dependent on the use of chemical pesticides. The world wars swiftly changed competition in favour of domestic producers. In the 1930s, the situation worsened even further with the economic downturn. Until then, agriculture and horticulture shared the same political solution: tariffs on imported products would protect the domestic market from the negative consequences of imports. But when the profitability of both horticultural and agricultural operations declined in the 30s, the politics for the later took a new direction. Agriculture became strictly regulated, including guaranteeing the market for grain and butter and establishing fixed, predetermined prices regardless of demand, while the market for horticultural products remained free and therefore subject to stiff competition. The demand for horticultural products were impacted by shifting

trends, for example, and by advertising and other forms of marketing, creating an erratic and quickly changing market. Horticulture industry organisations and governmental agencies worked actively to encourage and enhance the conditions for horticulture in Sweden, in order to compete with the growth in imports, and to survive declining profitability. This will be the focus in my paper. In 1937, the Fruit- and horticulture inquiry were initiated, and presented proposals concerning production and marketing conditions in the horticulture industry. The Second World War changed the situation, but after the war the rapid expansion of global trade brought back an even more intense competition.

11.2.4. Foreign trade and food security in Iceland and Northern Norway in the late 18th Century

Pétur G. Kristjánsson, University of Iceland

Available demographic data for the 18th century indicates that Icelanders were at greater risk of dying from starvation or hunger-induced diseases than the inhabitants of the other Nordic countries. Recurring famines triggered by natural disasters and harvest failures suggest that Icelandic society was extremely vulnerable to economic shocks and societal responses were ineffective in negating environmental and economic challenges. Research shows that during the most severe famines Iceland's population losses ranged from 10 to 21 percent. Although Finnmark in Northern Norway did not escape temporary food shortages triggered by harvest failures, excess mortality seems to have been more linked to periods with outbreaks of infectious diseases than periods of food crisis. A comparison between Finnmark and Iceland is interesting because, on the one hand, these regions shared several common characteristics such as a northerly location, similar economic structure and trade regime while on the other hand they followed different trajectories with regard to food security. Finnmark and Iceland were both domains in the Danish-Norwegian Realm and both subjected to the Danish Royal Trade Monopoly which firmly regulated external trade. Trading regulations instructed trading companies to adhere to fixed prices and obliged them to import foodstuffs in accordance with the needs of the inhabitants. In normal years households' dependence on bought foodstuffs varied greatly, the peasants in Iceland and the Norwegian nomads being more self-reliant than the poor fishermen in the coastal communities. During food crises, however, most poorer households became dependent on access to the market. The primary object of this paper is to examine and evaluate to what extent foreign trade contributed to the resilience of Finnmark and Iceland in challenging times during the 18th century. The central question is whether the market mitigated or aggravated losses suffered by the most vulnerable households during hard times. Did the market provide the flexibility needed to cope effectively with shocks both in terms access to imported foodstuffs and regulation of exported foodstuffs? Did the communities most severely affected receive any form of assistance from the merchants such as debt write-off or credit extension? In the paper I also seek to identify different coping strategies of households and possible explanations for them.

11.3. Global Pathogens, Local Pathologies: How agricultural epidemics are shaping global and local agrarian and environmental change

Christian Colella, CNR-IREA, Italy; Fiona Panziera, Université Paris-Est Marne La Vallée, France; Fabio Gatti, Wageningen University, Netherlands; Michele Bandiera, Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy

Plant pathogens have the capacity of potentially wiping out in a matter of a few years entire ecosystems, economies, redesigning whole landscapes, and redrawing the political and sociocultural matrix of the territories and the plants they colonize. Although the phenomenon is certainly not new, the last decades saw an alarming increase in new emerging plant diseases. The European potato blight crisis in the mid nineteenth century, together with Phylloxera affecting grapevines in the second half of the nineteenth century, are two examples of well known agricultural epidemics that shaped both the newly formed phytopathological scientific discipline as well as the international policy agreements on plant protection. There is increasing evidence that the establishment of global agricultural commodity trade routes and its acceleration that went hand in hand with the expansion of colonial European empires paved the way for such new diseases, some of which are now still on the rise. The panel will focus on the social and human dimensions of agricultural outbreaks and aims at answering the following questions: what is the role played by agricultural pest epidemics in shaping global and local agrarian and environmental change? What are the environmental and social consequences of the proliferation of such ‘feral biologies’ and their connection with increasingly common monocultural systems? What broader meaning do those phyto-sanitary crises acquire at the global and the local scale, and how are agricultural practices affected? These issues are especially important in a historical epoch such as the Anthropocene, where the impact of human activity on the planet has become so tangible that life on earth is starting to be considered potentially under threat. We believe that rising concerns around climate change, environmental degradation, and ecological destruction ask for new conceptual tools which allow to rebuild new collective meanings in order to learn the “art of living in a damaged planet”. With contributions and reflections coming from a wide range of disciplines and approaches, such as social anthropology, human geography, political ecology and environmental history, the aim is to examine how pathogens, pests and invasive species have interacted and interact with plants, forests, humans and rural ecosystems in the European as well as the global context. This year will be remembered as the year it became somehow widely accepted that microscopic agents could be capable of affecting and shaping not just scientific research activities, but also economies, political decisions, geopolitical relations, and national and international jurisdictional regulations. It can be argued that plant pathogens and agricultural pests possess the same features. It is therefore crucial to try to reconnect the local contingency of the technoscientific and sociopolitical management of plant disease with the global and systemic circulation of plants and plant pathogens, the establishment of monocultures worldwide, and more generally with a systemic approach which aims at challenging the modernist agricultural paradigm to foster alternatives that give analytical and political legitimacy to the other-than-human world.

Chair: Christian Colella
Discussant: Fabio Gatti

11.3.1. The “invasion” of the Colorado potato beetle in Europe during the 20th Century. The case of France and Germany (1920’s–1950’s)

Margot Lyautey, EHESS/Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen/German Historical Institute Paris

In the 1920’s the Colorado potato beetle “epidemic” became global as this pathogen arrived in Europe. It is believed that this insect had traveled from the United States to the French harbor of Bordeaux on board a ship delivering food for American soldiers stationed there during World War I. From there, this seemingly harmless beetle spread out all-over Europe and became quickly one of the most feared and fought agricultural pest, being such a big threat endangering food supply. European experts (entomologists, agricultural chemists, phyto-pathologists, biologists or zoologists) soon started to organize on the continental level to share the advance of the “Beetle-front” and to discuss pest control methods, most eminently inside the “International Committee for the joint Study of the Fight against the Colorado Potato Beetle”. Comparison between the neighbor states of France and Germany during the 1930’s allows us to see local answers to a global “epidemic” in two different political regimes: totalitarian Nazi Germany and democratic republican France. The depiction of the “Colorado potato beetle” in Nazi propaganda as an invading soldier to be fought is particularly revealing. Later on, the case of occupied France during WWII serves as a great place to analyze the meeting of both pest control strategies. This paper demonstrates how the war was a time for intense (even if forced) contact between French and German experts and as a result also a time for circulation and transfer of knowledge, people and practices. Indeed it was during the Occupation that the French Plant Protection Service was created, following German demands and based on the German model, imposing for the first time a mandatory chemical fight against the Colorado Potato Beetle in France. Following a dynamic historiography in environmental history, the chosen case studies allow us to see the massive consequences of an “invasion”, or to be more precise of the consequences of the fight against this “invasion”, on agricultural practices of French and German peasants and also on the level of intervention of the central state on said practices.

11.3.2. Care, Intra-action and the Politics of Pathogenicity: *Xylella fastidiosa* in Spanish almonds

Emily Reisman, University at Buffalo, USA

Almonds were once “the gold of Mallorca,” a source of modest wealth and pillar of diversified farming systems for small-holders on the largest of Spain’s Balearic Islands. Now researchers believe nearly every almond tree on the island will be dead within five years. The introduced bacteria *Xylella fastidiosa*, enabled by its spittle-bug vector, and emboldened by climate change, has flooded the xylem of these rainfed trees, impeding the flow of fluid and nutrients until the tree can no longer survive. There is little remedy in sight. Representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture explain the failing trees as produced by “lack of care;” land owners no longer maintain the trees, they report, because the island’s economy has shifted toward tourism. Almond growers who worried for years about the mysterious decline of their trees describe a “lack of care” by bureaucrats and others who long ago dismissed farming as uneconomical and neglected its role in maintaining Mallorca’s landscapes. As the threat of *Xylella* spreads to mainland Spain, a campaign to destroy all diseased trees performs landscape purification which is fiercely challenged by farmers arguing for “living-with” *Xylella*. This paper enrolls feminist theorizations of care (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017), material-semiotics (Haraway 1988) and agential realism (Barad 2007) to deepen the ethical implications of a plant epidemic. I argue that theorizing a plant epidemic as intra-active allows us to understand the power relations of pathogenicity and shift from purification toward a politics of more-than-human care.

11.4. New Evidence about Women, Rural Places, and Gender Relations during the Nineteenth Century

Debra Reid, The Henry Ford, USA

Primary sources yield anecdotal evidence that, when synthesized and analyzed, can yield new understanding of the power of the individual as well as the trends within rural and farm society. Each cache of letters, or new-found diary, or census record or published directory offers opportunities for new analysis, testing of existing interpretations, and presentation of a new hypothesis. Panelists will share evidence they have analyzed and new findings they discern during this session, “New Evidence about Women, Rural Places, and Gender Relations during the Nineteenth Century.” The first paper focuses on Swedish immigrants to Illinois and the changing work routines among younger women in the Bishop Hill Colony during the 1850s. Irene Flygare posit that communal land ownership eliminated the incentive of families (specifically young married women) to do field work because the work did not increase the family’s ability to accumulate land. Katherine Jellison documents how women and men in one family sought a common goal between the 1850s and 1880s. Each retreated from the urban and industrial to the rural and bucolic, but gender affected the degree to which they realized their goal. Debra Reid considers how women of rural and farm backgrounds adjusted to a life in the shadow of the city that included selling their produce, flowers, and fruit at Detroit’s Central Market during the 19th century. Each speaker will summarize relevant historiography, will explain the new understanding they gain about rural women based on the new evidence they analyze, and will indicate the ways that this offers opportunity to reassess rural women’s experiences as immigrants.

Chair: Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, Iowa State University, USA
Discussant: Clare Griffiths, Cardiff University, UK

11.4.1. Outdoor Workers. Swedish Women, Sexuality and Property Rights in a Utopian Community in Illinois. The Bishop Hill Colony

Irene Flygare, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

In 1855 the leaders of the Swedish founded colony Bishop Hill Illinois, visited other utopian communities as Oneida, Shakers in Pleasant Hill and Hopedale in order to find out how they dealt with marriage, reproduction, sexuality and celibacy. The visit was motivated by the fact that young women increasingly chose to stay at home after marriage which deprived the colony of valuable work force in outdoor work. This development endangered the colony’s economy. Why did the problem, that women started to consider it incompatible with marriage and participating in outdoor work, appear? In Sweden, both sexes took part in the work in the fields, and married women were responsible for animal husbandry and milk production. There was no shame for women to participate in outdoor work, on the contrary, it aroused respect. Swedish women had the right to inherit and possess land and female inheritance lines were held separately within marriage. In the Swedish context, the right to own agricultural land had often been motivated in terms of Natural law, where work constituted both the moral and the legal right. However, the big farm enterprise of Bishop Hill was collectively organized. This meant that the fruit of work could not be translated into future individual ownership. Nevertheless, women in the first generation continued in outdoor work in line with the Swedish gender regime. Letters home to Sweden expressed surprised observations that American women was not obliged to perform such work. Most likely, the problems in the colony were due to the increasing extent to which the younger women embraced American ideals for what was appropriate for a married woman. This lack of incentive to work

probably contributed to the increasing tendency of married women to abstain for work outside their household. The search for new gender models and new models of sexual relations among other utopian societies, made the rulers to introduce a ban on marriage, in order to keep young women as a work force in the fields and among cattle. However, this unpopular measure became one of the reasons why this communistic community dissolved and was shifted to individual owners.

11.4.2. Escape from New York: Family Letters to Document Gender and the Urban New York to Rural Massachusetts Safety Valve, 1856–1884

Katherine Jellison, Ohio University, USA

Between the mid-1850s and the mid-1880s, members of New York City’s Cheney Sherman family periodically left behind the financial and social strains of life in the big city to seek the agrarian ideal in the countryside of upstate New York and western Massachusetts. Cheney and his son George and daughters Emma and Caddie each took turns seeking health and emotional and/or financial stability in life on the farm. The extent to which individual members of the Sherman family actually achieved the rewards they sought in the countryside depended on a number of variables, including a family member’s age, marital status, and—especially—his or her gender. Based on genealogical records and the family’s extensive correspondence, this case study of the Sherman family will examine both the expected and unexpected ways in which gender determined a person’s success or failure in using the countryside as a safety valve for the pressures of urban industrial life.

11.4.3. Rural Women Build a Local Food Environment at Detroit’s Public Market, 1840s–1890s

Debra Reid, Henry Ford, USA

The Henry Ford is reconstructing an open-air vegetable market in its open-air museum, Greenfield Village. This session explores the ways that historic evidence confirms the presence of rural women in this urban space. The building will anchor programming in local food environments and regenerative agriculture, each a twenty-first-century topic, but it will do so by documenting nineteenth-century immigrant and ethnic experiences, kinship networks, rural and farm family relationships, and social entrepreneurship. Evidence includes the structure itself, historic photographs, county atlases and plat maps, city council meeting minutes, city directories, newspapers, and population census enumerations. The session also addresses gaps in evidence and how combinations of sources provide details about rural and farm women who grew and sold perishable fruits, vegetables, flowers, and processed farm products. Sometimes they worked alongside their husbands and families and sometimes as independent agents responsible for their livelihoods. This case study features women and their families who worked as market gardeners at Detroit’s public market over 50 years. It starts before construction of the state-of-the-art open-air market being reconstructed in Greenfield Village at present. Bavarian immigrant John Schaffer in 1860 designed the building. It opened in April 1861 and continued as Detroit’s local food environment until the city closed it after the 1893 market season. Outstanding questions remain that evidence has not yet documented. These questions include: Did rural kinship networks remain intact in urban and commercial environments? Did local food environments created by women differ from those built by men?

11.5. From rural modernities to agricultural modernisation, 1930s–1960s 1

Juan Pan-Montojo, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain; Lourenzo Fernández Prieto, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain; Miguel Cabo, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

This proposal is based upon a hypothesis: in the interwar period, there were in the world different and conflicting projects for the “progress” of rural societies, whereas in the second half of the 20th century a single project for agricultural development with slight local variations, became hegemonic. Agricultural development and modernisation were accepted as a general horizon on both sides of the Iron Curtain and, gradually, in the other world, the so-called Third, and inspired in the 1960s a more than technological programme known as Green Revolution. The two concepts of development and modernisation came to have a quite similar meaning everywhere. They meant growth of marketable production, subordination of agriculture to agroindustry, mechanisation and motorisation, commoditisation and industrialisation of inputs, new uses and sources of energy, and professionalisation of farmers (with new forms of education, a new sexual division of labour in the households...). In that context, after WW2, agrarian parties disappeared or changed their names and agricultural unions and associations became more uniform everywhere. Agrarian projects and utopias dissolved into varieties of agricultural exceptionalism, and ambitious horizons for modern rural societies were replaced by diverse options for specific agrarian and territorial policies that aimed at modernisation. The aim of this session is to discuss the interactions among the processes of change at various levels that underlie the passage from the interwar variegated modern projects to modernisation. We are looking for analyses that focus on the transition between the pre and post-war models in a concrete sphere, at a regional, national or general level, and connect it to other convergent processes of change. We think that this revision of the past is an essential contribution of rural historians to a sustainable future.

Chair: Manuel González de Molina, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Spain

Discussant: Niccolo Mignemi, CNRS, France

11.5.1. Agricultural modernisation as a trans-systemic transfer: the Hungarian case in the in the Cold War era

Zsuzsanna Varga, Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest

By the 1970s a specific hybrid agriculture emerged in Hungary, where the latest Western (John Deere, Claas and Steiger) brands of machinery cultivated the land of socialist state farms and cooperatives. The modernization of the Hungarian agriculture in the second half of the 20th century was shaped by two trans-systemic transfers: Sovietization, and later the Americanization. The first transfer transplanted the pre-war Stalinist system of socialist agriculture into a capitalist agriculture and in a short time triggered a serious crisis in production. The second transfer by contrast, transplanted a capitalist production model (the so-called closed-production systems) in a socialist agriculture and quickly generated a dramatic rise in production.

The aim of my paper is to compare the above mentioned pre-war and post-war models focusing mainly on the productive sphere. Beside the archival and statistical sources, I made intensive use of oral history, too.

11.5.2. Adolf Hitler’s Agricultural Revolution: developments in UK farming, 1920–1970

Paul Brassley, University of Exeter, UK

‘There is little doubt’, wrote the farmer, journalist and writer A.G. Street in 1951, ‘that the present prosperity of British farming is mainly due to one man, who is now dead. His name was Adolf Hitler.’ Street was writing an updated epilogue for a new edition of his best-known work, *Farmer’s Glory*. Twenty years earlier he wrote, in the epilogue to the first edition, ‘Probably one of the hardest things for farmers to realize to-day is that they are considered unimportant people by the majority of the community... As a result of this the farmer has no pride in his occupation. The zest has gone out of farming’. The years between the end of the First World War and the beginning of the Second were not without significant developments in machinery, in fertilisers, in agricultural science and education, and there were farmers who energetically adopted new methods, or practised established ways of farming with enthusiasm and efficiency. But it is generally argued – and it is difficult to disprove – that for the majority of farmers survival was more important than expansion, and adapting to depressed markets was the way to survive. In contrast, by the end of the 1960s, Tristram Beresford, who farmed not far from Street, made the case that farming had recovered ‘its spirit, its zest, its vocation... It has dug up its buried talent and put it to work’. The purpose of the proposed paper is to summarise the changes in farming between 1920 and the end of the 1960s, to estimate their impact, and to explain why they occurred. Can Hitler really take all the credit? Did something happen later to maintain the wartime impetus to increase production? Apart from the secondary literature and the usual statistical sources, it is based on several unused or under-used memoirs, surveys, and oral history interviews, some from those in the vanguard of technical progress, and some from those who reacted differently to changing circumstances. Its main conclusion is that spirit and zest are underestimated variables in explaining agricultural change.

11.6. Land conflicts and property rights in the Iberian empires 1

Márcia Motta, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil; Hal Langfur, State University of New York at Buffalo, USA

This session includes analyses and comparisons of the various meanings of property rights, in the context of land movements and conflicts in the Iberian Empires, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. In our view, these rights are revealed in the relations present in the conflicts involving different social agents—indigenous groups, Africans and Afro-descendants, and colonizing agents, among others—in the processes of occupation of the overseas territories once belonging to Spain and Portugal. In other words, the different views of these various actors with respect to the forms of possessing land by local populations dialogue and/or clash with the resulting relationships. A property, or properties, must be understood in its multiple forms, beyond the contemporary meaning of an individual, modern, exclusive and supposedly “perfect” property. Access to and control of land transforms relations between groups socially involved in the sharing of a non-reproducible good in nature. These relations are expressed in the form of community ties and/or the exploitation of the populations involved. The clashes in defense of a particular conception of property also reveal various attempts to enshrine the right to exclude, to the detriment of others. The right to individual property, therefore, is based, above all, on the possibility of denying many others that constitute the property itself. Moreover, it is essential to consider the phenomenon of modern slavery, and the consequent compulsory crossing of the Atlantic, with its consequences both for the relations of the possession and ownership of slaves as property and their territorial implications. Enslaved and freed persons built strategies by forging alliances for survival tied to various usufruct practices. Many of the property rights traditions originating in Europe were resignified in the New World, with the re-appropriation, or even transformation, of interpretations of those rights. We will accept papers which analyze: a) the senses of ownership and access to land of indigenous peoples before and after the arrival of Europeans b) the processes of transformation of perceptions about landed property rights and their resignifications and/or re-appropriations of rights, both in time and in space; c) the strategies used by colonizers and/or the colonized in defense of their interpretations of property rights.

Chair: Márcia Motta
Discussant: Márcia Motta

11.6.1. Dispossessed settlers. Olvera (Spain) and Santa Cruz (Argentina), two case-studies in the context of the Spanish expansion (14th–18th centuries)

Ignacio Díaz Sierra, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain; Félix Retamero Serralvo, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

The colonisation of the Iberian Peninsula and America by the Iberian Christian Kingdoms relied on the removal or destruction of indigenous communities to distribute their land among the conquerors. Invasions were followed by the settlement of the occupied territories with free farmers and slaves to work the land. But this strategy often led to legitimacy crises as poor settlers and—in some cases—unfree labourers established rights of usufruct and property. This threatened the position of large landowners and political authorities, who answered by initiating rapid processes of accumulation by dispossession. This paper presents the cases of two such communities: Olvera (Southern Iberia) and Sta. Cruz (north-western Argentina). The Castilian conquest of Olvera in 1327 was followed by the establishment of a small settler community, which remained at the border with the Sultanate of Granada until 1492. Initially, colonists held in common most of the town’s woods and grasslands, but the closing of the frontier led to a land rush, as settlers parcelled and enclosed the commons. Soon, the Dukes of Osuna and the local oligarchy started appropriating the fields of poorer farmers and privatising the commons, concentrating land and access rights in a small number of hands. By the end of the 16th century, most inhabitants of Olvera had been deprived of the rights acquired during the frontier period. On the other side of the Atlantic, the Spanish invasion of the Catamarca Valley in 1591 led to the creation of the hacienda of Autigasta. The local indigenous inhabitants were either deported or forced into extinction through forced labour and they were eventually substituted with African slaves. By the early 18th century, a community of unfree labourers of African descent lived in Sta. Cruz and farmed, traded and interacted with other farmers as though they were free neighbours. The rootedness of the slaves within the community and their growing autonomy became a threat to the authority and the objectives of their masters. The landowners dispersed the unfree community of Sta. Cruz by selling its members to different buyers. The slaves pled to the royal court, arguing that they were bound to the local chapel and could not be sold, but to no avail. The entire community was dissolved and the cash obtained from selling the slaves was used to make loans that proved to be more profitable than the scant returns of their work.

11.6.2. The Naturalist and His Guides: A Contest over Diamonds, Royal Sovereignty, and Property Rights in the Brazilian Backlands, ca. 1800

Hal Langfur, University at Buffalo, State University of New York

This paper draws on my current book project in which I demonstrate that the Portuguese drive to assert dominion over swaths of the South American interior was significantly more vigorous in the final half-century of colonial rule than generally appreciated, even as the resulting challenges to territorial consolidation proved proportionally more disruptive. As a consequence, a campaign to secure territory as property and to establish unchallenged imperial rule was subverted during its preliminary acts of reconnaissance. By the turn of the nineteenth century, scientific reconnaissance had come to play a central role in Portugal’s efforts to lay claim to untapped resources and unsettled lands in the Brazilian interior. A disproportionate number of the period’s naturalists called into service hailed from Minas Gerais. Some began to see agropastoral production as the only viable response to the social and economic dislocations of mining’s decline. Others held fast to the belief that gold and diamond mining could be revived. The mineralogist José Vieira Couto was among those who advocated redoubling the search for precious stones and metals. Commissioned by Prince Regent João to serve as the scientific expert on an expedition to the captaincy’s western backlands, Couto found himself forced to depend on another source of expertise. Impoverished black and brown prospectors had first announced new diamond discoveries to the west. Their unrivaled knowledge of the region made them indispensable informants. Ordinarily denigrated and criminalized by authorities who wished to ensure

their subservience and delegitimize their rights as squatters and mining claimants, they seized the opportunity circumstances afforded them to reap rewards for their services as guides and laborers. A highly skewed overland investigation resulted. Unequal power dynamics compromised the transparency and sober evaluation of mineral resources that state-sponsored scientific exploration was supposed to ensure. Couto's distrust of his hardscrabble guides deepened as they contributed their labor but produced little in the way of new discoveries. Nevertheless, eager to impress, Couto issued a promising report to the crown. Swayed by knowledge brokers of strikingly different sorts—a cosmopolitan university graduate and his toughened backcountry guides—Lisbon invested in preliminary excavations only to be quickly disappointed.

11.6.3. "Nobody's Land?": Property, conflicts and justice in Amazonas, Brazil (19th and 20th centuries)

Alan Dutra Cardoso, INCT – Proprietas/ CAPES/ CNPq/ FAPERJ, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil

The proposal discusses clashes over land in the province of Amazonas (Brazil) between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Based on a documentary scope from the judicial sphere, as well as from the records of the Directorate of Lands listed in the main periodicals of that place, we are concerned with unraveling disputes over land and attempts to legitimize properties. In this way, the reflections here exposed are based on the observation that studies on the rural Amazonian world, as well as disputes over the domain of rubber trees, still need a closer look. The contextual synthesis carried out by the historian Patrícia Sampaio (1992) helps us to measure the specificities of the region. In listing efforts to reconstruct the trajectory of fortune creation in the city of Manaus, the author presents a range of crucial information for those whose object is Amazonian societies: their geographical location within the forest; the numerical superiority of the indigenous and mestizo inhabitants; the extractive economy linked to rubber; in short, a series of elements that should not be overlooked when a more detailed analysis of these locations is made. In spite of this, our proposal is part of a framework where academic production on territorial dynamics, the discussion on properties and access to land are growing, although still little visible in Amazonian historiography. In order to avoid further stretching, we propose to analyze some lawsuits. Coming from different terms, they all have in common the dispute over land or the affirmation of property, despite the social group in which the plaintiffs and defendants were inserted. It is important to highlight that the analyzes are almost always based on its valuation aspect of the land, reducing it only to a commodity that, for some, did not have the necessary value to constitute a market. As the vast bibliography on agrarian conflicts and the dimensions of property in the country demonstrates, land issues are beyond a purely monetary issue. In a country spun by land concentration and recurrent land conflicts, it is becoming increasingly necessary to lay bare the clashes that characterized the region. From the intersection of several sources, we aim to understand the complex networks that constituted it, even based on a common sense that characterizes the Amazon and the Amazon as areas of "free and abundant lands".



The farmer's daughter Majken and a work mate in the cowhouse, 1930s.

11.7. The social construction of the market. Market land transfers in customary systems in Europe and developing countries, 18th–21st centuries 2

Eric Léonard, French Institute for Development Research, France; Jean-Philippe Colin, French Institute for Development Research, France

The panel aims at giving an opportunity to bring together historiographical studies of the land markets in the ancient regimes of Europe and Latin America, and ethnographic work regarding this issue in customary systems of developing countries – notably in Sub-Saharan Africa. The privileged angle of attack is the social construction of the land markets and their forms of social embeddedness. More broadly, the panel aims at exploring the issue of the emergence and transformation of land markets as part of a broader dynamic of integration of rural societies into market economies. Proposals may examine in particular: • the trajectories of emergence and transformations of market land transfers regulated by social networks or community organizations, in a perspective of institutional change and through an analysis of actors' agency regarding institutions (understood in the sense of 'rules of the game'); • the relationship between transfers of land within family groups and participation in land markets, in terms of inclusion and exclusion of family members regarding access to family land; • the impact of the development of land markets on land-use et land ownership structures; • the impact of the development of land markets on 'commons' (dissolution, redefinition of the perimeters of social membership, redefinition of rules of use and administration, etc.); • the trajectories of conflicts and the emergence of local devices securing market land transfers; the forms and processes of interaction between social actors and public authorities in the regulation of market land transactions, in particular from the point of view of the relationship between local practices and the legal / regulatory framework

Chair: Juan Carmona, Foundation for Research & Technology – Hellas, Greece
Discussant: Eric Léonard

11.7.1. Between fantasy and reality. Indigenous participation in the land sales market within settled areas in Algeria (1877–1960)

Didier Guignard, IREMAM, CNRS/Aix-Marseille University, France

Were Algerians able to threaten French sovereignty by way of purchasing land before the war of independence? From the 19th century, their efforts in acquiring land within settled areas did periodically cause trouble for colonial authorities. Until the 1900s, the extent of cropland appropriated by the Europeans was facilitated by a settlement policy, a tailor-made legislation and economic power. But already before and further after this period, such a land hold was difficult to be retained by Europeans only. Gradually, some opportunities were offered to certain categories of indigenous buyers, depending on land location and market conditions. However, due to the protected and expensive nature of this land market, it remained inaccessible to most Algerians. I shall start my presentation by assessing the available statistical data concerning land sales between Europeans and Algerians between 1877 and 1960. This data shows periods during which indigenous purchases surpassed European ones in expanse and/or value. These are the following: around 1890, at the beginning of the 1900s, at the end of World War I, in the 1920s and finally from the 1940s onwards. A viewing of the cartographic evidence pertaining to the above-listed periods allows us not only to specify the regions most concerned, but also to finally focus on local players engaged in these transactions. What were their financial resources, mentality, economic and possibly political motivations? Who were involved (ex. brokers, family and/or business partners)? Bank records, notarial archives, oral or written testimonies are available from both sides of the Mediterranean to answer these questions. A study of the documentation at hand at different scales and from various viewpoints should allow us to examine the reasons behind the apprehensions evinced by the colonial authorities, whether these apprehensions were well-founded or rather stemmed from irrational fears. Further research may also bring to light a better understanding of the main features and mechanisms of this restricted market, as well as the different circumstances (period, location, players involved) dictating the degree of this market's accessibility. Although most Algerians could not participate in these transactions, investigating buyer profiles is an important factor in obtaining a wider, more nuanced and dynamic view of the indigenous society than that previously portrayed by nationalist and anti-colonialist historiography. Although its obvious political dimension, we need to explore the Algerian participation in this land market from a spatial, economic, social and cultural perspective in order to extract new knowledge.

11.7.2. The impact of liberal reforms, titling and market access in Spain, 1820–1900

Juan Carmona, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain

In a recent paper Finley, Franck and Johnson (2017), exploiting the confiscation and sale of Church property during the French Revolution, showed that transaction costs in the reallocation of property rights had a great impact in agricultural productivity. The purpose of this communication, using this theoretical intuition, is to look at the impact of Spain's liberal reform and especially the confiscation of Church property (1836–37) on economic performance and reassess the usual pessimistic views on this matter. Contemporaries, as Joaquín Costa (1893) have suggested that the slowness of land registration, especially for small properties, could have had a strong negative impact in small farmers access to credit or land markets and therefore to the reallocation of land, at least before the First World War (Costa, 1893). However, we can expect that property from Church sale through public and formal auctions and formal titling may have offered a better access to markets in the following decades, regardless of farm size. Using local and provincial sources from three different areas of Old Castile, and statistics on Church sales, we will try to measure the differences between both kind of land during the second half of the 19th Century.

11.8. Re-inventing rurality? Contemporary debates and historical perspectives 1

Dietlind Hüchtker, University of Vienna, Austria

The pressing issues of the present, such as climate protection, populism, animal breeding/animal law or the inadequate equipment with new technologies (lack of digital or transport infrastructures) are to a large extent linked to rural areas. At the same time, rural areas still appear as an ideal alternative to urban (post)modernity. At the beginning of the 21st century, rural areas are often at the center of debates – both as spaces of stagnation that are to be left and as spaces in which new social concepts are being developed. Though the debates on “the rural” pick up contemporary problems that are not new at all. Rural exodus, deserted villages, the notion of traditionalism and backwardness on the one hand and idealization, utopia and space of a better world on the other are not new at all. The panel should bring together papers on the meanings of rurality in different places and times. This could mean negotiations of the borders between urban and rural, rurality and nature.

Chair: Dietlind Hüchtker

11.8.1. Alternative Approaches of living

Ransiawa Kunwar Gautam, Tribhuvan University, Nepal; Suresh Gautam, Tribhuvan University, Nepal

Nepal a small Himalayan bio-diversified and geo diversified country with enrich in traditional cultural livelihood with heritage, still practicing backward faith, institution and cognition of the external world as per our current notion. It is isolated with modern technology and communication with the rest of the world. Political instability and economic backwardness, sustained agricultural practice and deprivation of modern health facilities makes a promoting role in beauty of rural lifestyle resembles with ancient living. We might not agree with linear model of development. Every forward movement of society can't be understood as forward civilization but accounted as the part of civilization of this diverse world. Effect of digitalization technology in our daily life incurred rapid accessing of the desired information but without this we have some passion, labor price and excitement which we pay off this has greater significance in beauty of livelihood as in backward society. Hedonistic approach can't explain his sociological and cultural practice within it so a new approach called “Multi Proportional Emotional Response” best suits to explain this society. So every backward society should be accounted as unique society and should be appreciated unique feature within it. Livelihood is not taken as goal or orientation it's a path which we follow towards overcoming problem and problem is not a problem it's a agenda which drive us. Problem not lies within the life style it lies within the performing good governance and redistribution equably. Consumerism is the main contemporary problem of climate crisis. For modern lifestyle primitive society with sustainable practice in Nepal has the best message to overcome with consumerism world.

11.8.2. Negotiating rurality under the perspectives of Thomas Luckmann's Invisible Religion

Werner Nell, Dietlind Hüchtker, University of Vienna, Austria

Questioning contemporary uses and imagination of rural spaces and settings, the paper will discuss, if and to what extension (and use) Thomas Luckmann's concept of “The Invisible Religion” (1967), defining any idea, desire or action transgressing the immediate frames of need as “religious”, thus providing an instrument for the explanation of the conjunctures of anachronic images, orientations and practices, as they can be found in the contemporary return of the rural, might help to understand and evaluate the return and the importance of “rurality”. Thus, rurality can be seen (and used) as a means and reservoir for coping with the challenges in the processes and experience of ongoing modernity, but also as an expression of basic human desires, especially – indeed – within comprehensively urbanized societies and everyday-life.

11.8.3. Peasant Community and Peasant Rebellion in the Ukrainian Lands of the 18th-Century Poland-Lithuania

Iurii Zazuliak, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv

The paper deals with the visions and roles of the community in the great peasant uprising which broke out in 1768 in the Ukrainian lands of Poland-Lithuania and is generally known as Koliivschyna. The uprising was marked by the mass violence against the Polish lords, Uniate priests, and Jewish population, and became a significant historical prelude to the fundamental political and geopolitical changes in Eastern Europe, leading to the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania as well as to the consolidation of the Russian hegemony in the region. I start with the brief discussion of the Ranajit Guha's concept of the elementary aspects of the peasant insurgency, especially with his reflections on the interrelation between the rebellion and the social constitution of the community. In my discussion of the Guha's view of a peasant community and solidarity as key elementary aspects of the insurgency, I would like to highlight more ambivalent meanings of the collective actions of peasants involved in rebellion. For that purpose, I tend to highlight how the violence used by the peasant communities against the lords and Jews worked to enforce under the threat of punishment the common participation, liability, and conformity of all their members. Such actions were arranged in the manner of the rituals and procedures of the communal justice rooted in the century-long legal traditions of the peasantry. On the other hand, I would like to stress that the collective actions of peasantry involved in uprising are also the stories of the broken solidarity. In face of the rebellion's downfall and the growing danger of the repression, the peasant communities often turned against their own members denouncing them before the Polish authorities and organizing manhunt of the rebels whom they surrendered to the Polish troops and officials. Finally, I would like to discuss briefly how the suppression of the uprising and the danger of the new peasant rebellion stimulated the emergence of the political projects and discourses conceived by the members of the Polish political class which aimed to reshape the institutions of communal solidarity and collective liability of peasantry into means of discipline and control. Ascribing to the peasant community a key role of the institutionalized mechanism in the political surveillance and control, such projects served a purpose of integrating the peasant communities in the process of the state-building at the local level.

SESSION 12 • THURSDAY 23 JUNE • 14:00–16:00

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
12.1. From Agriculture to Rural Development – Agro-Food Policies, Socio-economic and Environmental Issues in Agriculture and Rural Areas 1950–2020 Paulina Rytkönen	12.1.1. Global sustainable policies and local impacts: the question of slurry management in small-scale livestock farming in Galicia (1970–2020) Bruno Esperante	12.1.2. Summer farms: their contribution, role and meaning—a comparative study of summer farms in Norway and Sweden 1950–2020 Bolette Bele	12.1.3. Regional food strategies and the representation of reindeer herding Ildikó Asztalos Morell	12.1.4. Start-ups, diversification, gender and rural transformations – Perspectives on the growing small-scale creamery sector in Sweden 1968–2020 Marcus Box	12.1.5. The East Economic Bureau: Swedish economic intelligence and the judgements on CMEA agriculture from the 1950s to the 1970s Hans Jörgensen	12:1 Room 1
12.2. Rural Politics and Society: Representing and representation in rural society 2 George Vascik	12.2.1. This is our home: the hydrosociality of water and the fight against the Ishiki Dam Charlotte Ciavarella	12.2.2. Representation and power in rural society: agricultural societies and rural governance in Sweden circa 1800–1970 Magnus Bohman	12.2.3. The agrarian question in Sweden: Carl Lindhagen and the politics of land 1890–1920 Josefin Hägglund	12.2.4. The Transformation of Social Hierarchies in the Czech Rural Society in the 19th Century Markéta Škořepová		12:2 Room 2
12.3. Global Pathogens, Local Pathologies: How agricultural epidemics are shaping global and local agrarian and environmental change 2 Christian Colella	12.3.1. Contested knowledges, ontological conflicts, and olive trees in the Plantationocene: multispecies entanglements in the Olive Quick Decline Syndrome Fabio Gatti	12.3.2. Genealogy of a plantation: understanding pathology in 18th century Apulian olive cultivation Michele Bandiera	12.3.3. Living with the pathogen: Re-organizing values and frictions in the future of the landscape Chiara Vacirca			12:3 Room 3
12.4. The History of Horticulture 3 Inger Olausson	12.4.1. Horticulturists, arborists, markets gardeners and ‘vegetable ploughmen’ in the Seine department in France in the XIXth century: various aspects Christiane Che-neaux-Berthelot	12.4.2. Iron Age gardening in Sweden – development, cultivation techniques, production and social implications Jens Heimdahl				12:4 Room 4
12.5. From rural modernities to agricultural modernisation, 1930s–1960s 2 Juan Pan-Montojo	12.5.1. Rural development and indigenous peasantry schemes in Belgian Congo, 1930–1960 Yves Segers	12.5.2. Racial Productivism: Re-assessing the Nazi Era in Austria’s Agrarian Transition, 1930–1960 Ernst Langthaler				12:5 Room 5
12.6. Land conflicts and property rights in the Iberian empires 2 Márcia Motta	12.6.1. Bundle of rights: the waters of Ançã (Portugal, 19th century) Márcia Motta	12.6.2. The writer Machado de Assis and the comedy of Brazilian agrarian issues, 1878–1882 Pedro Parga Rodrigues	12.6.3. Sesmaria land grants in Colonial Brazil: conflict and multinormativity Carmen Alveal			12:6 Room 6

SESSION	PAPER 1	PAPER 2	PAPER 3	PAPER 4	PAPER 5	ROOM
12.7. The Great Depression and the rural world in South-eastern Europe; evaluating and representing the agrarian change. Trans-MonEA’s research results 2 Catherine Brégianni	12.7.1. Agricultural cooperatives as social engineering mechanisms? The case of the Interwar southern Macedonia. George L. Vlachos	12.7.2. Market crises and social protest in the Greek rural space in the early 1930s Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis	12.7.3. Socio-economic Origins of the Balkan Agrarianism and the impact of the Great Depression. The Case of Bulgaria during the Interwar Period Michalis Sarras			12:7 Room 7
12.8. Re-inventing rurality? Contemporary debates and historical perspectives 2 Dietlind Hüchtker	12.8.1. The village between city and nature? Conceptualizing rurality in historiography Dietlind Hüchtker	12.8.2. Writing the History of Regional Development in Rural Europe Corinne Geering	1.8.3. The role of forestry for the landless population and the Industrial Revolution in rural Germany Florian Probst			12:8 Room 8



Moose hunting, 1973.

12.1. From Agriculture to Rural Development – Agro-Food Policies, Socio-economic and Environmental Issues in Agriculture and Rural Areas 1950–2020

Paulina Rytkönen, Södertörn University, Sweden; Per Eriksson, Royal Swedish Academy of Agriculture and Forestry

Since the 1980's rural development policies in Europe changed following a number of changes, such as a shift concerning the role of agriculture in the EU, a far-reaching depopulation of rural areas, stagnating food market, globalization of the agro-food industry and food retail, the end of the cold war and EU enlargement, just to mention a few. The upcoming policies promoted diversification instead of raised productivity and farmers responded with for example opening B&Bs, offering tourism services, elaborating farm produce, or by selling directly to consumers through Community Supported Agriculture schemes (CSAs), or farmer's markets. Some of the effects of agricultural and rural policies as well as market dynamics have been thoroughly discussed, for example the origins and consequences of the globalization of agro-food markets, the process of "disappearing peasantries" and depopulation of rural areas leading a dramatic transformation of rural societies and agriculture in various contexts. Moreover, a consciousness about the origins of environmental challenges, not the least biodiversity loss and recurring events related to climate change, including floods, droughts, and wildfires and the new challenges that these events present to society, governments, the agro-food sector, and local and rural communities all over the world. At least in Europe, the shift from a previous focus on agriculture and agricultural development to rural development is driven by interconnected processes influenced by policies, public initiatives, and market events, all of which have repercussions on rural development or vice versa. In retrospect, experiences in the EU-27 members have been quite different. In the original member states, productivity gains were obtained several decades ago, while some of the new member states, and especially some of the previous Soviet and COMECON states were far behind Western Europe in terms of modernization and productivity. There is a pattern of North-South and East West divide expressed through different patterns and experiences during the last 40 years.

Chair: Per Eriksson

Discussant: Paulina Rytkönen

12.1.1. Global sustainable policies and local impacts: the question of slurry management in small-scale livestock farming in Galicia (1970–2020)

Bruno Esperante, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

The main aim of this paper is to reflect on the definition of global environmental policies and their impact at the local level. Since 1970, at the international level, policies to control energy expenditure and emissions of pollutants into the atmosphere have been defined by international environmental organizations and conferences (1979 Geneva Convention, 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit). International legislation ends up being implemented with difficulties at the local level, generating conflicts due to the difficult adaptation of norms to specific agrarian contexts. In this communication, we reflect on the specific case of slurry management by small-scale livestock farming in Galicia, Spain (1970–2020). We expect to debate on how environmental policies were applied and clashed with the interests of local farmers who were exposed to the demands of the State and the market through regulations in which they were not always represented. The investigation fundamentally handles two types of sources. For environmental regulation, the international online documentation of States and organizations and, for local impact analysis, fieldwork and Oral History as well as other documentation.

12.1.2. Summer farms: their contribution, role and meaning – a comparative study of summer farms in Norway and Sweden 1950–2020

Bolette Bele, Norwegian Institute of Bioeconomy Research (NIBIO); Ann Norderhaug, Færder, Norway; Paulina Rytkönen, Södertörn University, Sweden; Håkan Tunón, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Summer farming has a long tradition in Norway and central Sweden and used to play an important role. However, due to the modernization of agriculture the number of summer farms has been dramatically reduced. The phenomenon has been subjected to scientific scrutiny from various perspectives. Initially research on summer farms focused on its cultural history and the traditional role in the livelihood strategies of farmers in forested or mountainous regions. During the past decades, studies have centered more around their contribution to reproduce biocultural and intangible cultural heritage and landscape values, how they have been portrayed and governed in policy and how this is influenced by societal changes. Furthermore, their relevance for future food production from low-intensive grazing systems and the production systems importance for special food qualities have also been paid attention. Lately, some studies have highlighted summer farms as seasonal enterprises in mountain regions and the challenges that these enterprises experience. We aim to reflect upon the development of summer farms over the period 1950–2020; how summer farms have been defined and interpreted over time, the types of policies and legislation that have influenced the development; the role and possible contribution of summer farms to produce and reproduce food, biodiversity, biocultural heritage and traditional ecological knowledge; the changing role of summer farms in livelihood strategies; and shed light on the changing societal views and various ontologies about nature conservation. To answer our research questions, we have used a comparative approach as our overarching method. By comparison study and contrast social, economic and political structures and processes in society we will try to identify patterns and contribute to generalization and conceptualization. In this study we compare various phenomena that influence the development of summer farms during the period and the values they contribute with in Norway and Sweden.

12.1.3. Regional food strategies and the representation of reindeer herding

Ildikó Asztalos Morell, Swedish University for Agricultural Sciences; Isak Falk-Eliasson, Swedish University for Agricultural Sciences; Robin Eriksson, Swedish University for Agricultural Sciences

The Swedish national food strategy is formed in relation to Agenda 2030 and EU 2030 strategy. In turn, each county in Sweden is to formulate regional food strategies. These are to improve regulations and conditions to enhance a competitive and ecologically and economically sustainable food chains that contribute to the increase of production and are supported by ongoing knowledge production and innovation. Reindeer herding is a relatively small part of the total Swedish meat production that is rooted in the exclusive rights of Sami Reindeer Herding Communities to semi-nomadic herding that are acknowledged as indigenous rights. Reindeer herding has been considered a life-style based on a balance of human/animal/nature relations, which is threatened by competing claims on the utilization of land and pasture by mining, water exploitation, forestry, renewable energy expansion, tourism as well by climate change and predator damages. Furthermore, weak integration with food chains limit the opportunities of the branch to realise economic benefits. Since reindeer herding is part of life-style signifying and producing indigenous identity adjacent threats to its sustainability is actualizing issues of food sovereignty. Counties are to develop their regional food strategies on a citizen dialogue where key stakeholders are able to participate and influence the outcome. This paper explores two key questions: How do county specific food strategies incorporate issues concerning Sami reindeer herding interests? How were these strategies anchored in dialogue with Sami stakeholders. Based on a social justice framework of Fraser the study explores these two research questions as outcomes of negotiations concerning distributive, participatory and recognitional justice. The study is based on textanalysis and interview analysis with key stakeholders.

12.1.4. Start-ups, diversification, gender and rural transformations – Perspectives on the growing small-scale creamery sector in Sweden 1968–2020

Marcus Box, Södertörn University, Sweden; Mikael Lönnborg, Södertörn University, Sweden; Paulina Rytkönen, Södertörn University, Sweden

More than 1600 creameries and dairies existed in Sweden in the 1930s. Most were small, located in rural areas and small villages. Over the following decades, most creameries disappeared and a few large industrial dairies became dominant. However, from the 1980s, small-scale and rurally based creameries once again started to increase in numbers. This re-emergence has been seen as an effect of extended agricultural rationalization; as a necessity-driven outcome for self-employment in rural areas; a lifestyle influenced development where city people move to the country side to live close to nature and/or a response to an increasing demand for local foods. However, earlier studies are mostly based on regional and local experiences, have only highlighted fragments of the story of Swedish creameries. The article highlights the creameries' context and analyzes the main characteristics and nature of the creamery trade and infrastructure; the spatial, geographical and place-based dynamics; social aspects, including types of networks and social interaction within the industry that are of importance for its development, as well as the formal and informal institutions influencing the business over time. The sector is a representative case for changes in agriculture and rurality. Several scholars consider organizational creation as a manifestation of entrepreneurship. Following this, we employ an exclusive database that records the majority of creamery start-ups at the organizational level, 1968–2020. Quantifying the entry patterns of Swedish creameries over time, employing information on their strategies and activities, ownership forms and gender characteristics, we conduct an event-count analysis that seeks to find explanations for variations in entry rates as well as explanations for the re-emergence of creameries. In addition, we employ phenomenography to analyze qualitative semi-structured interviews of creamery owners. By analyzing, nearly, the entire population of start-ups, this article aims to present a comprehensive picture of the creamery trade and aims at contributing with a deeper understanding of the driving forces and processes that interact in the emergence of a new rurality. Furthermore, several trades and industries may appear to vanish but several also exhibit renewal and re-emergence in the longer term, and the article aim to contribute to this literature.

12.1.5. The East Economic Bureau: Swedish economic intelligence and the judgements on CMEA agriculture from the 1950s to the 1970s

Hans Jörgensen, Umeå University, Sweden

In the end of WW II, secret economic intelligence activities developed in the Swedish Defense staff involving participation both from the government and from business. While the initial aim was to estimate the economic strength and war potential among the belligerent countries, the Post-War economic reconstruction gave a shift towards following the economic development in the emerging planned economies. From the early 1950s on, the CMEA-area thereby constituted the main area of interest. By 1959, a formal agreement between the Government and business gave birth to a new secret organization. This became the EEB (the East Economic Bureau), which along with the investigations of East European industry, energy, transportation and services, also closely followed the reorganization of planned economic agriculture. The aim of this paper is to explore how the EEB and its precursors acted, judged, and disseminated information on the organization of planned economic agriculture and the associated reforms from the early 1950s up to the 1970s. This concerns production, trade, division of labor, and property relations, as well as the shifting and deteriorating CMEA-EEC relations. In this context, the aspired but never fully realized SEI (Socialist Economic Integration) and the associated internal CMEA tensions play a major role for framing the study, which rests on previous classified intelligence archives.

12.2. Rural Politics and Society: Representing and representation in rural society 2

George Vascik, Miami University, Ohio, USA; Daniel Brett, University College London, UK

This panel is interested broadly in the problems associated with how rural society organized in order to advance its political, economic and social interests. Is the attempt to represent rural society destined to fail and if so why? Alternatively, what have movements and organizations that have sustained themselves done in order to do so? We pose the question – is the structure and nature of rural society inimical to effective collective action and the creation of organizations to represent rural interests? We are interested in the reasons behind and the processes involved the formation of groups and organizations as well and their collapse. We are interested in questions of voice, agency and power within rural society and how this is reflected in rural organizations. We are keen to explore the barriers to effective collective action and representation at a local, national and international level. We consider these to be the critical question at the heart of understanding the countryside and its relations with wider society and to understanding the dynamics of rural society itself. We welcome papers exploring any time period or location and from any disciplinary approach. We are seeking to explore comparisons across regions and time to develop a broader picture of rural politics and the problems of representation.

**Chair: Gudmundur Jonsson, University of Iceland
Discussant: George Vascik**

12.2.1. This is our home: the hydrosociality of water and the fight against the Ishiki Dam

Charlotte Ciavarella, Harvard University, USA

This paper looks at the fifty-year fight (1972-present) that three neighboring hamlets in Nagasaki prefecture have waged against the Japanese government over the construction of the Ishiki dam. Many historians characterize Japanese social protest movements taking place after the Anpo protests of the 1960s as apolitical in their demands and averse to conflict, preferring instead to work with the state and industry to fight for concessions. However, these narratives ignore the role of the state and other interests in purposefully depoliticizing or manipulating the desired outcomes of social movements. Beginning on the tail end of the highly political Anpo environment, and continuing to the present day, the struggle over Ishiki dam allows us to see how the state has attempted to depoliticize, manipulate the issue, or offer symbolic satisfaction to the protestors, and how the social groups involved in the resistance and the populations targeted by the state's attempt to influence the perception of the dam issue have responded. The state's attempt to manipulate the social perception of water is also considered important to the discussion, and it is argued that the struggle between the technobureaucrats attempt to define and abstract water and the local residents' attempt to highlight the hydrosocial nature of water came to be a crucial battleground in the conflict over the dam.

12.2.2. Representation and power in rural society: agricultural societies and rural governance in Sweden circa 1800–1970

Magnus Bohman, Umeå University, Sweden; Gustav Berry, Uppsala University, Sweden

Rural societies in the modern era have been significantly shaped by organizations and institutions dedicated to agricultural and rural development. This joint paper examines one such actor: agricultural societies (Hushållningssällskapen), in Sweden during the 19th and 20th century. Although they were involved in a range of activities in the countryside, agricultural societies remain critically understudied. Previous research tends to be limited to certain aspects of the societies' activities and concentrated to shorter timespans of their long history. This paper aims to provide a new theoretical and empirical approach in order to increase our understanding of agricultural societies in a long-term perspective. Our paper draws on a number of contemporary scholarly debates within and outside of rural history. Central to our approach is our understanding of agricultural societies as key actors in the governance of agriculture and rural societies. This essentially means that we focus on agricultural societies as institutions that wielded power over the rural world. We take a special interest in understanding whose power agricultural societies exercised, as we believe the matter of representation to be intrinsically tied to the nature of the governance performed by them. In doing so we are opening up a discussion about how agricultural societies can be categorized and conceptualized at different points in time. Our case is Sweden during the 19th and 20th century, where agricultural societies were set up as member organizations that existed in the borderland between state and civil society and operated on multiple scales. While originally regional associations, agricultural societies also had a local and national organization and were periodically tasked to administer a wide variety of agricultural policies on behalf of the Swedish state. Our aim is fulfilled by illustrating the main changes of the Swedish societies over time. This is done through case studies of formative periods in the societies' history, in which we use previously unexplored archival sources to investigate their political functions, relative autonomy and social and geographical representation.

12.2.3. The agrarian question in Sweden: Carl Lindhagen and the politics of land 1890–1920

Josefin Hägglund, Södertörn University, Sweden

It is well known that agrarian parties have played an important role in Scandinavian politics. However in the years between the late 1890s and the late 1910s there was no agrarian party in Sweden, instead politicians of different parties and ideologies competed for agrarian support. One of the most important was Carl Lindhagen. He was not a farmer but a judge from the capital Stockholm. Lindhagen was an MP for more than 40 years, from 1897 to 1940, for the Liberals, then the Social Democrats, then the Left Socialists, then the Social Democrats again. The agrarian question was one of his most important issues. Early in his career the ownership of natural resources – forest, land, minerals – became his first major contribution to Swedish politics and he amassed a following among the lower classes in the countryside, because he spoke up for reform of ownership. He was not a Marxist but influenced by a variety of ideological streams, including Henry George's theory of land. In my paper I discuss the agrarian question in Sweden, the struggle over land ownership, taxation and land reform, through the prism of Carl Lindhagen.

12.2.4. The Transformation of Social Hierarchies in the Czech Rural Society in the 19th Century

Markéta Skořepová, Markéta Skořepová

There is no doubt that the past rural society was deeply structured and hierarchized although literate contemporaries, as well as many historians today, has been tending to see village people as a homogenous group. The Czech rural society passed through intensive modernization process during the 19th century. The landlords and their officials definitively lost their power over their former subjects after the revolution in 1848, but they maintained their symbolic and economic power. The new elites were growing: besides noblemen and administrators of their properties, wealthier farmers or traditional craftsmen, the elected representatives and new entrepreneurs appeared. Even in the little rural market towns, there were intellectuals like teachers and medics. It is quite easy to distinguish wealthy or powerful members of the rural society, for example on the basis of tax registers. Much more difficult question is how to "measure" their informal influence and their ties through the society of a village or a market town. As a useful tool to analyse informal relationships in a wider population, the study of godparenthood has been established. Although the growing secularization of the Czech society in the 19th century, the Catholic church kept its influence over the crucial rituals of the human life, and the baptisms used to go on in the very traditional way in the presence of a godfather and a godmother. Godparents became "ritual kin", members of the family and their choice had the potential to make or strengthen social bonds, even among the members of different social classes. The reconstruction of godparental ties is quite easy thanks to parish registers of births which are sufficiently preserved and available in the Czech Republic. In my research, I use a database of about 4000 baptisms excerpted for several localities in the south of Bohemia in five temporal inquiries covering all the 19th century. All social classes are comprised and it is thus possible to follow "vertical" or "horizontal" tendencies in the choice of godparents: while some families asked their biological kin to be a godparent, the others preferred representative godparents from a higher social stratum. Elite parents, who had hardly any chance to gain an equal godparent in their home, often asked their kin or friends in distant localities. The identification of elites and hierarchies via godparenthood has a very interesting gender aspect, as godmothers were perceived as important as the godfathers.



Milking time in the pasture, c. 1910–30.

12.3. Global Pathogens, Local Pathologies: How agricultural epidemics are shaping global and local agrarian and environmental change 2

Christian Colella, CNR-IREA, Milan, Italy; Fiona Panziera, Université Paris-Est Marne La Vallée, France; Fabio Gatti, Wageningen University, Netherlands; Michele Bandiera, Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy

Plant pathogens have the capacity of potentially wiping out in a matter of a few years entire ecosystems, economies, redesigning whole landscapes, and redrawing the political and sociocultural matrix of the territories and the plants they colonize. Although the phenomenon is certainly not new, the last decades saw an alarming increase in new emerging plant diseases. The European potato blight crisis in the mid nineteenth century, together with Phylloxera affecting grapevines in the second half of the nineteenth century, are two examples of well known agricultural epidemics that shaped both the newly formed phytopathological scientific discipline as well as the international policy agreements on plant protection. There is increasing evidence that the establishment of global agricultural commodity trade routes and its acceleration that went hand in hand with the expansion of colonial European empires paved the way for such new diseases, some of which are now still on the rise. The panel will focus on the social and human dimensions of agricultural outbreaks and aims at answering the following questions: what is the role played by agricultural pest epidemics in shaping global and local agrarian and environmental change? What are the environmental and social consequences of the proliferation of such ‘feral biologies’ and their connection with increasingly common monocultural systems? What broader meaning do those phyto-sanitary crises acquire at the global and the local scale, and how are agricultural practices affected? These issues are especially important in a historical epoch such as the Anthropocene, where the impact of human activity on the planet has become so tangible that life on earth is starting to be considered potentially under threat. We believe that rising concerns around climate change, environmental degradation, and ecological destruction ask for new conceptual tools which allow to rebuild new collective meanings in order to learn the “art of living in a damaged planet”. With contributions and reflections coming from a wide range of disciplines and approaches, such as social anthropology, human geography, political ecology and environmental history, the aim is to examine how pathogens, pests and invasive species have interacted and interact with plants, forests, humans and rural ecosystems in the European as well as the global context. This year will be remembered as the year it became somehow widely accepted that microscopic agents could be capable of affecting and shaping not just scientific research activities, but also economies, political decisions, geopolitical relations, and national and international jurisdictional regulations. It can be argued that plant pathogens and agricultural pests possess the same features. It is therefore crucial to try to reconnect the local contingency of the technoscientific and sociopolitical management of plant disease with the global and systemic circulation of plants and plant pathogens, the establishment of monocultures worldwide, and more generally with a systemic approach which aims at challenging the modernist agricultural paradigm to foster alternatives that give analytical and political legitimacy to the other-than-human world.

Chair: Christian Colella
Discussant: Chiara Vacirca

12.3.1. Contested knowledges, ontological conflicts, and olive trees in the Plantationocene: multispecies entanglements in the Olive Quick Decline Syndrome

Fabio Gatti, Wageningen University, Netherlands

During the past few years, thousands of olive trees in the Southern Italian region of Apulia dried out and the whole olive farming sector was put seriously under threat. Despite having being framed mainly as a technical problem related to the spread of a quarantine pathogen known as *Xylella fastidiosa*, however, the outbreak has deeply social, cultural, environmental and political causes that have been mostly overlooked: the abandoning of the countryside and of the “good agricultural practices” over historically shaped monocultural landscapes by local farmers, the excessive use of pesticides and herbicides in the last decades, and the broader agrarian change fostered by global political economic forces of globalization, created the perfect playground for *Xylella fastidiosa* to spread widely and, more importantly, to occupy the center of the political stage. The case is thus emblematic of the fact that “the agrarian composes, and is composed by, complex spatial and temporal assemblages as well as social and cultural relations, which are fundamentally human and nonhuman”. By making use of ethnographic material, combined with semi-structured and narrative interviews as well as the analysis of secondary data, and bridging discussions related to critical agrarian studies and political ecology with STS, anthropology and post-humanist disciplines such as environmental humanities, my aim is to provide a multi-species ethnography of the *Xylella fastidiosa* outbreak in Southern Italy, and to highlight the complex interspecies relationships that, over space and time, have shaped and keep shaping olive farming practices and Apulian landscapes.

12.3.2. Genealogy of a plantation: understanding pathology in 18th century Apulian olive cultivation

Michele Bandiera, Università di Padova, Italy

This contribution aims to explore the agrarian knowledge of olive plantation at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. From the 1730s onwards, Charles of Bourbon promoted the planting of thousands of olive trees in southern Italy to meet the demand for lubricant from the growing textile industry in northern Europe. Beyond the success of this policy, this contribution focuses on the development of agronomic cognitive paradigms. It’s argued that the specific landscape form of plantation developed its own knowledge. Through the study of two of the most important works on olive growing I will question the archaeology of expert knowledge. The first work considered is ‘Della brusca dell’olivo’ by Cosimo Moschettini, the second is ‘Dell’Olivo’ by Giovanni Presta. I will focus especially on the attention that these two authors pay to the diseases that threaten the harvest. Which intellectual techniques these two authors deployed in order to understand and prevent the diseases they were facing? In order to answer these questions, I will extensively refer to the specific knowledge and science context contemporary to the authors. Through this archaeology of phytosanitary knowledge, I aim to draw a connection between the history of plantation and its knowledge. The study of past phytopathologies will be linked to the understanding of the phytopathology that characterizes current olive plantations in Apulia. Since 2013 the presence of the quarantine pathogen *Xylella fastidiosa* has been attested in Apulia. The crisis produced by the dieback of thousands of olive trees involved also a scientific and social controversy: the crop sciences were contested by different scientific approaches that recognized the inadequacy of the containment policies they proposed. Between ‘forest’ and ‘monoculture’ apparently change what is to be known and actions to take. The simplified ecologies of plantation hypothetically produce dangerous pathologies that needs a knowledge prompt the simplification of practices and higher technological security. On the other side, the understanding of pathology according to Moschettini and Presta, embrace a wider knowledge of the cosmological relation that compose the world. The article will eventually show the importance and significance of thinking with the cosmos in order to get a different understanding crops pathologies in the Anthropocene.

12.3.3. Living with the pathogen: Re-organizing values and frictions in the future of the landscape

Chiara Vacirca, University of Salento, Italy; Enrico Milazzo, Università di Padova, Italy

Ten years after the detection of the bacteria *Xylella Fastidiosa*, most of the landscape is almost entirely depleted, without society or institutions having a clear and organic vision for the future. Furthermore, the systematic distancing between the different actors of knowledge, is responsible today of the sostansional cognitive impasse, with the risk of affirmation for new monocultural practices and too few intervening strategies of agro-ecological features. The olive decline syndrome and the consequent olive trees' hecatomb, is intended as a phyto-socio-pathology, and as such it generates critical reading of history, renewing the interest for ecology, in normative and cultural terms. It is interesting to notice how the pathogen *Xylella*, found its place in the web of social relation, changing some of them, breaking others, or creating them from anew. The very irruption of *Xylella* in the the social-environmental and botanic conflict as non-human and exogen actor (phyto-social actor) in Salento, allow us to highlight three different focus in our analysis: the global scale which connects the local dynamics with the ecumenic events of the Anthropocene; the alliances between different levels of knowledge; and the reorganization of the living across the environmental frictions. We argue that, in some ways, the epidemic 'made the monoculture visible', altering the relationship between the cognitive level and the social perception, or rather the cause-effect correspondence among a phytopharmacy-based agriculture and monocultural agronomy set of values. The local and the global intertwine in sharing catastrophic horizons, ends of the world assuming different yet specific forms, like the depletion of the living, biodiversity, microbial life, the soils. Inscribing those localized phenomena on a global scale, we interrogate globalization as a condition in the social dimension and in every process of recomposition in terms of territorialisation and thrive livingness. This epidemic allowed the creation of a critical apparatus, in the interspecies relation with non-human actors, as plants, bacteria, microbes. The influence of this new relationship shall be seen in the re-semantization of the olive-trees landscape from a natural 'forest of olive trees' to the monocultural, contributing to a critical understanding of a future vision of the territory. What we shall demonstrate is that the emergency effectively activated a changing of mentality, language and landscape perception, at least in a part of the community, towards an agro-ecological direction.

12.4. The History of Horticulture 3

Inger Olausson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden; Matti Leino, Stockholm University, Sweden; Magnus Bohman, Umeå University, Sweden

The history of horticulture is a rather new research field. As such, the borders of the field are wide and this session aims to illustrate that by welcoming proposals from many disciplines. However, in order to bridge gaps and find common denominators in terms of theory, methods and sources, we especially welcome proposals that consider long-term, comparative and inter-disciplinary perspectives. Thus, a paramount aim of the session is to help define and develop this dynamic and expansive research field further. The history of horticultures is a novel field of research in many parts of the world. It is distinguished from the field of garden history, which emerges more out of art history and landscape architecture. It is also distinguished from agrarian history through its objects of investigation, i.e. garden produce such as vegetables, fruits and ornamentals – all of which are typically distinguished from agricultural production in terms of the scale, crop species, and intensity of cultivation. Traditionally, research on food supply focuses primarily on agricultural production, but recent research within garden archaeology, agrarian history and economic history has revealed a significant importance of garden produce throughout history, in towns and on the countryside and in all social strata.

**Chair: Inger Olausson
Discussant: Matti Leino**

12.4.1. Horticulturists, arborists, markets gardeners and 'vegetable ploughmen' in the Seine department in France in the XIXth century: various aspects

Christiane Cheneaux-Berthelot, UMR 8596, Sorbonne Université France

The Seine department where small and micro holdings were predominant, differed from the Beauce, the Brie and the Vexin with their big farms. In the middle of the XIX century, Parisian gardeners who had been pushed out of Paris by the works of Haussmann, settled in the rural districts of Saint-Denis in the north and Sceaux in the south of the capital. The market gardens were different from the "bourgeois" gardens as they were not surrounded by walls and were entirely dedicated to the production of vegetables. Unlike the traditional agriculturiers, the market-gardeners did not grow cereals and derive all their income from their vegetable gardens. In the XVII century, fruit trees were isolated in full wind, but, at the end of the "Ancien Régime", a new specialization appeared in the eastern suburb of Paris: arborists planted fruit trees in "espaliers" in walled enclosures. Some horticulturists grew only vegetables while others developed the cultivation of flowers. Actually, a great number of peasants brought their products to the Halles. Unlike markets gardeners and arborists, they were not specialized in any products. They produced cereals, fodder plants, tubers, full field vegetables and sometimes, vineyards. The intensive cultivation of vegetables in open ground was already practised in the XVIII century, but it was adopted by a great number of cultivators in this department in the XIX century, passing from a subsidiary production to an essential source of necessary income for the survival of the farms. Those "vegetable ploughmen" produced a lot of seasonal vegetables, the basic food of Parisians, according to an economic system which had prevailed for generations. In the Seine department, small and large farms co-existed. They were often mixed because of the large amount of grounds and different sorts of productions. It was both a competitive and challenging situation.

12.4.2. Iron Age gardening in Sweden – development, cultivation techniques, production and social implications

Jens Heimdahl, National Historical Museums, Sweden

Archaeology of the 21st century has revealed gardening as a widespread and integrated part of the agriculture of Iron Age societies in Sweden. The evidence consists of plant remains and traces of small, well manured, and fenced areas close to the farmhouses. Gardens may have existed already in the bronze age, and the remains of garden soils shows that management, in the form of fertilizing and soil improvement, remained stable from prehistory into early modern times. During the Iron Age two periods of development are recognized due to introduction of new cultural plants: A first synchronous with Roman expansion (1-400 AD), and a second during the Vendel and Viking-age period (700–1000 AD). The plants cultivated bear witness of a wide range of production from fruits and vegetables to herbs for flavor and medicine and plants for fibers and dyeing of textiles. Since the gardens provided supply for household activities mainly controlled by women, it is plausible that spreading of new cultural plants occurred due to interactions of female dominated networks. The spread of medical plants, and traces of its use, indicates that medical treatments from the classical world may have influenced local medical practice long before the introduction of Christianity.



The turnips are picked, c. 1910–30.

12.5. From rural modernities to agricultural modernisation, 1930s–1960s 2

Juan Pan-Montojo, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain; Lourenzo Fernández Prieto, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain; Miguel Cabo, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

This proposal is based upon a hypothesis: in the interwar period, there were in the world different and conflicting projects for the “progress” of rural societies, whereas in the second half of the 20th century a single project for agricultural development with slight local variations, became hegemonic. Agricultural development and modernisation were accepted as a general horizon on both sides of the Iron Curtain and, gradually, in the other world, the so-called Third, and inspired in the 1960s a more than technological programme known as Green Revolution. The two concepts of development and modernisation came to have a quite similar meaning everywhere. They meant growth of marketable production, subordination of agriculture to agroindustry, mechanisation and motorisation, commoditisation and industrialisation of inputs, new uses and sources of energy, and professionalisation of farmers (with new forms of education, a new sexual division of labour in the households...). In that context, after WW2, agrarian parties disappeared or changed their names and agricultural unions and associations became more uniform everywhere. Agrarian projects and utopias dissolved into varieties of agricultural exceptionalism, and ambitious horizons for modern rural societies were replaced by diverse options for specific agrarian and territorial policies that aimed at modernisation. The aim of this session is to discuss the interactions among the processes of change at various levels that underlie the passage from the interwar variegated modern projects to modernisation. We are looking for analyses that focus on the transition between the pre and post-war models in a concrete sphere (environmental, productive, technical, social, political, cultural...), at a regional, national or general level, and connect it to other convergent processes of change. We would like to put together historians that discussed this historical passage and attempted to identify its key elements and causes. We think that this revision of the past is an essential contribution of rural historians to a sustainable future.

Chair: Manuel González de Molina
Discussant: Laurent Herment

12.5.1. Rural development and indigenous peasantry schemes in Belgian Congo, 1930–1960

Yves Segers, KU Leuven, Belgium

Around 1930, the Congolese agriculture faced numerous problems. First of all, the global economic crisis caused sharply falling prices of colonial products and cash crops. But even more problematic were the structural problems, such as the rural exodus, the rapid soil depletion by monocultures and the precarious food supply of the Congolese population. A long-term solution was needed. But how? By establishing ‘paysannats indigènes’ or indigenous peasantry schemes, the colonial authorities wanted from the late 1930s, but especially after the Second World War, to better integrate traditional Congolese agriculture into the modern, western agrosystem. The aim was to form an independent Congolese peasantry, which was no longer collectively organized. Higher production and productivity had to boost the income of the farming families. To achieve this, they had to embrace Western methods, without breaking entirely with useful, traditional cultivating practices. In addition, the authorities planned investments in transport infrastructure and the construction of schools, social centers and medical facilities. This paper analyses the plans and discourse of the Belgian colonial authorities and experts around the start-up and functioning of the paysannats and examines to what extent and how these plans were put into practice. Furthermore, the Belgian experience in Congo will be compared with the situation in British and French colonies. Drawing on archival sources, contemporary publications and a close reading of the *Bulletin Agricole du Congo Belge*, this article concludes that there was a big difference between the theory and the ideology surrounding the paysannats and the practices on the Congolese countryside. The production of cash crops did indeed increase, but the food supply of the local population remained precarious. The agronomists legitimized the compulsive implementation of Western science with a discourse on the underdevelopment of the Congolese and with the promise that the paysannats would bring about improvement. However, the social ambitions that agronomists and other experts pursued and wanted to implement through individualization, education and via anthropological studies largely have failed in practice. Many indigenous farmers resisted the paysannats, especially in a hidden way. It also illustrates that the local population cannot be characterised as mere willing victims of colonial policy; their agency and resilience should not be underestimated.

12.5.2. Racial Productivism: Reassessing the Nazi Era in Austria’s Agrarian Transition, 1930–1960

Ernst Langthaler, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria

The paper challenges the conventional wisdom that the Nazi era in Austria from 1938 to 1945 was an interlude or even a step back in the twentieth-century agrarian transition. Building upon a comprehensive body of sources and mixed methods, it outlines the contours of a project directed towards an alternative modernity beyond liberal marketization and socialist planning. On the one hand, the peasantry as a backbone of the German race should be strengthened; on the other hand, farm productivity should be raised according to national autarky. The project of “racial productivism” – the creation of a both racially and economically productive peasantry – was realized at different levels with mixed results. At the technical level, state-supported pioneer farms managed to raise productivity, while the overwhelming majority of farm holders tended to extensification due to lack of resources. At the institutional level, the interventionist state widened and deepened the regulatory framework of the agricultural sector. Although the “great leap” failed, several small steps were taken along the productivist transition of Austria’s agrosystem between 1930 and 1960, with multiple connections to pre-1938 and post-1945 developments.

12.6. Land conflicts and property rights in the Iberian empires 2

Márcia Motta, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil; Hal Langfur, State University of New York at Buffalo, USA

This session includes analyses and comparisons of the various meanings of property rights, in the context of land movements and conflicts in the Iberian Empires, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. In our view, these rights are revealed in the relations present in the conflicts involving different social agents—indigenous groups, Africans and Afro-descendants, and colonizing agents, among others—in the processes of occupation of the overseas territories once belonging to Spain and Portugal. In other words, the different views of these various actors with respect to the forms of possessing land by local populations dialogue and/or clash with the resulting relationships. A property, or properties, must be understood in its multiple forms, beyond the contemporary meaning of an individual, modern, exclusive and supposedly “perfect” property. Access to and control of land transforms relations between groups socially involved in the sharing of a non-reproducible good in nature. These relations are expressed in the form of community ties and/or the exploitation of the populations involved. The clashes in defense of a particular conception of property also reveal various attempts to enshrine the right to exclude, to the detriment of others. The right to individual property, therefore, is based, above all, on the possibility of denying many others that constitute the property itself. Moreover, it is essential to consider the phenomenon of modern slavery, and the consequent compulsory crossing of the Atlantic, with its consequences both for the relations of the possession and ownership of slaves as property and their territorial implications. Enslaved and freed persons built strategies by forging alliances for survival tied to various usufruct practices. Many of the property rights traditions originating in Europe were resignified in the New World, with the re-appropriation, or even transformation, of interpretations of those rights.

Chair: Márcia Motta
Discussant: Hal Langfur

12.6.1. Bundle of rights: the waters of Ançã (Portugal, 19th century)

Márcia Motta, INCT – Proprietas, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil

Between 1801 and 1806, during a particularly complex situation for the Portuguese Empire, Carlota Joaquina decided to open a Tombo book to mark her estate in Ançã, a small village that, in 1801, had 1,197 houses where 2,079 men and 2,193 women lived, a total of 4,272 people. In a long mapping report of the land her mother-in-law, queen D. Maria I, donated to her in 1799, Carlota Joaquina and her legal representatives aimed to define who where her tenants, the amount of their rent due, and the size of each plot of rented land. Whatever was her reason to open the process of archiving, the fact is that it aims to make known the real rights of Carlota on lands she had received. In my opinion, the decision to scan her land does not seem like a mere detail. She definitely wanted to make known what she had actually received and made all the effort to get the process done. Reading this vast documentation, a theme becomes emblematic of disputes over the scales of property rights: access to water. By summing up efforts to understand the collective and private management of water resources access, this study uses the emblematic story of Carlota Joaquina as a starting point to investigate which were the legal and political conditions that allowed or not the rights of Carlota Joaquina to such resources, to which extent the villagers — especially those who controlled the

watermills — accepted the imposition of the current legal norms. As a result, the study also presents what were the legal discussions about the water use in that context of intense transformations. To be up to the task, the study also analyzes the law about the river control, water ownership and public fountains, and uses as base the work of the main juriscult of the period, Manoel de Almeida e Sousa de Lobão, author of, among other works, *Tratado Prático e Compendiario das Águas*, a decisive work to understand the rights on waters in the Portuguese Empire in the 19th century.

12.6.2. The writer Machado de Assis and the comedy of Brazilian agrarian issues, 1878–1882

Pedro Parga Rodrigues, Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Machado de Assis was a famous writer from the 19th century. His prose used to satirize Brazilian social problems. Issues of slavery and the land conflicts were often targets of his comedy. Although historians have studied his critiques of slavery, only our research investigates his irony against Brazilian agrarian issues. The current paper presents Machado's views of land conflicts and the slave owners' perspective about property. It will analyze two versions of the tale "Na Arca: três capítulos (inéditos) das gênesis" as well as the novel "The posthumous memoir of Bras Cubas".

12.6.3. Sesmaria land grants in Colonial Brazil: conflict and multinormativity

Carmen Alveal, Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil

Sesmarias were conditional land grants issued by, or on behalf of, the Portuguese Crown, during the colonization of the Atlantic Portuguese empire. In this paper, I examine the complexity of the introduction and application of the sesmaria system in Brazil, in a historical context of multinormativity, drawing on information from the SILB database of land grants in the Portuguese-Brazilian Empire, and focusing on the regions of Pernambuco, Paraíba and Rio Grande do Norte. Sesmarias, first introduced in 14th century Portugal as a means of re-populating agricultural areas ravaged by the Plague, were introduced in the Colony primarily to ensure that the vast territory was cultivated and defended. However, inconsistent Crown policy and the development of a social elite in the Colony that considered itself entitled to seigneurial rights over land led to conflict and complexity. Many holders of legitimate grants of sesmaria were unable to comply with the burdensome rules of the system. In many instances, settlers were initially encouraged by colonial authorities to cultivate land independently of holding formal documentary title. However, many of these settlers eventually found themselves at the mercy of individuals who were able to manipulate the system and amass land grants over which they then sought to exercise manorial 'rights. Difficulties in demarcating land grants also led to widespread abuse of the system and the colonial authorities were often unable or unwilling to effectively intervene. Distortions in the application of the sesmaria rules were the root cause of many stark inequalities in the access to land that have persisted to this day.

12.7. The Great Depression and the rural world in South-eastern Europe; evaluating and representing the agrarian change. TransMonEA's research results 2

Catherine Brégianni, Academy of Athens, HFRI/PI Project 1310, Greece

The Great Depression initially appeared in Europe in the form of an agrarian crisis; In the beginning of the 1930s the agrarian crisis had a general negative influence on European economies and societies, evidenced by the considerable fall in the prices of agricultural products. Especially, but not solely, the rural countries of South-Eastern Europe faced deep changes in their structures of foreign trade which were brought about by the international crisis. In the first place, the session aims to link the structures of the rural economy of the South-eastern European region to the economic recession following the Great Depression. Secondly, a global conception is required, with regards to transnational action taken in order to tackle the new conditions in national economies based on the primary sector: for example, the Stresa Conference, in September 1932, considered means of reviving European trade in order to counterbalance the expanding economic protectionism, as concerns especially the tariffs and quotas on agricultural product. The Stresa Conference results provide us with an image of the European rural crisis in the early 1930s, just a few steps before the generalization of economic protectionism, emphasizing primarily on the organization of the rural markets. Having traced the intersections between the European interwar rural crisis and the overall economic conditions during the Great Depression, the proposed session targets the evaluation of unexplored primary sources describing the quantitative indicators in the -largely agricultural- countries of South-Eastern Europe. The aim is to associate this objective parameter with the centralized modernization policies applied in the geographical region under examination, accentuating thus the State's intervention and role. Besides the emergence of a technocratic framework and the technical and organizational innovation, the recession provoked social responses, such as the strengthening of rural cooperatives -although, in some cases these were progressively assimilated into centralized mechanisms- or significant protest movements in rural areas. The exploration of the social impact of the crisis is then included in the Session's goals, as is the analysis of visual representations of the interwar rural crisis: we will attempt a bottom-up interpretation, in the sense that questions arise as to how the effects of the crisis in the rural world are depicted in photography, film, and art works. As a methodological stake, the session proposes that recession phenomena in the rural world could be investigated in an interdisciplinary approach.

Chair: Catherine Brégianni
Discussant: Niccolò Mignemi

12.7.1. Agricultural cooperatives as social engineering mechanisms? The case of the Interwar southern Macedonia.

George L. Vlachos, Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation

This paper delved into the archives of a handful of agricultural cooperatives situated in the turbulent interwar Greek or southern Macedonia in order to touch upon an aspect not commonly discussed in the international literature: the plausibility of agricultural cooperatives becoming social engineering mechanisms. More precisely, it will be problematized whether the state, as the higher authority overseeing -if not steering- the way that cooperatives operated, could utilize them as vessels through which it could promote a certain working ethos and socially desirable behaviors, as a means of boosting agricultural production across the Greek countryside. Emanating from this research hypothesis, this paper will elaborate on the historical context of the emergence of the cooperative movement in Greece during that period. Emphasis will be given on the idea of the desired farmer, as it was derived from Interwar administrations through the analysis of the cooperative statutes, namely the template legal texts that needed to be accepted and signed by all the members of the cooperative in order for the latter to become a legal public entity. The paper will, in fact, focus on the unlikely moral guidance that was provided in these, otherwise, dry texts and comment upon the attempts of the Greek state to mold a diligent Greek farmer. The main part of this paper, however, will highlight the results of such attempts. Based on original research the paper will focus on the minutes and the proceedings of three southern Macedonian cooperatives that will represent the three aspects that the Interwar cooperative movement acquired overtime: One case-study of a cooperative exhibiting all the desired qualities and developing into an active and productive association, one that shortly after its establishment became inactive and finally one that during its course became corrupted and was dissolved. The locus of this paper was not chosen arbitrarily. Southern Macedonia was a province in turmoil during the time period under scrutiny, being at the center of the refugee resettlement process in the aftermath of the population exchange of 1923 between Greece and Turkey. The vast influx of refugee populations in southern Macedonia, as well as the already existing ethnic rivalries in the province, provided a very serious backstage in the development process of agricultural cooperatives which will also be discussed in the paper.

12.7.2. Market crises and social protest in the Greek rural space in the early 1930s

Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain

Our main objective in this paper is to examine the interrelation among the crises in the market of various agricultural products and the intense mobilisation and protest in the Greek countryside in the early 1930s. The global international crisis of 1929, on the one hand, which led, among other things, to the sharp decline in the exports of the agricultural products and the unfortunate domestic economic conjuncture, on the other, as manifested by the bankruptcy of 1932 and the devaluation of drachma had created a particularly suffocating framework for the overwhelming majority of the agrarian population. In this paper we would like to examine the impact of these specific events on the development of the peasant unrest in the early 1930s. We will study the various forms of the agrarian protest while, at the same time, we will present the social and political agents behind the collective mobilisations. It would be interesting to examine whether the coincidence of the crisis and the increased discontent of the producers led to the emergence of new collective organisations and the more systematic concern of the existing agents for the problems of the rural space. Moreover, we will explore the framework of the claims expressed in various assemblies, conferences and agrarian rallies which took place during this period, as well as the extent to which they had been determined by the international economic crisis. More specifically, it would be interesting to examine how the demands about the regulation of the market and the taking of protectionist measures by the State had been formulated, as well as to what extent they were satisfied. Within this context we would also like to examine whether a single platform of agrarian claims had been developed during the period under review or, on the contrary, the different sectors of production

had followed an autonomous course focusing exclusively on their own agenda. Finally, we will try to compare the Greek case with the Spanish one. Hence, we will look into the similarities and differences in the way in which an international event, the crisis of 1929, had placed the development of the agrarian mobilisation in the countries over the next decade on a new basis by shaping its character and momentum and contributing to the emergence of new socio-political agents, who showed a great interest in the demands of the rural population.

12.7.3. Socio-economic Origins of the Balkan Agrarianism and the impact of the Great Depression. The Case of Bulgaria during the Interwar Period

Michalis Sarras, Hellenic Institute for Research and Innovation & Academy of Athens, Greece

The aim of the present paper is the investigation of the agrarian movement in Bulgaria, during the Interwar Period. The causes that led to the formation of a worthwhile Peasant Party and agrarian movement in Bulgaria will be analyzed and interpreted through the prism of social and economic history. In the first part of the paper, it will be mentioned that in interwar Bulgaria there were few large estates, and most peasants were small landholders. There was very little social mobility amongst Bulgarian peasants since commercial transactions and migration towards urban centers and abroad remained limited and the commercialization of agrarian production was minimal. In addition, urbanization was not dynamic in Bulgaria. Therefore, the transition from the traditional-rural economy and fundamentally agrarian society towards modern production and organization methods was slow if not stationary, leading to the political elites being unable to control the peasants by political means. In other words, the bourgeoisie failed to shape the productive relations and in general, the socioeconomic institutions in rural areas in a suitable way to exert political control over the peasantry, which at that time constituted the great majority of the population until the end of the interwar period. In the second part of the paper, it will be examined through statistical data the impact of the Great Depression on the Bulgarian rural economy. The Great Depression caused tremendous problems in the agrarian states of East and South East Europe in terms of trade decline. The market for agrarian products shrank as a result of industrial decline and mass unemployment and an unparalleled collapse of prices was experienced in the early thirties. In agrarian countries the crisis was manifested by the following problems: by the loss of income caused by the fall in prices paid for agrarian products, by the gap between prices of agricultural and industrial products and in connection with the narrowing of external markets a severe lack of stability in the balance of payments and of trade. Consequently, the global economic crisis was an important factor that delayed further the process of modernization as described by the data under examination.

12.8. Re-inventing rurality? Contemporary debates and historical perspectives 2

Dietlind Hüchtker, University of Vienna, Austria

The pressing issues of the present, such as climate protection, populism, animal breeding/animal law or the inadequate equipment with new technologies (lack of digital or transport infrastructures) are to a large extent linked to rural areas. At the same time, rural areas still appear as an ideal alternative to urban (post)modernity. At the beginning of the 21st century, rural areas are often at the center of debates - both as spaces of stagnation that are to be left and as spaces in which new social concepts are being developed. Though the debates on “the rural” pick up contemporary problems that are not new at all. Rural exodus, deserted villages, the notion of traditionalism and backwardness on the one hand and idealization, utopia and space of a better world on the other are not new at all.

Chair: Dietlind Hüchtker

12.8.1. The village between city and nature? Conceptualizing rurality in historiography

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The presentation discusses the concept of “village” in relation to city and environment. Current studies emphasize the reciprocity and relationality of the urban, the rural and nature. Using concepts of transgression and mediation they stress negotiations of meanings and processes of encoding and decoding of concepts like development, stagnation, progress, backwardness, modernity, tradition, historiography and environmental studies. Rurality has a history, not only that the village changed over time but also the meanings of rurality and urbanity changed and are changing. State socialism seems to be an interesting example to discuss the historicity of rurality. State socialist politics were dominated by a strong propaganda on progress and modernity. Although progress was linked to industrialization and therefore to the city the city was regarded as bourgeois and a hotbed of antisocialist backwardness as well. The countryside was identified with backwardness and tradition but it also could become the place of industrialization centers and a bulwark against urban antisocialist attitudes. The industrialized places designed on the drawing board often figured as the strongest embodiment of the socialist dream. One of the most important addressees was the young generation because they were regarded as a still malleable potential to build a new society and to form the “new man”. Taking the example of young people in Polish villages during socialism I will discuss the meanings of spaces and competing expectations. The aim of the presentation will be to discuss the historicity of village, city and nature.

12.8.2. Writing the History of Regional Development in Rural Europe

Corinne Geering, Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO)

In many places, rural regions have assumed the form of resource peripheries. Their industries comprised mainly of mining, oil extraction, forestry, and fishing alongside agriculture. In contrast, industries of manufacturing, service or information have been located primarily in urban environments. In the last decades, regional development initiatives in Europe have aimed to overcome the disparities between urban centres and resource peripheries by promoting development based on and emerging from local conditions. These policies are often described as reflective of a new paradigm that moves away from earlier approaches promoting large-scale infrastructure and investment projects,

towards more sustainable forms of regional development. This paper seeks to engage critically, from a historical perspective, with this recent paradigm shift in regional development policies as stated by social science and economics research. It thus enquires into the history of regional development in Europe that pursued similar objectives to recent policies. From the nineteenth century onwards, the socioeconomic transformation resulting from industrialisation, agricultural imports, and changes in energy production, has drastically altered the economy of rural regions. As a consequence, many rural residents emigrated and took up work as unskilled labourers in factories or extractive industries. In response to this situation, initiatives by governments and wealthy citizens have sought to provide alternative sources of income for villagers in order to spur economic growth and provide social relief. While some of these initiatives were charitable or benevolent ventures, other initiatives emerged that were based on ideas of promoting place-based development through investment by individuals, voluntary societies, or state bodies. After providing a brief overview of such initiatives in the period before World War I, this paper will zoom into the increasing tensions between place-based development and large-scale infrastructure projects from the 1920s onwards. By focusing on selected rural localities in mountainous regions, it discusses the debates on the future trajectory of regional development. In particular, the discussion analyses the divergent interests underlying approaches by rural development schemes based on manufacturing and other types of services, most notably tourism, on the one hand, and those schemes projected by engineering projects such as the construction of hydroelectric dams on the other hand. The historical insights provided by this paper seek to reveal the historical trajectory of more recent ideas of regional development and thus to enrich our understanding of present socioeconomic and cultural change in the European countryside.



Horse-drawn hay load, c. 1910–30.

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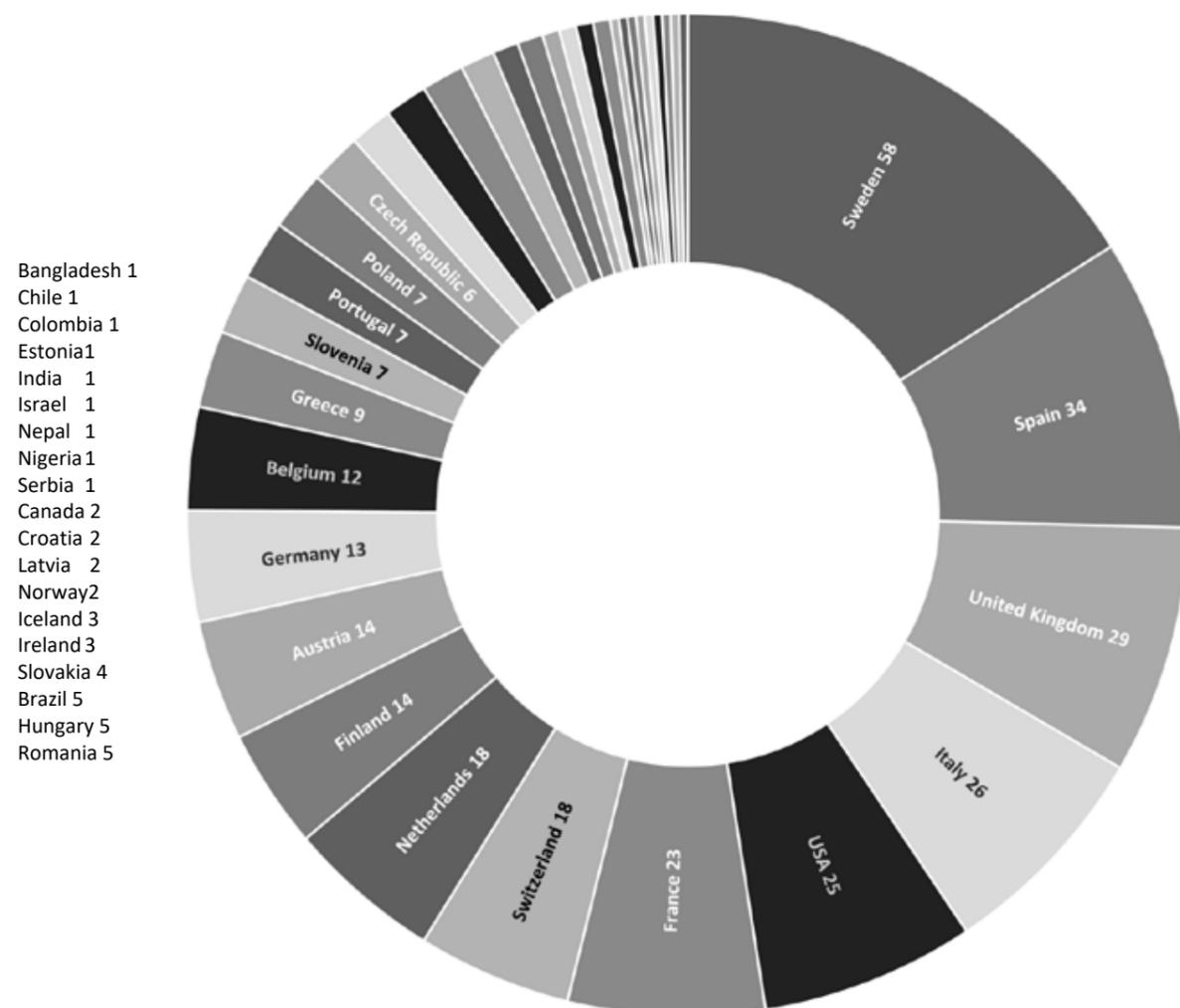
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Rural History 2021 brings together 363 active participants representing institutions in 36 countries.

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Carl Larsson, Rågskärningen (1905),
The Rye Cutting. Watercolor from the book Spadarfvat.
Woman and cows, 1930s. Photo: G. Sundgren/Upplandsmuseet

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