Editor’s Note and Thanks

This special issue of the AIMA Newsletter is devoted to an update on the association’s history and to a series of reflections on the varied relations between town and country, with heartfelt thanks to all the authors for this richly illustrated and researched issue. There were so many contributions that some will be moved forward to the next issue.

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Some considerations on the challenges of researching the history of the AIMA

João P.R. Joaquim

In 2020, I defended my master’s thesis at Charles University on the origins and inception of the AIMA, titled ‘Museums and Agriculture in Cold War Europe: The establishment of the Association Internationale des Musées d’Agriculture.’ I plan on presenting my conclusions at the next congress of the association in Reading but, at the suggestion of Cozette Griffin-Kremer, I thought right to give this newsletters’ readers a first taste of it. This short text focuses not so much in my findings and conclusions but in some of the challenges of researching AIMA’s history. Furthermore, it invites others, particularly museum professionals, to have a look into their institution’s archives and share their perspectives on this interesting topic.

While still concerned with the history of agricultural museum practice, my initial research project was slightly different, as I intended to compare and contrast a set of museums across Europe. However, finding out that the AIMA had had its origins in 1960s Czechoslovakia
both surprised and interested me. Cold War-era Czechoslovakia looked, at first sight, an improbable place to start such an organisation. The plot thickened when preliminary research revealed that little historiographic work has been done on this subject. Debra Reid suggested the short accounts authored by Zdeněk Tempír and Ted Collins, which I am sure many of you have read. These are very important introductions to the history of the association, but something more of memoirs than historiographical works.

Delving into this field one rapidly notices how underexplored it is. Historiography about agriculture museums is dispersed and fragmentary, and most works can be described as institutional histories of individual museums or, more rarely, as having a very clear national focus. Documentary sources, of the archival kind many historians favour, are apparently nowhere to be found. The AIMA has no ‘central archive’ and it is likely that any documents connected with its creation and development are somewhere in the personal papers of the academics that took part in its creation or in the archives of the museums where they worked. Unfortunately, many museums contacted over the last couple of years were less than approachable or held no archive _per se_ that could be made available to outside researchers.

![Map of CIMA Congress locations](image)

This map depicts the organising countries and year of all the nine CIMA between 1966 and 1989.

Luckily for those interested in AIMA’s history, the _Acta Museorum Agriculturae (AMA)_ , a mixture of newsletter, journal, and congress proceedings published in Prague between 1966 and 1988, constitutes an alternative source to the origins and development of the association. It covers the Congressus Internationalis Museorum Agriculturae (CIMA) held during those decades at irregular intervals and, usually, alternately between Western and Eastern Bloc institutions. _AMA_ issues are not always easy to find as, unlike _Tools & Tillage_ , they are still not fully digitalised and available online. Some were particularly difficult to locate, but with patience and, concerning the 1969 issue, with the kind help of the librarians of the University of Hohenheim, almost all issues could be consulted.
Even the use of the *AMA* as a primary source is not obstacle-free. Whereas documents concerning administrative matters are usually found in the four official languages of the association (English, French, German and Russian), most articles are available only in one of those. While only a handful of Russian-language articles can be found throughout the series, German-written papers constitute the bulk of the first few issues. This was a challenge for me, but I am sure that for many of you it would not have been a problem. Moreover, many of the secondary literature about the experts and professionals involved in the creation of the AIMA could only be found in niche languages like Hungarian and Czech.

In a way, all this helped shape my interpretation of the circumstances surrounding AIMA’s inception. It pushed me to adopt a transnational approach, focusing on the creation of an international non-governmental organisation, instead of delving into the history of particular individuals or institutions. The focus became the movement of museum professionals, ideas, and practices across borders; a particularly interesting phenomenon at a time of heightened tension between the Western and Eastern Blocs. This allowed for the study of a professional network stretching across the Iron Curtain, including constraints occasioned by its transnational status. Agriculture museums, like all others, also needed to contend with the transformations of European societies in the post-war years, with increasing urbanisation and the effects of the Green Revolution over agricultural practice being noted by many museum professionals throughout that period. Moreover, this exercise facilitated a discussion on the always fluid nature of the agriculture museum concept; institutions, then as today, deeply dissimilar among themselves.

I hope this teaser contribution to the newsletter will both whet your appetite for learning more about AIMA’s history and invite you to make your own explorations on the topic. If you happen to be German or Russian speaking and/or have access to the archives of one of the museums that organised one of the CIMA (see the index available in the association’s website), you are doubly invited to make your contribution to the field. As a concluding note, I would like to point out that AIMA’s ‘cousin’, the Association of European Open-Air Museums, has recently published a very interesting, and possibly inspirational, account of its history: Jan Carstensen and Katarina Frost, eds. 2016. *Creating Museums – 50 Years Association of European Open-Air Museums*, Münster/New York: Waxmann.

João P. R. Joaquim (jj529@cam.ac.uk)

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**55 years of the International Association of Agricultural Museums. First AIMA Congress – Czechoslovakia 1966**

Hanna Ignatowicz

The International Association of Agricultural Museums (AIMA) will celebrate 55 years of activity in 2021. Established at the first Congress in Czechoslovakia in 1966, it promotes cooperation between agricultural museums (including museums of agricultural technology, food industry, forestry, horticulture, viticulture, fishing, hunting), open-air museums and researchers working in this field. It is worth recalling that at the time of its foundation in 1966, the Agricultural Museum in Szreniawa joined AIMA, established two years earlier.

The Czechoslovakian Museum of Agriculture took the first steps to establish the international organisation during the 15th International Agricultural Congress, which took place in Prague in 1931. After the war, the idea of agricultural museums was revived in Europe. This is
evidenced by the fact that new agricultural museums have been established since the 1950s. For example, in 1951 the Museum of English Rural Life in Reading near London, in 1963 the Agrarmuseum Alt Schwerin in Germany and in 1964 the Polish Agricultural Museum in Szreniawa started its activity. The mission of these institutions was to show the changes in agricultural production and rural life and to promote the disappearing practices and traditions in order to preserve material and non-material heritage for future generations.

In the mid-1960s, the Czechoslovak Agricultural Museum took the initiative of the Hungarian Agricultural Museum to organize the 1st International Congress of Agricultural Museums (hereinafter referred to as "CIMA I" - Congressus Internationalis Musaeorum Agriculturae). It was held from 11-14 October 1966 in Liblica Castle, near Prague. The Congress also celebrated the 75th anniversary of the Prague Agricultural Museum, which was established in 1891 on the basis of the collections collected after the Jubilee and Ethnographic Exhibition. CIMA I was attended by 79 people, including directors and employees of museums (23 people), representatives of universities, archives and other scientific institutions. The speeches of the Congress participants were collected and published in the official AIMA bulletin entitled "Acta Musaeorum Agriculturae" (hereinafter referred to as "AMA").

![Fig. 1. Participants of the First Congress of Agricultural Museums in the background of the Palace in Liblica](image)
This topic was developed on the basis of documents from the first AIMA Congress collected in the Archives of the National Museum of Agriculture in Szreniawa, a report by director Władysław Rogala and articles by Zděnek Tempír (Director of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Museum).
The first AIMA Congress was organized by the Czechoslovakian Agricultural Museum in cooperation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Institute of Scientific and Technical Information and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Education and Culture. The international meeting took place on 11-14 October 1966 in the Baroque castle in the small town of Liblice. The aim of the Congress was to assess the directions of development of agricultural museums, to discuss problems with scientific documentation and scientific development of agricultural development, to facilitate the first contacts between museum workers and, consequently, to ensure the development of international cooperation of agricultural museums.

The CIMA I programme in Liblica shows the high level of the Congress and the great involvement of the first members of the AIMA. The Congress included 3 days of the conference (11, 13, 14 October) and a day of study tour (12 October). During 8 meetings, papers related to agricultural issues and activities of various institutions with agricultural collections were delivered. The discussion was based on three thematic sections. The first one
concerned the scientific documentation of agricultural development and included mainly research archives, retrospective bibliography and indexing of iconographic material. The second one was devoted to the scientific development of changes in agriculture, including methodological problems of research into the development of biological production. This section also dealt with the issue of looking at the history of agriculture through the prism of historical and ethnographic atlases, problems of development of labour productivity in agriculture, as well as through the issue of "man as producer". The third thematic panel concerned the organisation of agricultural museums, mainly the complexity of their collections and their specialisation, the dissemination of collections in the form of exhibitions and promotion in the press. (scan of the program in attachment)

On the first day of the Congress, at 9.00 a.m., the symposium was officially opened. The guests were welcomed by the Director of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Museum, Ing. Zdeněk Tempír, who emphasized the role of agricultural museums in the modern world. Květoslav Vlček spoke on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Then Jindřich Opava, Director of the Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, spoke about the history and current activities of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Museum. Josef Beneš spoke on behalf of the Ministry of Science and Culture and the ICOM National Committee. A few words of introduction were also given by Dr. Janos Matolcsi, Director General of the Hungarian Agriculture Museum in Budapest.

Fig. 3 CIMA I participants' meeting room at the Liblice Palace

On the second day (12 October), a study tour was organized. It included a short visit to the museums in Liblica, Poděbrady and Kolín. More attention was devoted to the exhibition of the Agricultural Museum in Kačín. Then the Neolithic settlement in Bylany and the activities of the research station of the Archaeological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences were introduced. Congress participants also went on a tour of Kutná Hora. The last item on the
agenda was a visit to the agricultural cooperative "Družba" in Suchodol. In addition, it was proposed to visit the Museum in Ohrada Castle, where there was an exhibition on forestry, hunting and fishing. The congress concluded with a meeting establishing the International Association of Agricultural Museums (AIMA), which aimed to develop cooperation between European agricultural museums, scientific institutes and researchers.

Fig. 4. The map of Czechoslovakia with the facilities of the Czechoslovakian Agricultural Museum

Fig. 5. View of the facade of the Kačina Palace - the seat of the Museum of Agriculture
Fig. 6. Museum of Agriculture in Kačina - weaving exhibition, tarsus

Fig. 7. Museum of Agriculture in Kačina - exposition with tools for tillage
Fig. 8. Museum of Agriculture in Kačina - beekeeping exposition

Fig. 9. CIMA I participants visit the exhibition in the Agricultural Museum in Kačina: W. Rogala,
Fig. 10. The interior of the hunting lodge in Ohrad - the seat of the Museum of Hunting, Forestry and Fisheries

Among the 79 Congress participants from Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, the German Federal Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Denmark, the Netherlands, Austria, England, France, Sweden and Switzerland, there was also a Polish delegation. Its composition was agreed with the Ministry of Agriculture. Seven people went to Czechoslovakia: Tadeusz Kraus, Eng. - Director of the Office for Science and Progress in Agriculture at the Ministry of Agriculture, Władysław Rogala, Ph. Krystyna Targońska - a researcher at the Museum of Technology at the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw, Prof. Leonid Żytkowicz - a researcher at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences and Prof. Michał Strzemski representing the Institute of Soil Science and Plant Cultivation in Puławy. (fig.11)

Fig. 11. The badge of Director Władysław Rogala with the congress logo in the form of a heart shaped like a hoe blade topped with a sleeve, on it the white letters CIMA I and the year 1966.
The function of organizer was taken over by the Congress initiator Zdeněk Tempír - director of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Museum. Representatives from 9 countries were appointed to the authorities in the AIMA Committee. They were the following persons: Z. Tempír, V. Šmelhaus (Czechoslovakia), I.M.G. van der Poel (Netherlands), J. Matolcsi, I. Balassa (Hungary), R. Berthold (German Democratic Republic), G. Franz (German Federal Republic), not established (Poland), G. Trathnigg (Austria), A. S. Krasnikov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), A. Eskerős (Sweden). Director Museum in Szreniawa (Władysław Rogala) was also invited to the temporary AIMA Organising Committee, but was forced to refuse due to the lack of official approval from the Ministry of Agriculture. The tasks of the newly appointed AIMA authorities were first to draft the statute and programme of the association's activities, and then to disseminate these documents to the Congress participants and other agricultural museums. Another task was to incorporate AIMA, as an associated organisation, into ICOM (AIMA was adopted by ICOM at the 25th Assembly of the Executive Committee on 28 July 1968 in Cologne Rhine as an associated organisation) or FAO. An important challenge was to organise a second Congress, which finally took place in 1969 in Germany. The AIMA authorities had the right to invite museums from all over the world to collaborate, but remained with European countries in the beginning. The official languages were Russian, English, German and French. The AIMA's press organ became the magazine mentioned in the introduction, "Acta Musaeorum Agriculturae". ("AMA"), which were published between 1966 and 1989 (22 notebooks in total). It published post-congress papers and current affairs of the AIMA, for example reports from meetings and official documents of the organization.

It was in the "AMA" magazine that the director of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Museum Zdeněk Tempír summarized the proceedings of the Congress in Liblica. He also published his article "The importance of agricultural museums as scientific, documentary and educational
institutions for the promotion of agricultural progress and the need for their international cooperation" (Bedeutung der Landwirtschaftsmuseen als wissenschaftliche, Dokumentations und Bildungsstätten (...)). In it he presented his views on shaping the collection of agricultural museums in the 1960s and creating the mission of agricultural museums. According to Director Tempír, agricultural museums are specialized institutions that develop scientifically the collections on the development of nature, collect artifacts illustrating human activity as individuals and then societies, and thus use the collections to develop civic awareness. The exhibits form the basis of the museum, but also complementary materials are important, in the form of specialist literature (library), iconographic and photographic documents and archival writing collections. It is obvious that the type of documents obtained concerning the development of agriculture will vary depending on the geographical region and the specificity of the collections, e.g. museums devoted to viticulture, hunting, horticulture or open-air museums, which form a separate group. The main task of agricultural museums is the scientific development of collections, which explains and enables the development of individual branches of agriculture to be studied using specific museum resources. In this way, agricultural museums become educational centres where people can learn about the development of humanity through exhibits and documents. As far as the mission of agricultural museums was concerned, it was to be closely related to the museums' response to current problems in the world, which made them a place where, for example, problems related to food shortages were solved. The post-war years were a time of scientific and technological revolution, as well as a period of population growth. It was connected with the fight against hunger (especially in developing countries), which consisted mainly in developing knowledge about food production. Here, according to Tempir, the most important area of activity of agricultural museums appears, which should not only document and study this development, but also indicate how similar problems were solved in the past. By disseminating knowledge about this subject, museums can influence the current state of agricultural production and stimulate its development.

Already in the 1960s it was noticed that in order for agricultural museums to better perform the tasks entrusted to them by society, it was necessary to establish and intensify working contacts with similar institutions abroad. The study of problems in agricultural production, animal husbandry and agricultural technology has had and continues to have international significance and can only be solved effectively with the cooperation of employees from different countries. Hence the need to organise the International Association of Agricultural Museums, which by issuing a newsletter, conferences and an address database would be a source of information for individual museums. Therefore, the first step towards achieving this goal was the organisation of the first International Congress by the Czechoslovak Museum of Agriculture in 1966.

The highest body of AIMA is the General Assembly, which meets every 3 years within the framework of a scientific congress. In the last 54 years, 18 International Congresses of Agricultural Museums have been held. It should be noted that in 1971, during the 3rd AIMA Congress in Budapest, Władysław Rogala was appointed to the Presidium of the AIMA Board. In 1978, the next director, Henryk Nowacki, participated in the 5th Congress in Neubrandenburg, during which he was appointed a member of the Presidium of this organization. An important event was the conference of the AIMA Association (CIMA XII) in 1998, devoted to the issue of methods and ways of representing agricultural progress in museology, which was organized by the National Museum of Agriculture in Szreniawa in its headquarters. In the years 2001 - 2016 the function of Vice President of the AIMA Bureau was held by Dr Jan Maćkowiak, Director. The next Congress (CIMA XIX) will be held in 2021 in the Museum of English Life in the Village. It will be the year in which 55 years have passed since the organization of CIMA I and the establishment of AIMA.
The museums and other institutions and individuals, acting within AIMA, are united around an important idea of the association's existence - to contribute to the development of museums and promotion of the history of agriculture, as well as to raise issues in the field of opportunities and threats of modern agriculture.

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**List of photographs**

All photographs (except No. 9) come from the Archive of the National Museum of Agriculture in Szreniawa (file with documentation entitled "Materials from the first International Congress of Agricultural Museums in Czechoslovakia, 11-15 October 1966, No. 5/18/52).

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When Cities Expelled Farmers
Debra A. Reid, Secretary General, AIMA

The Henry Ford opened a reconstructed open-air vegetable shed in its open-air museum, Greenfield Village, in April 2022. At its origins, the Detroit Common Council invested in this structure to facilitate direct sales between growers and customers. It operated as part of Detroit’s City Hall Market (also called Central Market) for thirty years, between April 1861 and February 1894.

This building is the hub of The Henry Ford’s Edible Education initiative. The overarching goal focuses on historic resources (like the vegetable shed) as a launch pad for envisioning a local food environment based in regenerative agriculture and dedicated to equal food access in the Detroit area, in Michigan, and in the Great Lakes region. This is a tall order and one that starts by recognizing that this public market structure helps explain how farmers became invisible in the urban food chain. When it operated, customers knew where their food came from. It closed because city officials banned farm and market wagons from the center of Detroit in 1888 and relocated the public vegetable markets east and west of the downtown. This coincided with other changes in food processing that increased the distance between consumers and growers. These included processed foods, pure food and drug laws that made science and not growers the arbiters of purity, and private wholesale and retail grocers who replaced hucksters as the middlemen between the farm fields and the food on the dining room table.

The shift in Detroit from a regulated public market to food procurement and distribution as a private enterprise fit a pattern. Officials in other cities established public markets that guaranteed relatively low-cost market stalls to growers within a confined and regulated space. Within these spaces, growers sold quality goods directly to customers at affordable prices, and in sanitary conditions. Catering to the needs of growers helped eliminate middlemen or “hucksters” who bought foodstuffs that growers did not sell and resold the items at a profit. Consolidating growers in one market structure reduced the likelihood of price wars (or if price wars occurred, customers saw it happen in real time). Today this arrangement is called a “local food environment,” a system that facilitates access to food within a close distance to where it was grown.

Those who study public markets point to the 1880s as a time when the local food environment ideal gave way. In fact, cracks in the Detroit system appeared earlier. The male city officials formalized the market economy with structures and laws that defined spaces, set stall rents, daily hours of operation, and appointed market managers. An informal economy operated outside these regulations, but the lack of evidence of the informal market economy makes it less overt in historic records. Female hucksters, for example, operated outside the formal economy from at least the start of the City Hall Market in 1835, even though the city directories and minutes of the Detroit Common Council meetings rarely mention women and formal market roles until 1864. Yet, hucksters played a critical role in daily public markets because growers just could not commit to such an obligation and still raise food for sale.

The death blow to the local food environment in Detroit’s city center came in 1888, not from the invaluable role that hucksters played in the system, but because of growing
opposition to farmers in the city. Then City officials banned farm & market wagons from downtown and shifted the public market locations further west and east of the city center. It took nearly six years to accomplish this goal, but by February 1894 members of Detroit’s elected council forcefully evicted the butchers from the meat market and the hucksters from the vegetable shed and began physically dismantling the structures. The vegetable shed survived because it was reused as a horse shelter on Belle Isle, a public park in the center of the Detroit River. There it served other purposes until it was saved from demolition and acquired by The Henry Ford in 2003.

In conclusion, city officials used public markets to ensure residents had access to fresh produce including fruits, vegetables, meat and wild game, but this public investment waned by 1880. The 1888 ban on farm and market wagons in the city center coincided with a shift from growers to science as the arbiter of food purity, and away from centralized access to fresh produce and toward privately owned and operated grocery stores and processed foods. Benjamin Cohen has written about this in Pure Adulteration: Cheating on Nature in the Age of Mass-Produced Food (2019). Detroit’s public market and its demise confirm the point when rural and agricultural became invisible in urban contexts. Even though public markets survived, reconnecting rural and agriculture to local food environments remains a work in progress. This is the work that Edible Education seeks to do.

Sources:
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The COMPA between town and country  
Justine Glemarec

The COMPA – Conservatory of Agriculture – was born following a national collection campaign of agricultural machinery begun in 1977. Choice of the future site of the museum was the Eure-et-Loir, an agricultural département [ed. note: administrative area similar to a county], the “granary of France”, located 100 km southwest of Paris. When it was opened in 1990, the museum displayed 19th and 20th-century machines, essentially associated with the important grain-growing areas of France and the mechanization of agriculture. The vast plot the COMPA occupies also enabled demonstrations of tractors, ploughing and other implements that would bring to life farming for its visitors.

The COMPA is nonetheless a cultural site anchored in an urban landscape, a cityscape, close to the national rail station and the highway network. The museum is housed in a former metal-frame train station roundhouse. The site itself is at the junction of Chartres city centre and the suburban developments characteristic of the Mainvilliers neighborhood.

In spite of the origin of its collections, The Conservatory of Agriculture does not primarily welcome a rural population. In fact, its visitors mirror the image of museum visitors more generally: essentially an urban population, mainly young and family-oriented. A promotional poster from the 1990s that said “The COMPA, your museum of the countryside”, attempted to
propose a window onto country life to a public seeking its roots as much as an outing in the country.

The museum, located in a farming area but in the heart of a town, and its public – more urban in spite of many visitors familiar with an agricultural heritage – bear witness to the continual relations the museum maintains, in accord with its initial project, between country and town, producer and consumer. The museum’s Scientific and Cultural Project recalled in 2012 that at a time when “one French person out of three lives in a city of over 200,000 inhabitants, when 90% of the population is urbanized and 70% of its farms are less than half an hour from a city centre, rural society can no longer be envisioned as an insular world.” Hence, based on a fundamental policy of temporary exhibits, the COMPA develops accordingly, for example, by representing the phenomenon of agricultural mechanization within a broader context and identifying new stakes involved with the world of farming and rural life. In a nutshell, moving from a technical museum to a museum of society.

Left: part of the new visitors “pathway” in 2017; Right: 2017 view from the museum towards Chartres cathedral in the left background

In 2016, the museum brought a new visitors’ “pathway” into its presentations and, through its collections, endeavors to show how the borderlines between town and country have changed: after the rural exodus and urban sprawl, now we also speak of spotty development [ed. note: amusingly, termed mitage, “mite-holing” in French] and urban-rural intertwining [called rurbanisation]. Our collections are being enriched gradually with contemporary art works, approaches sensitive to agriculture and the countryside and new ways of looking at things, often, citified. But today, the elected officials of the Département are considering possible relocation of the museum. Might not a move to a rural area accentuate the gap between the museum and its diverse public?
The farm IN the city –
The Dahlem Domain in Berlin
Astrid Masson and Dennis Novak

Photo: Axel Mauruszat, Domäne Dahlem, Berlin, opposite the U-Bahnhof Dahlem-Dorf (Underground Station Dahlem-Village), Wikipedia Commons

In southwestern Berlin in the middle of a residential neighborhood, there is a spot on the map: the site of the Dahlem Domain, an open-air museum for agriculture and food that includes 10 hectares of Bioland operations, with its motto: From Field to Plate

The site of the Dahlem domain – formerly a municipal property, then used for agriculture by the Free University of Berlin – was to be sold by the city as building plots. In 1976, the citizens' initiative “The Friends of the Dahlem Domain e.V.” (https://www.domaene-dahlem.de/ueber-uns/foerderverein/) saved the area from development and created the “Dahlem Domain Open-Air Museum Domäne Dahlem”. Initially through voluntary commitment, then professionalized by the event-organizer group, the Dahlem domain was mainly financed through the large market festivals, such as harvest festivals or Advent markets, some of which still exist today. In 1987 the museum received a grant from the Berlin Senate and from 1995 to 2008 it became part of the Berlin City Museum Foundation (https://www.stadtmuseum.de/). Since 2009, the Dahlem Domain Foundation – Country Estate and Museum has been an independent foundation under civil law.

When the open-air museum was founded, the “Wall” still separated Berlin from its agricultural surroundings. Perhaps that is why the intention from the very beginning was to show the big-city audience how food is produced on fields, in pastures and stables, and how it ends up on the plate. Additional exhibitions and events on agriculture and nutrition were to take place in the baroque manor house and in the old stables.

The alienation of "consumers" from the origin of food has increased since then. Young city dwellers in particular often only know the local farm animals and plants from television or the Internet. On the other hand, older visitors and people from the countryside – often also from other countries – like to remember their past when watching agricultural work.

More than 1000 guided tours a year make clear and tangible the connections and details on topics from the field and stable to the plate. In small-group workshops, farmers and gardeners pass on their specialist knowledge in a highly practical way.

School classes and day-care centers have easy access to the open-air museum thanks to the Dahlem Domain's connection to public transport. Admission is free and hence enables access by people with low incomes. All of this is reflected in the number of visitors per year – around 300,000.
Unguided visitors also like to use the Domain – not only to educate themselves, but also to relax in an agricultural environment within the city.

In order to be able to show everyone farming that is as authentic as possible, the organic farm of the Dahlem Domain is run as economically as possible. If vegetables and meat are to sell well in the farm shop, this requires high quality animals and plants.

Organic farming is particularly well suited to all of this. Apart from a largely pollution-free environment for the visitors, there are many points of contact with the past, but also with the future.

For example, old cultural techniques – such as working with draft cattle in the fields or mowing small areas with a scythe – can be integrated, preserved and presented here. But connections, innovative ideas and trends for the future can also be shown here particularly well: subjects such as "Where does our food come from", environmental and climate protection as well as biodiversity are highly topical.

As a Noah’s Arc Farm, the Dahlem Domain raises rare domestic breeds from the GEH Red List (Society for the Preservation of Old and Endangered Livestock Breeds), such as German saddle pigs or Red Highland cattle. Selling breeding animals and especially the sale of meat and eggs from our own animals via the farm shop and our own gastronomy truly bring to life our "From the Field to the Plate" motto.

The same goes for arable farming and vegetable growing. We grow almost exclusively seed-saver varieties, often historical or conservation ones. Potatoes and vegetables are sold fresh in farm shops and restaurants, and we work with seed conservation organizations such as VERN e.V. (Association for the Conservation and Recultivation of Crops).

The particular profile as an open-air museum for agricultural and nutritional culture with an ecological focus was further developed through the two exhibition houses, the Culinarium and the Mansion House.
Here the museum preserves and conveys cultural history through its collection. Current and permanent exhibitions (https://www.domaene-dahlem.de/museum/ausstellungen/) illuminate the agricultural and nutritional history of farmers’ work, through processing and trade, to consumption.

The 1560 mansion is Berlin's oldest residential building. In our 600 m2 exhibition space, we display a permanent collection of objects for beekeeping, the food trade and housekeeping over two floors. Changing special exhibitions with an ecological focus are presented in addition to this.

The Culinarium in the early 19th-century renovated horse stables presents Germany's first permanent exhibition on the cultural history of nutrition from 1850 to today. In the hands-on exhibition "From the Field to the Plate", visitors can join in, try things out and learn exciting facts and connections to food production and consumption.

Astrid Masson (Head of Farming) and Dennis Novak (Head of Management and Collection)
The Museumsdorf Volksdorf (Museum—Village Volksdorf) now lies within Germany’s second-largest city, Hamburg, but it was once a village of typical vernacular architecture and the forest occupations that went with the site. The museum is a few minutes on foot from a direct train-line station and provides the look and feel of a country place with its typical Low German house buildings (Fachhallenhaus), extensive grounds and variety of farm animals from chickens and ducks to draft horses and cattle. It was the venue for the 2020 meeting of the German Cattle Draft Working Group* and demonstrated the town & country link the inhabitants are evidently proud of, since they attended the demonstrations animal draft for transport and logging practice over the weekend of 8-9 February, as well as the through-town parade of all the working teams that aroused not one single horn sounded by car or bus, as drivers waited patiently and the public crowded round, parents often providing human draft for their bike carts, kiddie wagons or strollers.

There was plenty to see and the museum’s volunteers answered over one thousand questions about how the Rhaetian Greys ran the grist mill from the inside or the Reds and Spotted Cattle powered the outdoor mill drive with its underground transmission. The Working Group adjourned to the museum’s ample pasture and woods grounds for the logging session, which gave everyone the opportunity to compare the two main yoking methods used: the Tillers-style head (or neck) yoke and the three-pad collar developed to its fullest during the 1930s by Heinrich Steinmetz to underwrite production in small farming, especially in the Rheinland. Both systems require considerable breaching to brake vehicles on hilly ground, but there is hardly a slope in sight.
in Volksdorf, so it was all “pull”. The museum is well-known for its commitment to helping the public, especially school children, understand the links between stockbreeding and food on the table, and has been an important collaborator for a middle and high-school educational project on sustainable food production that won two major prizes in 2020. Cozette Griffin-Kremer

Left: logging with a pair of Jersey crosses under a Tillers yoke (Photo Claudia Kiefer) and right: cattle and horse teams assembling to work in front of one of the Low German houses on the site (Photo C. Griffin-Kremer)

A ‘Box Brownie’ insight into hand-made brick-making... possibly Norfolk ca. 1930

Bob Powell

Some positive things have arisen out of Covid 19 such as, in the absence of Conference meetings, the excuse to put this photographic piece together on ‘brick-making’ for the AIMA Newsletter.

Bricks have been part of my life. My Great-grandfather Dick Powell (1859-1940) was a Mason, Foreman Bricklayer and “Builder” in Hereford. His son Ernie, my Great-Uncle was a bricklayer who preferred not to work for his father. Ernie, however, was proud of his trade. For me as a lad not long over from Ireland in the early 1960s and learning to ride a bicycle by pedalling hard behind Ernie on the Herefordshire country roads, he was always pointing out either his good work or the poor work of others that he described as “Jerry Built!” Further, my father was an architect and as children we would end up with small brick samples to play with. After university I had a farmer “grandfather figure” mentor in the Cambridgeshire Fens who unusually for his area had a brick barn on his farm. The bricks were not from the nearby industrial Whittlesey or Peterborough brickyards but had been made and fired on the farm. In the 1800s, clay had been dug out from below the fenland peat; then worked, formed into bricks and “clamp” fired on the farm in order to build the barn. So intense was the firing that many of the bricks were vitrified and glaze covered. Years later in 1990 I began working at the Weald & Downland Open Air Museum (now W&D “Living Museum”), Singleton, West Sussex, where the brickmaking displays and demonstrations associated with the Museum’s brick drying shed and “pug mill” really enhanced my knowledge.

Therefore, I will credit the Weald & Downland Living Museum for my ability to recognise the content in the “Box Brownie” photos used in this picture-based piece which reflects the hand-made brick making process. I purchased the “snaps” cheaply from a well-known on-line auction site where no-one else was interested. Unfortunately, there is no specific provenance for these photos other than the vendor was in Norfolk. In line with this, the brick drying shed as shown, which is like the peg-tiled one at the Weald & Downland, is roofed with pantiles
that primarily I would associate with East Anglia and therefore, Norfolk may be a reasonable assumption. Further speaking with my horseman pal, Mike Flood (born 1937) from near North Walsham, Norfolk, he recalled that as schoolchildren they were taken to such a brickyard for a school visit. Checking Kelly’s Directory for Norfolk for 1937 there was then about twenty brickmakers in the County.

Note: As these are “snaps” from a basic camera, the quality is not great; especially as some images were faded. However, they have been Photoshopped to maximise the content detail.

Fig. 1: Setting the scene or this could be the final picture? On the right is a ramshackle shelter where the bricks were moulded by hand. Outside the shelter is a wooden wheelbarrow and spade undoubtedly used for bringing the clay to brick makers. The long, low, pantiled building is the ‘Brick Drying Shed’ where nearly dry ‘green’ bricks from a ‘hack’ may have been herringbone stacked to remove remaining moisture before firing. Any residual moisture in the bricks during firing could cause them to blow apart. On the left may be seen the cones of two brick kilns for firing the bricks. The latter may be a clue as to the brickyard’s location.

Fig. 2: A great photo of the horse-powered wooden ‘Pug Mill’, a coopered cylinder that is fed at the top with freshly dug brick making clay. As the horse, clearly seen in Fig. 3, walks
around, the sweep arm it is hitched to turn a paddled screw that works or mixes the clay to a malleable consistency and downwards until it is forced out of the square aperture at ground level. After this process the clay can be barrowed to the brick moulding area.

Fig. 3: With the ‘Pug Mill’ situated near the brick moulding area, the whole arrangement can be clearly seen; including the horse hitched to a somewhat dodgy looking sweep arm. The duty of the man on the left is to feed the pug mill with clay. The horse almost certainly works automatically to voice commands. The two men centre and right are brickmakers as defined by the wooden brick moulds that they hold in their hands.

Fig. 4: This vernacular, ramshackle hovel is the brick making shelter. The brick maker is stood behind his bench that is heaped with clay from which he will cut enough to, with a well-aimed throw, fill a brick mould before striking it level. The bucket in front of him probably held sand with which he would sand the moulds before filling them.
Fig. 5: In this better view of the brickmaking shelter the man on the left is holding a brick mould. The single wheel barrow in front of the men is a ‘Hack Barrow’ onto which are loaded the newly moulded bricks that have been turned out on to individual boards that are slightly larger than the mould. From here the wet bricks are barrowed to a ‘Hack’ where stacked, they begin their air drying process in advance of firing.

Fig. 6: Here the brickmaker is unloading the newly moulded “green” bricks from the hack barrow at the hack where they are stacked in a long narrow line in layers so as to let the air pass through and slowly dry them. To protect the bricks from the weather, pitched roofing sections made of thin boards called ‘Hack Covers’ are placed over the top while the drying takes part.
Fig. 7: Although not the clearest photo, the brickmaker is stood with the hack barrow beside a new hack that he is building. Behind the ongoing hack is a completed one with weather protection hack boards sat on top and to the side. After initial drying in the hack the bricks might have been taken to the long, low brick drying shed (Fig. 1) where now dry enough to be stacked in such as herringbone pattern with ventilation breaks, they would remain to finish drying until deemed ready to be fired in the kilns. © Bob Powell, Kingussie

Hay for Sydney from the Hunter Valley
Cameron Archer

Sydney is geographically landlocked by mountain ranges and gorges. The Sydney Basin, as it is known, has limited arable land and much of it is not easily accessible from the main population centre. As the city grew and the demand for milk increased in the late nineteenth century, it was clear that the Sydney Basin could not produce enough forage to feed cows for milk production to meet the expanding population and demand.

The Hunter Valley is a large navigable estuary with a fertile hinterland to the north of Sydney, an overnight trip by steamships. There are deep alluvial soils within the tidal navigable reaches of the Hunter River and its tributaries: the Williams and Paterson. These lands were invaded by Europeans from 1812. In the 1820s large parcels of land were given to wealthy British immigrants who could demonstrate that they could bring capital to the Colony and develop the land. They were allocated convicts to work the land but by 1840 the convict system was coming to an end, so many large estates changed to operation by tenant farmers. The size of the tenant farm was equivalent to what a man with a horse and a plough could manage. Initially these tenant farmers grew wheat. Most farms had a small frontage to the river – maps of the estates show long thin blocks of land emanating from the river across the flats. Huts and farm buildings were constructed on the river bank or levee where the land was deemed to be the least prone to, but not immune from, floods.

Lucerne (*Medicago sativa* [ed.note: also called alfalfa]) is first recorded as being locally grown in the 1830s, but until the wheat industry was decimated by rust in the late 1850s, lucerne remained a minor crop. It seems that Lucerne-growing took over much of the land formerly used for wheat around this time.
D. Sim and Sons were blacksmiths and machinery manufacturers in the adjacent town of Morpeth. It was also the river port, at one time accommodating overseas vessels. Sim and Sons built large hay presses to press bales of lucerne which were then strapped up with timber battens and wire. At first, the presses were operated manually but later, a Mr. March invented a gearbox which enabled the press to be operated by a horse works. It is interesting to note that these presses were also used to press broom millet. Broom millet was grown in the district and some was processed locally but it was also transported to Sydney and beyond. In addition to the hay presses, Sim and Sons also made ploughs, hay rakes and other farm machinery.

The thin timber slats that secured the bales were cut from local Australian hardwood trees, the most readily available was spotted gum (Corymbia maculata). A few farmers in the hill country supplied these slats as one of their main occupations.

Each tenant farm had a large hay shed on the river levee where the pressing took place. The pressed bales were slid down to the river bank where there may have been a makeshift jetty to load them onto the boat. Specially designed vessels, droghers, had a flat front which enabled them to slide onto the bank and load using a derrick lift where there wasn’t a jetty.

Hay was cut and baled on a daily basis, so it was sent to market with little drying and it had to be used very quickly. However, dry hay was also baled and stored for the winter supplies when lucerne was dormant.

At Morpeth, the bales were transshipped from the droghers and travelled to Sydney overnight by steamship to be delivered to Sydney’s Darling Harbour and sold at Sydney’s Haymarket. At that time Sydney was supplied with milk from suburban dairies so the dairymen would regularly purchase the hay from Haymarket. The bales were designed to fit into a dray drawn by a single horse and could be easily transported to a suburban dairy. Transport by steamer to Sydney ultimately gave way to rail transport, including a branch line to Morpeth with a regular service to transport hay.

The production of these bales of lucerne continued until the mid-twentieth century. Lucerne remains an important crop on these lands but now it is mainly used to feed horses owned for recreational purposes.

This illustration shows the unique operation of the Valley’s lucerne hay industry – the rich alluvial flats linked to the tidal river for ready transport to Sydney. The top frame shows a farmer cutting his lucerne with a two-horse mower; this equipment became common on the Valley’s farms in the late 19th century. The middle section of the illustration shows the farmer pressing his lucerne hay with a Sim and Sons hand-operated hay press. He is then trimming the bale with a hay knife, preparing it for market. The bottom frame shows the steam-powered riverboat laden with stacked bales of hay.

Cameron Archer, Agricultural Historian and Author

Bales of hay on Hinton Wharf, Paterson River
(Paterson Historical Society)

Hay Baler inspected by 1910 Scottish Agricultural Commission visit to Tocal, Paterson. (Tocal archives).
Note the gear box to allow operation by horse works.
Baler on display at Tocal Homestead (photo courtesy of Brian Walsh)

Pailleux
The Strawmen of Paris
Etienne Petitclerc

Wagon loaded with 850 bales of hay. September 1909. Station Paris-Reuilly (personal collection)

French "pailleux [adjective]: made of straw". Unfortunately, no dictionary gives this word a professional definition. However, for two and a half centuries, it designated the carters who supplied the stables of the French capital with “straw” (pailles) from the large cereal-growing estates on its outskirts,
In the following lines, we will discuss the history of this trade, discover extraordinary transport teams and catch a glimpse of everyday life in this all too little-known trade!

**A touch of history**

Because of its history and its relative distance from the sea, Paris has always kept up important commercial relations with its immediate surroundings, whose resources in food and materials long remained sufficient for its expansion.

**A hubbub of carts**

Of all the agricultural production that supplied the capital, straw and fodder hold a special place.

Straw, in particular, had many uses. Bedding for stables, urban dairies, more or less exotic menageries and even for some dwellings, straw was also used to make cob (daub), to protect packages... Proportionally to the development of urban life, a problem arose as early as the Middle Ages: storage. To the fear of fires was added the inability to protect them from humidity and vermin. The only solution therefore consisted in multiplying small supplies, with a major drawback: adding to the cost of the supply, that of incessant transport.

The accounts of the great abbeys and medieval palaces thus reveal the high sums devoted to deliveries. Another example: in the illustration of two hagiographies of Saint Denis dating from the first half of the 14th century (National Library of France, manuscripts 2092 and 5286) which constitute a real inventory of medieval transport, only that of straw appears 4 times.

This is no doubt how the "sheaves traffic" functioned until the beginning of the 17th century, a period which provides us with a first set of regulatory provisions, behind which we can see the proof of a new importance taken on by these transactions. Following ordinances (in particular that of October 6, 1632, certain provisions of which have never been repealed), royal power acquires the means to monitor quality, flows, sellers and buyers.

If constant cart traffic continued to satisfy demand, river trade also seems to have been important.

**Ever more horses**

In the 17th century, equestrian culture, a pillar of social distinction, underwent a profound change.

While riding-school masters codified French-style riding, hitching in teams became a daily mode of movement and appearance. In 1640, the Police Authorities ("Le Châtelet") estimated that about 10,000 "carriage, harness and saddle" horses were already circulating within its jurisdiction (for 400,000 inhabitants).

However, it is to the Court's move to Versailles that we owe the real...revolution.

As early as 1683, the stables, which accommodated “only” 700 horses, already augured colossal needs to come. They were to house 1,700 horses during the reign of Louis XV and 2,200 in the early 1780s!

“Purveyor” contracts were multiplying. Those for Paris inside the city walls (private and administrative stables) were traditionally reserved for private networks north of Paris. The “Stables Accounts” of Versailles show a shift in trade towards south and west of Paris (Hurepoix and the Mantais regions).

Very few farming operations were actually able to honor large contracts. Only farms larger than 100 hectares could lay claim to this trade, which only concerns harvest surplus: most leases only authorized the sale of straw after substantial reserves had been built up.

It therefore often happened that behind the name of a supplier-farmer, there is a “company” hiding which could pool too-small individual stocks and was financially capable of
maintaining a team dedicated to this transport alone. (Cf. on this subject J.M Moriceau, *The farmers of Île-de-France*, 15th-18th centuries, Editions Fayard, 1998).

At the very end of the 17th century, the French terms *pailleur* or *pailleux* confusingly designate both suppliers and carriers.

In the middle of the 18th century, the growth of the straw-supplying activity was such that innovative and specific agronomic thinking on how to handle it was required in cereal-growing areas. A new mode of seasonal sheep-breeding was adopted. In order to generate significant fodder surpluses, the farmers parted with part of their sheepfold for the winter, when the herds were reduced at the autumn fairs, then built up again in the spring to roam the fields according to the fallows and the harvests.

Since these temporary flocks produced less manure, a solution was found to improve the cultivated lands: bring back the manure from the stables to which fodder was delivered. This system, still attested at the beginning of the 19th century, seems to be rapidly disappearing due to the conversion of cereal surfaces with lower yields into artificial meadows, thus making it possible to maintain substantial livestock farming again.

**The contemporary city, daughter of horses**

After the troubles of the French Revolution, this "straw" activity continued to grow.

In Paris, in 1789, there were more than 20,000 horses (for 600,000 inhabitants), double that around 1850 (when the threshold of one million inhabitants was exceeded). In 1878, there were officially 78,051 within the city walls, and some 105,600 in the immediate periphery. The traffic involved worried the authorities with some 17,000 vehicles in Paris in 1829. There were to be 82,000 in 1909 (including slightly fewer than 16,000 motor vehicles), but road engineers estimated that 430,000 vehicles were entering and leaving the capital every day.

The fodder trade figures were now dizzying. In her masterful study on Paris horses (*Le cheval à Paris de 1850 à 1914*, Ghislaine Bouchet, Éditions Droz, 1993) indicates that before 1860, 6 to 9 million bales of fodder passed through the city’s toll-houses annually. This rose to nearly 20 million bales between 1880 and 1890, before decreasing from 1900 on (15 million in 1910).

Straw followed the same trend: 25 million bales in 1860, around 40 million around 1880-1890, 33 million in 1905.

**A trade under strict control**

The financial, and therefore tax, stakes were understood very early on by the Administration, which submitted the exchanges to its strict control. For the part of the fodder that did not have a buyer before it was transported, there were markets (changing over time) whose operation was highly regulated: it was forbidden to trade in the inns and the adjacent streets, to take a deposit, take out part or unload the goods on the way, to buy to resell on the spot, to introduce tobacco pipes (a notorious fire risk!), other carriages and saddle horses into the square! …

Carters arrested without a duly drawn up consignment note, on stamped paper indicating a particular destination, were fined and the load taken to the nearest market. No wagon cold leave a market without its driver also having a sales slip issued by the official agent, and the same went for unsold goods.

The weight of the bales and the quality of the loads were particularly monitored by the Police Prefecture officials but, considering that these prescriptions were contradictory to the regime of industrial and commercial freedom, this control was repealed in 1865. Sales were henceforth regulated voluntarily between seller and buyer.

Authorization of home warehouses in 1873 completely reformed the fodder trade. Municipal granaries and storehouses were soon no longer needed. In 1878, a single municipal market
was annexed to the horse market on the Boulevard de l'Hôpital, but it closed in 1885, leaving the initiative entirely to private industry.

**Peak use of the horse in the city**

Considered as early as the 1890s, the decline of urban horse-drawn vehicles was well underway by 1910. There were 56,000 horses left in Paris in 1912; the Compagnie Générale des Omnibus handed over its last team on January 11, 1913, when its stables had housed nearly 13,000 horses ten years before!
The replacement of the carriage horse by the "inanimate motor" (moteur inanimé, an expression of the time) was massive in the 1930s. Soon only a few delivery horses remained for rare businesses (ice cream makers, dairymen, coal sellers)... Slaughterhouses (La Villette, Vaugirard) became the biggest consumers of fodder. If road transport and supply remained active it was increasingly taken over by lorries (trucks) and the waggoner-strawmen become lorry drivers.

**The teams**

It is obvious that in just over two centuries, the teams used for commercial transport of fodder changed significantly to meet ever-increasing needs.

No French agricultural vehicle earlier than the late 19th century has survived. The use of archival documents is therefore the only way to observe how vehicles developed. Notarial archives especially (inventories, leases, contracts) provide valuable descriptions for which iconography (paintings, engravings, drawings) still does not testify as precisely.

Until 1650, the only heavy vehicle on the farms around Paris was a cart (4 wheels) known as a brancart, with removable side rails varying according to the type of transport, provided with shafts (brancards), usually harnessed to two horses hitched tandem. The longest wagons reached 18 feet (5.85m). Only these seem to have had a rotating fore-carriage...

In the second half of the 17th century, wagons quickly disappeared from inventories in favor of carts (2 wheels). There were 2 sizes: the common chartil to carry a load of 8 to 9 feet long (2.60m to a little less than 3m long) and the grand chartil for a 12 to 15-foot load (between 4 and 5m). Their description echoes that of the carts we are familiar with.

Around 1680-1690, the large carts took on the name (ambiguous, depending on the province) of guimbarde (long wagon). In the 18th century, transport to Paris was essentially based on these wagons which, paradoxically, as agricultural vehicles escaped the most restrictive provisions of the traffic police (ancestor of today’s highway code). For these larger and heavier models, there are more and more frequently mentions of iron axles (and no longer wooden ones).

At the beginning of the 19th century, wheel rims were still nailed around their circumference (and not iron-rimmed) to prevent wear (ed. note: perhaps “strakes”, Bob Powell). The good roads that led to Paris could resist the repeated passage of heavy carts, but reports alerted the authorities to the disastrous state of the rural roads damaged by these protruding nail heads. Can we see in this more proof of densification of traffic?

For most agricultural vehicles, those for road transport and a good number of commercial wagons, the last quarter of the 19th century was the era of improvement and specialization. With the advent of the "big" draft horses (which did not exist before), new types of wagons were adopted, which were highly perfected and would remain in use until the disappearance of the straw-supplying activity in its horse-drawn phase.

The rest of the discussion will focus on the years 1900 – 1950, based on five personal testimonies (collected too briefly 30 years ago), from my own corpus of 58 photographs and observation of four wagons.
**Geography and typology of hitched teams**

There were three types of “straw” teams, geographically well defined.

- **North of Paris**, drawbar carts (ed. note: fitted with a “pole” or “tongue” instead of shafts, Bob Powell) were usually used. Four horses were normally harnessed there and driven from a seat with crossed lines, more rarely on foot and with a line. Picture 1 and picture 2

![Fig. 1: Postcard (personal collection)](image1)

- **From the east to south-east of Paris**, shaft wagons had a monopoly on road transport, were harnessed to three to five horses in line, led on foot, by line. Picture 3 and picture 4

![Fig. 2: Private collection (Photo by E. Petitclerc)](image2)
• From the south to the west of Paris, there were exclusively large two-wheeled gerbières (sheaf carriers), usually harnessed to three or four horses, driven on foot and by a line. Picture 5 and picture 6
The large carts carried about 800 bales of hay or straw at 5 kg each, a little less for the large gerbières.

**Slices of life**

“...The travel time obviously set the departure time. In any case, we had to get up well before the sun. At a rate of 4 to 5 kilometers per hour on average, it took 6 hours for carters from the most distant farms to reach the gates of Paris and sometimes even more than an hour to reach the place of delivery. The wagons of the strawmen generally passed through the city toll-gates between 6 and 8 o’clock in the morning. Picture 7
In winter, the cold wind and icy rains penetrated to the bones, making your joints ache. Sitting on his simple seat, the strawman was relatively protected by his load but, empty or on foot, he was exposed to the vagaries of the weather. Simple canvas sacks, for example, provided him with a cover that was as economical as it was effective against wind and rain showers. In the summer, the same road turned into another hell: heat, dust, dehydration. Suspended under the wagon, a civière (stretcher) made it possible to transport “clothes” and all sorts of small equipment, horse rations and snacks. Picture 8
The rain was “enemy number one”. We always took great care to lash the car with a strong Y-shaped rope (fixed to the front, the two branches being attached to the rear winch, Fr. moulinet) but when the weather was wet, you had to cover the valuable merchandise with a heavy oilcloth tarpaulin. Picture 9

Once you arrived at your destination, unloading was quick, motivated by wanting to leave as quickly as possible, crossing the "gateway" before noon and starting the road back, where there was a stop where the straw men used to meet up. The horses stopped by themselves in front of the bistro! The break was not supposed to drag on, since the team was expected to take on a new load. Picture 10, Picture 11, Picture 12, Picture 13
Fig. 11: Postcard (personal collection)

Fig. 12: Rare and valuable scene of a team loading a cart in Livilliers (today in the Val-d’Oise) [Sarazin farm, to be confirmed]. In the farmyard, two sturdy horses are enough to manoeuvre this imposing vehicle, but they would need four horses for the road...
Fig. 13: At the entry to Etablissements Marchand in Santeny (today in Val-de-Marne), this wagon seems to be cleverly loaded and tarpaulined, ready to be hitched. It would leave before dawn to supply a Paris hayloft. You can make out two other carts or wagons in the courtyard. Original photograph (personal collection)

The horses were chosen with care: males, bought at 4 or 5 years old, Percherons, Boulonnais, "Normans" (in fact, there were pure Percheron or Boulonnais horses or crossbreeds bred outside the breeds' strict geographic areas), brought back by merchants from Normandy fairs, between Beauce and Perche, from Berry. Generally tall, good walkers, energetic and powerful, they weighed 700 to 800 kilograms, with a tolerance of 850 kg for those who controlled the wagon: "above that, horses drag their weight, no longer the load"! Picture 14
These horses were kept up with care: three daily rations, each made up of 5 liters of oats, half a bale of hay and, in the evening, of refreshing foods such as carrots, beets, moistened bran, linseed cake.
Particular attention was paid to their feet. The shoes, which wore out quickly, were changed every 8 to 10 days, despite initially being thicker than for other horses. In winter, the road became slippery, specially augured shoes (ed. note: drilled and tapped for screw in fittings, punched for hammer in, Bob Powell) with 4 holes (2 at the toe and 2 at the heel) made it possible to screw in crampons (ed. note: called “frost nails” or “sharps” here in Scotland, Bob Powell). But we had to be extra vigilant… Picture 15

Fig. 15: Postcard (personal collection)

The strawmen were proven and serious carters. They occupied a special place in the profession, with a salary equivalent to that of a first carter. The strawman had above all to spare his team. Harmonizing the gaits was essential to avoid exhausting the horses too quickly, as well as adjusting the harness to the "millimetre" in the line of traction (ed.note: enabling all the horses to pull evenly with all their trace chains evenly taut, Bob Powell). You had to especially be careful of the shaft horses (Fr. limoniers, called “wheelers” by Bob Powell) of the large 2-wheeled gerbières (sheaf carriers). Picture 16
Fig. 16: Original photograph (personal collection)

When strawmen were not delivering fodder, they carted wood, fertilizer or grain. The horses never remained inactive, a "walk" was a minimum in order to avoid digestion problems.

Fig. 17: Deliveries were exceptionally interrupted during harvest, a crucial period when the carrying capacity of this *gerhière* (sheaf wagon) was truly appreciable. Their large size and weight made them hard to take onto cultivated land. All the rest of the year, this type of large cart was never used off-road. Postcard (personal collection)

The low number of reported accidents reinforces the idea of the professionalism of straw workers. The greatest danger was from densification of road traffic in the interwar period. In 1935, the road already belonged to the automobile! During the war, strawmen were also targeted by Luftwaffe fighters, and several lost their lives...
When the fodder trade with the center of Paris was decreasing, and before animal draft completely disappeared from “big agriculture”, straw workers found their way back to the fields for a short-lived last attelée (hitching up teams). A few continued behind the wheel of a truck. Many left the horses for the factory, with or without regrets. Although they do not have bad memories of their years on the road, these exceptional carters invariably testify to the hardship of a job that spared men no more than horses. Picture 18

Fig. 18: one of the very first automobile lorry pailleux (strawmen’s deliveries), photographed in 1911 (?) during a Concours Agricole de Paris (Agricultural Competition). Original photograph (personal collection)

Editor’s Thanks: Bob Powell is an unconditional fan of Etienne Petitclerc’s and proud owner of his book Attelages! (Campagne & Compagnie, Editions France Agricole, 2016, 341pp, with many colour and black/white illustrations). Bob kindly added a few comments in parentheses above regarding technical terms in English. The original French version of Etienne’s article is also available on the AIMA website at: https://usercontent.one/wp/www.agriculturalmuseums.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Etienne_Petitclerc_Pailleux2020.pdf
In the 19th century, Paris still had certain bucolic aspects. Until the mid-century, market gardeners grew their produce right inside the capital and the city was circled by two “rural boroughs”, Saint-Denis to the north and Sceaux to the south. Everything was produced around Paris, but the main product was grain, because the capital was never to lack for bread in order to avoid the food shortages and riots that had deeply marked its revolutionary times. Seine valley farmers long were able to resist real estate pressures and industries. This city-country symbiosis might well appear to be a model of reasonable management of the environment today, with our many questions about short supply chains for food distribution or the renaissance of urban gardens that are bringing the produce ever closer to the consumer.

Nordic legends to do with agriculture
Marlene Hugoson and Fredrik Skott

The Map of Nordic Legends (in Swedish: ’Sägenkartan’) is a collaboration between the Institute for Language and Folklore in Sweden (Isof), The Norwegian Folklore Archives (NFS), and the Swedish Literary Society in Finland (SLS). The map tells the legends of giants’ stone-throwing (the folkloristic explanations for glacial erratics), witches, the nixie, and encounters with gnomes, werewolves and the Devil himself. The map consists of 10,000 archive records, collected from archive collections and printed publications on legends. Among the legends, the visitor to the site will also find folklore connected with agriculture, for instance about the harvest (Sw. ’skörd’), the farm (Sw. ’bondgård’), and farm animals (Sw: ’kreatur’, ’kritter’), including horses, cows, pigs, sheep, goats, cats and dogs (Sw: ‘häst’, ‘ko’, ‘gris’, ‘får’, ‘getter’, ‘katt’, ‘hund’).

What is a legend?
Legends are typically orally transmitted tales of how man perceives the world, the past, and how the supernatural is expressed and translated into everyday life. The tales are short, they often describe singular events, and follow a narrative structure when told. Contrary to folktales, the legends also take place in the real world, and are generally retold as the truth – thus claiming belief from the listener. Many legends have a great geographical distribution, while others are more locally embedded. On the Map of Nordic Legends you will also find
other types of storytelling, such as self-experienced meetings with the supernatural, so called *memorat*, narratives of faith, and a folktale or two.

**Collections of the Folklore Archives**
The narratives which make up the Map of Nordic Legends were recorded in the late 19th century. They were generally written down by students, travelling around the countryside, and interviewing the older generation about the past, of life and living in the agricultural society of the 1800s. Locally established persons were also engaged in this wide-ranging documentation.

The focus of the documentation was on what was perceived as national or regional and old, even disappearing. Seen through today’s lens, this gives the collections an exotic aura, an incomplete picture of what people spoke about and believed in. Despite their scope, the collections are comprised of samples, as to who was interviewed and what was recorded. Yet, with awareness of these conditions, the collections still form an important source of knowledge for intangible cultural heritage.

Legends often speak of phenomena, meetings, and people who are perceived as different. The stories often reflect fears of various kinds, as well as prejudice, for example, in the legends about magicians, where ethnic groups and priests are often targeted. The language used sometimes reflects this racism. The legends can therefore be used to shed light on ‘the other’ during the 19th and early 20th centuries, although they do not function as a source of knowledge about how the people portrayed actually led their lives, or what they said or believed, outside the world of legends.

**Legends Connected with Agriculture**
The Institute for Language and Folklore in Sweden (Isof) is a public authority commissioned to give guidance on language planning, and from a scientific standpoint, to research, explain and spread knowledge on language, dialects, folklife, onomastics and intangible cultural heritage in Sweden. On the Map of Nordic Legends, the Isof has made a small part of their archive collections on legends available. One example is the Legend of the farmer who caught three ‘undergroundlings’ in the field where he grew his peas, and was rewarded a great fortune for their release (“De Små i ärt-åkern”, Gotland, Sweden).

The Norwegian Folklore Archives (NFS) was founded in 1914 and has since functioned as an archive for cultural historic material. The collection is now housed by the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages (IKOS) at the University of Oslo. On the Map of Nordic Legends, NFS have made a selection of 19th and early 20th-century records available. One of the legends tells of the man who threw a piece of steel over the church and received 12 fat calves in the following years, but then lost them all when the Hulder [ed. note: forest creatures] called them home (“Huldreku”, Vest-Agder, Norway).

The Swedish Literary Society in Finland (SLS) is a scholarly society for the preservation, study and dissemination of knowledge about Finland-Swedish culture. On the Map of Nordic Legends, SLS have made available parts of the 21-volume work *Finlands svenska folkdiktning* (Eng: Finnish Swedish Folk Poetry), published in the years 1917–1975. The series is divided into eight folkloristic genres, documented in the late 19th century and first decades of the 20th century. The 3,100 legends presented on the Map of Nordic Legends have been collected from volume II:3 *Mystiska sägner* (Eng: Mystic Legends). One of them tells of how the water-nymph served as a farm hand on a farm for a season, yet only asked to keep the scythe he had worked with for wages. With it he then killed all the other water-nymphs, taking their riches – for the profits of works not blessed by man go to the nymphs (“Sjörået tjänar som dräng”, Österbotten, Finland).
A Growing Map
The Map of Nordic Legends contains some 10,000 legends, which is a small part of the archives’ collections. More is to come as new collections are added. You are cordially invited to find out more on Sägenkartan here: https://www.isof.se/arkiv-och-insamling/digitala-arkivtjanster/sagenkartan/sagenkartan/instruktioner-sagenkartan (in Swedish)
Fredrik Skott & Marlene Hugoson, Institute of Language and Folklore, Sweden

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GALLICA (Bibliothèque de France online images) from Journal d’Agriculture Pratique, Tome I, Paris, Maison Rustique, 1859
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