

# Christopher Brown—an English Farmer in Brandenburg-Prussia in the Eighteenth Century

By HANS-HEINRICH MÜLLER

ENGLAND in the eighteenth century undoubtedly had the most advanced and modern system of agriculture in Europe, despite considerable regional variations. Its leading position was generally acknowledged on the continent of Europe. J. H. G. Justi, the well-known German student of public affairs, expressed it thus in 1761: "England is the only country in Europe that can boast of having improved its agriculture and the cultivation of its soil beyond that of any other European nation. The condition of English agriculture, compared with that of our own, is like light contrasted with shade."<sup>1</sup> Many other farmers and economists in Germany, France, and other countries were of the same opinion as Justi. English agriculture clearly served as the model that enlightened farmers most wished to emulate.

After 1750, as prices rose with the onset of agricultural prosperity, it became increasingly evident that output could not keep pace with growing demand, and so the English improvements began to be adopted in feudal Germany. English influence in Germany was first evident in the translation of English books. In 1750 the first translations of works by Samuel Trowell and Philip Miller appeared. Two years later followed Tull's *Horse-hoeing Husbandry*, published in German as *Essays on Agriculture*. Subsequently, translations rapidly increased in number.<sup>2</sup> The writer most widely read in Germany, as on the whole of the European continent, was Arthur Young, whose descriptions of English and Irish agriculture found their way to Germany in the 'seventies.

Strange to say, few translations were published in Brandenburg-Prussia, although the Prussian government gave considerable support to the introduction of English farming methods. However, some important works were printed in Prussia. In 1777 Young's *Political Arithmetic* appeared in Königsberg. Count von Podewils at Gusow, a farmer who was greatly admired by Albrecht Thaer, and to whom we owe one of the few descriptions of farming on a manor east of the Elbe,<sup>3</sup> produced two important translations of William

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. H. G. von Justi, *Von denen Hinternissen einer blühenden Landwirtschaft*, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Graf von Podewils, *Wirtschafts-Erfahrungen in den Gütern Gusow und Platkow*, 4 parts, Berlin, 1801-4.

Marshall's books on agriculture in the counties of Norfolk (1797), and Yorkshire (1800). His father, Count Otto Christopher von Podewils, was for many years an envoy of Frederick II in Petrograd, The Hague, and Vienna, and a private minister of state and war minister. He had already employed certain English agricultural methods at Gusow and Platkow (Oderbruch) in the 'seventies, especially extending the cultivation of clover.<sup>1</sup> In the early 'sixties Johann Christopher Wöllner translated Francis Home's *The Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation*, which appeared in its third edition in 1782. Wöllner was the son of a Brandenburg country parson, and was himself a private tutor and tenant on Itzenplitz's manor, Great Behnitz, in Havelland, and a progressive farmer. He became a teacher of Frederick William II, and an influential reactionary minister. Thus he was one of those peculiar eighteenth-century figures who represented in an unusually clear manner declining feudalism together with the kaleidoscopic brilliance of its contrary tendencies. He was instrumental in the adoption and spread of many English ideas in Prussia. In the preface to Home's *Principles*, he impressively describes the superiority of England's capitalistic agriculture, refers to the advantages of its consolidated estates and the new intensive crop rotations, and recommends the cultivation of lucerne and turnips. The supposed advantages of Prussian agriculture, resulting from its continued system of feudal legal rights, were subjected to devastating criticism. In his *Guide for a Small but Select Library . . . of the Best Books on Agriculture*, which was an annotated agricultural bibliography, the English were represented as "the masters of agriculture."<sup>2</sup> The bibliography itself opens with a review of two English works: *A Compleat Body of Husbandry* by Thomas Hale (London, 1756) and Mortimer's *The Whole Art of Husbandry or the Way of Managing and Improving of Land* (London, 1721).<sup>3</sup> Both books were also translated into German. The former, especially, was in Wöllner's estimation: "a book of husbandry, which, because of its great qualities, leaves all other celebrated economic texts far behind." Even more significant is Wöllner's work: *The Abolition of Commons in the Electorate of Brandenburg, considered in the Light of its great Agricultural Advantages* (Berlin, 1766), which he dedicated in a French translation to the Prussian king.<sup>4</sup> It is infused with the spirit of English agrarian progress. By countless examples drawn from English agriculture—"the high school of agriculture," as he called it—he convincingly defended the enclosure of commons and showed its importance for

<sup>1</sup> 'Nachricht für die Gusowsche Wirtschaft', in *Annalen des Ackerbaues*, ed. A. Thaer, vol. 1, Vienna-Berlin, 1805, p. 438 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Wöllner, *Unterricht zu einer kleinen aber auserlesenen Bibliothek bestehend in einer Anzeige der besten ökonomischen Bücher und derer vornehmsten in grösseren Werken zerstreut befindlichen Abhandlungen über alle Teile der Landwirtschaft*, pt 1, Berlin, 1764, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The first English edition of Mortimer was published in 1707.

<sup>4</sup> The German title was *Die Aufhebung der Gemeinheiten in der Mark Brandenburg nach ihren grossen ökonomischen Vorteilen betrachtet*, Berlin, 1766.

the cultivation of green fodder and root crops, and for the introduction of new systems of cultivation. The work undoubtedly had a great effect on Frederick II, and a lasting influence on Prussian legislation on enclosures. Having the best examples of improvement in England in mind, Frederick II repeatedly designated "everything that goes by the name of commons" as detrimental to the public good, and urged their abolition. And from about 1769 onwards the pace of enclosure was noticeably accelerated, at least on the estates of the nobility and the crown. Finally, it should be mentioned that Wöllner, in his *Essay on the Manuring of Fields without Manure* (1774), gave an account of Tull's efforts and proclaimed himself a pioneer of manuring with marl.<sup>1</sup>

The English literature on husbandry was also reflected in the numerous journals which appeared; several in Hanover were particularly assiduous in spreading news of agricultural improvements. Indeed, Hanover may be seen as the port of entry for English influence.<sup>2</sup>

Familiarity with English agricultural literature prompted both farmers and the Prussian government to imitate the English example. This, of course, produced sharp differences of opinion about methods of practical application, but it also aroused the desire for some first-hand knowledge of English farming. In 1764 Frederick II expressed the wish that "young people of intelligence and understanding, with agricultural abilities and interests" should go to England to gain an exact knowledge of English farming.<sup>3</sup> He commissioned the appropriate authorities, particularly the Chamber of the Electorate of Brandenburg, to choose suitable people from the ranks of crown tenants, including sons of well-known tenants, who would be prepared to spend an extended period in England. Crown tenants, or rather, prospective crown tenants, were deliberately given preference. The young men chosen for the journey were called "apprentices" and on their return were to introduce on to royal estates the farming methods they had learnt from their own observations; they were, of course, wealthy, enterprising, educated farmers, who in their own interests were much more likely to co-operate with the king's intentions to improve Prussian farming than were the members of the aristocracy, whom Frederick considered "too conservative."<sup>4</sup> Thus in 1765-6, at the king's expense, four

<sup>1</sup> The German title was *Versuch zur Düngung des Ackers ohne Düngung*, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Schröder-Lembke, 'Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Gutswirtschaft im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie*, I, 1964, p. 30 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The descriptions of English farming in Brandenburg-Prussia are taken from sources in the German Central Archives, Merseburg section: Gen. Dir., Gen. Dep., Tit. LXIII, No. 4, Tit. LXXX, No. 1; Gen. Dir. Kurmark, Tit. XIX, No. 1, Tit. VI, No. 8, Tit. LXI, Nos. 1-3, Tit. LXVII, No. 15, Tit. LXXIII, Nos. 1-2. Also the Potsdam State Archive, Rep 2, D1801, D1819-1823, D1833-1834, D12641-12643, D14680.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H.-H. Müller, 'Domänen und Domänenpächter in Brandenburg-Preussen im 18. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1965, pt 4, p. 171 ff.; W. Mertineit: *Die Fridericianische Verwaltung in Ostpreussen*, Heidelberg, 1958, p. 112.

sons of tenants toured the English counties of Bedfordshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Herefordshire, Kent, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, and Yorkshire. They prolonged their stay at three farms, at Weymor Grange near Ludlow in Herefordshire, at Chapel Town near Leeds in Yorkshire, and at Battersea near London, which belonged to the famous gardener, de la Rocque.

In frequent reports to the Feudal Chamber and the Silesian minister, von Schlabrendorf, the four travellers gave detailed information about the impressive condition of English farming<sup>1</sup>: they described systems of cultivation, especially alternate husbandry, infield-outfield, and common-field cultivation, methods of cultivating cereals, green fodder, and root crops; harvesting methods; the use of old and up-to-date implements, cattle-breeding, dairy-farming, and feeding methods; conditions of tenure; the pay and conditions of farm workers; and also some urban industries.

The first consequence of this journey was an increase in the cultivation of green fodder and root crops. One of the travellers, appointed shortly afterwards as councillor in the Chamber, had quite plainly convinced Frederick II, by his detailed report, of the utility of cultivating green fodder crops—clover, sainfoin, and lucerne. In 1766, at the king's instigation, the Chamber received from the gardener, de la Rocque, 100 lb. of burnet seed, 100 lb. of lucerne, 30 bushels of rye-grass, 200 lb. of white clover, 100 lb. of trefoil seed, 400 lb. of red clover, and 40 lb. of turnip seed. The bill for the seeds amounted to £41 6s. Experimental planting of the seed from England was undertaken on crown estates at Biegen, Fürstenwalde, and Rüdersdorf in the Electorate of Brandenburg, the great testing ground of Prussian farming. But these estates were chosen less for their suitability from an agricultural point of view than because, as the Chamber wrote, "The experiment in English agriculture must be made on the route to Frankfurt-on-Oder, at Rüdersdorf, Fürstenwalde, and Pilgram on the estate of Biegen, because we [the king and councillors] frequently pass through this district."

'English farming' was taken first and foremost to mean the use of artificial grasses in pastures, and the cultivation of clover, lucerne, sainfoin, 'hop' clover, and birdsfoot trefoil in the fallow year of the three-course rotation, and in out-fields which had previously borne only a small harvest of rye or oats every six to twelve years. But the cultivation of unmanured outfields, which in Brandenburg-Prussia constituted about one-fifth of the total area of arable land, produced no results.

After 1766, the cultivation of green fodder crops was gradually increased on crown land and noblemen's estates, albeit in the face of great difficulties, and

<sup>1</sup> Dr Müller has sent the Editor a copy of this report and it is hoped that it will be translated and published in due course.—Ed.

hindered above all by prevailing feudal relationships in the system of production. Thus Frederick II gradually became convinced of the need to employ English farmers in person, in order to establish English farming successfully. So in 1767 the Prussian ambassador in London, Malzahn, was commissioned to engage a capable farmer who would be able to farm an estate in Prussia on the English model. Malzahn prevailed upon a certain Joseph Wilson, who was prepared to manage a Prussian estate in return for a yearly salary of £150 with free board and lodging. Wilson took the farmstead of Gütergotz on the crown estate of Potsdam, after the process of enclosing the land had been completed. But he did not live up to the hopes set on him. After a year the councillors responsible for the project stated that Wilson was conducting "a disorderly system of farming," and expressed doubts as to his practical knowledge. His knowledge of agriculture was said to consist of "mere theory," gleaned from English books. At the suggestion of the Chamber the king dismissed Wilson on 5 November 1768.

In the same year the English farmer, Christopher Brown, applied for a crown estate in Brandenburg, in order to introduce 'English farming'. Brown had already farmed successfully on the estates of Count Kameke. Count Frederick Paul von Kameke, governor of a castle, was, according to everything that our few sources disclose about him, a forward-looking and enterprising nobleman. As well as the estate of Gottberg near Ruppín, he owned properties at Harnekop, Prädikow, Prötzel, and Sternebeck, about twenty-five miles north-east of Berlin, which remained famous well into the twentieth century for their lovely English gardens; and he was also the founder of a prosperous pottery factory, employing sixty-nine workers and having a turnover of 24,500 talers in 1800. As a very old man, impelled by the "spirit of reform,"<sup>1</sup> he undertook another journey to England, to gain a proper picture of agricultural progress. Kameke must have brought Brown back from this visit. The count drew up a three-year contract with Brown, in which the latter committed himself, for a yearly income of 1,000 talers, to introduce "his own version of English farming." It should be noted here that Frederick Paul von Kameke died during the term of the contract, but that his son Alexander kept conscientiously to the agreement. He, indeed, was the replica of his father, and if anything, even more progressive and better educated. He stood out from the great mass of his hidebound social peers. In the years 1766-9 Brown radically reformed Kameke's estates. At the completion of the contract a four-course rotation was in being which was virtually identical with the Norfolk rotation: (1) turnips (manured); (2) barley, undersown with clover; (3) clover and legumes; (4) rye and wheat. According to all the reports available, the new sequence of crops worked well. The cereals, especially the barley which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. F. von Benekendorf, *Kleine ökonomische Reisen*, vol. II, Züllichau, 1786, p. 328.

followed the turnips, flourished and yielded better than before. Every year a great deal of clover hay and about 400 lb. of clover seed were produced. It was possible to increase the livestock at Prädikow, for instance, from 86 to 146 cows and from 50 to 60 bulls, which also resulted in a significantly larger amount of better quality dung.<sup>1</sup> The seeds, clover, and turnips, were obtained from Yorkshire. Kameke also invited a wheelwright, a saddler, a tanner, and several farm labourers with their families to come from England and make English swing ploughs (Small or Bailey model); harrows with forty-eight or twenty-four iron teeth bent forward, similar to modern harrows; two-wheeled and four-wheeled farm wagons; and leather horse-collars. English farm implements were sold, as well as being used on the count's estates. For example, Kameke sold twenty-one harrows and thirteen swing-ploughs to the crown estates of Biegen, Badingen, Burgstall, Fürstenwalde, and Rüdersdorf. The work was carried out by English labourers with Kameke's own horses, from which we may fairly infer that Kameke had freed the peasants from labour services.

When Brown applied to Frederick II personally for the lease of a crown estate, the Chamber refused in view of the unsuccessful experiment with Wilson. But Frederick was perfectly willing to risk a new attempt when Brown informed him of his experience with Kameke, and also on Swiss estates. The General Directorate was instructed to inspect Kameke's estates, to see "whether the farming system is really any use, or whether this is merely idle talk." The result of the inspection was wholly satisfactory. Councillor Neuhaus assured the king that Brown had indeed organized the estate, as he had often seen it done in England. "Brown deserves a testimonial as a completely practical farmer," he said, and recommended a contract. Frederick Paul von Kameke also supported the plan, and described Brown as a "prudent, industrious, and experienced farmer, especially in the field of English agriculture." With that the matter was settled. Frederick II agreed, and Brown was offered the crown estate of Mühlenbeck, near Berlin. Mühlenbeck embraced two farms and eleven villages, on nine of which the peasants now paid money dues instead of performing labour services. Only at Mühlenbeck and Summt were labour services performed with peasants' horses on the demesnes. However, Summt was leased to the previous chief tenant, so that Brown was concerned only with the demesne at Mühlenbeck. He found the farm suitable for his plans and accepted.

At first Brown demanded only a yearly salary of 1,200 talers, which included 200 talers for the English ploughman, William Mann. But before long, for reasons unknown to us, he decided to farm the whole estate, for which the yearly rent was 5,355 talers, plus caution money of 3,000 talers. It is evident

<sup>1</sup> See the transcript of Graf von Kameke's original report on the introduction of 'English farming' on his estate at Harnekop in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1965, pt 3, p. 122 ff.

from the records that Brown owned only a few properties in England, and did not have a great deal of cash, so he was not in a position to raise the caution money. Count Kameke and his son, who was always a benefactor to Brown, got him out of this difficulty by putting up the necessary sum.

On 9 May 1769, Brown entered upon his tenure of Mühlenbeck. Confident of success, he pledged himself in the lease, which he conditionally signed only in 1771, not only to establish the English four-course rotation and to brew English beer, but also to raise the rent by one-third after six years—an agreement that no Prussian chief tenant had yet risked. The Chamber, in return, granted Brown a salary of 1,000 talers, and also promised 4,532 talers to be used for the erection of new farm buildings and the repair of existing ones.

Brown set to work energetically and reformed the system of agriculture. In the first year he sowed 70 lb. of turnip seed and 400 lb. of clover seed; during the whole of his period of tenure he received about 3,800 lb. of seed from England. After two years the outlines of a Norfolk crop rotation were clearly recognizable. Apart from clover and turnips he also planted tobacco, spurry, and kale. The ploughing was naturally carried out with English equipment—namely, five swing ploughs, ten English harrows, three English wagons, and corn rakes—and his own horses. Peasant labour services, which he demanded with threats of official coercion, were used for the transport of seed, hay, and manure; which proves that even a middle-class farmer from a capitalist state was persuaded of the usefulness of labour services in a feudal, economically underdeveloped country. Brown's farming met with the approbation of the controlling councillors in the early years of his lease, and indeed during the whole period of his tenure. Even the influential minister Derschau, who visited Brown, appeared very impressed by his progress. He judged that "the Englishman is running his farm well, improving the land by his cultivation, and succeeding especially well with the clover crop." Nevertheless, he pointed out that Brown had not yet fulfilled all his obligations. Frederick II, constantly concerned with the progress of the farming at Mühlenbeck, appeared highly satisfied with the information. Brown himself was well aware of this, and managed to gain several concessions from the king, in opposition to the Chamber.

"Since the agricultural improvements on this estate are so successful," Frederick II ordered a group of crown tenants to come to Mühlenbeck, in order to convince them of the utility of English farming methods and to persuade them to introduce them on their own holdings. Most of the tenants involved acknowledged Brown's farming as exemplary. The tenant of the estate at Goldbeck boasted that rye, barley, and clover were "doing very well." The tenant Hagemann from Oranienburg passing judgement on 20 March 1771, declared that Brown was "a great credit." His cultivation, and especially the clover harvests, were "remarkable." He found the English implements very

beneficial. Later Hagemann himself had English iron harrows made, and did a lively trade with them in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Although not all the tenants were prepared to introduce 'English farming' on their land, because it still lay intermingled in common fields, or because they did not have enough suitable labourers and horses, we can still observe on a large number of crown estates the start of the 'English system of farming', which now meant essentially the four-course rotation. And it is certain that Frederick II's famous decision to set apart 100,000 talers for the nobility with smaller incomes and the agricultural towns, and 22,000 talers for the crown lands, to help them in the task of introducing 'English agriculture' more wisely, was taken as a result of the favourable impression made on him by Brown's farming at Mühlenbeck. As he himself declared, "improvements of this kind cannot be made without expense."

Delighted by the king's favour, Brown applied on 5 January 1771, for the crown estate of Schönhausen, which bordered his at Mühlenbeck, claiming that Mühlenbeck was too small "to adopt English farming successfully." Brown proposed from the beginning of his new period of tenure to take over Schönhausen, at a rent almost twice that of Mühlenbeck. The king and Chamber were quite prepared to grant this wish. After a preliminary agreement, Brown came to various arrangements with the tenant at Schönhausen, to facilitate the transition from the three-course rotation to the English four-course. For this purpose he also summoned two English farmers to farm Mühlenbeck under his supervision. His benefactor, Alexander von Kameke, again guaranteed the necessary 4,000 talers needed in caution money. But when the time approached for him to take over the estate, the king and Chamber firmly refused. The reasons for this lay chiefly with Brown's financial circumstances. In 1772 Brown, like all Prussian and German farmers, suffered a catastrophically bad harvest. A large proportion of the cereal crop was ruined. Brown lost a hundred cows, and used up a large amount of money in replacing them. But his dealings were not always open-handed. For instance, he bought hops to the value of £600 in Saxony and Dessau, and resold them in England. He ran an extensive trade in English horses. Brown himself claimed to have suffered considerable losses through this. But the Chamber maintained that he had given his daughter substantial gifts out of these deals: without Brown's support his daughter and son-in-law, Metcalf, would not have been able to rent the imposing estate of Kerstenbruch (owned by von Wolff, proprietor of the biggest textile factory in Berlin). At all events, at the end of the Mühlenbeck lease in 1775, the exchequer presented Brown with a demand for 5,534 talers, consisting of rent arrears and demands unsettled by the previous chief tenant, etc. It was also alleged that he had not fulfilled all his contractual obligations, such as the introduction of English beer-brewing and the building up of the



livestock to the agreed number. Other complaints arose from the perpetual petty warfare that a progressive farmer had to fight with the feudal bureaucracy. Brown was a troublesome person for the Chamber to deal with: he was too liberal in his opinions; he was an Englishman—not subservient. The councillors accused him several times of “insubordination.” Brown, on the other hand, had often complained of being “more hindered than assisted” in the introduction of English agriculture. Even the lord of the manor, Alexander von Kameke, wrote to the minister von Derschau that it was “always dangerous for a foreigner to bring in innovations, however useful,” and that Brown should be advised, “as an honourable man,” to return home.

The financial demands of the exchequer, partially justified though they were, his disagreeable brushes with the Prussian feudal bureaucracy, and the king’s refusal to support him financially, induced Brown, rather too hastily perhaps, to turn his back on Prussia. He fled in secret to the Electorate of Saxony, to rent a crown estate in Reichenberg. But the Prussian king, once respected by Brown, set the Prussian judicial machinery ruthlessly in motion. Warrants of arrest were issued against Brown. By order of the Prussian government, the Saxony police took the English farmer into custody. This time Brown was again successful in fleeing to Bohemia. But after the intervention of the royal and imperial government in Prague, and of the Prussian embassy in Vienna, Brown was finally arrested in Mulda, in the Bohemian district of Leitmeritz. He was then taken to Berlin and thrown into the city gaol, the ill-famed debtors’ prison. Brown stayed in the prison for more than three years “like a murderer,” as he wrote in a letter to Frederick II, and waited for a case to be brought against him. Imprisonment reduced him to beggary. After his release he lived on the estate of Count Kameke, where he died in 1790 as an old man of seventy-three.

It should be stated in conclusion that the catastrophically bad harvest of 1771–2 brought the development of the English four-course rotation to a temporary standstill. But already by the end of the ’seventies or the beginning of the ’eighties there is evidence of a reintroduction of ‘English farming’ on the crown estates of Brandenburg. The system used was mainly a five-course, including a fallow year, and giving preference to potato growing. But various crown estates and private manors also went over to alternate husbandry, sometimes known as ‘improved English farming’, which resulted in a widely different selection of crops according to the soil conditions in Brandenburg. At the end of the eighteenth century isolated estates, such as Gramzow in Uckermark, or Markee in Havelland, had already developed a system of crop rotations that is an essential element of modern agriculture today.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the interesting work by A. Karbe: *Die in der Mark Brandenburg und andern deutschen Provinzen mögliche Einführung der englischen Wechselwirtschaft*, Prenzlau, 1802; also Friedrich, Herzog von Holstein-Beck, *Über die Wechselwirtschaft*, Leipzig, 1803.

English influence on the agriculture of Brandenburg-Prussia in the second half of the eighteenth century was unmistakable. Its principal effects were seen in the cultivation of clover, sainfoin, and lucerne; in the speeding up of enclosure on large estates; and in the introduction of the four-course rotation, later modified to suit local circumstances. The adoption of a crop rotation was decisively advanced by Albrecht Thaer, who thoroughly clarified the concept of English agricultural methods in his written works, especially in his *Introduction to a Knowledge of English Agriculture*,<sup>1</sup> and who from 1804 set an example on his estate at Möglin in Brandenburg, making crop rotations a reality, under capitalistic conditions.

<sup>1</sup> The German title was *Einleitung zur Kenntnis der englischen Landwirtschaft*, Hanover, 1798-1804.

## APPENDIX

ENGLISH BOOKS ON AGRICULTURE TRANSLATED INTO GERMAN<sup>1</sup>

YEAR OF PUBLICATION IN GERMAN	AUTHOR AND TITLE
1737	J. H. and Matthew Hodson <i>Der englische Stallmeister und bewährte Rossarzt; aus dem Engl. übersetzt</i> , Leipzig.
1750	Samuel Trowell <i>Anleitung für einen Landmann oder neue Abhandlung von dem Ackerbau, der Gärtnerei, und anderen merkwürdigen Dingen, welche die Landwirtschaft betreffen; ans Licht gestellt von Sam. Trowell; nebst einem Anhang und vermehrt von Wilh. Ellis. Aus dem Engl. übersetzt</i> , Leipzig.  <i>The Farmer's Instructor; or the Husbandman and Gardener's Useful and Necessary Companion. First begun by Samuel Trowell and now completed with a supplement to every chapter on husbandry; by William Ellis, farmer</i> , London 1747.
1750	Philip Miller <i>Gärtner-Kalender; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von L. W. Büttner</i> , Göttingen.  <i>The Gardener's Kalendar, directing what works are necessary to be done every Month in the Gardens and in the Conservatory</i> , London, 1732.

<sup>1</sup> The English titles and the dates of publication of the *first* editions have been added to the list supplied by Dr Müller, though it is not certain that the translations were made from the first English edition. The editor would like to thank Mr E. J. Collins, Mr A. Fenton, and Mr G. E. Fussell for help in identifying the English originals, though it has not been possible to find them all. The editor would welcome any information that readers are able to supply relating to the missing items.

YEAR OF  
PUBLICATION  
IN GERMAN

AUTHOR AND TITLE

- 1750-66 Philip Miller *Gärtner-Lexikon; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von G. L. Huth, Nürnberg.*  
*The Gardener's Dictionary*, 2 vols., London, 1731-9.
- 1752 Jethro Tull *Abhandlungen von dem Ackerbau; aus dem Engl. übersetzt, Dresden.*  
*The New Horse-Houghing Husbandry*, London, 1731.
- 1753 John Mortimer *Ganze Wissenschaft des Feld- und Ackerbaues; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von Theod. Arnold, Braunschweig.*  
*The Whole Art of Husbandry*, London, 1707.
- 1758 Henry Bracken *Verbesserte Rossarzneikunst, worinnen die Natur und Beschaffenheit eines Pferdes, seine Krankheiten und Heilmittel derselben abgehandelt werden; nach der 7. Aufl. aus dem Engl. übersetzt, Altenburg.*  
*Farrery Improved*, London, 1737.
- 1763 Francis Home *Grundsätze des Ackerbaues und Wachstums der Pflanzen; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von J. C. Wöllner, Berlin.*  
*The Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation*, Edinburgh, 1756.
- 1763 W. Ellis *Vollständige Abhandlung versuchter Verbesserungen, die an Schafen, Weide- und Hauslämmern gemacht worden; aus dem Engl. übersetzt, Halle.*  
*A Complete System of experienced Improvements made on Sheep, Grass-Lambs, and House-Lambs, etc.*, London, 1749.
- 1763-8 Thomas Hale *Allgemeine Haushaltungs- und Landwirtschaftswissenschaft. Aus den sichersten und neuesten Erfahrungen und Entdeckungen geprüft und in Ausübung gebracht, von einer ökonomischen Gesellschaft in England, 5 Teile; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von Freih. Peter von Hohental, Hamburg-Leipzig.*  
*A Compleat Body of Husbandry*, London, 1756.
- 1764-7 John Mills *Vollständiger Lehrbegriff von der praktischen Feldwirtschaft, 5 Teile; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von Dusch und C. F. Jünger, Leipzig.*  
*A New and Complete System of Practical Husbandry*, 5 vols., London, 1763-5.
- 1764-9 *Museum Rusticum; aus dem Engl. übersetzt, 10 Bände, Leipzig.*

YEAR OF PUBLICATION IN GERMAN		AUTHOR AND TITLE
1764-9	John Mills	<i>Museum Rusticum et Commerciale; or, Select Papers on Agriculture, Commerce, Arts, and Manufactures . . . communicated by Gentlemen engaged in these Pursuits. Revised and digested by several members of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, London, 1764-6.</i>
1768	Philip Miller	<i>Abbildungen der nützlichsten und seltensten Pflanzen welche in seinem Gärtner-Lexicon vorkommen, Nürnberg.</i> <i>Figures of the most beautiful, useful, and uncommon Plants described in the Gardener's Dictionary. . . , 2 vols., London, 1760.</i>
1768	Henry, Earl of Pembroke	<i>Anweisung Pferde abzurichten; nach der 2. Aufl. aus dem Engl. übersetzt, Frankfurt-Leipzig-Halle.</i> <i>A Method of breaking Horses and teaching Soldiers to ride, designed for the use of the Army, London, 1761.</i>
1769		<i>Briefe über den schlechten Zustand des Landmanns und über die Mittel ihn abzuändern; aus dem Engl. übersetzt,<sup>1</sup> Soroë.</i>
1772-5	Arthur Young	<i>Sechsmönatige Reisen durch die nördlichen Provinzen Englands, vorzüglich in Hinsicht auf den gegenwärtigen Zustand des Ackerbaues, der Manufakturen und Bevölkerung; nach der 2. Aufl. aus dem Engl. übersetzt, 4 Teile, Leipzig.</i> <i>A Six Months' Tour through the North of England. . . , 4 vols., London, 1770.</i>
1774	W. Ellis	<i>Landwirtschaft; aus dem Engl. übersetzt, 2 Teile, Leipzig.</i> <i>Ellis's Husbandry abridg'd and methodized, 2 vols., London, 1772.</i>
1775	Arthur Young	<i>Ökonomische Reisen durch die östlichen Provinzen von England; nach der 2. Aufl. aus dem Engl. übersetzt, 3 Bände, Leipzig.</i> <i>The Farmer's Tour through the East of England, London, 1771.</i>
1776	William Bailey	<i>Die Beförderung der Künste, der Manufakturen und über die Handelsschaft; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von J. Kennedy, München.</i> <i>The Advancement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, London, 1772.</i>

<sup>1</sup> The English original of this book has not been traced. No author is given in the German translation but many of the letters are signed by Jacob Barhoppe and Richardson. The names Harpax and Lord Simples also appear.

YEAR OF PUBLICATION IN GERMAN		AUTHOR AND TITLE
1777	James Clark	<i>Anmerkungen von dem Hufschlage der Pferde und von den Krankheiten an den Füßen der Pferde</i> , Leipzig. <i>Observations upon the Shoeing of Horses. . . , together with a New Inquiry into the Causes of Diseases in the Feet of Horses</i> , Edinburgh, 1775.
1777	Arthur Young	<i>Politische Arithmetik; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von Chr. Jacob Kraus</i> , Königsberg. <i>Political Arithmetic</i> , London, 1774.
1777		<i>Versuche, die Landwirtschaft betreffend, von einem Landwirt; aus dem Engl. übersetzt,</i> <sup>1</sup> Leipzig.
1778	George Fordyce	<i>Anfangsgründe des Ackerbaues und des Wachstums der Pflanzen; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von F. X. Schwedianer</i> , Wien. <i>Elements of Agriculture</i> , Edinburgh, 1765.
1780	Arthur Young	<i>Ökonomische Reisen durch Irland, nebst allgemeinen Betrachtungen über den gegenwärtigen Zustand dieses Reichs; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von J. J. Volkmann</i> , 2 Teile, Leipzig. <i>A Tour in Ireland. . .</i> , London, 1780.
1780	William Gibson	<i>Abhandlungen von den Krankheiten der Pferde und ihrer Heilung; nach der 2. Aufl. aus dem Engl. übersetzt von J. G. C. Koch</i> , 2 Teile, Göttingen. <i>A new Treatise on the Diseases of Horses</i> , London, 1751.
1780	Philip Miller	<i>Vollständige Anleitung zur Wartung aller in Europa bekannten Küchengewächse, aus dem Engl. übersetzt von F. H. H. Lueder</i> , Lübeck. This was a combination of <i>The Gardener's Dictionary</i> , and <i>The Gardener's Kalendar</i> . See under 1750.
1781	Alexander Wilson	<i>Über den Einfluss des Klimas und Pflanzen und Tiere; aus dem Engl. übersetzt</i> , Leipzig. <i>Some Observations relative to the Influence of Climate on Vegetable and Animal Bodies</i> , London, 1780.
1787	Samuel Ferris	<i>Über die Milch. Eine Preisschrift der Ärzte zu Edinburg; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von C. F. Michaelis</i> , Leipzig. <i>A Dissertation on Milk</i> , London, 1785.

<sup>1</sup> The English original is not definitely established but it may be *Rural Improvements, or Essays in the most Rational Methods of improving Estates, by a landowner* [i.e. Joseph Wimpey], London, 1775.

YEAR OF PUBLICATION IN GERMAN		AUTHOR AND TITLE
1787	J. Twamley	<i>Anweisung, englische Käse zu machen und den Obstgarten recht zu bestellen; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von D. C. F. Michaelis, Frankfurt.</i>  <i>Dairying exemplified or the Business of Cheesemaking, Warwick, 1784.</i>
1790 and 1802	Arthur Young	<i>Annalen des englischen Ackerbaues und anderer nützlichen Künste; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von S. Hahnemann und Joh. Riem, 3 Bände, Leipzig.</i>  <i>Annals of Agriculture, London, 1784-1815.</i>
1790	James Clark	<i>Abhandlungen von Verhütung der Pferdekrankheiten, welche ihren Grund in fehlerhafter Beschaffenheit der Ställe, des Futters, des Wassers, der Luft und der Bewegung haben; aus dem Engl. übersetzt, Wien.</i>  <i>A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases incidental to Horses, from bad Management in regard to Stables, Food, Water, Air, and Exercise. . . , Edinburgh, 1788.</i>
1795-9	Erasmus Darwin	<i>Zoonomie oder Gesetze des organischen Lebens; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von J. D. Brandis, 4 Teile, Hannover.</i>  <i>Zoonomia; or the Laws of organic Life, 2 vols., London, 1794.</i>
1796	Joseph Hodskinson	<i>Einfacher und nützlicher Unterricht für Landleute oder verbesserter Methode der Behandlung des Ackerlandes; aus dem Engl. übersetzt, Halle.</i>  <i>Plain and useful Instructions to Farmers; or an improved Method of Management of Arable Land . . . , London, 1794.</i>
1796		<i>Abbildung und Beschreibung einer neuen englischen Maschine zur schnellen Abführung des Heues von den Wiesen etc., erfunden von Joh. Middleton; aus dem Engl. übersetzt und herausgegeben von Leonhardi, Leipzig.</i>
1796	Brymstohn	<i>Rezepttaschenbuch oder allgemein fassliche Anweisung, die Krankheiten der Pferde zu heilen; nach der 8. Aufl. aus dem Engl. übersetzt,<sup>1</sup> Leipzig.</i>
1797	William Marshall <sup>2</sup>	<i>Beschreibung der Landwirtschaft in der Grafschaft Norfolk; aus dem Engl. übersetzt vom Grafen von Podewils, 2 Teile, Berlin.</i>  <i>The Rural Economy of Norfolk. . . , 2 vols., London, 1787.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Another edition or another book by Brymstohn was published in the same year (1796) entitled *Rezepttaschenbuch für Pferdliebhaber, aus dem Engl. übersetzt von L. E. W. Romwei, Thal-Ehrenbreitstein.*

<sup>2</sup> The German translation, strangely, gives the author as 'Humphrey Marshall'.

YEAR OF  
PUBLICATION  
IN GERMAN

AUTHOR AND TITLE

- 1797      Finstohn      *Der aufrichtige Taschenschmidt oder praktische Anweisung zum zweckmässigen Beschlag der Pferde; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von F. J. Fricklar, Neuwied.*
- 1797      H. Kirkpatrick      *Über den Kartoffelbau in Grossbritannien; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von F. G. Leonhardt, Leipzig.*  
*An Account of the Manner in which Potatoes are cultivated and preserved, and the uses to which they are applied in the Counties of Lancaster and Chester. . . , London, 1796.*
- 1799      George Pearson      *Über die Kuhpocken; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von J. Fr. Küttlinger, Nürnberg.*  
*An Inquiry concerning the History of the Cowpox; principally with a View to supersede and extinguish the Smallpox, London, 1798.*
- 1799      Alexander Hunter      *Grundzüge eines vernünftigen Feldbaues; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von B. v. Salis, Altona.*  
*Outlines of Agriculture, addressed to Sir John Sinclair, bart, York, 1795.*
- 1800      Robert Somerville      *Vollständige Übersicht der gewöhnlichen und mehrerer bisher minder bekannten Düngemittel und deren Wirksamkeit; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von C. A. Wichmann, Leipzig.*  
*Outlines of the Fifteenth Chapter of the Proposed General Report from the Board of Agriculture. On the subject of Manures [with Addenda] drawn up for . . . the Board of Agriculture, London, 1795.*
- 1800      J. Anderson      *Abbildung und Beschreibung eines englischen Milchhauses und seiner äusseren und inneren Bauart, begleitet mit einer Abhandlung über Kuhmelkerei, besonders in der Absicht, Milch von der schönsten Qualität zu bekommen und Butter von der vorzüglichsten Art daraus zu machen; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von Chr. A. Wichmann, Leipzig.*
- 1800-I      William Marshall<sup>1</sup>      *Beschreibung der Landwirtschaft von Yorkshire; aus dem Engl. übersetzt vom Grafen von Podewils, 2 Teile, Berlin.*  
*The Rural Economy of Yorkshire . . . , 2 vols., London, 1788.*
- 1800-I      John Middleton      *Beschreibung der Landwirtschaft in der Grafschaft Middlesex; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von K. A. Nöldechen, 2 Teile, Berlin.*  
*View of the Agriculture of Middlesex . . . , London, 1798.*

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, page 133 above.

YEAR OF PUBLICATION IN GERMAN	AUTHOR	TITLE
1800	James, Earl of Findlater <sup>1</sup>	<i>Landwirtschaftliche Mannigfaltigkeiten und Ackerbauerfahrungen, nach den neuesten Versuchen englischer Ökonomen, herausgegeben von einem englischen Landwirt, der Theorie und Praxis vereinigt</i> , Prag.
1801	James, Earl of Findlater	<i>Beschreibung der Königlichen Wirtschaftshöfe zu Windsor; aus dem Engl. übersetzt</i> , Chemnitz.
1801		<i>Neue Erfindungen, wie man mitten im Wintermonat Spargel, Melonen, Gurken, Erdbeeren, Radisen, Rosen, und andere Vegetabilien ohne Mistbeet erziehen könne; aus dem Engl. übersetzt</i> , Berlin.
1802	John Hunter	<i>Bemerkungen über die tierische Ökonomie; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von K. F. A. Scheller</i> , Braunschweig. <i>Observations on certain parts of the Animal Economy</i> , London, 1786.
1802	W. Moorcroft	<i>Beschreibung aller bisher gebräuchlichen Methoden des Hufschlags der Pferde; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von F. Beck</i> , Hannover. <i>Cursory Account of the various Methods of shoeing Horses hitherto practised; with incidental Observations</i> , London, 1800.
1807	R. W. Dickson	<i>Der praktische Ackerbau oder vollständiges System der verbesserten Landwirtschaft, herausgegeben von A. Thaer, 2 Bände</i> , Berlin. <i>Practical Agriculture; or, A Complete System of Modern Husbandry: with the Methods of Planting, and the Management of Livestock</i> , 2 vols., London, 1805.

<sup>1</sup> This was James, the seventh earl, who was born in 1750 and died in Dresden in 1811. No publication by this author in English has been found, but this work first appeared in French under the title *Mélanges agronomiques rédigés d'après la pratique et les expériences des meilleurs fermiers anglais*, Leipzig, 1799. It is possible that Findlater in this and the following publication was the translator and not the author.