

Issue 20 | January 2011

Above – A gun position on a formershoot- now an ecosystem in itself (see below)

The Historical Ecologist, and author of From Peat Bog to Conifer Forest, Ruth Tittensor calls for more collaboration between rural and natural historians.

Left: Historic working sheep stell, in its working moorland landscape, Burnhead, Ayreshire.

Rural history, ecology and land management



The word ecology has been given many meanings. I find the most useful definition is: the branch of biology concerned with inter-relationships of plant and animal populations and their environments. Ecology is based on tracking energy flow through ecosystems from the sun, via photosynthesis, plants, animals to decomposers and its dissipation. Ecological relationships are determined by both the biology of a species and external factors such as geology, soils, waters, climate, topography and interacting species.

Time is also an ecological factor. Ecosystems change as time passes, through the inter-relationships of species via energy flow and external factors. Humans have contributed to temporal ecosystem change, whether we regard them as part of, or outside, nature. Fifty years of research by palaeo-environmentalists, ecologists and archaeologists has shown that there are few ecosystems on this planet which have not been affected by humans during the past ten thousand years.

Those of us who analyse complex systems involving ecological-historical scenarios call ourselves Historical Ecologists or Environmental Historians. Human and natural factors may be difficult to disentangle! As an Historical Ecologist, my aims are to analyse how the past has contributed to present ecological structure and function – and thus to inform land management and rural well-being of both human and wild populations.

When humans interact with an ecosystem, the component flora, fauna, soil and even local weather react and may be altered. Human history may then be

affected by those ecological changes. I would therefore expect Rural Historians and Historical Ecologists to have similar subjects of study. Both study domesticated plants (eg. hay grasses or forest trees) wild plants (eg. heather, oak or hazel); wild animals (eg. red squirrels or red deer); domesticated animals (eg. sheep, fallow deer or pheasants); feral plants and animals (eg. grey squirrels, rabbits or sycamore).

We also analyse how a species was used or affected by humans at a given time. For instance, after 1954, myxomatosis altered rabbit populations, their predatory buzzards and the downland on which they fed. We study ecosytems, their structure and functioning, for instance nutrient budgets of heathland or peat bog hydrology after draining.

Rural Historians and Historical Ecologists also study how a landscape or location was used at a given time or times and how humans and wild species reacted in terms of population changes or movements. For instance, when British moorland is afforested with Sitka spruce, the wild species complement changes dramatically and human use discontinues.

The methods which Rural Historians and Historical Ecologists use to gain evidence for their theories are also similar. They include studying archive texts and maps, analysing data in published books and oral history. Historical Ecologists also use data from archaeological and palaeo-environmental studies. Both disciplines take a 'scientific' approach by attempting to check the validity of the evidence collected.

Continued on the back page.

Also in this issue

The Warrens of Breckland – 2

Reflections on Rural History 2010 – 4

A return to New Zealand - 6

Conference noticeboard – 4

News -7

Publications – 7



The warrens of Breckland

'A large portion of this arid country is full of rabbits, of which the numbers astonished me'

Anne Mason,
Project Officer for the
EH-sponsored Breckland
Warrens Survey describes
some of its results.
The project has recently
achieved a CPRE award.

So wrote John Evelyn after a visit to Euston Hall, Suffolk in 1677. The rabbits he observed were not wild but rather the products of commercial warrens, areas set aside for the farming of rabbits for meat and fur and where the coneys (the term 'rabbit' was only used for young rabbits in the medieval period) were nurtured, protected and trapped by warreners. Established on an area of dry, sandy heathland soils in south-west Norfolk and north-west Suffolk known as the Brecks, the warrens were a way of making productive use of land marginal for long-term arable cultivation.



The Breckland Society, set up in 2003 to encourage interest and research into the natural, built and social history of the East Anglian Brecks, was awarded a Regional Capacity Building Grant of £12,100 from English Heritage in March 2008 to increase understanding of how the Breckland warrens were established and managed and to consider both the archaeological and the documentary evidence for them. I was fortunate enough to be appointed project manager, having already undertaken my own research into the Breckland warrens and written a report on them for the Forestry Commission. Though we knew that there were over 20 warrens scattered across the Norfolk and Suffolk Brecks, and that some, such as that at Mildenhall, had been studied on a limited basis, we were aware that many warren sites had not been visited nor assessed in recent years, if ever.

Working with the Forestry Commission, which now owns the land on which many of the warrens are located, the Society trained a team of thirty volunteers to search for and record the surviving features on the ground. These include the banks that were constructed around each warren to help keep the rabbits in, and the lodges that were built so that the warrener could keep watch over his charges. In addition, further volunteers received training (from the Norfolk Record Office) to enable them to carry out archival research, tracking down documentary evidence of warrens and warrenrelated activities. All their findings were recorded on standardised survey forms which have fed into a new database on the warrens of the Brecks. In addition, those trained in oral history techniques interviewed ex-warreners and ex-employees of the fur factories in Brandon, where the rabbit skins were processed until the early 1960s, recording memories which would otherwise have been lost to history.

Of the 26 warrens identified, we have been able to establish a medieval date of origin for eighteen of them. Of these, many were in monastic ownership: Freckenham was owned by Rochester Abbey; Mildenhall by the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds; Lakenheath and Brandon by Ely and Wangford by Old Warden Abbey in Bedfordshire. Thetford Priory held the lease of Westwick (Thetford) Warren from the Duchy of Lancaster and also had Santon and Snarehill Warrens. Manorial records have yielded the names of individual warreners as far back as 1295 when Ealfred/ Galfrido is listed as 'le warrener' on a deed of transfer of lands in Freckenham

In fact, for twelve warrens we have been able to establish an unbroken series of owners from the earliest known date to when the warren ceased to be managed as a farmed unit, the first time that this has been done.

The project has identified three 'new' warrens: Feltwell Warren mentioned in the 1813 Enclosure Act; Santon Downham Warren on a map of 1778 and Barton Mills Warren in a lease of 1754. It has also verified the existence of other warrens whose only previous reference was a name on a map, such as 'Warren Hill at Oxborough on the current OS map and now confirmed as a warren in an estate survey of 1666. Other warrens have so far remained elusive: Culford Warren is mentioned in a lease of 1435 but the only subsequent reference found so far is to a lodge on Hodkinson's 1782 map of Suffolk, while Ickburgh rather similarly has a lease of 1476 and then is mentioned in a mortgage deed of 1742.

The 'lodge' was the building where the warrener lived and the volunteers visited all known lodge sites, with the exception of three on private land. They recorded the diverse archaeological evidence with the two standing buildings on Mildenhall and Thetford



Warrens, the fragmentary corner section of Ickburgh Lodge; medieval masonry included in later farm buildings at Eriswell, Methwold and Santon and only slight earthworks at Downham High Warren. Scatters of building material on the ground confirmed the two lodge sites at Broomhill and High Wrong Corner.

Mapping and recording the perimeter banks was no easy task, particularly as this involved walking up to ten miles. The Project was able to draw upon the *Sites and Monuments Records* but nevertheless found new sections of banks hitherto unrecorded and this was the first time that a systematic survey of the dimensions and condition of the banks had been undertaken. As with the lodges, standardisation was revealed, with the banks averaging ten metres wide at their base and up to two metres in height and originally topped by a gorse hedge. On nine warrens, a series of three or four additional banks, parallel to the perimeter bank, were found and archival evidence supports the theory that these were trapping banks.

Because of this project, much more is now known about the management practices of the warreners. These included the use of internal enclosures for growing crops to feed the rabbits; the trapping methods; areas called clappers set aside for the breeding does; measures to combat poaching and control vermin and natural predators; the maintenance of stock ratios through the breeding and culling of the rabbits; the supply of markets for the meat and skins and the profits and losses.

The value of the rabbit to the economy of Breckland has been highlighted, with the warrener as one of the highest paid manorial officials. Seasonal labour was required for the autumn and winter trapping and culling work. The repair of the banks and the lodges, the making of nets, the breeding of ferrets and the training of the terrier and lurcher dogs were other

sources of employment. In Brandon and Thetford, from the 1770s to the 1950s, there were factories where the rabbit fur was processed, mainly for the hat trade and, along with the women outworkers, these employed up to six hundred people. Oral history interviews conducted as part of the project have preserved the memories of employees just in time!

The interest, enthusiasm and commitment of the Breckland Society's volunteers has helped ensure that this project has made a very real contribution to understanding of the history of warrens in the Brecks. However, their work would not have been possible without the help and support of the Forestry Commission; the Norfolk and Suffolk Archaeological Units; the West Suffolk and Norfolk Record Offices; numerous museums and libraries; the Elveden and Shadwell Estates and English Heritage.

The project's results are available on a database as well as in the form of an illustrated report. Both are accessible on the Breckland Society's website **www. brecsoc.org.uk** and limited copies of the report are available as hard copy. In addition, a leaflet 'Discover the Warrens of the Brecks' is under preparation which will guide visitors to where lodge sites and banks can be viewed. Discussions are in hand about a more detailed publication on the warrens, their social history and their place in the rural economy of Breckland.

The database will be updated as and when further material comes to light but it is already clear that the project has highlighted the significance and value of a unique archaeological and archival resource which should be protected for future generations. The evocative presence of the warren banks and the lodge sites in the landscape and the documents in the record offices and libraries show that warrening was a dominating and defining influence on the history and heritage of Breckland.

Reflections on Rural

Professor Richard Hoyle, the first president of the newly formed European Rural History Organisation (EURHO) describes the highly successful conference in Brighton at which the Organisation was launched.

The conference exceeded all expectations. I think we would not have been disappointed with only 100 present. In fact we had 250 delegates, and over 200 papers, which forced us to extend the conference into a fourth day, run five parallel sessions, and even – heaven forbid! – evening sessions. It was worth it. We wanted to show the diversity as well as the intellectual power of rural history. The odd complaint that there was too much to choose from seemed to us to be entirely happy one.

Though I say it myself, Rural History 2010, held at the University of Sussex over four days in September, was a terrific success. When we launched the idea of an international conference, we had no idea whether anyone would come. But many people assured us that the time was right and so it proved to be.

We welcomed a good number of speakers from Britain. But this was a genuinely international conference, with speakers from all over Europe (fewer from eastern Europe than we had hoped, as the recession in university finances took hold). We also had a good contingent of North Americans and colleagues from Japan. We welcomed friends from as far afield as China, India, Korea, Argentina and New Zealand. And together they produced four days of conversation, debate and networking. Email addresses were exchanged as well as ideas and references. As someone said later, it was like going to an extended family get-together for the first time and discovering who the relatives were.

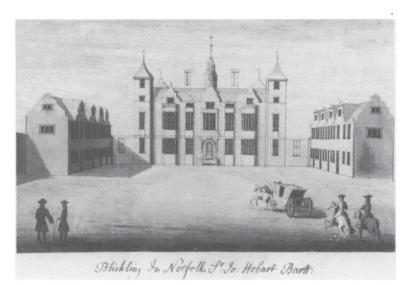
To reiterate one point: the range of rural history being presented was staggering. The conference proved that there is no one school, no one methodology, no right way to conduct research in rural history, and

no wrong way either. What was especially heartening was the number of younger scholars present. In one of the very last sessions of the conference, which I chaired, we had two papers from established historians, each of the highest quality, and two from postgraduates – perhaps more narrowly positioned – but both of them taking the discipline to places where it had not been before. And so it was throughout the conference.

Five parallel sessions make it sound as if the conference was utterly splintered. In fact we all attended two excellent plenary lectures given by friends of the Society: Bruce Campbell from Queen's University Belfast and Jules Pretty from Essex. Both offered challenging tours de force: Bruce putting medieval England into its rightful context in medieval Europe while showing how its wealth compared with that of the modern world; Jules describing how agriculture offers

CONFERENCE NOTICEBOARD

British Agricultural History Society Spring Conference



BLICKLING HALL The south from

The BAHS Spring Conference will take place at Easton College, Norfolk. 11 – 13 April 2011.

Speakers will include Professor Mark Bailey (University of East Anglia) on the decline of serfdom in England between 1350 and 1500, Dr Gavin Bowie on farming the southern chalklands between the 13th and 17th centuries, Dr Mark Rothery (Northampton) on the Leugh family of Stoneliegh Abbey, Dr Samantha Williams, (Cambridge) on Bedfordshire and the Old Poor Law and Dr Dulce Friere from the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon. There will be a New Researchers' Session on the Tuesday morning and the annual field trip will visit Blickling Hall and will be led by Dr David Thackray of the National Trust.

History 2010 ...









Top left: Gérard Beaur (Paris) (with Anne-Lise Head-Konig, Geneva) Top right: Richard Hoyle speaks presidentially (with John Broad) Bottom left: Janken Myrdal (Uppsala) and Bas van Bavel (Utrecht) Bottom right: Leen van Molle (Louvan), Bruce Campbell (Belfast), Jules Pretty (Essex) and Nicola Verdon (Sussex)

hope for the world's growing population. And, before Jules's lecture, the conference took an important step forwards with the launch of the European Rural History Organisation, provisionally called EURHO, whose first purpose will be to bring the extended family together again every two or three years. The British Agricultural History Society has acted as a sort of midwife to EURHO, with the established European rural history networks as its parents, and it has fallen to me to be its first President. Hence I had a dual duty at the conference dinner - welcoming colleagues both as conference delegates and as citizens of a new organisation.

The European society, it is fair to say, is under construction. It has aims, a committee and officers, the beginnings of a website, but as yet no money. There is much to do, and so you may hear little of it for a few months whilst arrangements are put in place. But we will, during 2011, announce the location of the *Rural History* 2013 conference.

To return to *Rural History 2010*: each will have his or her own favourite recollections. Mine include being locked out of the lecture building for the evening session, while the cream of Rural History patiently waited – still talking – in a twilight drizzle while a security man was found to let them in. And that leads to the biggest memory of all: the buzz, the excitement of conversation at mealtimes. For four days it was, quite literally, all talk. And then, refreshed in mind and exhausted in body, we went our separate ways to make this great subject even greater.

On behalf of the BAHS, the lead organisers were John Broad, Nicola Verdon and myself. Paul Brassley offered support at every turn, as did two successive presidents of the Society, John Chartres and Alun Howkins. Mark Overton played devil's advocate on the finances. Many more friends than can be named offered help along the way. We were also grateful to the CORN network organised by Erik Thoen for choosing the occasion of the conference to launch the

first of their new series of volumes on the rural history of the North Sea area, and for sponsoring the first reception. The University of Sussex, and especially Heidi Swain, offered support in many ways. The success of the conference was largely due to Catherine Glover, who acted as conference administrator: she made the whole conference a class act, and set standards for others to emulate. The photographs which accompany this report are hers too. A final thanks goes to Tunnicliffe's cows, long since eaten, universally admired.

► More photos can be found on the Rural History 2010 website, www.ruralhistory2010.org

▶ A few copies of the conference handbook containing abstracts of all the papers are still available for £7.50 including postage. Also there are a few conference mugs and t-shirts left. Please e-mail r.w.hoyle@reading.ac.uk if interested.

A return to New Zealand: a new perspective on sharefarming

Elizabeth Griffiths, joint author (with Mark Overton) of Farming to Halves (2009), returns to old haunts and describes the system as it is practised in New Zealand. The publication of Griffiths' and Overton's book, Farming to Halves: The Hidden History of Sharefarming in England from medieval to modern times, (Macmillan, 2009) continues to provide new insights into the development of sharefarming, not only in this country, but in New Zealand often cited as the best model of the practice.

My knowledge of sharefarming was based on my own experience in the Waikato, the heart of New Zealand's dairy industry, in the mid 1970s when 50/50 sharemilking was the most popular method of entry into dairy farming and acquiring a farm. The ladder to farm ownership was well established. A young man, or perhaps a couple, would start their career contract milking for a few seasons and save up the deposit for a herd. For a relatively modest sum and with cheap credit from the Rural Bank, they could then buy about 100 dairy cows and sign a sharemilking agreement with a farmer who provided the land and the fixed capital; every month they would share the milk cheque from the Dairy Company 50/50. After a few more years, the new sharemilkers would move on to a bigger herd of perhaps 250 cows, and a few years later, sell half the herd to finance the purchase of a small farm. Piece by



Gordon Kirkham on his farm at Lake Arapuni, New Zealand. (Brother Jim was resting inside having been gored by a bull.)

piece dairy farmers built up their capital gradually acquiring larger herds and farms, and finally repeating the cycle with their own sharemilkers; in this way a regular supply of young and vigorous entrants into dairy farming was maintained. So resilient and flexible was this system that the New Zealand dairy industry survived the removal of agricultural subsidies in the 1980s and 1990s and remains one of the most successful exporters of dairy produce in the world. The Review

of Sharemilking, undertaken by the New Zealand Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in 1996, had shown that with the rising cost of land and livestock it was taking longer for sharemilkers to achieve their goal, but nothing prepared me for the situation I found on the ground when I returned to New Zealand for a visit last September.

As I arrived at the farm where we had started as contract milkers in 1975, responsible for 210 Jersey cows on 159 acres, I could hardly believe my eyes. My first shock was seeing the once brand new 12-a-side herring bone milking parlour, where I had spent so many very early mornings, standing derelict, and the owners' wooden farmhouse with veranda, tennis court and neat flower beds, looking neglected and forlorn. It was now all part of a much larger concrn. The farm itself had been transformed with newly divided pastures and a huge state of the art rotary cowshed designed to milk the maximum cows in the minimum time. Heaps of palm kernels and tankers carrying liquid nitrogen to and fro provided further clues to a revolution in dairy farming. And there were no sharemilkers in sight. These vast herds were milked by contractors, managers and waged labour. So what had happened over the last

What quickly became clear was that the two boys I had known on the farm next door had become dairy farmers on a substantial scale, buying out neighbours and consolidating farms, pouring capital into the business. Jim, the eldest born in 1957, provides a perspective. His father, an old friend and the object of my visit, had taken over the family farm in 1960. Jim remembers him buying 29 hectares in 1970 for \$1200 per hectare and complaining to his mother at having to pay \$100 a head for heifers, 'far too much'. (£1 = 2NZdollars; 1 hectare = 2.47 acres). In 1982, sharemilking with their father, Jim and his brother, Gordon bought 20 hectares across the road from 'my farm' at \$5000 per hectare and paid \$500 per head for the cows. In 1985 the family bought a farm for Gordon of 98 hectares at \$8500 per hectare. In 1992 Jim and his wife, Debbie were able to buy 30 hectares, next to 'my farm', paying \$13000 per hectare and milking 70 cows. In 1995 they completed the process of consolidation, buying 'my farm' of 55 hectares for \$18,000 per hectare.

The removal of subsidies and full exposure to market forces has meant that since the mid 1980s income has been much less predictable producing huge variations and instability, which young farming families with large borrowings struggle to absorb. In this context, Debbie developed her own business rearing surplus dairy calves for others to fatten for the beef market; in

2009 she had 2000 calves showing a profit of \$150–£200 each. Now, they are sufficiently well placed to take advantage of the market. In 2001 they built the first large rotary cowshed and increased the herd from 600 to 700 cows; the shed cost \$850,000 to build. In 2006 they built a second rotary costing this time \$1.2m. Since then both cow and land prices have risen with land costing about £11,000 per acre, significantly higher than prices in the UK.

Clearly, these escalating land values and large herds are not conducive to small scale 50/50 sharemilking: farmers want a better return on their capital and sharemilkers struggle to buy the cows, never mind find the finance to buy a farm. As in England, farm ownership is now more or less out of the reach for those without access to family capital and support. And yet sharemilking survives as it is a profitable option for rural workers. However, the trend is towards equity partnerships, incentive schemes and large scale enterprises with sharemilkers often investing their savings in commercial property rather than farmland. New Zealand, with a population of 4 million and dependent on agricultural produce for its livelihood, will always have to offer real incentives and types of sharefarming to those that get up early and milk the cows.

NEWS: Tim Newfield

In 2009 Agricultural History Review published a paper by Tom Newfield of McGill University on the European Cattle Plague of the early fourteenth century ('A cattle panzootic in early fourteenth-century Europe', AgHR 57 (2009) pp115-90). We are pleased to announce that Tim's paper was awarded the Young Scholar's award of the World Association for the History of Vetinary Medicine, which besides a cash prize, included an invitation to speak at the Society's conference at Antalya, Turkey, in September.

PUBLICATIONS

Building History; Weald and Downland Open Air Museum 1970-2010 – the first forty years

Edited by Diana Zeuner and published by the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum, price £14.95.

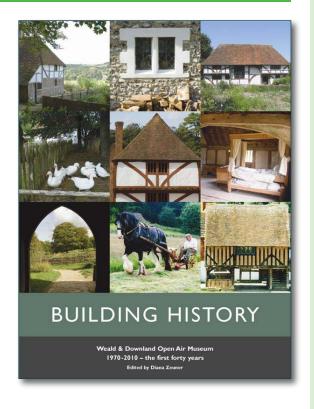
This lavishly illustrated book chronicles the history of the museum from the struggles of the 1960s, its rapid growth in the '70s and '80s, to its consolidated position of the 1990s. It should be an inspiration to all those in our embattled rural rural life museums working, against the odds to preserve something of our agrarian past

A peep into agricultural history

British Farmer and Grower, the membership magazine of the National Farmers' Union, includes a regular feature on the history of agriculture.

Each month, a page of the publication is given over to a key moment in farming from the past 100 years, or focuses on a figure who influenced the future of the industry. The page, called 'Times Past', includes images of machinery, interviews with members of the trade union and a simple competition which is entered by dozens of farmers every month.

► If you are interested in receiving a copy of the magazine, call NFU Callfirst on 0870 845 8458. Ben Pike, Agricultural Publications Editor, NFU





Continued from page 1.



Muirkirk Upland Ayreshire – an historic peat bog with SSI status for its exceptional flora and fauna.

Current ecosystems and landscapes usually contain clues about their past. For instance, the oak trees clothing the slopes of Ben Lomond, Scotland were regarded as neglected scrub woodland by forest surveyors. Further investigation showed that the trees' club-footed and multi-stemmed features hid distinct age-classes – which suggested past human use. Analysis of archives showed that these woodlands had been managed as oak-coppice-and-standards on distinct rotations, and had supported tan-bark and timber industries. Their conversion to conifer plantations was eventually halted when their historical importance and dependent industries were understood.

A one-time commercial, 900-acre 'rabbit warren' (farm) in Sussex, provided a complex ecological and historical scenario, part of the multidisciplinary Chilgrove Valley Landscape Project. From ecological, archaeological, oral and archive evidence we deciphered, as far as possible, past and present ecology and land use providing a basis for decisions on future management of the whole area: giving a truly historic living landscape.

These examples show that rural history and historical ecology can work synergistically, not only contributing to the other discipline but, as I will suggest, to contemporary society's problems and conundrums.

Statutory rural agencies and land managers, however, tend to see 'ecology' and 'history' as separate, static sites of importance in their landscapes. To save and maintain them, they are usually fenced and official maps show them with signifying lines around. Examples in Britain are Sites of Special Scientific Interest, Special Protection Areas, Scheduled Ancient Monuments and Listed Buildings.

Landowners are expected to leave alone their special sites or to carry out procedures – imposed by statutory authorities – separately from their overall land management. With this approach, a habitat or historic site is isolated from the remaining landscape. Any landscape (or its components) outwith the maps' official lines is usually called the general countryside and is officially assumed to have little interest or importance, allowing them to be available for development or removal. The personal relationship of communities to their local environment and their feeling of 'place' are disregarded.

Another result is that historical and ecological sites are regarded as distinct when, often, they coincide.

For instance ancient rabbit warren boundaries have exceptional hedge vegetation. A Wealden woodland 'The Mens' contains the meeting point of three Saxon parishes, wood banks, derelict dams and hammer ponds associated with its past use. Pollarded and parkland trees also have immense ecological and historical importance.

Modern farmers, foresters, country-sportsmen, walkers, research academics, developers – and local residents – are actually contributing to the present and future history and ecology of rural landscapes. Today's new farm ponds, community woodlands, restructured state forests, woodland burial-sites, roadverge-heathlands, re-wetted peat bogs, new access tracks, visitor centres, bunk barns, immense cattle-houses, farm-shops ... will be the historic landscapes of tomorrow when the countryside moves on yet again .



During the 20th century afforestation was only allowed on the poorest land which was often peat. In the 21st century peat lands have been prioritised for windfarms instead. (They have less cultural capital than cathedrals.) Whitelee windfarm, near Glasgow is the largest windfarm in Europe with over 200 wind turbines.

I believe understanding the past is relevant to managing our present and future rural landscapes. This leads me to suggest that rural historians and historical ecologists could work more closely in consultations with politicians, journalists, land managers and the public, on potential crises in food, water, nature conservation, competition for land and resulting social problems.

Peat landscapes offer an example. For over half a century, ecologists have been attempting to explain and demonstrate to society the values of intact peat ecosystems. At the same time, rural historians have written about peat's cultural, practical and economic value to communities past and present. But historians and ecologists together, could have brought an earlier political recognition of its great importance to society and the planet. Its value as a carbon sink would then have been 'value-added' rather than its raison-d'être and more intact peat lands might exist.

Rural and ecological history, together, hold a huge amount of information useable in current times, particularly because there is escalating interest and expertise in undertaking modern versions of past land-uses and food production.

And they both have a large amateur contingent at the grass roots whose local knowledge, research and practical skills could be better recognised and harnessed in practical ways.

What are we waiting for?

Rural History Today is published by the British Agricultural History Society. The editor will be pleased to receive short articles, press releases, notes and queries for publication.

Articles for the next issue should be sent by
31 May 2011 to
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Membership of the BAHS is open to all who support its aim of promoting the study of agricultural history and the history of rural economy and society. Membership enquries should be directed to the Treasurer, BAHS, c/o Dept. of History, University of Exeter, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, Exeter EX4 4RJ. Enquiries about other aspects of the Society's work should be directed to the Secretary, Dr Nicola Verdon, Department of History, Arts A, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, BN2 88H Tel: 01273 67844 n.j.verdon@sussex.ac.uk