

Family, land and the household economy: Social and economic landscapes of rural society in early modern Europe

Conference held at the University of Iceland, Reykjavik, 8–9 June 2023

Programme and practical information

INSTITUTE OF HISTORY

General information

The two-day conference will take place at the University of Iceland, Reykjavik, 9-10 June 2023. The conference is held under the auspices of the Institute of History and is organized by the research project *The pillars of rural society. Family and household economy in early eighteenth-century Iceland.* The members of the project are Gudmundur Jonsson (project leader), professor of history, Árni Daníel Júlíusson, researcher at the Institute of History, Björgvin Sigurðsson, a historian and a software developer, Ingibjörg Jónsdóttir, associate professor in geography, Ólöf Garðarsdóttir, professor in social history, and Sigríður Hjördís Jörundsdóttir, Ph.D. student.

Organizers: Gudmundur Jonsson (<u>gudmjons@hi.is</u>) and Oskar Gudlaugsson (<u>osg5@hi.is</u>)

Local travel

The bus companies Flybus and the Airport Express offer bus trips from Keflavik International Airport to the City of Reykjavik, see <u>http://www.kefairport.is/english/to-and-from-the-airport/buses/</u>. Buses leave right outside the terminal every 35 or 45 minutes after arrival of each flight. The trip to the BSÍ Bus Terminal in the centre of Reykjavík takes approximately 45 minutes. Alternatively, a taxi is a convenient but more expensive means of travel from the airport.

Meals

Lunches are served in the University restaurant Háma. Coffee and snacks are served during the morning and afternoon breaks outside the conference room.

Dinner on Thursday will be held at restaurant *Caruso*, Austurstræti 22, at 18.30, and on Friday at restaurant *Kol*, Skólavörðustígur 40, at 19.00. Both restaurants are about 15-20 minutes' walk from the University.

The Conference Venue: Oddi, University of Iceland

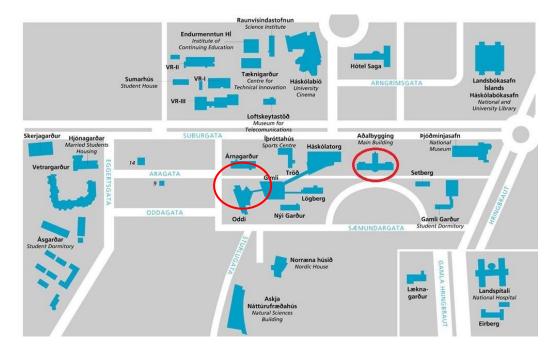


The conference will be held at the premises of the University of Iceland, 8–9 June 2023. Meetings take place on the second floor of the Social Sciences building Oddi, room A202.

The keynote lecture will be delivered by Prof. Eric Vanhaute, Ghent University, in University Centre, room HT101. Afterwards there is a

reception hosted by the Institute of History in the Library Room in the same building.

The University of Iceland is situated in the heart of Reykjavík, the capital of Iceland. Founded in 1911, it is the only comprehensive university in Iceland, a progressive educational and scientific institution that rests on a solid foundation. It is Iceland's largest community of knowledge and renowned in the global scientific community for its research. The University of Iceland is a state university with about 15,000 students in 25 faculties, offering opportunities for study and research in over 400 programmes in the humanities, sciences, and social sciences, and in professional fields such as theology, law, business, medicine, deontology and engineering.



Map of University of Iceland Campus

Programme

Thursday 8 June - Oddi 202

9.00-9.15	Guðmundur Jónsson	Welcome address	
9.15-10.15		Session 1. Chair: Guðmundur Jónsson	
	Elisabeth Engberg	In a downward spiral? Subsistence crisis and long-term resilience and vulnerability in 19th century northern Sweden	
	Astrid E.J. Ogilvie	Climate and Society in Early Modern Iceland	
10.15-10.30		Coffee break	
10.30-12.00		Session 2. Chair: Ólöf Garðarsdóttir	
	Gunnar Thorvaldsen	18th century remarriage mirrored in the 1801 census for Norway	
	Elena Glavatskaya	"Rural Penalty": Russian women's life trajectories in 19th century Urals	
	Evan Roberts	Kinship, proximity, and the neighborhood: New ways of understanding local connections in big data	
12.00-13.15		Lunch at Háma	
13.15-14.15		Session 3a. Chair and discussant: Evan Roberts	
	Guðmundur Jónsson	Family and household economy in early eighteenth century Iceland: Project status Economic inequality in preindustrial Iceland: A study of wealth distribution in 1703	
	Árni Daníel Júlíusson and Óskar Guðlaugsson	The structure and ownership of landed property in Iceland in 1703	
14.15-14.20		Short break	
14.20-15.40		Session 3b. Chair and discussant: Evan Roberts	
	Ingibjörg Jónsdottir and Óskar Guðlaugsson	Settlement patterns and peasant ecotypes in Iceland around 1700	
	Ólöf Garðarsdóttir	Population structure, household formation and life course transitions during times of crisis: The case of Iceland 1703	
		Discussion	
15.40-16.00		Coffee break	
16.00-16.45	Eric Vanhaute	Keynote. The making and unmaking of peasantries Room HT101	
17.00-18.00		Reception hosted by the Institute of History. Library Room, Main Building	
18.30		Dinner at restaurant Caruso, Austurstræti 12	

Friday 9 June - Oddi 202

9.00-10.30		Session 4. Chair: Eric Vanhaute			
	Knut Dørum	The transformation of land ownership in Norway c. 1660-1850			
	Magne Njåstad	Non-agrarian economic activities and local elites in rural societies			
	Petri Talvitie	Landless labourers and the dissolution of commons in Finland in			
10.30-10.45		Coffee break			
10.45-12.15		Session 5. Chair: Astrid E.J. Ogilvie			
	Merja Uotila	The expansion of the settlement in the Finnish parish of Iisalmi at the end of the 18th century			
	Carolina Uppenberg	Domestic decisions: bargaining power, local labour markets and gendered labour organisation in 19th century Swedish semi-landless households			
	Cormac Ó Gráda	The Irish Abroad: How Did They Fare? New Insights, New Data			
12.15-13.30		Lunch at Hama			
13.30-14.30		Session 6. Chair: Elisabeth Engberg			
	Marcin Solarz, Tomasz Panecki and Martyna Zarzycka	Toponymy and Anthroponymy of Polish Villages in the Carpathian Foothills as Evidence of the Durability of German Rural Colonization from the Middle Ages and Early Modernity			
	Piotr Kolpak and Marta Raczynska-Kruk	"To Bring Everyone Together for Common Love and Harmony". The Role of the Village Court in the Everyday Life of the Polish Peasantry in the Modern Era			
14.30-14.50		Coffee break			
14.50-15.50		Closing session: General discussion			
		Cormac O Grada: Conference comment. – Discussion. Wrap up			
19.00		Dinner at restaurant Kol, Skólavörðustígur 40			
Saturday 10 June					

9.00 -18.00

Excursion: Thingvellir and Borgarfjorður

List of participants

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Abstracts

Session 1

Thursday 8 June, 9:15 – 10:15 Chair: Guðmundur Jónsson

Elisabeth Engberg

In a downward spiral? Subsistence crisis and long-term resilience and vulnerability in 19th century northern Sweden

In rural 19th century Sweden, failed crops were an ever-present threat towards the household economy. Grain was staple food, and a wrecked harvest could give rise to a subsistence crise that could have both short- and long-term consequences for health, well-being, and household sustenance. For some households, these ended up in being difficult, but passing experiences, while they for others had lingering effects that remained also after the immediate crisis was over. And for others yet, frequently those already living on the margins, the crisis became a gateway into a permanent poverty. This paper examines the short and long-term consequences of the two largest 19th century-subsistence crises: the well-known famine in the 1860s, particularly affecting Finland, Northern Sweden and the Baltics, and the almost forgotten crisis in the 1830s, with almost a decade of failed crops in Northern Sweden. Using longitudinal population and income- and taxation data from the Demographic Data Base, Umeå University, the study addresses how the household economy, in terms of property ownership and socio-economic determinants, including dependency upon poor relief, were affected by these significant subsistence crises in a long-term perspective. Were the households who were hit hard in the 1830s less able to cope also in the 1860s, and if so, which factors determined resilience and vulnerability in times of crisis? The area under study is Skellefteå, a vast rural parish in northern Sweden where industrialization was slow. Until the early 20th century, the area was dominated by a traditional rural economy characterized by independent smallholders sustained by farming, hunting, fishing, and forestry.

Astrid E.J. Ogilvie

Climate and Society in Early Modern Iceland

The general view of the past climate of Iceland has been that the period from around 1600 to 1900 was more or less uniformly bad, with heavy sea-ice incidence, except for a few short and insignificant warm spells. However, a scrutiny of the extensive documentary historical evidence that is available from around 1600 onwards indicates that there was, in fact, a great deal of climatic variability. Thus, for example, although there were many periods that were dominated by harsh climate and sea ice off the coasts, from ca. 1640 to ca. 1680, for example, there is an interesting period of relatively mild weather with little sea-ice incidence. Focusing on evidence from a variety of documentary sources, this presentation will highlight some of the variations in Iceland's climate during ca. 1600 to 1800 in tandem with socio-economic and political developments. It will be suggested that both climatic and social elements were causal factors in the many famines and difficult times that were experienced in the early modern period of Iceland's history. The presentation will also include a discussion of the documentary sources that provide evidence for these conclusions.

Session 2

Thursday 8 June, 10:30 – 12:00 Chair: Ólöf Garðarsdóttir

Gunnar Thorvaldsen

18th century remarriage mirrored in the 1801 census for Norway

The 1801 census is the only enumeration to contain information on the number of times spouses had been married in Denmark, Iceland and Norway. This is a shortcut to knowledge about this demographic factor, which can ordinarily only be gleaned from a longitudinal population register. The paper will analyse the occurrence of remarriage, normally after widowhood rather than divorce, from the ca. 800 000 people who lived in the countryside, the 80 000 urban dwellers and some 8000 civil servants in Norway by the end of the 18th century. Remarriage will be cross-tabulated by gender, age groups, social groups nationally and to some extent by parish or province. Hopefully, it will result in further comparative research on the other parts of the Danish Kingdom.

Elena Glavatskaya

"Rural Penalty": Russian women's life trajectories in 19th century Urals

Our paper focuses on the peculiar features of the demographic regime in 19th century Perm' province in the Urals. The sex ratios were balanced in all age groups until the age of marriage, but the infant mortality rates were high; similar to the European IMR in the early modern period. Our hypothesis is that this demographic combination originated during the 16th and 17th century colonization process and when the Russian State directed its modernization project towards the Urals in the 18th century. The former resulted in the conservation and archaization of the economic mechanisms and hence demographic regime, while the 18th century reforms intensified the exploitation of the agrarian population, diverting especially the men from agriculture, and shifting agricultural work to women. Infant mortality (as well as the birth rate) peaked, significantly exceeding even the high levels in archaic agrarian societies of the past.

The paper is based on statistics extracted from the first modern Russian census of 1897; the Potashinskaia volost' podvornye opisi (household registers) of 1805 and the Sarana settlement 's revizskie skazki (tax censuses) of 1852 and 1858, focusing on female life trajectories.

Evan Roberts

Kinship, proximity, and the neighborhood: New ways of understanding local connections in big data

The rural plains and growing cities of North America around the turn of the twentieth century appear quite distant from early modern Europe. Yet the questions addressed by demographic and social historians are often quite similar. In both early-modern Europe and fin de siècle North America demographic historians are concerned to understand how people organized their family lives within their household, and their connections beyond household walls to neighbors and family nearby.

Between the 1960s and 1990s social historians in North America tended to study these issues within single communities, producing hundreds of dissertations and monographs on particular communities ranging from rural counties, neighborhoods, and small towns of several thousand people through larger team projects focused on large cities. The focus on people in a place neglected the stories of those who migrated beyond the borders of the initial community. The growing availability of complete databases of historical North American censuses has enabled a return to the study of small communities, and family connections beyond household walls. In this talk I will give an overview of how large-scale data has opened new opportunities for the study of communities and kinship in North American demographic history. Data on a grand, and perhaps overwhelming scale, has stimulated the development of new methods and measures for understanding kinship and family networks.

The talk will draw on my experience in working with the IPUMS projects to develop longitudinal data from the American censuses. The new opportunities for research on small groups and close connections with big data will be illustrated with examples from work on Canadian migrants to the United States, a group that dispersed widely across the United States and whose experience was difficult to follow in the classic geographically focused community studies.

Session 3a

Thursday 8 June, 13:15 – 14.15 Chair and discussant: Evan Roberts

Guðmundur Jónsson

Family and household economy in eighteenth century Iceland: Project status. –

Social stratification and distribution of landed property in 1703

This paper is a contribution to the burgeoning field of research on preindustrial inequality and presents preliminary results of an ongoing study of distribution of property in Iceland at the beginning of the 18th century. We briefly examine several characteristics of social stratification in Iceland and compare landownership to that of the other Nordic countries. We proceed to discuss social stratification within the peasantry in terms of landholdings emphasising that ownership of land was not the only determinant of the peasant's living standards; the size and quality of his landholding whether an owner occupancy or tenancy, was a crucial factor. Lastly, we use popular inequality measures, landed property distribution by deciles and the Gini coefficient, to measure the distribution of wealth in Iceland in 1703. In contrast to many European studies of wealth distribution in the early modern period the study encompasses all householders in the country, not just landowners, and includes not only taxable real estate but all landed property.

Árni Daníel Júlíusson & Óskar Guðlaugsson

Structure and ownership of landed property in Iceland in 1703

In this talk we explore the relationship between the structure and ownership of land and the main sectors of the economy, livestock farming and the fisheries. The bulk of the population made a living from agriculture while fishing was the mainstay of the coastal communities in the Southwest and the Snæfellsnes peninsula. Farm size varied enormously around the turn of the 18th century, a quite a few large manors, *höfuðból*, existed alongside very small farms, subtenancies and cottages. By the 18th century coastal communities had taken on different forms in terms of the farm size and structure, property 's management and taxation. The difference between coastal and inland communities manifested itself in many ways, not least in landownership with crown properties being heavily concentrated in fishing regions and church property and private properties in the principal farming regions.

The ownership structure of the country was mainly the result of two upheavals, in the 13th century when large landowners, aristocratic and church, established themselves, and in the 16th century when the church property changed hands with the reformation, to royal power. In 1703 about 95% or more of all farmers were tenants or sub-tenants, paying rent to the landowners, both land rent, livestock rents and on some large manors in the south and west also duties. We discuss the Icelandic land property system and the distribution of landed property in comparison with the other Nordic countries.

Session 3b

Thursday 8 June, 14.20 – 15.40 Chair and discussant: Evan Roberts

Ingibjörg Jónsdóttir & Óskar Guðlaugsson

Settlement patterns and peasant ecotypes in Iceland at the beginning of the 18th century

One of the focal points of the research project "The pillars of rural society" has been the establishment of a Historical GIS on farms in Iceland in the 18th century. The aim is to study the relationship between location, resources and numerous farming attributes. Each farm is represented by GIS vector data; points with standardised attributes from the 1703 population census in Iceland, as well as the livestock census and the Register of estates 1702-1714. In some cases, old maps, place names and aerial photographs were used to locate abandoned farms.

The dataset has allowed us to study the settlement pattern in Iceland in the 18th century: The extent or limit of habitable areas, distribution and density of farms, which areas have been abandoned since this time – and which ones have thrived? This information has been connected to landscape, vegetation, proximity to main centres at the time, as well as specific events changing parts of the land (eruption, sandstorms, avalanches, floods).

Finally, drawing on the work of the Swedish anthropologist Örvar Löfgren on peasant ecotypes, defined as 'a pattern of resource exploitation within a given mode of production and social formation', we identify five ecotypes in the Icelandic economy which reflect the regional variations in economic activity, land use and resource exploitation. The classificatory framework is primarily based on sheep/cattle ratio, and the economic significance of fishing in each district.

Ólöf Garðarsdóttir

Population structure, household formation and life course transitions during times of crisis: The case of Iceland 1703

Throughout Europe, late 17th century was characterized by harvest failures and high food prizes. In Iceland, living conditions were extremely harsh for most years between 1685 and 1703 with reduction in livestock and poor fishing. Iceland was part of Denmark at that time and in 1702 the Danish authorities decided to carry out a census in Iceland as a part of an investigation into the conditions of the population with assessing the scale of pauperism as the main objective. The census was carried out in 1703 and is unique in the way that it includes the entire population of a country at such early date.

In this talk the 1703 census is used to shed light on population structure, household formation and life course transitions in an isolated society that had been marked by famine mortality. Generally, mortality levels during times of famine are highest among the very young and the elderly and mortality levels are higher among men than women. Furthermore, fertility tends to fall. The population structure in 1703 indicates that this also applied to Iceland around 1700. The sex ratio was low, and the proportion of children and elderly lower than in any other census during the 18th and the 19th centuries. Despite this fact, a notable proportion of children and youth were in the position of communal paupers and the transition into old age was also marked by dependence on poor relief. The recession also affected the age groups 15-34 years.

Instead of taking on a position of servant young adults often were paupers or even vagrants. Furthermore, age at marriage was elevated and few were married before the age of 30.

Keynote

Thursday 8, 16:00 – 16:45

Eric Vanhaute

The making and unmaking of peasantries: from global frontiers to the final enclosure.

As from the late European Middle Ages peasantries have been made and remade within multiple projects of imperial expansion, state formation and economic restructuring. Capitalist expansion premised on new forms of enclosure of nature, land and labour redesigned the global countryside. Direct incorporation thoroughly altered ecological relations, resulting in a diversification of systems of access to nature, land, and labour, of systems of production and reproduction, and of survival and coping mechanisms. From a global point of view accelerating agricultural frontier expansion and uneven incorporation and commodification processes fundamentally changed the relationship between peasants, village societies, landlords and states, ultimately resulting in the final enclosure of peasantries, their lands, and their natures.

Session 4

Friday 9, 9:00 – 10:30 Chair: Eric Vanhaute

Knut Dørum

The transformation of land ownership in Norway c. 1660-1850

In Norway, a unique system of land property emerged in the 1200s and the 1300s, due to the fact that landowners were seldom interested in running and cultivating their land properties, but instead concentrated on leasing it out and obtaining their main income through the annual land rent. The right of property was not linked to actual tracts of land, but to shares in the land rent, which is the background of the so-called *skyldeie* or 'the land rent ownership'.

In Norway, the decisive transformation into predominant peasant self-ownership took place from the1660s onwards, when massive blocks of crown lands were sold to an

increasing number of peasants, accompanied by resales in the hands of the social elites – burghers and state officials – to peasants. This paper seeks to detect the consequences of this transition with respect to the concept of land ownership. In other words, how capitalistic definitions and terms dealing with the one and only owner superseded the premodern understanding which contained various types of ownership and different kinds of proprietors.

Magne Njåstad

Non-agrarian economic activities and local elites in rural societies

The paper will deal with the non-agrarian economic foundations of elites in marginal agrarian societies. Two cases will be explored, not so much as to give definite answers, but to formulate relevant questions for research. One case will be Jämtland, a region of high-altitude farming in the interior of the Scandinavian peninsula. The other will be Saami pastoral nomadism primarily connected to reindeer herding. The period in question will be the late medieval and early modern era, basically the 15th to 17th centuries.

Themes to be questioned are different resources available in the mountains and forests (fur, metals, fish, etc.), the "privatization" of these resources, the value of the resources, trading networks, credit-relations, the crown's ability to tax these resources and their trade. In the second case comes the added dimensions of indigenous history and methodology. A crucial point will also be to define what constitutes elites as to economic and political resources and social networks.

Petri Talvitie

Landless labourers and the dissolution of commons in Finland in 1750–1850

The paper discusses the impact of enclosure on rural worker households' land access in Finland after the 1750s. Prior to the land reform (Sw. storskifte), landless labourers were allowed to collect hay from the edges of the fields and gather firewood from the commons. Additionally, farmers typically let the labourers to graze their animals on stubble fields and common pastures, and some agricultural workers had small cornfields or potato patches at their disposal. The paper seeks to analyze what happened to these customary rights after the privatization of the commons during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The investigation is based on court records and land surveying documents from two different districts: Ala-Satakunta jurisdiction in Western Finland and Kuopio jurisdiction in Eastern Finland. Kuopio jurisdiction was still dominated by primitive slash-and-burn cultivation during the early nineteenth century.

The impact of enclosure on labouring households' living standards has been widely debated in the historical and social sciences from the nineteenth century onwards. According to some historians, the loss of the commons with the emergence of market-oriented agrarian production increased inequality in the European countryside making the worker households more dependent on wage earnings. On the other hand, in some regions the implementation of enclosure seemed to increase employment opportunities in agriculture. Overall, however, there is relatively little empirical research available on the topic especially outside the British Isles.

Session 5

Friday 9, 10:45 – 12:15 Chair: Astrid E.J. Ogilvie

Merja Uotila

The expansion of the settlement at the end of the 18th century in the Finnish parish of Iisalmi

In a highly agrarian society, land ownership and thus the amount of arable land was an important prerequisite for livelihood. Therefore, economic development was reflected in the increase in the number of farms. In the parish of Iisalmi, which was only permanently populated in the 16th century, the 18th century was a time of settlement expansion, as there was still room to establish new farms in Eastern Finland. Reasons for the increase in the number of farms can be found in population growth, an economically better and peaceful period and execution of a land reform. Especially this great division of land that had started at the latter part of the 18th century increased the number of farms and thus enabled population growth. The state both encouraged and guided the expansion of the settlement, although the actions of individuals also played a major role in establishing new farms. Land division documents and maps, especially concerning the great division of land, are good source material for studying settlement development in Finland.

Carolina Uppenberg

Domestic decisions: bargaining power, local labour markets and gendered labour organisation in 19th century Swedish semi-landless households

This paper follows individual crofters' (Sw: torpare) households' time allocation and decision making. Through poll tax registers and catechetical examination registers, the number of household members, if households employed servants, and the proportion of men and women will be investigated. This will be analysed theoretically through the bargaining power concept, which means that the decisions made in the household about time allocation and labour organization are understood in relation to the gendered characteristics of the local economy and of the crofters' contract. In practice, the demand for female labour in the contracts will be compared to the number of females in the household. To what extent will households adjust their gender composition to the different demands for labour that affected the crofter's household (i.e., for the landowner, for the market, for subsistence)? The household reconstructions will be made for the three time periods 1810-1820, 1850-1860, 1890-1900 in order to make possible an analysis of change over time.

Cormac Ó Gráda

The Irish Abroad: How Did They Fare? - New Insights, New Data

This talk will address the progress (or the lack of it) of Irish immigrants to the United States in the early and mid-nineteenth century and to England over a longer period (from the 1860s to the present). In the case of the former, the focus will be on the social mobility of immigrants to New York City, as reflected in (a) the individual-level records of a well-known savings bank and (b) an exercise using a range of census-linking algorithms. In the case of the latter, probate and infant mortality data are used to measure the convergence of Irish immigrants and their descendants to the English mean over a century and a half. The rather different socio-economic trajectories of the two groups will be discussed in light of the historical literature.

Session 6

Friday 9, 13:30 – 14:30 Chair: Elisabeth Engberg

Marcin Solarz, Tomasz Panecki & Martyna Zarzycka

Toponymy and Anthroponymy of Polish Villages in the Carpathian Foothills as Evidence of the Durability of German Rural Colonization from the Middle Ages and Early Modernity

Territorial changes in Poland in the middle of the 14th century, i.e. the incorporation of the neighboring south-western Ruthenian principalities to Poland, in particular Red Ruthenia, resulted in the beginning of a great settlement action along the former border. The action was partly based on German settlers and as a result of mixing with Polish settlers a community was formed with a name with two meanings: Deaf Germans or Forest Germans (in Polish: Głuchoniemcy, in German: Taubdeutsche or Walddeutsche). The Deaf Germans / Forest Germans community was fully polonized by the end of the 18th century throughout the whole settlement region. It is, therefore, a Polish community: the German ethnicity was subsequently combined with Polish socio-cultural contexts and people. The most lasting relics of medieval settlement action are toponyms and surnames of settlers' descendants. The paper will discuss the spatial distribution and initial typology of toponyms that are the remains of the 14th century Polish-German settlement in the Polish-Ruthenian borderland. Also, on the example of 2 villages from this region - Ołpiny and Szerzyny - the continuity and change of settlers' surnames in the 16-21 century will be shown.

Piotr Kolpak & Marta Raczynska-Kruk

To Bring Everyone Together for Common Love and Harmony". The Role of the Village Court in the Everyday Life of the Polish Peasantry in the Modern Era

This paper aims to show the phenomenon of village courts operating in the Carpathian Foothills area of the Polish lands in the everyday life of peasants in the modern era. The practice of village courts had its origins in the period of the introduction of German law in Poland in the 14th century, but it also reflected ancient traditions specific to Slavic peoples. All this led to the emergence of a residual form of rural self-government, which gave the community the tools of social control and influence over everyday village life, including participation in the regulation of customary norms or supervision of the process of property inheritance. The source base used by the speakers is the rich and multi-contextual manuscript material stored

at the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, the State Archives in Cracow, and the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, among others. We rely, for example, on extensively preserved tax registers from modern times and dozens of village court books that contain a great deal of context on the daily life of Polish peasants from the 15th to the late 18th centuries.