Survey of recent historical works on Belgium and the Netherlands

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GENERAL

This bibliographical survey has again been compiled by a number of Dutch and English historians whose names are listed at the end of the article. Most works reviewed here appeared in 1977. Regrettably, the section dealing with publications on Belgian nineteenth and twentieth-century history was again not completed in time for inclusion. A select list of works written in English on the history of the Low Countries concludes the review.

The absence of a good general survey of Dutch and Belgian history has long been regretted. A synthesis in three volumes, covering the times from the earliest habitation to 1970, produced by Dutch and Belgian historians, is therefore most welcome. The first volume deals with prehistoric and medieval times. Although written for the general public it is by no means a re-hash of accepted opinions. Not all chapters are equally well-balanced or well-written but each provides a competent, up-to-date and sometimes quite new treatment of the subjects dealt with. H.T. Waterbolk and S.J. De Laet present in an original arrangement the latest views on developments from about 500,000 B.C. until the end of Roman days. A. D'Haenens's account of social and political structures in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods is less satisfactory, but the period from the eleventh to the end of the fourteenth century receives admirable treatment from H.P.H. Jansen and L. Milis, starting with a general introduction on political history, followed by succinct surveys of the political history of each separate province. The chapters on social and economic history from the twelfth century onwards, by the same authors, do without such subdivisions and form an excellent, coherent study, with a mass of interesting, often first-hand information within a general framework. The chapter on religious history includes Church institutions and Church politics but its chief interest lies in its account of changes in religious mentality. Heresies, on the other hand, are considered to be social phenomena and are discussed within the framework of social history. The section on cultural history in which literature (both in Latin and the vernaculars), scholarship, music and architecture are dealt with in short paragraphs, somehow lacks structure. J. Van Rompaey,

specialist on Burgundian institutions, writes in an uninspired textbook style about the period from ca. 1400 to 1506.

Volume II differs from the other volumes in that it consists mainly of two parallel, largely unconnected histories of the northern and southern Netherlands without adequate cross-references. Furthermore, it presents a fairly traditional view of the period, possibly because the study of the ancien régime in the Low Countries has been relatively neglected in recent decades. On the whole this volume will be of limited usefulness to an English reader who is familiar with the studies which have recently been published by Parker, Boxer, Haley and Price. It should be noted, however, that I. Schöffer's lengthy contribution to this volume, although not breaking new ground, presents a balanced and highly readable survey of the Revolt of the Netherlands and the Golden Age of the United Provinces, incorporating some of the latest views on the political, economic, religious and cultural developments of the period. Also interesting are the two brief chapters written by H. Van der Wee, analyzing the overall economic development of the Low Countries from the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. The considerable advances made in the study of economic history are likewise reflected in other chapters of this volume, such as M. Baetje's survey of the history of the Low Countries from 1506 to 1566, G.J. Schutte's chapter on the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century and H. Houtman-de Smedt's account of the history of the southern Netherlands from 1598 to 1780. These historians have also taken proper account of recent progress made in areas of religious history, such as the study of the spread of protestantism and the jansenist controversy; their discussion of political history on the other hand is unimaginative and their treatment of cultural history rather old-fashioned, insufficiently relating the artistic, literary and scholarly accomplishments to the economic and social developments of the period.

The text of the third volume is essentially an abbreviated version of E.H. Kossmann's recently published history of the Low Countries from 1780 to 1940, the outstanding merits of which were pointed out in the previous issue of this periodical. In addition it contains lists of ministers, and tables with statistics on population trends, elections, etc. It is also provided with a perceptive epilogue on the history of Belgium and the Netherlands from 1940 to 1970, in which Kossmann again illustrates how effectively the comparative approach can be used to bring out the distinguishing features in the political and economic development of the two countries.

As a concession to an old-fashioned interest in histoire de bataille all three volumes include sections describing some of the famous sieges and the most noted battles on land and sea. They moreover contain a large number of maps documenting political, economic, religious and cultural trends as well as a wealth of excellently reproduced, on the whole well-chosen illustrations. Finally, the volumes are provided with useful annotated bibliographies.²

² A less expensive edition of the first two volumes, without maps and illustrations, has been published in 1978: R.C. Van Caenegem, et al., ed., De Lage Landen van prehistorie tot 1500 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 463 p., ISBN 90 10 02171 8 f. 46,50); I. Schöffer, et al., ed., De Lage
The late H. van Riel was chairman for many years of the influential ruling body of the Dutch Economic History Archives, and an important public figure. A number of his friends and admirers, representing a wide range of academic disciplines, have combined to produce a volume of essays in his honour. The topics range from the early days of guilds to macro-economic statistical processes after the Second World War, and one essay deals with the growth of Rotterdam from 1940 to 1975. In view of Van Riel's political activities it is not surprising that the main emphasis should be on the modern period; but there is also a study of Amsterdam's trade in rye in the seventeenth century and two which cover shipping in Far Eastern waters, and the book trade, in the eighteenth century. Unfortunately there is no index, though the apparatus criticus is complete and well set-out.

Another collective work in economic history commemorates the bicentenary of the Netherlands Society for Trade and Industry. It sets out to provide an economic history of the Netherlands from palaeolithic times right up to the oil crisis in 1976, within a structure roughly corresponding to centuries, with two chapters at the end devoted to colonial trade and the history of the society itself. One's first impression is that as a gesture to their sponsors, most of the contributors attempted to mention as many branches of Dutch industry and trade as possible. Certainly, an enormous amount of factual data has been packed into a comparatively short space and the result is often dense and heavy-going. With the notable exceptions of Klein on the seventeenth century and De Vries on the twentieth there is little or no discussion of the problems of interpretation, and with the additional exception of Baudet and Fasseur on colonial trade there is no critical apparatus worth speaking of. The overall result is a somewhat uninspired, textbook survey of Dutch economic history, sound enough in its separate parts, but lacking any unity or interpretative coherence.

Sponsored and assisted by the Netherlands Agronomisch-Historisch Instituut at Groningen, W. Tijms has assembled a large and valuable collection of source material relating to the price history of the Netherlands by providing lists of weekly, monthly, and yearly prices of cereals and pulse — mostly eighteenth and early nineteenth century in their provenance — for the towns of Arnhem (1543-1914), Breda (1535-1976), Deventer (1714-1804), Bois-le-Duc (1725-1817), and Kampen (1645-1847). A short general introduction, summarized briefly in English, sets out the broad outlines of the historiography of price history, the case for regional series of prices, the sources used

(market records and assize of bread registers), the principles governing the presentation of data, and an explanation of weights, measures, and monetary terms.

An important collection of documents on the history of the ancient duchy of Limburg and the Pays d’Outre-Meuse has been prepared by K.J.Th. Janssen de Limpens as a counterpart to his earlier Rechtsbronnen van het Gelders Overkwartier van Roermond (1965). The duchy of Limburg shared with the Lands of Dalhem, 's-Hertogenrade and Valkenburg the fate of being united in a personal union with the duchy of Brabant in the late middle ages. They remained, however, independent entities with their own administration, judicial institutions and customary law. The codification of their costumen often occurred on the basis of declarations by the officiating aldermen of the courts. The Rechtsbronnen contain a considerable number of such records together with charters, which deal mainly with matters of competence and appeal, from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. They provide interesting information on the very complicated structure of the various courts which together administered the law in the region between Sittard and Herzogenwald; some of these courts depended on the territorial princes, whereas others were seigniorial courts with full or restricted jurisdiction, or feudal and manorial courts. Many documents deal extensively with matters of civil law, court procedure and even village life. The editor explains the documents and their historical setting in a solid introduction.

In December 1973 in Brussels a solemn commemoration took place of the creation by Charles the Bold of the Parliament of Mechlin as the highest court of justice for the Burgundian Netherlands. It originated, as is well known, from the duke’s council and after 1477, although officially abrogated, was perpetuated as the consilium magnum or Great Council. From 1504 onwards it again resided permanently in Mechlin. Following the official commemoration a conference was held in Mechlin, devoted to the present state of research into the administration of justice by the consilium magnum and comparable institutions outside the Burgundian Low Countries. A large number of participants from Belgium, the Netherlands, France and Germany presented the provisional results of their investigations. Their contributions as well as the speeches held in Brussels amongst others J. Gillissen’s survey of the council’s foundation and evolution have been published in a voluminous collection Consilium Magnum 1473-1973. Ten of them are about the methodology of handling the source material and about particular cases dealt with in the Great Council which illustrate its practices. Eleven others concentrate on the procedures of appeal used by the highest courts in France, Germany and the Low Countries, mainly in the sixteenth century. The contributions by P.L. Nève, J. Van Rompaey and C.L. Verker is are especially noteworthy. Nève studies the extraordinary situation of Maastricht, where some of the inhabitants

were subject to the duke of Brabant, who held the town in fief from the Empire from ca. 1200, whereas others depended on the bishop of Liège and his separate aldermen's court. The latter court used to seek advice on difficult cases (so-called hoofdvraagt) from the town's court of Liège until it transferred to Aix-la-Chapelle in the course of the fifteenth century, presumably to conform with ducal Maastricht practices and influenced by the bishop's controversies with his town of Liège. Van Rompaey studies the procedure followed when a party in a case appealed to the Great Council after a judgement-in-appeal by a provincial court of justice. He stresses the complications of these cases and shows their sometimes curious financial consequences. To the urban aldermen's courts the possibility of appeal to provincial courts and the Great Council, all manned with learned lawyers, not only meant a serious breach of their traditional independence but also an imposition of Roman-law practice diverging from their own customary law.

The sovereign's right to interfere in the administration of justice by drawing a case before his council had proved a means of strengthening central power in England and France; the Burgundians eagerly copied the system. The provincial courts opposed it wholeheartedly on the grounds of their ius de non evocato. Verkerk analyzes all cases from 1470 till 1540, brought before the consilium magnum through evocatio and found that most of them date from periods of strong central power; in moments of weakness evocatio was practised less frequently and provincial opposition to it was more successful.

A collection of conference papers on institutional history, mainly of Belgium, but with reference to the Netherlands and other European countries, has been edited by H. De Schepper. Though rather difficult to find one's way about in, it repays careful study, and intending researchers will do well to comb its valuable footnotes, many of which refer to unpublished inventories or archives. F. Vanhemelryck's chapter on the typology of the administrative sources for Netherlands history from Burgundian times to the end of the eighteenth century forms in effect a brief introduction to the structure of government, which was conceived for the fairly extensive possessions of the Burgundians, yet remained surprisingly unchanged as the territories it had to administer dwindled. M.A. Arnould deals with financial archives, and this essay will be required reading for those who wish to use accounts and other fiscal documents, which notoriously abound in pitfalls. Other contributions are of less direct use, but M. Baelde supplies a useful summary of the work which remains to be done, and the way in which it should be undertaken. The main thesis of the work is that institutional history must be conceived in a broader fashion than before. It must not simply be a study of the external appearance of institutions as reflected in their ordinances and regulations, but must go deeper into their day-to-day working, and also merge into political and social history through the use of such techniques as collective biography and social analysis of officials. A great deal of the conference was taken up with more
technical discussion of the problems of inventorization of archives, and here it was
evident that historians and archivists often had very different priorities.

Another collection of papers is that edited by E.J. van Eijl on the history of the
theological faculty of the University of Louvain, from 1432 to 1797.9 These vary
greatly in length and scholarly weight, and some of them are really the province of a
theologian rather than a historian. They do not really amount to a connected history
of the faculty, though the early period and the eighteenth century are treated in a
rather more continuous fashion than the intervening period. Van Eijl himself discusses
the foundation of the faculty, which was at first resisted by Pope Martin V, but later
approved by Eugenius IV, at the urging of Philip the Good. M. Rotsaert studies the
earliest statutes, and traces their indebtedness to those of Cologne. Van Eijl then
describes the organization of the faculty in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
J. Orcibal throws light on a little known side of Cornelis Jansen, his role as faculty
member, and finds that he was more active than has generally been suggested. The
most interesting articles in the volume are those of L. Ceyssens on the origins of
jansenism and anti-jansenism in Louvain, which is a blow by blow account of the
earliest polemics in 1640-41, based to a great extent on Ceyssens’s own editions of the
sources of the period. J. Roeligers is rather more successful than the other contributors
in placing the faculty in a wider context. His study of its fortunes during the Enlight-
enment is largely a chronicle of its efforts to resist the government’s plans to transform
it into a training college for reliable clergy. The volume concludes with a very
thorough bibliography of the faculty and its members, and there is also a bibliography
of unpublished manuscripts by Louvain theologians.

MIDDLE AGES

During the last decennia a great deal of archaeological research has been undertaken
in many town centres in the Netherlands. However, the results are rarely published in
any but specialist reviews or local periodicals. An important exception is a magnificent
catalogue of finds from sites in Amsterdam,10 dating from the late thirteenth till the
eighteenth century. Especially interesting are the observations on the foundation con-
structions in this area of soft clay and peat soils. Various methods were used from
about 1300 until, in the sixteenth century, the so-called ‘Amsterdam-type’ of founda-
tion on a large-pole construction was introduced. The catalogue shows nearly one
thousand objects, dug up in or near the medieval town centre. The editors have taken
care to compare their finds with results of recent excavations outside the Netherlands.
In their introduction they briefly survey a number of these, as well as the recent
excavations in the town of Dordrecht.

Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum loventiensium XLV (Louvain: University Press, 1977,
10. J. Baart, et al., Opgrevingen in Amsterdam, 20 jaar stadskernonderzoek (Amsterdam-Haarlem:

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P.A. Henderikx, in a useful though uninspiring book, has compiled the available data on mendicant orders and their monasteries in the counties of Holland and Zeeland before 1310, paying special attention to their relations with the count and the town magistrates. Was the policy of the civil authorities decisive for the choice of a site for a new monastic settlement? William II apparently appreciated the strong anti-Saintic position of the dominicans and franciscans and, like Floris V, seems to have stimulated the foundation of monasteries. But the expansion of the orders in the northern Netherlands in the thirteenth century was actually based on the internal policy of these orders. The author finds that the dominicans in manning their houses, drew on monasteries from the whole of the province Saxonia, whereas the franciscan monks were mainly recruited from their towns of settlement and the surrounding districts. Although the author includes the carmelites and augustinian in his research, they play a minor role in his book as they apparently also did in their towns of residence during this period.

A voluminous study by J. van Herwaarden deals with one aspect of medieval penal law typical for a limited part of the Low Countries: punishment by peregrination. In a general introduction the author traces this practice back to the peregrinationes so dear to the Anglo-Irish clergy and reluctantly accepted by the Roman clergy as a means of atonement for sins against christian morality. By the thirteenth century, the author states, the system had become general practice. At the end of that century there is also evidence of penitentiary pilgrimages imposed upon citizens of rebellious towns as part of a treaty of reconciliation with their prince. By then, they had also found their ways into urban jurisprudence. Parties, who ended their 'feud' resulting from manslaughter or injury and other reconcilable crimes, often stipulated the performance of a pilgrimage to a stated destination as partial or complete atonement for the deed. In the Low Countries, on which the author has concentrated his attention, the practice became popular in a number of provinces (Liège, Brabant, Flanders, Zeeland and Holland) where it was stimulated by the town governments as a means of maintaining order. Zoenen, contracts of reconciliation, were made under the supervision of the aldermen’s courts, which exerted some control over the fulfilment of the conditions. The next step, or so it seems, was to incorporate pilgrimages into customary law as a punishment imposed by the aldermen’s court after a complaint by the offended party. The development reached a final finesse in the principedom of Liège and in Brabant where a formal tariff was laid down for each crime to be atoned for by peregrinatio – the more serious the crime, the more distant the place to go to. From quite early on, however, both ecclesiastical and civil authorities allowed redemption of the obligation in particular cases, and in some towns a more or less fixed tariff was established.

The system, as the author stresses repeatedly, did not occur in Utrecht and the northeastern provinces, nor did the practice penetrate southward beyond what is now usually called the French Low Countries. As far as Van Herwaarden has been able to establish, it was in fact limited to the Low Countries, the only exception being Switzerland. The author has not gone into the archives of the principalities on the eastern border, such as Jülich, Cleves and Moers, but apparently he has good reason to think that the system was never introduced there. This strict geographical limitation of a penal system asks for an explanation. Van Herwaarden thinks that the presence of a reasonably strong territorial prince in a province with self-confident, economically strong towns was decisive. The towns, especially those in Flanders, favoured the reconciliatory procedure as a means of maintaining order in a community of citizens enjoying equality of rights and, according to the author, welcomed the possibility of redemption especially in periods of shortage on the labour market. The last hypothesis, however, is only valid in the unlikely case that the employers pay the penalty, whereas the author is too vague on the role of the ‘strong territorial prince’ to prove his first point. So his ‘explanation’ does not seem to solve the problem. The importance of this book results from the author’s meticulous research into the details of the town courts’ jurisprudence and the frequency of the pilgrimages imposed. The reader cannot help feeling that a more economical arrangement of material and arguments would have served to avoid a certain repetitiveness both in the introductory chapters and in the central part of the study and could have given the book an inner cohesion it now lacks. But it provides the reader interested in this curious juridical phenomenon with a wealth of information, carefully analyzed by an erudite author.

The changing balance of power between prince, nobility and towns in medieval Brabant is the subject of an interesting study by R. Van Uytven. He points out that the duke from the eleventh to the thirteenth century supported the rising towns, thus restricting the power of the local nobility; in the fourteenth century the towns themselves, in a period of dynamic weakness, virtually governed the country but in the following period they had to give way in their turn to the barons of the duchy who made a very profitable career in Burgundian court circles. The author stresses the importance of the new social, political and economic role of the nobility of Brabant in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Meanwhile, W. Paravicini has continued with his own studies in this field. Using some previously unknown correspondence between the count of Meurs and his son-in-law Philip of Croy (Düsseldorf Archives) he gives a penetrating account of the two noble families, connected by marriage since 1454, both deeply involved in the political life of their time. Croy, though at one time more directly hostile to Charles the Bold than Vincent of Meurs ever was, survived best, presumably because he recognized that the future of the nobility could be assured in the service of a

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powerful prince — Burgundy first and then Habsburg — whereas Meurs's policy was always directed to the maintenance of his independence. A faulty evaluation of the political balance of power in the Lower Rhineland from 1472 onwards contributed to the fall of his house. The correspondance is published in an appendix, together with some letters from the archives of the Gelderland towns of Elburg and Zutphen.

1977 has yielded an exceptional harvest of publications on dykes, drainage and reclamation of new land. To mark the retirement of Dr. M.K.E. Gottschalk (the third and final volume of whose major work on storm surges and river floods will be reviewed below, p. 142 the Royal Dutch Geographical Society devoted an issue of its journal[15] to subjects in her field of interest. All contributions deal with the middle ages; some are concerned with detail, whereas others will be of interest to the non-specialist. P.A. Henderikx studies the early organization of water control and water defence in the border region between Holland and Utrecht. He argues convincingly that in Holland the local districts of iustitia bassa (ambachten) formed the original units of this organization. The more recent hoogheemraadschappen comprising a number of neighbouring ambachten in this region seem to date from the late thirteenth century, and their establishment can be connected with the execution of large public water defence works necessitated by the compression of the reclaimed peat grounds and by the difficulty of containing the river waters when in flood. In collaboration with F.H. Horsten, H. van der Linden compares the results of his well-known study on land reclamation in Holland[16] with tax registers from the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. He concludes that parcelling of the original plots had gone a long way by the sixteenth century but then seems to have come to a stop. The important contribution by C. Dekker on the formation of the archdeaconsries in the diocese Utrecht in the second half of the eleventh and the early twelfth centuries has been published in a slightly altered version, above p. 1ff. The author finds that the often bizarrely drawn boundaries of the separate archdeaconsries were strongly influenced by the extension of the earliest parishes through land reclamation. There is also a fluent, well-argued and well-documented study by J. Rentenaar on the definitive formation of the so-called 'old dunes' along the coast of Holland and Zeeland (whose formation the author dates in the eighth or early ninth century) and of the deforestation of the Haarlemmerhout, the woodland on top of the old dunes between Haarlem and Noordwijk. According to the author, both toponymical considerations and written sources point to reclamation of the region mainly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By then, a ridge of new dunes was already taken shape.

All historians now regard the formation of large water defence units (waterschappen, hoogheemraadschappen) as secondary phenomena; small local units of landowners (villages, ambachten) being the first to organize the defence of their lands by building

dykes and regulating drainage etc. This is argued, for instance, by H. van der Linden in his short study of the oldest defence units in Rijnland (province of Holland)\(^{17}\) and also by O. Moorman van Kappen in a study of the history of the Tieler- en Bommelerwaarden (Gelderland). His contribution forms part of the special volume published to commemorate the fact that the dyke charter to which the dyke boards owe their official existence was granted 650 years ago.\(^{18}\) Van Kappen deals with the earliest period and the ancien régime, paying special attention to the juridical responsibilities of the landowners (ingelemen) of the districts for the upkeep of the dykes. He points out that the organization was hampered by the existence of a number of totally independent lordships in this vulnerable area on the border of Brabant. The history of the waarden shows a gradual decline of the original principle of autonomy of the co-operating individual landowners. Finally in 1838 water control throughout the province of Gelderland was thoroughly re-organized. J. Korf explains the underlying causes of the protests raised by the introduction of the new system (maintained until 1954) and provides many details on the practical problems encountered in the nineteenth century. His contribution is somewhat marred by a lack of coherence and compactness.

The grant of another dyke charter to the water defence district of Neder-Betuwe is commemorated by an unpretentious booklet by R.C. Holl. In a compact style it contains valuable information on the practice of water defence in the district and on its special problems. It is clearly based on solid research but lacks a scholarly apparatus.\(^{19}\)

**EARLY MODERN PERIOD**

Perhaps the most important single monograph on the history of the sixteenth-century Netherlands to appear in 1977 was H. Soly’s study of an Antwerp capitalist and entrepreneur, Gilbert van Schoonbeke.\(^{20}\) Based on detailed archival sources this work investigates a capitalist who, for once, was not a great merchant like the Fuggers, but that much rarer bird, a speculator in property and building. Apart from providing a full account of Van Schoonbeke’s activities and his share in the evolution of the

Antwerp townscape, Soly raises a number of wider questions relating to the supposed 'reason of the bourgeoisie' who are alleged to have diverted capital from productive uses into a parasitic aping of the life-style of the nobility. Soly finds little evidence to support this, either in Van Schoonbeke himself, or in his contemporaries (for the book is much more than a biography, and discusses the activities of other Antwerp merchants and entrepreneurs too). Investment in real estate was not always simply aping the nobles. Often, a merchant had a much more immediate commercial motive, for he would, as a property owner, be able to obtain credit much more easily, while the amount of capital locked up in such purchases of land and houses could be quite small, thanks to the institute of 'rentes'. Only after 1585 did Antwerp's capital resources tend to pass from trade to real estate, as a response to the blockade, and the opportunities offered by the fall in land prices. Soly concludes that one cannot strictly compare the experience of Antwerp with the flight from trade into landed investments which took place in Venice and other Italian States.

Van Schoonbeke's earliest successes were in the field of property speculation in the booming Antwerp of the 1540s, but his commercial flair was evident even then. Unlike earlier land speculators he developed whole districts of the city, especially the New Town, rather than single streets. The key to his success — with profits near 30 percent — was, apart from the support of influential magistrates, his understanding of the need to avoid immobilizing capital for long periods, and to provide stimuli to the economic growth of the areas developed. The Friday Market was one such planned source of growth. Van Schoonbeke's activities included public works as well as private, and he secured the contract for the new walls of the city in the 1550s, an operation on a scale which allowed him to form the first 'vertically integrated' construction firm, owning everything from clay pits and turf workings to limekilns and brickworks. To this monopoly of the city's public works, which enabled him to force builders' wages down in an inflationary period, he added in 1554 a monopoly of the city's brewing industry in an attempt to diversify out of construction into enterprises with less fluctuating demand. At the same time he began to contract to supply the army, while also serving as one of the commissioners of the Council of Finances which was intended to supervise government expenditure. Soly concluded that Van Schoonbeke, though capable of being seen as a true capitalist, was on the whole a marginal figure in the wider context of the sixteenth century, and one who found few emulators.

H. Schilling has produced a long article on the Dutch Revolt, in which there is a great deal of interesting argument, but which ultimately fails to be entirely convincing because of the rather restricted role allotted to religion in the motives of the revolt. Schilling is concerned to interpret to German readers much of the recent reassessment of the revolt associated with J.J. Wolter and others who have laid stress on the 'middle groups' who were neither pro-Spanish nor enthusiastically pro-rebellion. These middle groups are associated with a loyalty to a supposed 'Burgundian' constitution, in that they accepted a supra-provincial organism, but also desired the observance

of their provincial privileges; and they are also often to be found supporting a middle-of-the-road solution in religious questions, an 'erasmian' christianity. Schilling is especially interesting on the question of whether the Revolt is to be seen as a conflict within the Netherlands elite, rather than a national or bourgeois revolution. His basic argument that the alignments of forces were political rather than economic, is surely sound, and he offers a useful warning against lumping all office-holders together, instead of distinguishing between office holders 'of the State' and those 'of relative independence'. It is also well to be reminded that the growth of bureaucracy, as well as being a threat, could offer chances of social advancement. Schilling takes up the point often made in discussions of early modern revolts, the role of peripheral provinces as leaders of unrest. In the Dutch context, this can be seen in two ways: Holland and Zeeland as peripheral provinces of the Netherlands, or the Netherlands as a peripheral area of the entire Spanish Habsburg monarchy. Neither is completely satisfactory, and the comparison with a somewhat more centralized State such as sixteenth-century France, is perhaps not entirely convincing.

The importance of the undecided middle groups in one of the early crises of the Revolt period, the events of 1566 in Amsterdam, is the subject of H. van Nierop's brief study.22 It provides a short narrative of events in Amsterdam over the years from the doelensticht of 1565 to the beginnings of repression in 1567, and a more detailed examination of the social composition of those who were involved in the iconoclastic riots of 1566 and related events. As in similar studies by Delmote and others, the conclusion is that a correlation between social position and religious opinions cannot be made. Much more important was the gulf between 'ins' and 'outs', for Amsterdam had one of the most exclusive ruling elites in the Netherlands, and therefore a significantly large group of men who were prevented from achieving the political status to which their fortunes entitled them. Many of these people were among the doelenstichten and sympathized with the intermediaries who tried to negotiate an agreement between the reformed community and the city magistracy in 1566. Van Nierop neatly sketches the economic context of Amsterdam in the 1560s, but rather neglects the prehistory of heresy in the city, so that it is not immediately clear why the opposition to reformed preaching was so vehement. The statistical material is handled carefully and not made to bear too much weight, though one feels that the sample used in tabel 11 on page 81 (the ages of those accused) is too small to be reliable.

From the same publisher comes another study of religious crisis in Amsterdam: A.F. Mellink's work on the anabaptists, from the 1530s to the 1560s.23 This is a rather disappointing work. It is confined almost entirely to narrative, which often confuses the reader by its welter of names. The background is barely touched on, and it is not very clear just what sort of church life the anabaptists were in revolt against. The book does at least do something to indicate the reasons for Amsterdam's opposition to religious innovation in the years 1535 to 1578, but the general impression is that the author has not really succeeded in standing back far enough from his material to present a clear outline.

A source publication on Dutch Baltic trade in the sixteenth century will be invaluable to historians of early modern European commerce and is virtually of as much concern to historians of southern as of northern Europe. The series of freight contracts drawn up by Bruyningh, a notary particularly involved with this type of commercial activity, represents roughly 10 percent of Dutch shipping sailing to and from the Baltic in the 1590s and is the most complete set that has survived. What these freight contracts demonstrate above all is how closely Dutch Baltic trade in the 1590s was tied to Dutch trade with Portugal and western France. Although there were many variations in route patterns, the most frequent type of Dutch voyage to the Baltic, constituting about 50 percent of the sample, was from Holland to Setubal or some other Portuguese salt port, or to La Rochelle, and then on to the Baltic. Essentially, the Dutch Baltic grain trade was the Dutch European salt and grain trade. When one adds those voyages which included a third or fourth destination, or started in the Baltic, one finds that the great majority of Dutch Baltic voyages at the time were linked with trade to south-west Europe. As always, the freight contracts provide a good deal of detail on freight rates and costs, shipping conditions and routes.

Hitherto little attention has been given to the history of bureaucracy in the Netherlands and arguably too much attention has been given to the history of bureaucracy in a limited number of great European monarchies. The third and fourth issues of the Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis for 1977, which are combined in a single volume devoted entirely to the theme of bureaucracy and bureaucratization in the Netherlands, principally during the ancien régime, contribute to the process both of filling an important gap in Netherlands history and of correcting the present imbalance in European historical studies reflected in the concentration on particular countries, and the relative neglect of periods of stagnation and decline. There can be no doubt that the undertaking has proved worthwhile, in terms of what has been provided and of indicating what is in prospect. An informed and wideranging essay from D.J. Roorda and A.H. Huussen, Jr. takes stock of some of the problems of definition and interpretation faced by students of comparative history in the field, and of work done on Spain, Prussia, France and England. The eleven articles which follow are arranged more or less chronologically and deal with aspects of central and local government in both the northern and southern Netherlands. Much of the work is in the nature of an initial reconnaissance into a particular field, or of a provincial report on research in progress undertaken as part of a larger work or of a collective endeavour. One of the most successful contributions in this last category is the study by W.R. Hugenholtz and H. Boels of the griffier's office of the States General and the National Assembly during the period 1780 to 1798, a study characterized not only by the solidity of its research,
but by the fascinating vistas it opens up on a Republic in decline struggling to cut the ever-increasing volume and cost of its paper work, always large in a State of seven sovereign provinces, but growing ever larger under a system which paid clerks according to the number of pages they copied.

Thematically related is an article in the *Bijdragen* by P. Lenders describing the workings of the Administrative and Financial Council in the Austrian Netherlands (*Junta der Besturen en Beden*). He credits it with having contributed to an increase of revenue and having introduced some degree of order, method and modernity into the confusion of municipal and provincial finances in the region.

E.P. de Booy has written an interesting and deeply researched study of popular elementary education in her home province of Utrecht since the reformation, which will be of considerable interest to social historians. The educational objective in the early days was to enable children to read, so that protestant and catholic families alike could study the Holy Scriptures. Writing and arithmetic were not considered unimportant; but the main objective was reading ability. Parents were obliged to send their children to school, and schools and teachers were provided in population centres to achieve a basic standard of literacy, as a matter of provincial policy. The policy did not, of course, achieve everywhere the desired result, because adequate teaching personnel was not always to hand, and catholic parents, for obvious reasons, were not universally keen to see that their children attended regularly. There are many interesting details about the way the schools were run and about the problems of finding competent schoolmasters, obtaining schoolbooks and enforcing discipline.

The second volume of the *Geschiedenis van Breda* consists of five lengthy studies dealing with various aspects of the life of the town from the start of the Revolt against Spain until the end of the eighteenth century. The first study is a general survey particularly of the political history of the town with special emphasis, very reasonably, on the first half of the period. The second study deals with the history of the town's administration and legal institutions, the third and fourth respectively with the catholic and protestant communities and churches and the last with Breda's general architectural development. The socio-economic aspects of the town's development receive unfortunately very little attention.

On the period of the Revolt, a detailed and valuable picture emerges from the first, third and fourth essays of an intricate play of forces in the town in which the anti-Spanish movement is shown to have been very considerable from the outset and a good deal broader in appeal in this part of the Low Countries than was protestantism.

as such. Breda, which owing to its geographical position, was of great strategic importance in the Low Countries, suffered perhaps more from the conflict with Spain than any other town in the Low Countries. The life in the town was dominated to an exceptional degree by the influence of war and large military garrisons, sometimes larger than the town's population, right down to 1648 and again during the years of the French wars during the second half of the seventeenth century. A particularly valuable feature of the work, one with much significance for anyone interested in the religious history of the predominantly catholic areas of the southern part of the Dutch Republic, is the detailed treatment of the protestant minority. The periodic stresses and strains that characterized Dutch protestantism as a whole were reflected in a distinctive way in the special environment of Dutch Brabant. The lull in the dissension between remonstrants and counter-remonstrants that is so pronounced a feature in Holland in the years 1618-25 evidently did not occur at Breda where the arminians remained active and vocal. During the last Spanish interlude (1625-37), some protestants abandoned the town for Dutch territory, returning only after 1637, others however remained and on the whole were able to practise their religion in private without interference. The Spanish regime had no wish to prejudice the position of catholics in the Republic by repressing Breda protestants too severely.

A two-volume work by R. Baetens combines a detailed examination of one of the leading Antwerp merchant houses of the first half of the seventeenth century, the family firm De Grote, with a more general analysis, filling the whole of the first volume, of Antwerp's commercial fortunes during the period. The essential conclusions are that Antwerp's trade recovered strongly during the rule of the archdukes owing to a favourable combination of economic and political factors in which the latter were particularly crucial, and that this period of prosperity continued after 1621 but was partly undermined by the outbreak of the Franco-Spanish war in 1635 which disrupted the industrial zone near the French border. After 1648, Antwerp tended to stagnate but nevertheless retained considerable importance as a port and international commercial centre. Study of a major firm such as that of De Grote while showing that much weight must be attributed to matters of personality and accident in explaining the shifts in its fortunes, reveals, predictably, a wealth of interconnections between the history of the individual firm and the general lines of development.

The strength of Antwerp during the early seventeenth century derived especially from two factors: the unique extent of the diaspora of Antwerp merchants and artisians into Italy, Germany and the Iberian peninsula, and the close political links of the southern Netherlands with Spain and its empire. Antwerp's trade was extremely varied and there was significant contact with numerous countries. Nevertheless, Iberian and Italian trade were the pre-eminent sectors in the city's foreign trade, a position reinforced from 1621 with the resumption of the Spanish-Dutch war and the exclusion

of the Dutch from Spanish commerce. During the war of 1621-48, Antwerp thus became an indispensable link between the United Provinces and the Iberian world. The exception to this are the years 1625-9 when, as Baetens notes with some surprise, the volume of trade at Antwerp temporarily but drastically shrank. He appears to be unaware of the great river blockade of 1625-9 imposed by Spain in the southern Netherlands and north-west Germany against the Dutch which affected Antwerp so adversely. The Franco-Spanish war of 1635-59 was perhaps the gravest threat to Antwerp’s prosperity in the seventeenth century, disrupting as it did the supply of woollen cloth and linen for Spain, Portugal and Italy.

One of the most valuable features of the study, though its author repeatedly warns against excessive reliance on such quantitative data, are the figures that he presents for returns on imposts on shipping and trade at Antwerp during the seventeenth century. For the first time, Baetens publishes several key series, the best being the Brabantse Watertol, a city tax on shipping and barges entering and leaving the port which is complete from 1619 to 1682 and from 1689 to 1700. These and other data will be of considerable interest to almost every student of seventeenth-century European economic history.

The firm De Groote took full advantage of the particular opportunities of Antwerp to amass one of the city’s most impressive fortunes in the period before 1635. The range of its activities is remarkable as it had close links with Cologne, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Lyons and other French towns as well as with Venice, Livorno, Genoa, Naples, Lisbon and the major Spanish ports. The success and prosperity of the firm arose from no innovation, no special expertise in any particular commodity, no concentration on any particular place, but in utilizing an elaborate well-ordered international framework of correspondents and factors, chiefly composed of emigrants from Antwerp, many of whom were relatives. Baetens’s intricate account of the firm’s dealings provides a wealth of detail for anyone concerned with the European movement of Flemish woollens and linens, Italian silks, Spanish and Portuguese colonial products, spices and sugar as well as with profit margins, maritime insurance and the chartering of shipping.

A major new biography of Prince Frederick Henry was much needed, and we must be grateful that it is as learned a historian as J.J. Poelhekke who has provided it. He describes his book as a triptych, but it is certainly an oddly proportioned one. Understandably little attention is given to the first forty years of his life, but Poelhekke’s decision to devote most of the work to the years 1625-1637 (p. 77-492) leaving hardly seventy pages for the last ten years of his subject’s life is questionable. Surely the years leading up to the Treaty of Münster are of considerable importance in Dutch history. Perhaps here lies the clue: the author is concerned to place the life of Frederick Henry in the context not so much of Dutch history as in that of the Netherlands as a whole. (Indeed, he might well object to my use of the term Dutch here.) He sees the prince’s

main aim as the re-unification of the Netherlands; however after about 1637 not only were his health and vigour in decline, but it became increasingly clear that reunification was unobtainable. Whether it was possible even before this is doubtful. As Poelhekke himself makes clear, in order to prosecute the war vigorously Frederick Henry had to rely on the support of what Poelhekke calls the 'consistorial' party among the Dutch regents, but it was precisely this group who would never agree to that toleration of catholicism which was a prerequisite for unification. On the other hand, that group of regents which shared the prince's moderate position on religious questions was either indifferent or hostile to reunion with the south. Frederick Henry was a cautious and politic prince, and in his discussion of his aims and opinions Poelhekke has to use a great deal of inference from material that is not always very satisfactory. Indeed, it might be argued that there is altogether too much inference in this book, often with too little evidence to support the tentative but extensive suggestions the author makes. Also Poelhekke's idiosyncratic style sometimes makes his meaning elusive. That said, however, this is an important book with an abundance of fascinating material and discussion on Frederick Henry's political and military activities. The work is aimed at the general reader as well as the scholar, so the footnotes are kept to a minimum and relegated to the back of the book. Poelhekke has an impressive command of the sources for his subject, and his book is necessary reading for anyone interested in Dutch history in this period.

A collection of essays by the same author, together with a bibliography of his publications, has also appeared. The essays, all previously published, range from Erasmus to an appreciation of L.J. Rogier, but are chiefly concerned as one would expect with the history of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.

M.K.E. Gottschalk's *magnum opus, a catalogue raisonné* on stormsurges and riverfloods in the Netherlands, is brought to an end with a third volume, dealing with the period from 1600-1700. In her introduction the author points out that for these years the available data are more plentiful and more reliable than for the preceding centuries, but also that comparatively fewer relevant sources like town accounts have appeared in print. Her self-imposed restriction to printed sources is a weak point in Gottschalk's method, but sufficient material seems to be available to give a generally reliable, reasonably complete picture of the events. In this volume, moreover, a certain amount of archive material has been utilized in a number of instances. The author digresses from her main theme to give interesting information on a reform of the dyke regulations in North Holland that followed the heavy damages caused by a storm surge in 1675 and to discuss the problems arising from the silting up of the river IJssel which became increasingly difficult to navigate since the fifteenth century. Surveying the whole century she concludes that storm surge activity did not reach the high level attained in the sixteenth century. The worst disasters were largely influenced by

military inundations in previous years and aggravated by soil shrinkage resulting from windmill pumping of the polders. Winters, we know, were severe in the seventeenth century. Gottschalk records five of them, all in the first quarter, during which the Zuiderzee was frozen up and considerable transports crossed the ice. Very cold winters totalled ca. 40, comparing with 20 in the sixteenth century and 23 recorded in the fifteenth. As in the first volumes, the findings for each year are summarized in English and for each period of 50 years a general conclusion is given in English. It is a pity that the author cannot carry out her original purpose of extending her research as far as the end of the eighteenth century, but it is to be hoped that the work will be continued, perhaps by one of her former students.

The social origins and status of the ministers of the Reformed Church in the Republic during the seventeenth century have been the subject of some disagreement among historians, often arguing from very limited evidence. The careful study of the question by G. Groenhuis does not bring any major surprises, but makes it clear that the ministers were firmly in the middle ranks of Dutch society, and scotches the myth of their lowly origins. After the difficulties of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when suitably trained and qualified candidates for the ministry were hard to find, the ministers of the Reformed Church were almost exclusively university-trained; and those who received grants to study for the ministry were not from impoverished backgrounds, but were mainly the sons of ministers and town office-holders. The ministers were paid salaries which were adequate — and more than adequate in the larger towns in the province of Holland — to maintain a respectable living-standard, though the pay of ministers in the country areas was distinctly worse than that of those in the towns. The author made case-studies of the family connections of the ministers of Dordrecht and Nijmegen, and the results confirm that they belonged to a middle group in society, along with doctors, merchants, middle-ranking office-holders, and booksellers. On the other hand, the author’s treatment of social structure, both in theory and as applied to the Republic in the seventeenth century, is distinctly sketchy and inadequate. Perhaps he was trying to do too much in too limited a space.

The first of a projected four-volume study of the life of ordinary people in seventeenth-century Holland by A.Th. van Deursen deals with wages, immigration, poverty and poor-relief, and the possibilities for upward social movement. The book is short and specifically confined to the province of Holland. In his survey of wage levels the author makes two particularly significant points: that a wage-earner on his own could not support a family, and thus other members of the family had perforce to work; and also that a large family could not avoid being, partly at least, dependent on poor-relief. This is a very useful brief survey and promises well for the series. However, his
suggestion that no-one died of hunger in seventeenth-century Holland seems a trifle optimistic — unless he means that deficiency diseases got them first.

The history of the Dutch stage in the seventeenth century is far from being an over-worked field, so there is much that is new and fascinating about the early years of professional theatre in the Republic in a study by Ben Albach centring on the various companies led by Jan Baptist van Forenbergh.35 Although there is valuable material on actors, acting and the repertoire of the Amsterdam schouwburg and of the theatre that Jan Baptist was able to found in The Hague, probably the account given of the activities of various groups of travelling players will be the most interesting part of the book for most readers. After an initial attempt to found a permanent theatre in The Hague had foundered on opposition from the Reformed Church, Jan Baptist's group of Dutch — and Dutch-speaking — actors performed before the archducal court at Brussels in 1648, and in following years before the duke of Holstein and at the Danish and Swedish courts. They also played in Hamburg and it is clear that Dutch was widely understood in northern Europe at this time, and not only at royal or ducal courts. Later Jan Baptist succeeded in founding his theatre in The Hague, and his troupe were also taken in the service of the Swedish court for a whole year in 1666. Albach also gives valuable information about the sort of plays performed by these companies, both at home and abroad, styles of acting, and the stage apparatus used. The book is somewhat uncertain in organization and the method of footnoting employed is rather unorthodox, but this detracts little from the value of the contents. Altogether this work represents a considerable contribution to our understanding of the development of the Dutch stage, and also demonstrates the considerable influence which the Dutch theatre exercised in Germany and northern Europe in general — not least through the activities of such travelling players as the company of Jan Baptist.

Volume Two of a new maritime history of the Netherlands covers the period from the fall of Antwerp and the closing of the Scheldt in 1585 to ca. 1680.36 The terminus ad quem has been chosen for aesthetic reasons as roughly marking the beginning of a new period in European political and economic history which had important consequences for the maritime history of the Netherlands, or at least for the Dutch Republic, but it is also a first indication that this is to be maritime history viewed in a wider context (and from more angles) than is the case with the classic works of Netherlands naval history, which concentrated largely upon naval battles and the exploits of maritime discovery. One consequence of this approach is that some of the traditional fare of Netherlands naval history is reduced to very thin rations, and, further, that the older works on Netherlands naval history have not been entirely superseded. But there can be no doubt that what has been gained is a cuisine better suited to modern tastes, and of a quality acceptable to discriminating palates. Thematic in structure, the

volume is divided into chapters on types of ships, ship-building, harbours, ownership, sea-farers ashore and afloat, navigation (maps, instruments and routes), sea-faring in Europe, and outside Europe in Asia and the Atlantic, the fisheries, and the organization and forms of maritime warfare. Each chapter is provided with a short critical bibliography, and the text is lavishly, aptly, and often beautifully illustrated, with over 300 illustrations — some in colour — carefully chosen from the world's galleries.

Charles Boxer has written a delightful and most instructive concise history of the Dutch East India Company.\textsuperscript{37} It is very well produced and copiously illustrated with hitherto unpublished pictures, maps and plans, a large number from the author's own collection. The emphasis is on the company's employees, how they lived and fared on the other side of the world; on the fortunes of the company and how the standards of service deteriorated. By mid-eighteenth century we get a change from VOC (United East India Company) to V(ergaan) Onder C(orruptie), Decay Because of Corruption. The point is driven home by turning the contemporary pun into the final chapter heading. The government of the company, by the end of the eighteenth century, lay in the hands of a few enormously rich families; and shares, although quoted in the stock lists, were virtually unobtainable by 'outsiders'. The text of the decree 'nationalizing' the East India Company is given as an appendix; Boxer's conclusion, at the end of his rather sad story of decay is, however, that for nearly two centuries the Dutch East India Company had been one of the largest trade organizations in the world and one of the strongest pillars in the building of the United Provinces of the Free Netherlands. This is a most impressive short survey.

The last major expedition launched by the Dutch East India Company to explore what was to be later known as Australia was in 1696-7 under the command of Willem Hesselz. de Vlamingh. This is the subject of a careful and probably exhaustive study by G.G. Schilder.\textsuperscript{38} In a sense the expedition was a failure as it could only confirm the uselessness of 'Southland' as far as the company was concerned. Setting out from Europe with three ships, De Vlamingh surveyed Tristan da Cunha and the islands Nouvelle Amsterdam and St. Paul before exploring the west coast of Australia. After a lengthy introduction describing the voyage and discussing source material, this edition publishes most of the journal of the 'Geelvinck' and the whole of the journal kept by the upper-surgeon of the 'Nijftangh', together with many other documents relating to the expedition, including records of the illnesses and medical treatment of the sailors on the leg of the journey to the Cape. The illustrations include a number of watercolours made during the voyage by the *ziekentroosters*, Victor Victorsz., and there are useful maps. In sum, this publication gives a vivid picture both of the exploration and of the conditions under which such explorations had to be made at this time.


H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeent's latest volume brings together three previously published articles about the Patriots' attempt to use factory workhouses to effect a marriage between philanthropy and economy. Sections II and III, the longest of this tripartite work, reproduce his valuable archive-based descriptions of a series of community experiments in this direction. Despite initial successes by the 1790s the attempt had clearly failed. Section I, 'Background and Analysis', describes the economic situation and philosophy that lay behind these efforts. It contains some twenty pages of new text, including a short section on the influence of foreign experiments, and additional material on the Enlightenment. There are valuable quotations from contemporary writings and the proceedings of various Societies, illustrating the extent to which the United Provinces shared in the utilitarian enlightenment. This is therefore a welcome publication on one of the major problems of the late ancien régime: poverty and the economic and social responses it evoked. The new title correctly guards against expectations of fresh material on poverty or the poor. Expectations however are aroused by the author's claim to be working within the genre of 'mentality history'. Two methods were at the author's disposal to meet these expectations, each presenting formidable difficulties. One was to adopt such of the statistical methods of the Annales school as are appropriate to his subject and his material allows. The other was to retain an impressionistic method but use some of the insights gained by recent work in this field to attempt to establish the nature of a propagated philosophy, the public opinion it generated and linkages with the implementation of policies. Perhaps wisely, Van den Eerenbeent avoids the Annales approach but in choosing an impressionistic method he asks few of the questions one would expect to find in a 'mentality history'. Was, for example, a division apparent between Patriotic and popular attitudes towards pauperism and unemployment? Did the Societies reflect as well as create opinion? Suggestive quotations about attitudes towards rentiers, or opinions on causes of poverty create uncertainty as to whether they are offered as accurate comment, evidence of general attitudes, or examples of deliberate attempts to mould opinion. The confusion is compounded by the lack of a sustained critique of the accuracy of the Patriots' economic analysis. Also lacking is a reassessment of their position in the light of recent scholarship on eighteenth-century theories connecting economic and political structures. Yet these are crucial to an understanding of the situation in the Republic where both the possibilities of implementation and the nature of the political and economic debate differed in important respects from other European countries.

A slight but clear doctoral thesis examines the process whereby the county of Culemborg became incorporated into the Dutch State. Its anomalous constitutional

position under the *ancien régime*, like that of many enclaves, was subjected to a revolutionary rationalization: but it did not happen tidily. After the French renounced their rights, having established the unprofitability of the stadholderly possessions, one group of Patriots attempted to retain self-rule while another sought incorporation into Gelderland. The unitary constitution ended a triangular tug-of-war between the county, the province of Gelderland and the National Assembly. The long uncertainty about Culemborg's status allows us to see clearly the extent to which local power struggles affected choices between alternatives within the revolution and shaped national attitudes.

**LATER MODERN HISTORY**

The role played by King William I in State and society has long been a source of disagreement among historians. Some have seen him as an indecisive figure, groping for a policy and fundamentally dependent upon his advisers. Others, like Colenbrander and Boogman, regard him as having had clear-cut political and ecclesiastical goals which he consistently pursued, even though for tactical reasons he was prepared at times to modify them. This is also the view of J.A. Bornewasser who has produced convincing evidence for his case in an extremely instructive article. On the strength of recent archival research, Bornewasser has established that the ideas underlying Dutch ecclesiastical politics of the period clearly bear the stamp of William I and were never abandoned by him despite numerous tactical changes of direction. These conclusions have implications for our understanding of government policy for the United Kingdom of the Netherlands as a whole. William's policy towards the Catholic Church was part of an ambitious, long-term goal of bringing the various Churches together in a pluriChurch of the Low Countries which would be so closely identified with the State that he, as a Christian prince, might stand at the head of both. This ideal went a great deal further than either the German interdenominational movement, whose influence he acknowledged, or his own erastian advisers. His political ambitions were decked out in grandiose ideas of perpetual peace in Europe and religious peace in the Low Countries. By the 1820s, however, according to Bornewasser, the time for reconciliation between protestant and Catholic was past. Consequently, his policy towards the Catholic Church did much to arouse the opposition which was ultimately to result in Belgian independence.

Since its publication in the years 1949-59 the twelve-volume work commonly known as the *AGN* (*Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*) has been the standard history of the Low Countries. Under exactly the same title a new multi-volume history of Belgium and the Netherlands is to be published, which, however, is not planned as

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41. J.A. Bornewasser, 'Het credo... geen reden van twist'. Ter verklaring van een koninklijk falen (1826-1829)', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, XIX (1977) 234-87.
revised edition of the old AGN, but as an entirely new work to be written by a
different team of historians. The first volume to appear (volume XII) deals mainly
with the years 1840-75, a period on which much important research has been done
during the past decades. It is in almost every respect superior to the corresponding
volume in the old AGN. Nonetheless, a major criticism levelled at the old AGN has not
been overcome, namely that the co-operative effort by many Belgian and Dutch histori-
ans has not resulted in producing a consistent, well-integrated interpretation of history.
The various chapters written by ten Belgian and seven Dutch scholars are not only
uneven in quality, but also vary in their presentation and scholarly apparatus.

The most obvious contrast with the corresponding volume in the old AGN is the
wealth of well-chosen, excellently reproduced illustrations, but a much more import-
ant new feature is the amount of space (more than half of the volume) which is
devoted to economic and social (including socio-cultural) history. The late J.A. de
Jonge contributed an excellent up-to-date survey of Dutch economic history from
1844 to 1873, in which only a discussion of the significance of Dutch railroad con-
struction, one of the most important economic enterprises of the period, is wanting.
The corresponding Belgian chapter is much less useful. Its four sections, written by
three different historians, do not present a clear picture of the main developments
within the various sectors of the Belgian economy and their interrelationships,
although they do contain a wealth of data. The same difference can be noted between
the respective ways in which Dutch and Belgian social history is covered. In his subtle
analysis of the Dutch social structure Th. van Tijn throws much light on his subject,
but the four sections on Belgian social developments, each written by a different
historian, are less coherent, despite J. De Beider's substantial and interesting analysis
of the relative importance of the Belgian nobility and bourgeoisie during the period
1844-1914.

The coverage of cultural developments is on the whole the least satisfactory part of
the volume. It is the product of the co-operative effort of no less than eight historians,
some of whose contributions should have been published in a scholarly periodical and
not in a work which is not primarily intended for the specialist. This is particularly
apparent in the case of H. Gau's chapter covering the literary taste of the Dutch-
reading public in Belgium as well on attitudes toward painting and opera among the
French-speaking upper classes, and the chapter by L. Dasberg and J.W.G. Jansing on
various trends in Dutch (primarily elementary) education. The brief sections on the
press and freethinking in Belgium (respectively by R. Van Enoo and E. Witte) contain
information of more general interest, but might better have been incorporated into the
chapter dealing with Belgian political history. Only two contributions throw light on the
overall socio-cultural development of the period. The first is J. Art's clear survey of
the changing position of religion and the roman-catholic Church in Belgian social and
political life during the period 1844-1914. The other is Th. van Tijn's brilliant and

42. D.P. Blok, W. Prevenier, et al., ed., Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, XII. Nederland
90 228 3813 7, f. 115,-).
suggestive account of the artistic and literary trends in the Netherlands, in which he concludes that the general mediocrity of Dutch art and literature in the period 1844-75 was largely caused by the country’s stagnant economy and the complacency of its middle classes. It should be added, however, that such a conclusion does not take into account that the same period was also characterized by some remarkable changes in the fields of science, scholarship and philosophy. The greatest weakness of the cultural chapters is that no mention is made of the advancement of science, the growing appreciation of its practical applications, the reception of such new theories as that of evolution, the acceptance of new rationalistic and materialistic philosophies and the increasing belief in progress. In this respect it is revealing that the names of such representative figures as J. Moleschott and F.C. Donders do not appear at all in the volume. It is certainly difficult to do any justice to the culture of the third quarter of the nineteenth century without considering what, in many ways, were its most distinctive features. The more traditional sections on the political history of the Low Countries, although relegated to the end of the volume, nonetheless constitute its most solid part. L. Wils contributes a relatively brief, but admirably clear account of Belgian political history from 1847 to 1870. The survey of Dutch political history from 1840 to 1874, written by J.C. Boogman and C.A. Tamse, is more than three times as long. It is far superior to the treatment of the subject in the old AGN and particularly enlightening in its analysis of Dutch foreign policy, a subject on which both authors wrote important doctoral theses. Their discussion of domestic policy is too exclusively concerned with parliamentary history and ministerial policies and crises, and pays little attention to changes in political theories and attitudes, or to political developments at the local level. But the operation of the Dutch constitution is analyzed with much greater subtlety and fewer ideological preconceptions than in any previous survey of the subject. It is above all the excellent coverage of Dutch political history (the only part which is both adequately footnoted and provided with a useful annotated bibliography) which makes this volume a very valuable publication.43

Running counter to the prevailing fashion of treating history thematically and ignoring traditional chronological divisions, two journals have recently been launched which concentrate specifically on one particular period: the nineteenth century. For the purpose of co-ordinating work being done on the nineteenth century, the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde at Leiden has set up an interdisciplinary group (Werkgroep Negentiende Eeuw), which organizes annual symposia and publishes a periodical.44 The contributions so far have been mainly literary and art-historical in nature which will doubtless help to extend the horizons of political historians. The themes for the 1977 and 1978 symposia were respectively ‘1848, year of revolutions’ and ‘the

impact of symbolism in the Netherlands'. In 1977, a group of catholic and protestant Church historians launched a journal devoted to the study of ecclesiastical history in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. Because of the great influence exerted by the various Churches on nineteenth century culture, politics and social relations, the publication pays special attention to developments in dogma and theology, missions and liturgy, spirituality and the social and political role of the Churches. We look forward to the fresh perspectives which Church historians might bring to such questions as the development of secularization and the process of sectionalization (verzul- lingen) in society; cultural history, too, will benefit greatly. As well as informative articles, the journal includes notices on research-bodies, and information about ongoing research and unutilized source material.

Since it was set up in 1973, the Study and Documentation Centre for Dutch Political Parties in Groningen has done much important research on the origins and evolution of the political parties in the Netherlands. The centre's yearbook, with its articles and source publications, bears regular witness to the centre's activity. In 1977, two instructive studies by I. Lipschits were published by the centre. The first provides a general survey of the major political currents to have dominated Dutch politics for the last hundred years. It also contains useful basic information, normally difficult to come by, on the political sectarianism so typical of Dutch society and the laborious, all too often unsuccessful attempts to revitalize the parties which have been made in the twentieth century. The second study sketches the social, religious and political background of the numerous protestant parties, both large and small, which have appeared during the last century. Those who are bewildered by the complexities of the Dutch party system will learn much from the author's succinct exposition of the national and parliamentary organization of the protestant parties and of the geographical distribution of their electoral support.

The 1976 Conference of the Dutch Historical Society took as its theme the history of popular education as a mirror of society. A number of interesting papers read on this occasion have now been published. A general and far-ranging article by M. De Vroede traces among other things the way in which the ideas of the Enlightenment penetrated Belgian and Dutch education. From the end of the eighteenth century the enlightened middle classes attempted, with the assistance of the State, to broaden the basis of education and modernize its content. Typical of the Low Countries as a whole in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was the reaction of the various denomina-

45. Documentatieblad voor de Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis van de negentiende eeuw (editor dr. P.L. Schram, De Boeckelaan 1105, 1081 HV Amsterdam; Amsterdam: Reproductiedienst Vrije Universiteit).
tional groupings against what was regarded as the secularizing influence of the State, and the steady growth of ‘free’ education, independent of State control.

According to E.P. de Booy, the task of Dutch educational reformers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was facilitated by the relatively favourable circumstances created by the Reformed Church and its elementary schools. By the end of the eighteenth century, it was already quite normal, even in the villages, for all children to receive one or more years of schooling. H.C. de Wolf then describes the development after 1775 of new concepts within enlightened middle class circles whereby the content and organization of elementary education might be reformed. Finally, L. Dasberg looks at the history of education between 1840 and 1905 from the point of view of the teaching profession. It is striking how pragmatic its attitudes were, and how willingly teachers adapted to the social mores and linguistic usage of the time. Dasberg also throws some curious light on the intellectual and social differences between men and women teachers in the Netherlands.

The proceedings of the conference made it, yet again, abundantly clear how much research remains to be done in the field of education. It is not so much the traditional areas of legislation, parliamentary debate or national controversy which cry out for attention, but rather such questions as the social position of teachers and the organization, aims and methods of education in the past.

A rather conventional approach to the history of education marks a publication of the ministry of education and science. R. van Ditzhuyzen traces the careers of the first fifteen ministers with responsibility for education in the Netherlands, during the tumultuous years between 1798 and 1830. The biographical portraits are lively and illustrate unintentionally a remarkable administrative continuity from the old Republic through the Batavian and French régimes to the monarchy of William I. Although the author has successfully used her own research to put flesh on a number of important (and an even greater number of unimportant) members of government, the biographical approach has tended to push the educational reforms of the revolutionary period and after, into the background. Even important figures like A. van den Ende and J.M. Kemper rarely emerge from the shadows. There still appears to be a wide gap between the ministry’s publicly professed desire for socially relevant historical research and actual ministerial awareness of current research trends in the history of education.

An interesting study by S. Leydersdorff emphasizes the importance of the piece-

work done by women in the home for the process of industrialization in the Netherlands. She argues that this domestic form of labour was forced upon women by industrialization and that for the truly poor, the question of separating the private from the public sphere of activity never arose. On the contrary, the high-capitalistic version of the putting-out system formed an essential element in the process of capital accumulation which took place in the period of Dutch industrialization around 1900. The book is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of female labour; the work of women in factories, shops and as domestics is therefore largely ignored.

The years 1870-85 did not produce much legislation of note. First of all, dissunity among the liberals created a debilitating political malaise in parliament, and after that the stalemate between the denominational and liberal parties gave rise to a crisis which was not resolved until the constitutional reform of 1886. Politicians spent much of their parliamentary energy on intractable problems such as extending the franchise or the schools controversy. It therefore took a long time before the first social legislation in the Netherlands, Van Houten's law on child labour, which was passed after much amending in 1874, could be either improved or extended. A. Postma54 has produced a comprehensive and thoroughly researched account of the reasons why successive ministers in a rapidly changing series of unstable governments attempted to improve the law by closer regulation of working conditions and terms of employment and by refining the legal definition of children and juveniles. There was a surprising lack of opposition and indeed widespread support for governmental suppression of child labour. But ironically in spite of this consensus no further legislative measures were passed. Possibly this was because child labour, like colonial slave labour before it, never became a social abuse so widespread or so glaring as to generate the kind of pressure needed to overcome parliamentary paralysis. So it was that further action could be delayed by the prevailing political malaise.

The tendency of parliamentary democracy to reconcile the irreconcilable for opportunistic reasons is illustrated by T.A. Stevens in an article55 on the establishment of budgetary norms in the Netherlands between 1814 and 1939. Throughout this period the 'balanced budget' remained the ideal of members of parliament who were hostile to high taxation and a large national debt. Nevertheless, for large public works like railways, waterways, fortifications and State industries, substantial loans were frequently necessary and ministers of finance continually justified budgetary deficits by reference to industrial norms of productivity and profitability. Thus one gains the impression that in fact a clear norm was never applied and the concept of the balanced budget remained axiomatic long after circumstances had rendered it obsolete.

The subjective attitudes of the Dutch and the Germans towards each other appear to have been closely related to the objective changes which occurred in their economic

relationship in the nineteenth century. An interesting article by J.F.E. Bläsing\textsuperscript{56} backs up this thesis with a great deal of illustrative evidence and concludes by emphasising how important the 'image' of the typical Dutchman or typical German has been for the economic relations between the two countries.

During the 1850s and 1860s, Rotterdam’s role in European emigration to the United States was insignificant. Its importance, argues L.A. van der Valk,\textsuperscript{57} was only re-established after 1880 when Rotterdam’s trade with America had revived, the Holland-America Line was sailing directly to the United States and Dutch legislation had provided better protection for emigrants.

Had the stagnation of the Dutch economy anything to do with the somewhat belated abolition of slavery and the relative lack of public interest in the subject? M. Kuitenbrouwer believes that it had.\textsuperscript{58} He analyzes the pressure groups in the Netherlands which campaigned either for or against the abolition of slavery in Surinam. He also summarizes and explains the position of the various political parties in parliament. This in itself is interesting enough. However, on the basis of comparisons with England, he goes further to conclude that the question did not become controversial or deeply enmeshed in wider political and social conflicts, because the Netherlands in the mid-nineteenth century were socially and economically less developed than England. Unfortunately, in reaching this conclusion the writer is forced to a level of theoretical abstraction at which perhaps anything might be defended.

Industrialization only came to the Netherlands in the final decades of the nineteenth century. It therefore had few industrial towns and formed an exception to normal western European patterns of urbanization and demographic structure. However, Rotterdam, exceptionally, did show many of the characteristics of the typical nineteenth century industrial town. According to H. van Dijk\textsuperscript{59} this was largely attributable to its rapid growth after 1850 through immigration from the smaller towns in the surrounding areas. The municipal authorities failed to regulate this population growth and as the town’s boundaries were not extended, there was a massive concentration within the old existing town limits with all the attendant consequences. The appalling living conditions, for instance, gave rise to serious outbreaks of cholera in 1832, 1848, 1853 and 1866. But although Rotterdam had many features of an industrial town, it had no large-scale mechanized industry until the 1890s. Its striking, indeed for the Netherlands unique, population growth between 1850 and 1870 was largely owing to its favourable situation as a port. As early as 1850, individual incomes in Rotterdam were far more dependent on international market trends than was the case in Amsterdam.

dam. This was because of the steady growth in shipping and trade which the town had enjoyed since 1815. In particular, it was the lucrative transit-trade which turned Rotterdam into an international port and tied her to the economies of England and the German hinterland. Van Dijk argues that this occurred in spite of and not because of the attitude of the Rotterdammers themselves, many of whom regretted the disappearance of the staple market and the home trade, and were uneasy about the town's dependence on foreign shipping and commissions on foreign transactions.

Van Dijk's study is very obviously a modern urban history. His theoretical analysis of urbanization, demography, socio-economic developments, gives to the work a general significance which social, economic and especially demographic historians will find invaluable and relevant to the history of the Netherlands as a whole.

The appalling problem of pauperism in nineteenth-century Rotterdam and the means whereby the Reformed Church attempted to combat it, form the subject of a well-researched and fluenty written dissertation by P.A.C. Douwes. In spite of attempts by the municipal authorities in 1806 and 1840 to assume responsibility for poor relief, the Reformed Church was not prepared to abandon its traditional role of caring for the spiritual and physical well-being of its needy members. The main burden of responsibility fell upon the deacons, whose own social background naturally set a stamp upon their activities. They generally came from a milieu of big business, though in the course of the century they were joined by deacons of a more middle-class background. There was certainly no shortage of paupers, and from mid-century, particularly after the liberal poor law of 1854 had strictly limited the role of the State, the number of paupers dependent on diaconal support grew steadily. Only after 1900 did the number of reformed communicants receiving assistance diminish noticeably. On the other hand, the numbers in receipt of municipal poor relief had already dropped back sharply by 1880. How did the diaconate care for the poor in Rotterdam, a town which had grown like no other? In the first place, they provided food and clothing for communicant members; they also provided homes for orphans and the aged, founded schools and even a special Church for the poor. This doubtless explains why the author could still encounter the view today among certain social groups in Rotterdam that the Church's primary role was to provide material support for its members.

In the period between the two world wars there was much discussion of the so-called 'population question'. Ph. van Praag has published a useful introduction to the debate in the Netherlands,1 which in his opinion was not so much a debate as a series of monologues which took little account of each other. He distinguishes the socio-economic aspects (the relationship between population size on one hand, and employment opportunities and the food supply on the other; the position of women), ethical dimensions (such questions as the acceptability of birth control and, far less frequent-

ly, of eugenics), political questions (how far government policy in matters of population was based on moral standards and the values prevailing in society) and scientific progress (demography developed into an independent discipline in the interwar period). In the great debate on population growth immediately after the First World War all these aspects came up for discussion. During the depression of the 1930s it was primarily the socio-economic aspects of population growth which were widely discussed. Nevertheless, further progress was made in the analysis of demographic trends, and the ideological conflict about the moral implications of a population policy continued unabated.

As is well known, the Dutch social-democratic opposition sought an answer to the Great Depression in the famous 'Plan for Labour'. Remarkably, this Plan has seldom if ever been subjected to thorough historical analysis. In a stimulating article, R. Abma sheds light on the Plan and places it in the context of the development of the Dutch Social-Democratic Workers Party (SDAP). Its somewhat ageing leadership which had been in power for years had in fact no answer to the economic crisis, and fell back on the old ideas of nationalization. The main influence from abroad was that of disillusion over, and fear for, the fate of the German sister party, while some part was also played by the so called 'democratic socialism' of Hendrik de Man. The electoral defeat of 1933, which clearly demonstrated the failure of the old approach, made it all the more imperative to adopt a new strategy. It was against this background that the desire for a socialist society on the one hand and the new economic insights of a group of mainly young economists (including J. van Gelderen, J. Tinbergen and H. Vos) on the other, could come together in a Plan in which the main priority was to attack the economic crisis by means of a greater degree of planning in the economy. In the eyes of many, the short-term political objective of the Plan was to gain, or perhaps not to lose, the votes of the unemployed and the middle classes. The importance of this aspect of the Plan is clear from the fact that it began to decline as a decisive element in party policy when it was realized that it had failed to yield any electoral profits in spite of the propaganda associated with its launching.

The 1977' Yearbook for the history of socialism and the labour movement in the Netherlands concentrates almost exclusively on the twentieth-century history of left-wing movements in the Netherlands, with a marked emphasis on those with communist leanings. By far the most important article is G. Harmsen's detailed biographical sketch of one of the most prominent theoreticians of interwar communist circles, A.S. de Leeuw. Closely sometimes too closely following the publications of De Leeuw in chronological order, Harmsen relates the development of De Leeuw's views from the moment when, as a young student in the First World War, he was gripped by

the revolutionary events of the time, until his death in Auschwitz in 1942. It is striking how long De Leeuw’s loyalty to the party and the need which he felt for discipline, kept him in the Dutch Communist Party (CPN) or perhaps rather in the Comintern, and as a result obliged him to defend the party line in his writings. After he had already rather drifted into the background of the CPN in the thirties, he broke with the party leadership in 1940 over the policy to be adopted towards fascism and national socialism. It is also remarkable that it was in this period that De Leeuw gained some fame outside his own circle, especially with his book on the Netherlands in world politics published in 1936.

There is not much to report on the history of the Netherlands during the Second World War. Only two publications call for attention. In the first place, 1976 saw the appearance of the second volume of the memoirs of J.H. Scheps, of which the first volume has been noted in a previous survey. Once again, mostly in connection with wartime events, Scheps offers a rather prolix discussion of a number of political and ideological questions on the one hand, and a series of examples of wartime conduct, most of which meet with his disapproval, on the other. In this volume, as in the first, the appendix of Schep’s publications, some of them illegal, from the years 1940-45, is of great value. These memoirs of a worthy and idiosyncratic personality are certainly of importance for our knowledge of the war years.

Secondly, a book on the so-called Englandspiel, the sad story of a long series of Dutch agents dropped, with English help, in the occupied areas only to be picked up by German counterespionage. Despite the fact that the agreed signal that something was amiss was sent to England, there was no reaction to it there. The dropping of agents and the radio contacts were continued with many lives being sacrificed as a result. J. Rep has written a readable and richly illustrated book on this subject, devoting most of his attention to the fate of the agents dropped and to German counterespionage. As a result the main question — the cause of the failure in England — is hardly discussed. The accusation of treachery is often made in this connection. Without much argument either way Rep supports the verdict of L. de Jong and others that ‘capital blunders’ were made. A serious shortcoming in this journalistic but still sound book is the lack of any references to sources.

Publications on the period after the Second World War are now beginning to appear. Undoubtedly the most important is the first part of a planned multi-volume parliamentary history of the Netherlands after 1945, in which F.J.F.M. Duynstee and J. Bosmans present a detailed and solid account of the Schermershorn-Drees cabinet in the period 24 June 1945-3 July 1946. This work contains a wealth of well-organized information on the whole range of problems, some extremely complicated, faced after

the liberation. We are given a clear insight into the questions relating to economic revival and administrative and political reconstruction, on the treatment of many types of political delinquency, on the important social measures adopted, and not least on foreign policy and decolonization. It is no criticism of the work to say that it is scarcely a parliamentary history in the strict sense. It would be an impossible task to write a ‘parliamentary history’ of a period in which at one time there was no functioning parliament and at another a parliament whose representative character was dubious. The last elections had been held in 1937, while the first postwar elections date from May 1946. After the war, the purged parliament was reinforced not by elections but by nomination. The authors have thus done wisely to allot the central role to cabinet policy and the problems which dominated the period. They were able to use not only the archives of the Council of ministers, which are very rich for this period, but also a number of departmental archives when necessary. As a result we are able to follow in detail the policy considerations which led to particular measures.

Alongside this book, which covers the whole field of Dutch history in the year following the end of the Second World War, a few detailed studies can be mentioned. J.L.G. van Oudheusden and J.A.M. Verboom have investigated events in several places in the provinces of North Brabant (Eindhoven, Bois-le-Duc and Waalwijk) in the period immediately after the liberation, especially the months when the area to the north of the great rivers was still not liberated (September 1944 to May 1945). Their main concern was with the movements for political renewal which emerged immediately after the liberation. It is interesting to see these movements, after an apparently strong start, soon lose their impetus and yield to the traditional forces in society, not least the episcopate. Even before the north was wholly freed, the movement for political renewal in the south had already been defeated. A.F. Manning and J. Bosmans have contributed a useful general introduction to these local studies. A separate publication is devoted to the first postwar prime minister, W. Schermerhorn. The most important parts of this book are a series of interviews which G. Puchinger had with Schermerhorn before the latter’s death in 1977, and a group of texts by Schermerhorn himself from various periods and on a variety of subjects. The work as a whole, however, remains disappointingly superficial. Schermerhorn’s opinions and his role immediately after the war deserve a more penetrating study.

An interesting article has appeared on social unrest in the docks in 1946. The author, P. Boomgaard, devotes most of his attention to testing the validity of certain all-embracing theories of conflict against the concrete case of the dock strikes. Placed

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In this context, the history and significance of the 1946 strike, already broadly described by B. Reinalda, become considerably clearer than was previously the case. The new material studied by Boomgaard is especially concerned with the role of the government. The main importance of these strikes, which ended in defeat, was that they reinforced the already existing climate of collaboration. They drove the traditional union movement, the employers and the government closer together instead of enhancing their mutual tensions. In the author’s opinion, the radical United Trade Union Movement (E.V.C., not then completely dominated by the communists as it became later), made an historic error by encouraging these strikes.

The climate of collaboration became and remained in the 1950s, the distinctive characteristic of the Dutch system of industrial relations. Not until the 1960s did it begin to change, and these changes are the subject of two studies. J.M.W. Binnenveld has published a slightly adapted version of his 1974 thesis on the Rotterdam metal industry strikes of 1965. The author, a sociologist by training, and whose main interests in this book are sociological, regards the strike of 1965 as the turning-point in the transition from traditionally peaceful industrial relations (especially in the metal industry and shipbuilding) to bitter labour unrest. He examines this phenomenon by an analysis of the interacting influences: national developments, specifically local conditions in Rotterdam, and certain changes in industrial organization. He supports his argument by a detailed investigation of the strike in the Wilton-Feijenoord yard (a firm where relatively generous social benefits were combined with a relatively high frequency of strikes). This is a book which does much to clarify the social history of the 1960s.

National wage policy and in particular the standpoint of the trade-union movement have been looked at by four students of sociology. In their voluminous work they have collected a plethora of often very detailed information on negotiations, debates, and positions taken by many sides on a variety of topics. Unfortunately they have not succeeded in giving any structure or coherence to their work. There are a few attempts to formulate general conclusions, but these are in the first place not derived from the sources, and secondly, so general that they did not need all these published data. Indeed, it was surely already clear enough that the 1960s had witnessed the collapse of the system of wage negotiation followed since 1945. The trade-union movement, hesitant, looking for a new road, left the path of harmonious collaboration and took a harder line, without there being any real evidence of genuine radicalization, let alone a revolutionary mood. As a collection of source material, however, this book may prove useful.


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Although this survey in general does not concern itself with colonial history, it is appropriate to refer briefly to the growing number of publications on Dutch colonial policy, and reactions to the problem of decolonisation. In his inaugural lecture, C. Fasseur gives a useful brief survey of the various ways in which Dutch governments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tried to justify the colonial relationship in moral terms.  

Indonesian interests increasingly came to occupy a leading place in the official ‘ideology’, which, however, did not imply any promotion of rapid emancipation from Dutch tutelage. The Dutch had difficulty in accepting that there was no place for them in the ‘building of Indonesia’. These two elements are clearly recognizable in an interesting collection of reminiscences by twelve former administrative officers in the pre-war Dutch East Indies. Convinced of having worked in the interests of the Indonesian population (known nowadays as development work), they nevertheless ignored the fact that European business could have an important part in their task. How difficult it was to accept that one was not needed in Indonesia’s development, or in the country at all, appears in the regularly repeated eulogies of the country (its natural beauty is several times praised in lyrical terms) and in a certain undertone of nostalgia in several contributions for the time when it was possible to work so happily and altruistically. Again, the modern nationalist movement is virtually absent from the collection. Administrative officers’ contacts were mostly with cooperative Indonesians, often traditional in their outlook, and with them they achieved much of value. This collection is thus almost as interesting for what it omits as for what it includes.

The memoirs of D. van der Meulen, also a former administrative officer, display a similar outlook. The same ethos, in this case with a strongly religious inspiration, of working for the population, is clearly apparent in this slightly revised version of the 1965 edition. But at the same time, it offers a counterweight by virtue of its deep understanding of the nationalist movement and its sharp criticism of Dutch colonial policy, which completely failed to assess this nationalism at its true value. Because of this lack of understanding, Dutch policy came to be little more than a policing operation, a policy of missed chances. This was the case not only before the Second World War, but also after it, when the policy of Van Mook in 1945 and 1946 certainly offered possibilities, but in the end came to be far too pro-Dutch and anti-Indonesian (especially anti-Republic of Indonesia).

A clearer understanding of twentieth-century Dutch policy in the East Indies (both that of The Hague and that of Batavia) has been greatly furthered by a variety of

recent source publications. P. Creutzberg had edited several volumes on Dutch economic policy in the East Indies and R.C. Kwantes one volume on the development of the nationalist movement.\textsuperscript{76} Like earlier volumes in the series, they contain much that deserves detailed study. Another series of source publications, edited by S.L. van der Wal, deals with the post-war process of decolonization. Six volumes have appeared, taking the story up to January 1947, that is shortly after the Dutch Parliament had conditionally approved the agreement of Lingadjati.\textsuperscript{77} The decision-making process and the considerations and problems which weighed on the Dutch side can be readily followed in these volumes. The great influence of circumstances on the opinion of those involved is particularly striking. Few Dutchmen appeared to be capable of detaching themselves from their own position and the immediate situation in order to take a more long-term view. Politicians in The Hague were swayed mainly by considerations of Dutch internal politics; such considerations met with little sympathy in Batavia, where other opinions were bound to prevail, although the military leaders again tended to take a different view from that favoured by the civilian negotiations with the Republic. Dutch diplomats in the rest of the world often saw yet another aspect of the situation.

Another important source for the decolonization of Indonesia, and Dutch policy towards it, is provided by the posthumously published second volume of the memoirs of J.A. Jonkman, minister for overseas territories in the Dutch government from 1946 to 1948.\textsuperscript{78} In some ways this book is disappointing, since quite large parts of it consist of summaries of well-known sources, and compilations of speeches. The more personal items in it are mostly very short and thus leave many questions unanswered, for example Jonkman’s observation that he wanted to carry out a pro-Indonesian policy but was prevented by circumstances from doing so. The whole book, on the other hand, illustrates the great importance which the author attached to questions of law and order. He is relatively detailed on the legal basis of Dutch policy, the sovereignty question and similar problems. In itself, of course, this does not exclude a recognition of the reality of the situation, but although Jonkman claims to have tried to hold a


\textsuperscript{77} Two volumes have appeared since the last review in \textit{Acta: S.L. van der Wal, ed., \textenquote{Officiële bescheiden betreffende de Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen 1945-1950, V and VI (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien, Kleine Serie, 41 and 44) (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975-76, 728, 813 p. ISBN 90 247 1818 x, 90 247 1960 7, f. 94,50, f. 83,20).}

balance between reality and legality, his book reflects his pre-occupation with the latter. His policy was also influenced by his background in the Indies and his preference for the so-called ‘policy of association’ in which the collaboration of the diverse elements in the multi-racial and culturally varied society of Indonesia was central.

A former diplomatic official J.G. de Beus, has written a book which is half memoir and half history. He describes three episodes of his career focussing not on his own role but on the events which he experienced. Firstly, he relates the atmosphere in diplomatic circles in Berlin before the invasion of the Netherlands (and the warning of this event given by the Dutch military attaché Sas). The other two episodes relate to the decolonization process, in the first place to the international repercussions of the second Dutch military (police) action in Indonesia in 1948, especially in the United Nations and the Security Council; and secondly to the New Guinea question, again mainly in so far as it affected international relations. As ambassador to Australia at the time, De Beus is able to illuminate the Australian attitude. In neither case are there many new or surprising revelations but the author gives a useful narrative paying full attention to often neglected international aspects and leaving the reader with the conclusion that on the Dutch side the importance of these international factors was systematically underestimated.

Finally a brief mention may be made of a contribution to diplomatic history by H.N. Boon. A career diplomat for 40 years, he has written a number of interesting primarily theoretical studies on diplomatic practice which also contain some information about the actual conduct of Dutch foreign policy.

Contributors to this article:

Dr. J.C.H. Blom (University of Amsterdam) — twentieth century.
Alice C. Carter (London) — general and early modern period.
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G.C. Gibbs (University of London, Birkbeck College) — early modern period.
Dr. J.C. Grayson (University of London, Goldsmith’ College) — general and early modern period.
Dr. J. Israel (University of London, University College) — seventeenth century.
Dr. Johanna Kossmann (Groningen) — general and middle ages.
Dr. J.L. Price (University of Hull) — seventeenth century.
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Dr. C.A. Tamse (University of Groningen) — nineteenth century.

SELECT LIST OF RECENT WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE LOW COUNTRIES
PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH


A stimulating survey, strongest on the Spanish side, with unusual breadth of vision and some new perspectives, but rather too many errors of detail on the northern Netherlands after 1572. It also suffers from some balance: the later chapters are noticeably briefer than the earlier ones and the book draws rather hurriedly to a somewhat indeterminate close. Good bibliography but some striking omissions.

An interesting survey, mainly confined to the southern Netherlands, which stresses the non-revolutionary nature of protestant preaching before 1569, and sees it rather as a search for recognition and legitimacy.

An excellent study of the split in the Family of Love between the followers of Hendrik Niclaes and those of Hendrik Jansen van Barrevelt or the 'Hielists'.

An eloquent and lively outline of the history of the Jews in the Netherlands with a wealth of pictorial illustration showing the impact of the Jews on Dutch life and art as well as the influence of Dutch culture upon the Jews. Specialists in Dutch Jewish history, of whatever period, will gain many new insights.
An interesting and in some ways novel interpretation of Spanish policy in this period, with particular emphasis on economic warfare.

A large-scale biography, largely narrative in approach, which is particularly instructive on De Witt's conduct of foreign policy. This is a work of meticulous scholarship, though some opportunities for a wider treatment may have been missed by the author's decision to stick narrowly to the sources, primarily De Witt's own papers.

A richly documented, wide-ranging study of the impact of war on international trade during the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, which further underlines the author's unrivalled command of the maritime history of the period and of the sources in a multiplicity of European archives.

Provides a case history in melancholia, and also some interesting side-lights into the intellectual life of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. The book makes extensive use of the correspondence of Barlaeus, which is given in the original Latin followed by an English translation.

A comprehensive, mainly narrative account of the tangled history of the Netherlands during the period 1780-1813. Well-documented, well-constructed, firmly set in its European context and written with indefatigable verve, it is an important contribution to a relatively neglected period in Dutch history. Nevertheless, the author's claim to have demonstrated the intellectual autonomy and European significance of the Batavian revolution cannot be entirely endorsed. Neither can the claims by some early reviewers that the book itself constitutes a revolution in Dutch historiography.

Suggests that Dutch failure in the whaling industry was the result of a serious lack of managerial insight. An interesting contribution to the debate on the relative
C.R. Emery and K.W. Swart

importance of psychological and economic factors responsible for the stagnation in Dutch economic life in the early nineteenth century.

Sheds some interesting light on the role of foreign entrepreneurs and the position of the local population.

A useful new series on the economic history of the former Dutch East Indies. The first volume contains data on Indonesia's export crops, 1816-1940.

An interesting essay about the nature of, and the ideas and attitudes towards colonial rule and about the political choices which were left open to those involved or imposed on them by developments in colonial society.

A fairly general article on the mutual relationships between the largest socialist trade-union confederations of the period.