Survey of Recent Historical Works on Belgium and the Netherlands Published in Dutch

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GENERAL

This bibliographical article has been produced by the members of the Dutch history seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London University, and a number of Belgian and Dutch historians. A list of the contributors will be found at the end of the article. The majority of books reviewed here appeared in 1978 and cover the history of the Low Countries from the middle ages to the present day.

To begin with, reference should be made to a number of works which do not fit conveniently into the periodization adopted for this survey. First of all, there is the repertory of books and articles on the history of the Netherlands, published in the series of the Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien, which has been brought up to 1978.\(^1\) Regular, annual publication seems now to be assured under the editorship of Th.S.H. Bos. Then there is the excellent bibliography of the urban history of the Northern Netherlands produced by G. van Herwijnen and members of the Historisch Seminarium of the University of Amsterdam.\(^2\) It registers relevant source material as well as a wide selection of literature on the history of the towns and their inhabitants.

Another useful reference work is the new biographical dictionary of Dutch protestantism of which the first volume was published in 1978.\(^3\) It will supplement the uncompleted five-volume protestant biographical dictionary which was published between 1919 and 1949 and covered the letters A to Lin. It will also incorporate biographical sketches of prominent figures who have died since that time. The entries in each volume will be presented in alphabetical order but unlike its predecessor, each volume will not be confined to particular letters of the alphabet. Understandably, priority will be given in the first instance to names from the second half of the alphabet which the older biographical dictionary failed to cover. Although the articles are considerably shorter, they do include bibliographies and lists of the subjects’ own writings.

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The origin and development of the *waterschappen*, the water defence units responsible for the upkeep of dikes, the drainage of polders and so on, has attracted a number of studies in recent years. H. van der Linden has now produced a succinct general survey of the various aspects of *waterschap* administration from their origins up to the present day. One useful feature is the sharp distinction made by the author between the *hoogheemraadschappen* responsible for the sea and river dikes, and the polder districts where the smaller number of landed proprietors have a greater say in the administration. The powers of the *waterschap* boards and the obligations of the landed proprietors are dealt with thoroughly and systematically. The booklet can be recommended to those who want to know, in general terms, the working and the development of these institutions which (and this is Van der Linden's main thesis) have undergone few fundamental changes throughout the course of their existence.

The Centrum voor Maatschappijgeschiedenis (Centre for the History of Society) was founded in 1977 as an interfaculty institute of the Erasmus University Rotterdam to sponsor interdisciplinary research and conduct mainly postgraduate teaching in the history of society. Its first *Information bulletin* provided some details about the Centre's general approach to the field of social history and on areas of current and future research: long-term and short term investigations will focus upon the impact of industrialization and modernization on the demographic and social structure of the Netherlands; changes in the position, structure and recruitment of the Dutch elite from the late eighteenth to the twentieth century; and the treatment of people with deviant behaviour. The programme has now begun to unfold. So far most of the information bulletins have been written in English and their titles are therefore to be found in the English list at the end of this article.

**MIDDLE AGES**

A number of source editions have been published recently, none of which will change our views on medieval history, but which are useful nonetheless. Whereas in the Netherlands the writing of hospital history has traditionally been left to members of the medical profession, in Belgium, under the stimulating influence of P. Bonenfant (d.1965) a growing interest in the subject has been shown by professional historians. The Belgian society for hospital history publishes a flourishing journal of its own containing interesting articles on hospitals and other charitable institutions, a subject which has also received some attention in various regional periodicals. The Belgian hospital archives are often remarkably rich in material for monographs and source editions. In the series of the Royal Historical Commission, the Antwerp archivist


5. *Annales de la société belge d'histoire des hôpitaux* (Annalen van de Belgische vereniging voor hospitaalgeschiedenis) (Brussels, 1963 ff.).

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J. Van den Nieuwenhuizen has now completed a magnificent edition of the charters of the Saint Elizabeth's hospital at Antwerp (1226-1355),6 containing 240 documents from the period before Antwerp's temporary attachment to the county of Flanders. Although most of them concern the hospital's landed property, tithes and rents, some light is thrown on the organization of the monks and nuns who cared for the 'infirm poor'. They were not allowed to exceed the number of four men and seven women. Some of them were clearly members of the Antwerp magistrate class. They were not alone in nursing the patients, however: one document shows that converts and salaried servants could be employed as well. In his introduction, Van den Nieuwenhuizen gives a short survey of the hospital's early history, its estates (all within a small radius and on Brabant territory) and its governing masters and prioresses. Curiously enough, he states that it has always been the master who represented the hospital in matters involving the transfer of property and the fixing of rents. This was apparently only the result of some scandal, mentioned in a document of 1292, which forced the prioress to give up her original, dominating position.

H.R. van Ommeren is the editor of an interesting document, a roll of the merchant guild of Deventer.7 This roll contains the guild's statutes, written down in 1249 (which is therefore one of the oldest documents of its type), together with a list of 1445 persons, admitted as members at more or less regular intervals between 1249 and 1387. The editor, by carefully analysing this list, has found that the membership was not confined to merchants, since magistrates, clerics and a considerable number of craftsmen joined the fraternity apparently in order to participate in the guild's drinking parties. This has led Van Ommeren to study the statutes and those of comparable guilds of other continental towns more closely. He concludes that similar conditions probably existed in St. Omer, which would certainly make St. Omer statutes more comprehensible.

G.M. de Meyer has continued her edition of the medieval town accounts of Deventer and has now reached the year 1434.8 In her introduction she gives a rapid survey of the political situation in the years dealt with, including the struggle for the episcopal see of Utrecht, in which the IJssel towns were actively engaged. She adds to this a list of currency values for the money of account used in Deventer from 1337 (when the series of documents starts) till 1435. In the last few years a growing interest in this subject has been evident among Dutch historians: more and more material is being collected in order to gain an insight into local monetary fluctuations in the middle

ages. De Meyer’s contribution is therefore most welcome. For the series Fontes minores mediæ ævi G.R. Bosscha Erbrink has unearthed a curiosity: the household accounts of the Duke of Gelre’s customs officer at Lobith, who was also keeper of the fortress there. It forms an appendix to the customs accounts of 1428-29 and contains the weekly expenditure on foodstuffs, excluding wholesale purchases of such items as oxen, sheep, pigs, grain and wine, but including large quantities of saffron, ginger and pepper.

Another, more interesting, minor source has been edited by W.J. Alberts. Although the original medieval statute book of Doetinchem, a town in the duchy of Gelre, has not survived, copies have been preserved which date from the sixteenth century. It contains regulations laid down by the town magistrates for the maintenance of law and order and the proper conduct of court proceedings, for the prevention and combatting of fires, building regulations, the sale of perishable goods and so on. It shows a markedly greater distrust of foreigners than do most statute books of this type.

J.R.G. Schuur, who began his academic life as a geographer, became interested in the early development of Leeuwarden, the capital of the province of Friesland. He soon found that research in this field involved not only archaeology and political and economic history but also ancient Frisian law and institutions. All of which did not deter him from tackling this difficult subject and writings a doctoral thesis on ‘Leeuwarden before 1435’. Archaeology provided him with the necessary data on the early terp settlement where Roman terra sigillata and coin finds seem to indicate the presence of Roman soldiers in this region in the first century A.D. The terp was probably deserted from the fourth century until the eighth when a new population, which took part in the prosperous Frisian trade of the period, started to grow rapidly. The absence of archive material for the early period led the author to look for comparable developments elsewhere (e.g. Emden), but the basis for his reconstruction of the original town plan is provided by archaeology and cartography. His observations on the economy of the town are of a very general character. Schuur also tries to explain the origins of Frisian urban law but here he is remarkably unconvincing. The book leaves the reader with the impression that the author has been either too ambitious or perhaps too hasty. More thorough and systematic research might have yielded more satisfactory results and done greater justice to Schuur’s laudable intentions.

The German historian Manfred van Rey has written a detailed, well documented study of early medieval parish organization in two pagi belonging to the diocese of Liège: Ardennes and Condroz, including the pugi Famenne, which became separated from the Condroz in the ninth

century.\textsuperscript{12} His voluminous book is divided into two parts. The second consists of a catalogue of parishes and contains all available particulars on Church foundation, rank of the parish in the Church organization, tithe collecting and landed property in the parish in the period before 1200; controversial issues are discussed in detail. The author has arranged this valuable material according to the archdeaconries to which the parishes belonged before 1559. In the first part of the book, however, the pagi are his point of departure. He argues that these administrative units, dating back to the Roman period, were the basis of the original archdeaconies and deaneries; the fact that in the middle ages the latter’s boundaries no longer coincided with those of the pagi is, according to Van Rey, due to the expansion of some of these ecclesiastical districts during that period. The results of his research into the distribution of landed property are interesting. It appears that whereas in Condroz private property prevailed, in the Ardennes pagi a large part of the land pertaining at least originally to the royal demesne. Van Rey relates this phenomenon to the possibility that in late Roman times the administration closed the tractus laid out in the Ardennes forest to the Frankish settlers. He surmises that it was taken over at a later date by the Merovingian fisca, which is an ingenious explanation of a remarkable difference between the two pagi. Nine large maps show, amongst other things, the density of settlement in the Roman and Frankish periods, the boundaries of the pagi, the episcopal and royal monasteries and their role in the formation of new parishes as well as the distribution of landed property belonging to secular lords. It is a pity that Van Rey has not given a summary of his interesting findings. The reader is swept from one technical point to another, and all pertinent conclusions are more or less submerged in the flood of the author’s arguments.

In an excellent article D.P. Blok assesses the current state of knowledge about Viking influence in the Northern Netherlands.\textsuperscript{13} Whereas the Louvain historian A. D’Haenen in 1967, apparently inspired by the first edition of Sawyer’s \textit{Age of the Vikings}, and then again in 1977, tried to minimize the effects of the Norsemen invasions on the Low Countries, Blok returns to a more balanced view, supported by the recent archaeological research performed by the Van Giffen Institute of the University of Amsterdam. In fact, no Dutch historian has ever doubted that the Norsemen contributed to the disintegration of imperial power in their country or that the later counts of Holland derived their position directly from that of the Norseman Godfred. D’Haenen’s opinion that the Vikings only directed their attacks at rich abbeys and left the population in peace does not make sense for the Northern Netherlands where rich ecclesiastical institutions were absent. Although the destruction of the region may not have been as extensive as the contemporary chroniclers claimed, it was by no means negligible. On the other hand, there are no valid arguments for the opinion that some typical institutions later encountered in Friesland and Holland are of Scandinavian origin. Scandinavian toponyms trace are also lacking in these parts. The author concludes that the possibility of a settlement of any importance of Norsemen in the Northern Netherlands must be discounted.

The efforts of the archbishops of Cologne to extend their secular power over the much divided region between Rhine and Meuse north of the line Cologne-Aix-la-Chapelle-Maastricht are described by W.J. Alberts in his history of this part of ancient


\textsuperscript{13} D.P. Blok, ‘De Wikingen in Friesland’, \textit{Naamkunde}, X (Amsterdam, 1978) 25-47.
Lotharingia. Without changing our general picture of what occurred, especially during the Investiture conflict and in the first half of the thirteenth century, the author provides a useful, detailed survey of a complicated course of events. The book also contains the early history of such counties as Gelre, Jülich and Cleves.

Galbert of Bruges’s well-known diary, which describes the murder of Count Charles of Flanders in 1127 and its repercussions, has been translated into Dutch by A. Demyttenaere. This beautifully illustrated volume includes a useful, previously printed article by L. Devliegher on the topography of Bruges and the architecture of the St Donatus Church (the place of the murder). It also contains an excellent introduction by R. Van Caenegem, admirably analysing the tragic story of the failed coup d’état attempted by a powerful clan of servile origin whose very existence was threatened by Count Charles’s monarchical ambitions. In retrospect, he appears to have backed the wrong social group, the ancient nobility rather than the rising towns and the ministeriales. The ensuing chaos was characterized on the one hand by the coolly calculated power politics of the town magistrates and on the other by the repulsive acts of violence of vengeful nobles and angry mobs. Van Caenegem stresses the deep dilemma which faced Galbert, a law-abiding civil servant who at first supported William Clito, whom he considered to be the rightful successor to the county. However he later changed his mind when the towns of Ghent and Bruges shifted their allegiance to Derek of the Alsace and contributed to his victory over Clito and his feudal lord, the king of France. Van Caenegem elaborates further on this theme in a separate treatise on the juridical problems which turn up in the diary. Here, as well as in the introduction, he examines the bond between Flanders and the French king in the twelfth century. On the strength of the impressive speech delivered by one of the Flemish leaders and of the general attitude of the towns he concludes that Flanders in this period had outgrown the feudal tutelage of France and considered itself free to choose its own ruler.

J.F. Verbruggen has published a new version of his well-known study on the Battle of Courtrai, where the French army met with total disaster in 1302. The long exposition on sources, historiography and geographical characteristics of the battlefield which was included in the first edition has been omitted. On the other hand, the author has added a survey of the events preceding the revolt of Bruges and short biographical sketches of the leaders, Pieter de Coninc, Guy of Namur and Robert of

Artois. He has also added some details to his story of the battle and revised some of his figures. In discussing the woodwork of the New College Chest (Oxford), a contemporary picture of the events of 1302, the author has altered some of his previous explanations. Another welcome addition is the account of what happened after the battle: the contest for the castle of Courtrai and the parts of Flanders which had remained outside the rebellion, and the failure of Philip the Fair's expedition in the same year. The conclusion of the new book differs from its more moderately-worded predecessor in its distinctly Flemish-nationalist flavour: we hear only of Flemish triumphs while the eventual loss of Walloon Flanders is represented as a definite gain. Here the author's rhetoric seems to have got slightly out of hand.

The accounts of the St John's hospital at Bruges from 1279 till 1328 have been used by J. Vermaere for a short study of the management of the hospital's estates in the Vrije (Franc) of Bruges, the Four Districts (in present-day Zeeuws-Vlaanderen) and the Flemish coastal area. The period covered in the accounts coincides with the years between the revolt of the Flemish towns and the crushing defeat of the peasants of coastal Flanders, but the author cannot trace any important direct consequences for St John's of the famous Battle of Courtrai. He nevertheless calls 1302 a turning-point in the hospital's estate management. Until 1300 income from the expanding curtes and the rents from leased-out farmland increased steadily. But after 1302, while a well-maintained equilibrium became characteristic of the Vrije and the Four Districts, the system in the coastal area seems to have been upset. A further, more detailed study of these phenomena would be welcome.

A. Louis, who teaches the history of botany at the University of Louvain, has studied the 'Tithe register' of the chapter of St Rombout's at Mechlin and agricultural activity in the Mechlin region in the fifteenth century. He has tackled his task in a curiously parochial way, apparently unaware of the existence of any other historical writing on his theme except Slicher van Bath's Agrarian history. His document, however, is interesting; it contains the leases of the chapter's tithes due in villages and hamlets around Mechlin, Lier and Antwerp from 1430 till 1500; they mention the contributions, mainly in rye and oats, to be delivered each year. The author carefully analyses the details. He finds that revenues tended to rise in the first ten years, remained stable in the following decades but, at least in a number of places, showed a dramatic drop around 1492. The author considers and rejects a phytopathological explanation and tentatively suggests that river flooding may have been the cause. He does not refer, however, to the generally desperate situation in the Southern Netherlands in those years. By a method of multiplication the author tries to calculate the total amount of rye and oats produced in the localities and to arrive at conclusions about the nutrition of the population of the town of Mechlin.

18. J. Vermaere, 1302: Brekpunt intake domaniaal beheer van het Brugse Sint-Janshospitaal (1279-1328), Belgisch centrum voor landelijke geschiedenis, LIII (Ghent-Louvain: Centre belge d'histoire rurale, 1977, 22 p.).
In his book on social and economic developments in medieval Rijnland, Delfland and Schieland from ca. 1345-ca. 1415, D.E.H. de Boer has studied minutely the fiscal records of the administration of the county of Holland to obtain an insight into population numbers, price and wage fluctuations and industrial and commercial developments of the area.\(^\text{20}\) The most interesting part of the book is the one dealing with the problems of the countryside, where geological conditions made agriculture increasingly difficult (reflected in the declining returns from the count’s tithes) and where peat digging did not as yet offer a viable alternative. This, in the author’s opinion, was the main reason for the influx of new burghers into the towns of Leiden and Gouda in the late fourteenth century. These newcomers largely originated from nearby fen districts and they contributed to the process of urbanization which became so characteristic of Holland. De Boer tries to calculate the actual decrease in population in the countryside during these decades, but his legal and fiscal sources are frustratingly scanty and his conclusions consequently largely speculative. For instance, his belief that in the second half of the fourteenth century the Black Death took a heavy toll in the villages is in fact more a deduction from what is known about epidemics in some of the Holland towns than an interpretation of reliable data. More successful, however, is his analysis of toll returns and the figures concerning the lease of brewery and weigh-house duties in a number of towns. These confirm the importance of the brewing industry of Delft and show that in Gouda the production of beer was also gaining ground, whereas the local breweries of smaller towns in spite of courageous efforts found themselves unable to compete effectively. The count’s income from these duties shows remarkable fluctuations. Some — but not all — of the low returns seem to correlate with well-known attacks of the plague in the town of Leiden (and possible similar attacks elsewhere) but there are unexplained sudden peaks that are equally striking. De Boer is probably right in thinking that his figures closely correspond to economic reality, although one should not forget that the value of a lease in one year reflects not that year’s results but the expectations raised in former years. All in all the material collected seems to suggest an economic boom during most of the period, and a favourable equilibrium in the early fifteenth century. The picture, however, is far from complete, based as it is on what was recorded in the count’s administration. The urban economy was not exclusively based on brewery and drapery (lightly touched upon in this book) and country lads who saw no future in farming did not all emigrate to the towns. The total absence of fishery and maritime trade from this study is in accordance with the research undertaken, but is none the less regrettable. Nevertheless, the book is a valuable contribution to research in the field.

W.P. Blockmans has written a major work on the various representative assemblies in Flanders under Burgundian rule, which were at that time actively engaged in public

affairs and influenced the policy of the count of Flanders. Their structure was complex, based on the division of the county into three or (more usually) four administrative districts or ‘quarters’. Three of them were headed by each of the three big towns, Bruges, Ghent and Ypres. These towns exercised an overwhelming influence in the kwaartier assemblies formed by delegates from all towns and from the castries dominated by the gentry. The three towns, with or without the Vrije (Franc) of Bruges, constituted the council of the Members of Flanders which played a more active part in public affairs than the States. The States, where in theory all towns and castries sent their delegates, met only occasionally. The author describes the composition of all these institutions and assesses how active they were, on the basis of the frequency and length of their meetings. He also discusses the subjects they deliberated and the extent to which they were able to impose their views on the government. It appears that it was quite impossible for the Members to oppose the growing power of the Burgundian princes effectively except under abnormal circumstances such as the revolt against Maximilian of Habsburg in 1477, because they were divided amongst themselves by economic and political interests. Their influence thus remained limited; even in crucial matters like monetary policy they could never achieve any but short-lived successes.

For this study the author has made use of a wealth of documents and his exposition will be most valuable to specialists on the period and in the field of institutional history. They will, however, seriously regret that the author throughout his book has chosen to employ terms like ‘the representatives of the people’ (alternatively used for the Members, the States and all councils and assemblies together) and the ‘electoral system in Flanders’. Such anachronisms probably stem from a wish to consider opposition to the counts as a struggle for freedom and democracy in a modern sense.

An interesting article by E. Thoen on social and economic aspects of military destruction in Flanders during the late medieval and early modern period is published in this Yearbook, above, p. 25 ff.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The publication of the new Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden has continued with the appearance of volume VI covering the political, religious and economic history of most of the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth century. However, its claim to be a new ‘standard work’ for the period must be treated with some scepticism. Much

of the responsibility must be attributed to a rather wayward editorial policy. It is with some difficulty that a volume which covers economic history 1490-1580, religious history 1517-1648 and political history 1555-1648 can claim to offer a coherent analysis of a period which was decisive for the subsequent development of a divided Netherlands. No fewer than 21 historians have contributed to this volume, with the result that not only is there considerable unevenness in the length and quality of the chapters but also in the coverage of the period. The iconoclastic riots of 1566, for example, are discussed three times, and the negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Münster twice; and while the religious life of the northern provinces after 1572 receives three chapters, the catholic revival in the south is allowed only one. Moreover, space has been restricted by the inclusion of many colour plates which, although very lavish, often have little or nothing to do with the text. Furthermore, the attempt to treat North and South separately at times produces a confusing, and partly unjustified, picture of developments. This is especially true of the section dealing with economic history, although, taken as a whole, it is the most successful part of the book. H. van der Wee gives an authoritative account of developments in trade, banking and finance in the southern provinces, while H. Klompmaker's treatment of the same subject for the northern provinces is less convincing. H. Soly and A.K.L. Thijs provide a stimulating survey of the industrial developments in the south, which contrast with the picture of relative industrial stagnation in the north described by L. Noordegraaf. On the other hand, as R.W. Unger and W. Brulez show, shipping was far more developed in the north than in the south; while H.A.H. Boelmans Kranenburg and R. Van Uytven deal on a rather technical level with the fishing industry respectively in the northern and southern provinces.

The chapters dealing with religious history are also of a fairly high standard. In spite of some overlapping, A.F. Mellink and J. Decavele give an excellent account of the early reformation and the beginnings of the catholic restoration. D. Nauta's chapter on religious developments between 1568 and 1579 concentrates on the organizational development of the Reformed Church in the north, but says little either about the practical problems which the reformed and the other religious communities faced, or about the 'revolutionary' nature of the reformation during the 1570's. By contrast, the experiences of the catholic, anabaptist and Jewish communities, as well as the reformed, receive full treatment in the two excellent chapters of W. Nijenhuis on the religious life of the north from 1579 to 1648. He dispenses with the 'protestantization' theory, and emphasizes the hybrid and heterodox nature of the Dutch reformed protestantism, concluding that the image of a 'Calvinist Netherlands' is largely a myth. The solitary chapter of L.E. Halkin deals succinctly with the catholics in the south from 1579 to 1609.

In contrast to the old AGN, political history receives rather less space. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that two of the longest chapters in this section, dealing with the crucial period 1555-79, are among the weakest of the book. Although there is no formal division between North and South, G. Janssens describes events from an almost exclusively South Netherlands point of view, and gives insufficient con-
consideration to developments elsewhere in the Low Countries — and Spain — which were
crucial for the subsequent history of the revolt. The two chapters of A.J. Tjaden cover-
ing the emergence of the Republic from 1579 to 1609 are also far from satisfactory.
While provincial particularism is rightly identified as a major cause of the disintegra-
tion of the rebel front in the 1580’s, too much significance is attached to
Rennenberg’s defection; and the consolidation of the Republic in the 1590’s is dis-
 missed in a mere four pages. The quality of these four chapters is also marred by a
large number of inaccurate and misleading statements. The chapters devoted to de-
velopments in the south after 1579 and in the Republic after 1609 are more com-
 mendable. While Parma’s victories are only mentioned in passing, H. De Schepper
shows how Madrid gradually reasserted its political control over the loyalist provinces,
even after the accession of the archduke in 1598, a theme which is continued by
P. Janssens in two chapters on developments during the Truce and the administration
of Isabella. For the north, H. Gerlach examines the tensions in the young Republic
during the Truce which led to the fall of Oldenbarneveldt, while J.H. Kluiver provides a
convincing account of the political developments and relationships within the Repu-
 blic from 1621 to 1650. A brief chapter by H. Houtman-Desmedt on the last phase of
the war in the south adds little to Kluiver’s contribution. However, in spite of some
excellent individual contributions, this volume, as an analysis of the complex social,
economic, religious and political changes which took place in the Netherlands during
this period, leaves much to be desired.

The financial burdens of Charles V’s wars were an increasing source of friction be-
tween the emperor and his Netherlands possessions. Of the ‘patrimonial provinces’
Flanders regularly paid between one-quarter and one-third of the subsidies demanded
by their prince. Based on extensive research in local, municipal, provincial and
national archives, N. Maddens has produced an extremely detailed but lucid analysis of
the impact of this tax burden on the county of Flanders between 1515 and 1550,23
concentrating on the enormous complexity of the system of fiscal administration
which developed to cope with it. Particularly striking are the persistent inequalities in
the repartition system which governed the division of the tax burden over the towns
and rural districts of the province. Clerical and noble exemptions, and the fact that
consent to subsidies in the States of Flanders depended on the Vier Leden — Ghent,
Bruges, Ypres and the Brugse Vrije — receiving hefty reduction in their quotas, led to
the constant overburdening of the rural areas. The excise duties which the towns used
for funding their quotas not only hit the poorer classes hardest, but also bore indirect-
ly on the rural population; while the form of land tax favoured in the rural areas dis-
criminated against tenants and in favour of absentee landowners. Attempts by the
central government in the 1540’s to devise a more equitable tax system — for purely
fiscal reasons — founded on the opposition of the privileged classes. However, after
1543 the States of Flanders, with the approval of the central government, began to

23. N. Maddens, De beden in het graafschap Vlaanderen tijdens de regering van Karel V. Standen

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raise their own indirect levies — the *imposten* — in order to meet their tax commitments. The author rightly sees the acquisition of their own revenue and financial organization as an important step in the States’ 'emancipation'. Less convincing is his assertion that the States became less interested in the fate of their contributions and therefore less particularistic. The States’ policy on this issue in earlier years was conditioned by the imminence and seriousness of the military threat from France and the diligence with which the central government attended to the defence of Flanders’ borders; and it seems unlikely that such particularistic attitudes became less potent after 1550.

The early history of the reformation continues to attract attention. Based largely on the evidence provided by prosecutions for heresy, L.J.A. van de Laar re-examines the character of the early reformation in Bois-le-Duc. An increasingly familiar picture emerges: a largely unpolticized, non-radical, sacramentarian/anabaptist type of religious dissent prevailed in the town until the 1560's, with the urban authorities, although fearful of social revolution, becoming increasingly reluctant to enforce the harsh provisions of the anti-heresy edicts, especially against their own citizens. Although Metz was not a refuge of the first order for refugees from the religious persecution in the Netherlands, D. Nauta shows that it was largely under the guidance and leadership of Netherlands ministers such as Petrus Colonius and Jean Taffin that the reformed community in Metz was organized in the late 1550's and 1560's.

The reorganization of central government in the Netherlands in 1531 saw the separation of the Privy Council (Geheime Raad) from the Grand Council of Mechlin (Grote Raad van Mechelen). While the Grand Council continued to function as a high court of appeal, especially in civil cases, H. De Schepper argues that its position as the *highest* court in the land was increasingly challenged by the Privy Council. Given its responsibility of supervising the drafting and implementation of new laws, the Privy Council's role in the judicial process could not be denied. Moreover, unlike the Grand Council, it had jurisdiction over all Charles V's possessions in the Netherlands, and had the power to review the sentences of all sovereign courts — including the Grand Council.

The Privy Council also played a vital role in drafting the Criminal Ordinances of 1570, an aspect of Habsburg centralization which has long been due for re-examination. This need has been partly satisfied by M. van de Vrugt's study of the first attempt at codification of the criminal law in the Netherlands. The book falls roughly

into two parts: a general survey of the social and political context in which the ordinances were issued and an expert analysis of their judicial content and significance. It is this second section which is the most convincing. Particularly interesting is the chapter dealing with the position in law of the accused, as laid down in the ordinances, which shows that the use of torture and the confiscation of property could occur almost at the beginning of the judicial process. However, those who wish to know more about the impact and long-term significance of the ordinances from an historical point of view will probably be disappointed. A number of interesting factors are elucidated, which were of 'decisive importance for the genesis, form and content' of the ordinances; for example, the political-constitutional ideas and principles on which Philip II's government was based, the system of government-by-council which operated in the Netherlands, and the vital role of the professional jurists. Less convincing is the attempt to show who opposed, or might have opposed, the ordinances and why, whether they were 'suspended' by the Pacification of Ghent in 1576 and the extent to which they retained the force of law throughout the Netherlands thereafter. Answers to these questions will need to be based on extensive archival research, and this, as the author admits, did not fall within the limits of her study.

The Union of Utrecht has acquired considerable significance in the historiography of the Netherlands as the 'foundation stone' of the Dutch State. To mark the quarter-century of the Union a number of publications have appeared which seek to revise this image. The Union did not constitute a 'turning point' in the history of the Netherlands, but assumed a significance which its authors had never intended only as a result of subsequent political and military developments. This is the not altogether surprising conclusion of the attempt of S. Groenveld et alii, to see the Union against the wider background of the Revolt and the far-reaching constitutional, social, economic and religious changes which took place in the Netherlands during the last half of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth. It was not perhaps to be expected that the Union, which was intended purely as a defensive military alliance, should have been a major agent of change in any of these fields. Nevertheless, as a brief survey of the major developments during the first years of the Revolt, incorporating the fruits of much recent research and new interpretations (especially of the period 1560-80), and enhanced by the inclusion of many fine illustrations, this publication compares extremely favourably with the relevant chapters of the new AGN.

The evolution of the Union, and its long-term significance are examined in more detail in a collection of essays edited by S. Groenveld and H.L.Ph. Leeuwenberg. The editors have provided an edition of the Union text based on the The Hague and Ghent manuscripts, and have firmly identified the latter document as 'the original' text of the

Union. In two contributions J.J. Woltjer places the Union in the context of his now familiar argument that the period 1560-80 witnessed the failure of moderate groups to achieve a peaceful solution to the religious and political problems of the Netherlands, caught as they were between the intransigence of the extreme 'right' and the extreme 'left'. In this schema the Union was the vehicle of the militant protesters and their political allies, and as a geo-political unit it made little strategic sense. A.E.M. Jansen contrasts the ideas of Orange, who saw a 'closer union' at first as a second line of defence and later as a means of bolstering the 'wider union', with those of his brother John of Nassau, who saw the Union as the cornerstone of an anti-catholic Dutch-German protestant axis. In the event the shape of the Union was dictated by the Hollanders and it conformed neither with the plans of Orange nor those of his brother. This theme is continued in a separate publication by J.J. Poelhekse, who argues that the Union concept was inseparable from the Orangist-Statist tensions of the early seventeenth century. The Union of the seven northern provinces was in fact a 'rump-union', the remains of a larger Generality which the princes of Orange sought to recreate, and which was not synonymous with the territories under the Republic's control.

The remaining articles consider the role of the articles of Union as a sort of 'constitution' during the life of the Republic. A.Th. van Deursen shows that an alliance which bound the signatories together 'as if they were one province' and yet which guaranteed particular privilege could not be implemented to the letter. The provisions of the Union were always subservient to political necessity in the resolution of disputes between the provinces. O.J. de Jong traces the evolution of the religious provisions of the Union, and argues that the most significant clauses for the subsequent religious life of the Republic were those guaranteeing 'freedom of conscience' and provincial autonomy in religious affairs. As a statement of principle, 'freedom of conscience' was never seriously challenged and it outlived the Republic. F.C. Spits shows that the Union, although primarily a defensive alliance, made no provision for any integrated defence organization. Defence remained a provincial affair and none of the military clauses of the Union were fully implemented. Nevertheless, the idea of a conscript army survived and was revived in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Finally, G.J. Schutte examines the role of the Union in the political controversies of the late eighteenth century. Under the influence of political defeat at home and revolutionary developments abroad, the more radical wing of the Patriot movement came to see the Union not as the best possible foundation for the Dutch State, but as a bulwark of inequality and aristocratic supremacy which had outlived its usefulness.

The Leiden archives continue to prove fruitful for the study of socio-economic/demographic developments in the city. Based on the evidence provided by capital levy tax-registers, R.C.J. van Maanen has examined the increase and distribution of capital

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wealth among the population of the city during the last quarter of the sixteenth
century. Although certain imponderables, such as the basis on which the earlier levies
were calculated and the exact relationship of the number of tax-payers to the total
population, make firm conclusions hazardous, the author suggests that while some
quarters of the city remained remarkably socially homogeneous, by 1600 social
divisions in other quarters were more pronounced. More interesting is his conclusion
that the wealthiest individuals were still to be found among the local nobility, and that
the city government in 1600 was no longer composed exclusively of the wealthiest
members of the community.

Hans Pohl's detailed and relatively large-scale study of the Portuguese minority at Antwerp (in
the main a New Christian community of Portuguese Jewish descent) during the early modern
period, deserves to be welcomed. The work is fairly bulky and deals with a relatively short
period. The starting-point (1567) was chosen because this was the date reached by J.A. Goris
in his pioneering study, published in 1925, of the Antwerp Portuguese, Spaniards and Italians
during the most flourishing period of the city's history. The year 1648, besides representing a
land-mark in the evolution of the Netherlands and Antwerp generally, also concludes the phase
in which the role of the Portuguese in the city was of real importance.

By far the larger part of the work is devoted to investigating the economic activities of the
Portuguese in Antwerp. Despite the solid grounding that the author possesses in the manuscript
records of the Antwerp city archive, the results are not entirely satisfactory. Part of the trouble is
that the author made little or no use of several other archival collections which are really essen-
tial for a study of this kind, notably those of the Rijksarchief in Brussels, the Amsterdam Ge-
meentearchief and the Archivo General de Simancas at Valladolid. More fundamentally, how-
ever, the lack of a proper framework arises from the author's apparent unawareness of many
facets of the wider political and economic history of the Netherlands during his period. His
account of the part played by the Antwerp Portuguese in the international sugar trade is a case in
point. Pohl convincingly links the high-point in this activity at Antwerp (and also in several
other Ibero-American and Ibero-Asian colonial products) with the period of the Twelve Years
Truce (1609-21). He has next to nothing to say, however, about the rapid contraction and
changing pattern of the trade after the resumption of the Spanish-Dutch war and Dutch naval
blockade of the Flemish coast in 1621 or the virtual ending of their sugar importing activity in
1625, owing to the Spanish ban on river trade between the Northern and Southern Netherlands
operating in the years 1625-29. But the single most glaring weakness, the author's sketchy treat-
ment of the financial dealings of the Antwerp Portuguese, is perhaps mainly attributable to his
neglect of the sources in Brussels and Spain. The operations of the Antwerp Portuguese in supplying
cash to the army of Flanders on behalf of the Spanish crown were highly significant in both
international terms and Netherlands politics, especially after 1627 when Portuguese New Chri-
tians came to dominate this business, and it was certainly their single most important activity
from a wider historical point of view. The author has relatively little to say here, however, essen-
tially because the basic documentation is not to be found at Antwerp. The discussion of the
religious and social attitudes of the Antwerp New Christians and their relationship to Dutch
Jewry and the Jewish world in general is excessively brief and fragmented and, though it is by no
means uninteresting, needs an even more systematic sequel than the treatment of their economic
functions.

31. R.C.J. van Maanen, 'De vermogensoorlog van de Leidse bevolking in het laatste kwart van de
zestiende eeuw', Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden, XCIII
(1798) 1-42.
32. H. Pohl, Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567-1648). Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit. Vier-
teljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, LXIII (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977, 439 p.,
ISBN 3 575 02380 1).
In a stimulating work of considerable detail, P.J. van Winter has successfully reconstructed the history of the Groningen chamber of the West India Company, from the establishment of the first company in the early 1620’s until the dissolution of the second in the 1790’s.33 The task was no easy matter because the official records of the chamber’s proceedings were unfortunately lost soon after the Company’s dissolution. In the original charter of the Company, issued in June 1621, it had been projected that the fifth chamber and the only one to be located outside the main zone of Dutch maritime activity would be based on Friesland and Groningen together and would raise close on one ninth (½ million guilders) of the Company’s initial capital. There was evidently considerable scepticism in Holland, however, as to whether this capital would ever be found or the northern chamber established. The actual response proved a surprise. While the gathering of the initial capital in the Republic as a whole was slower and more arduous than had been hoped, and nowhere more so than in Friesland where interest and involvement in the Company always remained exceedingly slight, in Groningen capital actually accumulated faster than had been anticipated, encouraged by large official investments on the part of the States of Groningen and the city council. When the first board of fourteen directors of the chamber was appointed, it included no Frisians: no fewer than six of the first directors were provincial gentry from the Ommelanden and five were members of the Groningen city council.

During the early phase of vigorous expansion, the Groningen chamber played an important part in the workings of the whole and supplied approximately its quota or one ninth share to the major WIC undertakings. Seven Groningen ships, for instance, were among the large fleet under Hendrick Cornelisz. Loneq which captured Recife and Olinda, in 1630. Predictably, Groningen together with the Zeeland and Maas chambers, and also the Utrecht representation in the Amsterdam chamber, staunchly opposed the drive in the 1630’s, backed by the Amsterdam chamber and the Noorderkwartier towns, to restrict the Company’s monopoly of trade with Brazil and permit private commerce, on payment of fees for licences, between the Republic and Brazil. Groningen participated on a regular basis in the Company’s Brazil trade and this sphere of activity is analyzed in some detail. Similarly, the chamber was active in the West Africa trade and the carrying of slaves to the Americas. A trend towards contraction in the role of Groningen was fully evident, however, by the 1640’s. While there was a pronounced tendency for Amsterdam to increase its domination of the affairs of the Company as a whole, particularly after 1650 and still more after the setting up of the second company, in 1674, the loss of momentum at Groningen was especially marked. If at the outset, in the early 1620’s, approximately one ninth of the Company’s capital was lodged in the Groningen chamber, by the time of the liquidation in 1790, the Groningen share had dwindled to well under one twentieth of the total. In the long run, the early hopes of the States and city council of Groningen that involvement in

the WIC venture would do a great deal to stimulate the trade of the region were disappointed.

A further two volumes have appeared of A.Th. van Deursen's projected four-volume work on life in the Dutch Republic or rather Holland, for the author is primarily concerned with this province, in the seventeenth century. Volume II deals with popular culture and contains sections on women and girls, spare-time activities, education, popular reading habits, and the sort of news available to the ordinary person. If parts of the picture of Dutch life drawn here come as no surprise, such as the supposedly independent and even stubborn ways of Dutch women, others are less well-known and perhaps unexpected. The author suggests, for example, that violence and particularly knife-fighting was very common, and that while murder was not very frequent, manslaughter was, and was not regarded as a particularly serious offence. Volume III is concerned with the relationship between government and people. The nature of the ruling oligarchy is briefly considered, then taxation and popular attitudes to it, followed by a comment on the government's way of dealing with its creditors. The very limited extent to which the authorities were able to control the habits and manners of their subjects is next considered, from which the impression emerges that the Dutch were particularly stubborn and bloody-minded when it came to any interference in the way they led their lives. The final chapter deals with the changing effects on Dutch society of the Eighty Years War. A great deal of interesting and illuminating material is packed into these short books, and they are certainly not bland. Disagreeing with the author on points of interpretation is one of the pleasures of reading these lively works. However, Van Deursen draws his evidence very largely from the first few decades of the century, and this does not allow him to give sufficient attention to the possibility that there were significant changes in manners and attitudes during the course of the century.

A notable book by E. Taverne provides a radically new view of town planning in the Republic during its period of economic and demographic expansion. A lengthy introduction discusses modern opinions on the planning and execution of town extension in this period, the development of the renaissance-humanist conception of the ideal city, and the activities of Dutch engineers in the early seventeenth century in the planning of new towns, particularly in the Baltic area. However, the largest and most important part of the book is concerned with detailed studies of the extensions to Leiden, Amsterdam and Haarlem, and of the abortive plans for the extension of Utrecht. The main point to emerge is that in practice these extensions took place piece-meal, often hesitantly, and that neither planning nor execution answered to the classicist ideal. Even Amsterdam, whose expansion has often been taken as a particularly

successful example of town planning, seems in fact to have had no coherent overall plan at all. The town was extended from time to time in response to population growth, to the need to provide suitable sites for industrial and commercial concerns, and to the demand for fine town houses for the richer citizens. Moreover, the way in which these extensions took place was determined more by the pattern of the new fortifications and the play of private interests than by any theoretical or even aesthetic considerations. Similarly with Leiden and Haarlem the extensions were made in response to immediate needs and their nature reflected more the fears of the town governments that they might not be able to sell off the new plots quickly enough—and thus that the extensions would cost too much—than perhaps any other consideration.

The introductory section fits in rather awkwardly with the main part of the book, and the work ends rather abruptly with no conclusion bringing out the principal implication of the detailed case-studies. It is somewhat curious to have to turn to the English summary to find this conclusion. However, the scholarly and well-illustrated studies of planning in these four towns are fascinating examples of the way in which Dutch society worked at this time.

The work of a seventeenth-century surveyor is discussed in a somewhat unusual book by Th.W. Harmsen. In form it is a set of numbered sections dealing with various aspects of the surveyor’s work, and includes an assessment of the accuracy of the instruments used. Also there is a discussion of the subject’s own book on surveying techniques, and detailed descriptions of the old maps consulted in the preparation of the book. Anyone wishing to understand the methods of land-surveying in this period will find a great deal of useful information in this study, but on the other hand there is rather too much material of only antiquarian interest. Moreover, it hardly seems necessary that the author should inform the reader—in the body of the text—of the make and number of the computer he used, together with the date and number of the programme. There is useful, and even interesting material here, but it is presented in a distinctly eccentric way.

A well-written piece of diplomatic history by J.A.K. Haas deals with the negotiations to settle a dispute between the Republic and Spain left in the air by the treaty of Münster. Although at first sight of only minor importance, the territories of Overmaas-Dalhem, ’s-Hertogenrade and Valkenburg—were of some strategic significance for the Dutch because of their desire to establish a substantial hinterland for Maastricht. After complex negotiations, lasting until the end of 1661, the territories were partitioned in a way which largely met Dutch strategic needs. While on the Dutch side these strategic, together with some economic, considerations played the most im-

portant part, for the other side questions of prestige and the influence of a pressure group of nobles from the area concerned seem to have been more significant. The author is primarily concerned with the details of the negotiations, but he is also able to give some impression of the impossible problems facing the inhabitants of the disputed territories. Since both sides felt it necessary to assert their sovereignty in the lands, so as not to weaken their position at the negotiating table, the unfortunate people there found themselves facing the irreconcilable demands of two conflicting legal and fiscal systems for over thirteen years.

In a brief study, J.J. Poelhekke attempts to elucidate Vondel’s political attitudes on the basis, chiefly, of his *Leeuwentalers*, which was written to celebrate the peace brought by the treaty of Münster. He believes that this work contains the essence of Vondel’s political convictions and loyalties. He stresses the fundamental ambivalence in Vondel’s ability to combine loyalty to Amsterdam and its rulers with a similar loyalty to the house of Orange – or at least to Frederick Henry, for his attitude to Maurice after 1618 was not in the least ambivalent. In *Leeuwentalers* Vondel presents Frederick Henry as a proponent of peace, thereby managing to ignore the long conflict on this matter between the prince and Holland (led by Amsterdam). Poelhekke’s oblique and parenthetic style sometimes obscures his meaning, but the central analysis is interesting when finally disentangled.

A useful article by S. Groenveld discusses the way in which the political developments of his own time influenced the political beliefs of P.C. Hooft. Perhaps the most important point the author makes is that Hooft was only briefly satisfied with the idea of the prince as the solution to domestic political conflict. He argues that a rather different attitude is shown in the *Nederlandische Historien* – he had learnt to fear tyrants but not to reject monarchy. His final solution was to regard the prince (in this case Frederick Henry) as an eminent head with separate functions alongside the States. However, this might well be considered either a realistic reflection of the actual political situation in the Republic, or as a recipe for political conflict, rather than a political ideal.

Very few Dutch catholics were prepared to follow the dissident clergy into the Old-Catholic Church. To help explain why this should have been the case, A.H.M. van Schaik has investigated the attitudes of the catholic layity toward papal primacy. He has studied the catechisms in use during the seventeenth century, and the other works of instruction aimed at the layman. With remarkably few exceptions they all stressed papal primacy as a decisive feature of the Church. This was probably, in part at least, the result of the defensive position of the Church in the Republic, but it certainly

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meant that the Old-Catholic clergy were putting forward a view of the nature of the Church that was almost totally unfamiliar to the Dutch laity.

Adriaan van den Spiegel was the son of a surgeon-general to the Dutch army and navy; after studying medicine at Leiden, he moved to Padua where he later became professor of medicine. G.A. Lindeboom's brief biography gives an account of the rather limited amount of information about him that has survived, discusses his work particularly as an anatomist, and assesses its importance. While not a great scientist, he was a highly reputable one, whose book on human anatomy was much used in the seventeenth century. Lindeboom also includes the eight extant letters of Van den Spiegel (with translations) and the oration delivered at his funeral.

'Calvinoturism' was initially a term coined to denote the tendency of protestants of Bohemia, Hungary and Transylvania to seek alliances with the Ottomans against the Habsburg in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, but later it mixed such hard-headed motives with the chiliastic hopes and expectations of the Bohemian exiles. In an intriguing essay M.E.H.N. Mout sketches this background and ties it in with a plan for the translation of the Bible into Turkish, involving Comenius (with the backing of Laurens de Geer), and the Leiden orientalists.

H. Vandenbosche's discussion of the thought of Adriaan Koerbagh, one of only three men to be imprisoned for their philosophical and theological writings in Amsterdam during the later seventeenth century, reaches the conclusion that he was either an incoherent thinker or a hypocrite. He appears to have combined an impressive understanding of Spinoza's philosophy with Christian ideas, either through inconsistency or as a smokescreen to disguise his real beliefs. If it was the latter, it was unfortunately ineffective.

I.H. van Eeghen has concluded her thorough studies of trade in French books in Amsterdam in the period 1680-1725 with the publication of a final, fifth volume, which has a wider scope than the previous volumes. Its most important part consists of a survey of the book trade in the United Provinces as a whole during the Republic's entire existence (1572-1795). In this survey she concentrates on the book trade in French and Latin books and supplies a wealth of new information on such subjects as the local, provincial and national organization of the book trade, trade customs, printing offices, sale and capital. In lengthy appendices she presents many interesting details about a variety of more specialized topics: the Leiden booksellers Luchtmans and Pieter van der Aa, privileges granted by the States of Holland, book auctions, type

foundries and booksellers companies in Amsterdam and the membership of the book-
sellers' guild in this city. The second part of the volume contains summaries in English
of all five volumes as well as very detailed indices. The completion of this extremely
useful reference work coincided with the termination of Dr. van Eeghen's highly
productive career as one of Amsterdam's archivists, on which occasion the society
Amstelodamum published its seventieth annual as a Festschrift in her honour. 46
Besides a list of Dr. van Eeghen's publications (no less than 1258 items, including book
reviews), it contains a wide-ranging collection of articles by fellow-historians of
Amsterdam on the town's topography and history from the sixteenth century onward.

The bicentenary of the establishment of the Teyler Foundation in 1778 was
celebrated by the publication of a handsomely produced and illustrated multi-
authored memorial volume divided roughly into two halves. 47 The first half gives informa-
tion about the Teyler collections and its library, and lists prize questions and the
directors and members of the Foundation's two associated societies. Of these the first
society has a name: the Religious Society. The other is always known simply as the
Second Society, perhaps a reflection of the uncertainty with which the eighteenth-
century Dutch faced all things secular. In the opening chapter of the second half
W.W. Mijnhardt seems to suggest that such uncertainty was a reflection of the very
strong religious content of the Enlightenment in the United Provinces, and may be a
partial explanation for the late appearance of a foundation of this sort in the Republic.
The second section as a whole places the Foundation and its societies in the social
context of the life of the founder and his legacy and ends with accounts of the architec-
tural history of the old and new buildings. The two halves together comprise a
volume of some value to scholars, and also provides a fitting record of a Foundation
whose social and cultural role has changed in response to external pressures and which,
while remaining an impressive monument to the cultural and artistic life of the
eighteenth century, has, through the care of its subsequent administrators, provided
the Dutch nation with an art and science museum of more than national importance.
Useful and in some cases substantial English summaries follow each major chapter.

In a collection of articles presented by faculty members of Utrecht University to
Professor J.C. Boogman, W.M. Mijnhardt gives a useful survey of the Enlightenment in
the United Provinces, again stressing its strong religious thread. 48 In another contribu-
tion to this volume E.J. van Himbergen places the Patriotic Grondwettige herstelling
firmly at the centre of a development whereby it became impossible to claim legitim-
acy for any authority which could not demonstrably be seen to be exercised by the

46. *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, LXX, *Liber Amicorum I.H. van Eeghen*
(Amsterdam: De Bussy Ellermans Harms, 1978, 453 p.).
47. *Teyler* 1778-1978: *Studies en bijdragen over Teylers stichting naar aanleiding van het tweede
48. W.W. Mijnhardt, *De Nederlandse verlichting, een terreinverkenning*, in *Figuren en figu-
Acht opstellen aangeboden aan J.C. Boogman, Historische studies uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut
voor geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit van Utrecht, XXXVII (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff,

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sensitive people, rather than simply claimed to be exercised on their behalf. This reviewer agrees with the general tenor of the argument, but wonders if such a strong claim can be made for the Patriots as a whole in 1787. As C.H.E. de Wit makes clear in the second chapter of his latest book, the recognition of popular sovereignty by no means automatically carried with it a commitment against more traditional and oligarchic forms of government. For the rest De Wit adds to his already substantial contribution to the Batavian period this slim volume on its historiography. One might suppose that this will be the final tidying up after the battle, already won in the judgement of this reviewer, to detach the revolutionary period from the 'made-in-France' label it has so long borne.

De Wit also takes this opportunity to extend his analysis of the manner in which Thorbecke put a decisive gloss on the history of the revolutionary period lasting at least until Colenbrander, and to reply to some of the criticisms levelled at his first work, De Strijd tussen Aristocratie en Democratie.

The revolutionary period continues to attract a welcome degree of attention from political and social historians, but it is difficult to fathom the reasons for the publication of a translation of G.D. Homan's survey of the Napoleonic period, originally written in English but never published in that language. This adds nothing to the general works recently published by S. Schama and E.H. Kossmann, and at a time when there are severe constraints on the publication of scholarly work, it might be hard to justify the appearance of a volume which incorporates neither original research nor findings published in recent monographs. To give but one, almost random, example, the chapter on the Staatsbewind gives great prominence to the failure of the Nationaal sindszwaar but makes no mention of A.M. Elias's exhaustive study of admically a rather slim archive published in 1975 (reviewed in Volume X of this journal).

Demographic history continues to flourish in Belgium and the Netherlands as elsewhere. From Belgium comes a collection of papers on demographic evolution and behaviour. The most substantial contribution comes from J. De Belder who eschews the search for regularities and seeks to establish the value of cross-sectional analyses of social groups based on demographic material for a limited period. This he does with some success. Other studies relating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries raise questions about the explanations put forward for the decline in population in the eighteenth century and the relationship between advances in medical provision and the decline of infant mortality. Still other articles make excellent use of such

52. Jos De Belder, De geëxacteerde statische doorsnede als vertrekpunt voor de studie van demografische gedragspatronen, Casus: de Antwerpse bevolking op het einde van de XVIIe eeuw, Demografische evoluties en gedragspatronen van de 9de tot de 20ste eeuw in de Nederlan- den, Studia historica gandensi, CC (Gent, Seminaria voor geschiedenis van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 1977) 1-81.
medieval and early modern records as have survived. Although defective, demographic historians are developing techniques which enable such material to yield useful results.

In the Netherlands work completed and currently underway at Wageningen and Rotterdam has established the reputation of structural history in the Netherlands. A new volume, this time from Leiden, must add to that reputation. Of the complex of cities in Holland suffering conspicuous decline after the zenith of their development in the early seventeenth century, the textile town of Leiden has long figured as the most dramatic exemplar. Selective information has been available, notably in Posthumus's majestic volumes and more recently in H.A. van Oerle's two-volumed historical atlas of the town (1975). Three Leiden historians and one from the Erasmus University, working for the department of Social History at Leiden have now carried out an Annales-type analysis of the eighteenth century. The study relies heavily on the invaluable 1749 inquest and makes good use of the urban registers of birth, marriage and burial as well as of the Acts of Guarantee which provide a record of immigrants into Leiden. The censuses of 1581 and 1808 are not fully analysed but are used for comparative purposes. In a short review it is difficult to single out any particular section for special comment, but this reviewer was particularly interested in the unexpectedly high number of households headed by women, only partially explained by the increase in the incidence of men abrogating their family responsibilities during difficult times. Like its predecessors and others undoubtedly to follow, this study adds a degree of certainty to our knowledge of a century which, it is increasingly recognized, deserves study in its own right and not simply as an addendum to a golden age, or a prelude to an inevitable revolution.

Another genre of social history attracting attention is that of criminality with its corollary, the administration of criminal law in the eighteenth century. A group of articles illustrate the manner in which historians are making connections between these fields of investigation since an interdisciplinary study group was established in the Netherlands in 1973. A.H. Huussen Jr.'s long article on administration, the law and the legal profession in Friesland makes some interesting observations about the possible advantages of the illegal traffic in legal offices where the families who monopolized the profession may have formed important repositories of legal expertise to be transmitted through social rather than educational channels.

In the same volume F. Van Hemelryck reviews recent research in this field. A brief survey of crime and punishment as

57. F. Van Hemelryck, 'Misdad en straf – recent onderzoek naar de geschiedenis der criminaliteit', ibidem, 177-207.
changing concepts in the United Provinces is to be found in a short article by Herman Diederiks and Sjoerd Faber. Finally, the composition of the Bokkerijders, an outlawed band operating in Overmaze, is currently under investigation by the anthropologist A. Blok who publishes two interim articles on his findings. In contrast to Theo Engelen, Blok stresses local and sectional factors in recruitment to the outlaws. Engelen sees them as part of a much wider European phenomenon to which the general structural dislocations of the eighteenth-century economy and society made a powerful contribution.

The 'Werkgroep 18e eeuw', established in 1968, has recently launched a series of occasional publications which cannot be fitted into the format of the group's house magazine, Documentatieblad. A neat start has been made with the publication of an account by the Amsterdam merchant Jacob Muhl in the form of letters to a friend and extracts from his travel journal, of a visit made to Paris in the summer of 1778. A town as great as Paris, so great that it constituted a world in itself, could not be seen in less than a year on foot, Muhl soon conceded. Nevertheless after eighteen packed days he laid claim to have seen more than many foreigners saw in three or four months. He was probably right in more than one respect. Apart from the normal tourist attractions Muhl visited less frequented institutions like the Hôtel des enfants trouvés and the Institut des sourds-muets of the abbé de l'Epée, attended a meeting of the Académie des sciences and, thanks to letters of recommendation, met distinguished public figures in science and scholarship. Muhl's account illustrates some of the qualities and perceptual limitations of the Holland merchant of the eighteenth century, but it also gives the impression of a man far from the stereotyped decadent rentier: a relentlessly energetic tourist, Muhl provides some sharp observations on the daily realities of life around him in Paris and elsewhere.

Correspondence of another sort, that of Hieronymus David Gaubius, one of Boerhaave's pupils, who practiced in the Netherlands, principally with another pupil of Boerhaave, the Portuguese physician Antonio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, provides the core of a study of Gaubius which illuminates the activities, concerns and standing of a hitherto neglected figure in eighteenth-century medicine in the Netherlands.

Extensive use of the computer has been made by the Centre for Contemporary Social History at the Free University of Brussels for a study of the living-standards of cotton workers in Ghent during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most important results of this pioneering research have been collected in seven 'dossiers'. The first provides a general introduction, in which it is apparent that the research team had set themselves two fundamental questions: 1. What was the entrepreneur's view of the wage-factor in the total costs of production? 2. How did the worker regard his wage?

In order to find an answer to these questions, the accounts of the Ghent cotton factory, A. Voortman-N.V. Texas, were carefully scrutinized. The resulting series of wage- and salary-scales make up dossiers III and IV. They are a treasure chest of accurate and consecutive data on employees' wages and include information about the number of hours worked per week. Most of the wage-scales, arranged by category of worker, are also presented visually by means of graphs. The background to all this is set out in dossier II in the form of a chronological history of Voortman-Texas which gradually expanded from its origins as a cotton-printing works in the late eighteenth century to a fully integrated plant where spinning, weaving and printing all took place on the premises. Detailed attention is also paid to the sales records, the percentage of production costs absorbed by wages and the relationship between fluctuations in sales and employment opportunities. To establish how useful these figures are, the dossier concludes by comparing them with national market trends and industrial development in general, and the cotton industry in particular. With an eye to evaluating the workers' living standards, dossier V presents data on the cost of living in Ghent. It contains tables of prices for a wide-ranging number of necessities (food, lighting and heating). It also contains figures on family budgets which show that 70 per cent of worker's income was spent on food and about 10 per cent on rent. The researchers clearly believe that a combined index of housing rents and consumer prices will provide a useful basis for assessing the standard of living, though obviously these are not the only factors to affect living conditions. Dossier VI, therefore, investigates a number of facets of the workers' lives such as their sex, age, security of employment, hours of work, geographical origins, family structure and housing. This last includes both the location and the type of housing. The seventh and final dossier is a biographical study of twenty workers' families connected with the Voortman-Texas factory. Among other things, it demonstrates clearly that in spite of strenuous efforts to escape from the Ghent slums the chances of spectacular social promotion were very limited. In terms of readability and synthesis, the seven dossiers leave much to be

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63. Regrettably a section dealing with publications on other aspects of Belgian history of the later modern period was not completed in time for inclusion.

desired, but this is a minor quibble in the light of their rich harvest of quantitative data on the living conditions of the Ghent workers. Anyone intending to write about the lot of the worker in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will find in these documents a mass of reliable material on which to work.

The Brussels study-centre has not stood still since its work on Ghent. More recently an article by one of its staff, P. Scholliers, analyses the living-standards of workers in Brussels during and immediately after the First World War. According to this study, the period 1914-25 was marked by a sharp rise in prices which was not matched by an equivalent rise in wages. It seems that the recovery of the Belgian economy after the war was achieved at the expense of the workers who had to make do with lower real wages. The resultant decline in living-standards was reflected in a marked deterioration in the quality of housing. Many working-class areas became slums during this period.

This concern with housing conditions is representative of a growing interest among Belgian scholars in the living conditions of the working class. The papers presented at a colloquium on this subject held in 1975 have recently been published. The contribution of C. Lis sets the tone by arguing against the popular assumption that squalid housing was a temporary result of a 'natural' imbalance between population growth and house construction. It was rather a direct result of the fact that residential building was geared to the needs of a middle-class clientele. Working-class houses, when they were built at all, were inferior dwellings of poor quality and inadequate living space. The housing problem was never tackled effectively because the shortage of houses was a source of profit to certain groups within the propertied class. Lis further shows that increasingly the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie made every effort to avoid physical contact with the lower classes, a trend which divided towns into homogeneous poor neighbourhoods on the one hand, and typically middle-class residential areas on the other. However, by the middle of the century, owing to the relentless expansion of capitalism, pauper ghettos had swollen to such proportions as to alarm the middle classes. Their fear of social breakdown led to wide-spread slum-clearance programmes which utterly failed to solve the problem as there was no alternative accommodation for those who were thereby made homeless. About 1880 therefore a different solution was sought. In the hope of strengthening social controls, the dominant classes launched the idea of a property-owning working-class. Their expectation that workers aspiring to their own house and garden and a corresponding degree of social respectability would opt for political conservatism and social stability, was to a large extent fulfilled. J. De Belder's contribution to the colloquium traces the housing situation in Antwerp from 1667 to 1855. He shows that up to the end of the

67. J. De Belder, 'De behuizing te Antwerpen op het einde van de XVIIIe eeuw', ibidem, 367-446. With summaries in French and English.
eighteenth century rich and poor often lived within a stone’s throw of each other and that it was only in the first half of the nineteenth century that homogeneous slum districts made their appearance. A major factor in this was the extension of the harbour as many streets inhabited by the poor had to be pulled down for the construction of new docks. The remaining poor neighbourhoods soon succumbed under the influx of new inhabitants and rapidly became slums. W. Steensel’s paper devotes considerable attention to government intervention in the housing problems of Ghent. His contribution neatly illustrates Lis’s thesis that the policy of encouraging workers to own property was inspired by the desire of employers to impose establishment aspirations on the working-class.

Another typical phenomenon of nineteenth-century industrial towns was flourishing prostitution. M. Van Wesemael has written a primarily anthropological article on prostitution in Ghent. Though it lacks any deep insights into the social background of the phenomenon, the study does contain a great deal of material from which further research might develop, such as the localization of bawdy houses, the changing attitude of government to the problem and the manner in which publicity for these ‘maisons de société’ was organized in the nineteenth century.

In the larger cities (particularly Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent and Liège) permanent puppet theatres were established in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A study of A. Thijs on this aspect of proletarian culture shows that in Antwerp, these puppet theatres originally catered almost exclusively for children. In the harbour district, however, puppet shows gradually evolved into an entertainment for both children and adults thereby performing the function of a genuine people’s theatre. They also began to play a politically educative role in injecting an increasingly political content into the traditional repertoire of fairy tales and chivalric romances. It was not long before the bourgeoisie discovered these puppet theatres, and special shows started to be organized for this new clientele who believed that thereby they gained an insight into the ‘picturesque’ way of life of the working classes. Meanwhile, proletarian culture was developing along its own lines and working-class audiences turned away from the growing irrelevance of the puppet theatres to the cabaret and floor-shows of the cafés chantants of the harbour district. The cinema eventually sounded the death knell of the puppet theatre as an entertainment for working-class adults.

L. Hoste’s richly illustrated history of the puppet theatre in Ghent over the past 150 years reveals many parallels with the Antwerp experience. In the nineteenth century

it was the most popular form of entertainment for the working classes; the theatres
were located in the poorer districts of the town; the performers were themselves
proletarian, often illiterate, who used their marionettes to supplement their meagre
incomes. Unlike Antwerp, however, they never attracted the interest of the middle-
classes. The author has also drawn up an extremely full inventory of all the puppet
theatres known to have existed in the town, together with a mass of detailed informa-
tion about the sponsors, the players, the puppetmakers, the places where performances
were given and so on.

The fifth national congress on industrial archaeology in Belgium (1977) was devoted
to the textile industry. A glance at the contents page of its report shows that a wide
variety of subjects were discussed: aspects of economic and technological develop-
ment in some of the major textile centres (Ghent, St Niklaas-Waas, the Courtrai region,
Limburg, Dalhem, Antwerp), the influence of Belgium upon the evolution of the
Dutch textile industry, the development of fabric printing, the attempts to convert old
textile factories, the introduction of the steam-engine into textile manufacture, the
problems faced by textile museums, etc. The first contribution to this collection of
papers is a survey by H. Coppejans-Desmedt of the current state of knowledge of the
development of the Belgian textile industry during the last two centuries in which she
pays particular attention to the mentality of successive generations of entrepreneurs.
Another and remarkable contribution is that of J. De Visser on the interaction
between mechanization and economic growth. In this he looks at the impact of three
important technological innovations on the Ghent textile industry before 1850,
namely the mule-jenny, the steam-engine and the power loom. In the spinning sector,
De Visser sees a clear correlation between the increase in productivity and a growth of
market potential. Similarly, the spread of the steam-engine reflected a favourable
economic climate. However, there seems to be no such positive correlation in respect
of the mechanization of weaving. Coppejans saw the mechanical loom as one of the
most important factors in the revival of the Ghent textile industry in the 1820s.
According to De Visser, however, this interpretation bears no relation to reality as the
mechanical loom only became competitive in Ghent around 1830. Mechanization in
Ghent was retarded by an over-abundance of cheap labour in Flanders brought about
by high unemployment. De Visser concludes from this that the process of mechaniza-
tion was not simply determined by the prospect of greater profits at a time of
economic growth but equally by immediate considerations of cost-effectiveness.

The study of industrialization in Belgium during the first half of the nineteenth
century has undoubtedly been facilitated by J. Lauwerssens’s publication of data on

Handelingen, (Ghent: Werkgroep industriële archeologie Rijksuniversiteit Gent — Fondation Jan
Dhondt, 1978, 300 p.).
73. H. Coppejans-Desmedt, ‘De Belgische textielnijverheid op nieuwe wegen door een nieuwe
mentaliteit, schets van een historisch ontwikkelingsproces’, ibidem, 25-51.
74. J. De Visser, ‘Mechanisering en ekonomiese groei: de Gentse katoenindustrie in de eerste
half van de 19de eeuw’, ibidem, 53-76.
the establishment and evolution of the first industrial limited companies. 75 At the back of the book she has also appended lists of company names and their locations together with biographical details about the founders and directors of the firms discussed.

The manner in which the Waas region (a part of East Flanders) was integrated into the Belgian economy in the course of the nineteenth century is the subject of a well-documented article by H. Coppejans-Denstedt. 76 She shows how the cottage industries which had proliferated in the late eighteenth century gradually had to give way to mechanized industry and how agriculture, too, especially after 1865 finally had to adjust to the new demands of the time.

Industrialization was accompanied by a rapid change in fertility patterns in Belgium and the Netherlands during the period 1870-1930. Little is known about the background to this change which appears to reflect a change of mentality. Written sources contain little or no information about such matters as the knowledge of contraceptive techniques and its dissemination among the population at large. C. Vandenbroeke, therefore, organized a series of interviews with several elderly people in Flanders and recorded their recollections of sexual norms and morality within marriage around the turn of the century. 77 Although the research could be extended much further, some conclusions have already emerged such as, for example, the fact that abortion was widely used as a means of limiting the size of the family.

The results of government industrial censuses have been critically analysed by G. De Brabander to provide a survey of the distribution of economic activity in Belgium during the period 1846-1910, by region and by sector. 78 Regional differences in industrialization, in particular the contrasts between Flanders and Wallonia, also figure prominently in A. Meynen’s analysis of the background of the great strike of 1960-61. 79 The bitterness of the struggle in Wallonia largely reflected the structural crisis which hit Walloon industry in the 1950s.

“Where would you be without the workers?” sums up a popularizing survey of the Belgian labour movement from 1830-1966. 80 This generously illustrated book does not pretend to be an academic work, but rather an indictment, for the benefit of future

77. With French and English summaries.
generations of workers, of the reforming policies which the Belgian socialist party has traditionally followed. In spite of its subjectivity, the book contains a great deal of interesting information, which is no mean achievement when one considers how scattered and inaccessible source material on the labour movement usually is. It was in order to meet these difficulties that the Archive and Museum of the Socialist Labour Movement (AMSAB) was formed recently in Ghent. This organization aims to collect and inventory all available documentation (archive material, photographs, tape-recordings, flags, etc.) concerning the socialist movement. AMSAB's manifesto also promised the publication of studies concerning the socialist labour movement in Flanders. The first of these, a history of the Ghent friendly society, Bond Moyson, has appeared and draws largely on unpublished sources.81 In 1875, the Moyson's Association was founded in Ghent as one of the first socialist medical aid schemes in Belgium. It also played an active role in promoting socialism and for this reason became the focal point of a powerful offensive initiated by the Ghent Catholics in 1888 against socialism. This threat drove all the various progressive medical schemes to join together in the Moyson Union (Bond Moyson), under the auspices of whose centralized administration, socialist mutual aid was able to develop vigorously. The author describes the process in detail (the organization of disability funds, and life insurance, the setting up of its own clinic, etc) and also devotes much attention to the constantly recurring conflicts between the Bond and the medical profession which exploited its monopoly to its own financial advantage. After the Second World War, the by now heavily bureaucratized Bond Moyson was absorbed into the apparatus of the welfare State.

The counterpart, as it were, to AMSAB, though with wider goals, is the Catholic Documentation and Research Centre (KADOC) in Leuven which collects historical and contemporary documentation on life, thought, aspirations and activities of Christian inspiration of individuals institutions and organizations in Flanders since 1794.82 As such it also devotes much attention to political and social institutions and organizations.

The role played by labour, and especially its socialist wing, in the Flemish movement has long attracted attention in Belgian historiography. J. Craeybeckx's up-to-date survey of the present state of knowledge in this field is enriched by a number of fresh insights.83 Generally speaking, the labour movement remained neutral or indifferent to the Flemish movement which it regarded as the preserve of the bourgeoisie and intellectuals. The Flemish sympathies manifested by the Antwerp socialists during the

1890s can be attributed to the fact that they included a large number of well-paid diamond- and metal-workers whose attitudes and life-style were very similar to the lesser bourgeoisie who were traditionally pro-Fleming. In Ghent, on the other hand, where socialists were largely factory workers, Flemish ideals never became an integral part of the socialist programme. Furthermore, the pro-Flemings in parliament frequently showed evidence of a reactionary-bourgeois class mentality and played little part in promoting social or welfare legislation. During the First World War, some members of the Flemish movement regarded the German occupation as an opportunity to break with Belgium and establish an independent Flemish State. In Brussels and Antwerp in particular these Flemish activities obtained the support of socialist militants, most of whom were intellectuals (many worked in education) and had close contacts with Flemish artistic and cultural organizations.

The socialist and Flemish nationalist Ger Schmook (born 1898) has recently published his memoirs. The leading role which he played in the socialist movement and (as curator of the Archive and museum of Flemish cultural life, and director of the Antwerp library) in the struggle for Flemish cultural emancipation, make these memoirs a rich source for the history of community life in Flanders and Antwerp in the twentieth century.

The Catholic Church has always played an important part in social life, so one can only welcome the growth of historical research into the sociology of religion in Belgium. In a thoroughly documented, archive-based study of ecclesiastical structure and pastoral work in the diocese of Ghent in the nineteenth century, J. Art has investigated the impact of the initiatives taken by the Church as an institution upon the religious life of the laity. His choice of Ghent for the study of the workings of nineteenth-century diocesan structures was especially fortunate as it was here in particular that old and new social structures were brought together. The vast majority of the faithful in the countryside and smaller towns still lived in a pre-industrial environment, but the bishopric also contained Ghent, the most industrialized city in Flanders. The author investigates in detail the social origins of priests and monks. The religious orders tended to attract the children of bourgeois families, while young men from less comfortable backgrounds (especially agriculture) were drawn to a career in the secular priesthood as a means of improving their social position. Working-class children found it difficult to enter either the secular or regular clergy as they were expected to bring a certain amount of capital with them. However, interest in the religious calling was so widespread among the middle-classes that there was never any shortage of applicants. With ample manpower at its disposal, the ecclesiastical hierarchy not only set about increasing the number of parishes, but also extended the scope of monastic activity whereby the Church rapidly entrenched itself in education and health care. The other side of the coin, however, was that this enormous expansion in the power and

85. J. Art, Kerkelijke structuur en pastorale werking in het bisdom Gent tussen 1830 en 1914.
influence of the Church also increased its vulnerability. The huge increase in expenditure involved, made it financially dependent upon the private generosity of bourgeoisie and nobility, while the constant preoccupation with financial problems led the clergy to pay excessive attention to the worldly wealth of the Church. At the same time, the Church frequently intervened in politics, as its leaders cherished the hope of regaining the key position enjoyed before the French Revolution and using a Christianized power structure to win back the masses to Christianity. The proportioned class for its part was prepared to encourage ecclesiastical expansion as it regarded religion as an efficient means of safeguarding its own interests and combating the labour movement. The Church’s alliance with the bourgeoisie and its discouragement of an autonomous catholic labour movement eventually resulted in the permanent alienation of the majority of urban workers.

In 1794 after the French Revolution had closed down the monastery of La Trappe, Augustinus de Lestrange founded a Trappist abbey at Westmalle near Antwerp. He did so at the invitation of Bishop Nels of Antwerp who hoped thereby to provide a new impulse to religious life, to stimulate agriculture in the as yet only partially developed Kempen area and to expand the provision of monastic education. J.B. Van Damme, a member of the monastic community at Westmalle, has described the development of the monastery up to the present day. This detailed book is extremely rich in concrete data. In the first place it throws light upon monastic life and religious practices in general, with interesting insights into the often precarious relationship between Church and State. Secondly, the author devotes great attention to the economic activities of the abbey, providing important details about the way in which the Trappists reclaimed heath and other waste-land, laid out vineyards, set up a weaving mill, developed a commercial brewery, etc. Van Damme even gives financial details about the fund-raising campaigns organized by the abbey. As Westmalle has played an active part in establishing numerous other Trappist monasteries outside Belgium this study will certainly be of more than purely local interest.

DUTCH ECONOMIC HISTORY IN THE LATER MODERN PERIOD

In a beautifully illustrated volume, edited by P. Nijhof, a serious attempt is made to stimulate the interest of the general public in the industrial archaeology of the Netherlands. The two opening chapters investigate the practical and legal problems implicit in attempts to preserve the material heritage of the productive sector of the economy. These are followed by a number of more specific chapters analysing the introduction

Standen en Landen LXXI (Kortrijk-Heule: UGA, 1977, lvi+423 p.).
of the steam-engine to the Netherlands and the end of the eighteenth century, factory architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the possibilities of preserving it, the evolution of saw-mills, the development of the industrial town Enschede and a study on the basis of field-work and archive research of the woollen factory of P. van Dooren in Tilburg. The second part of the book focuses attention on the infrastructure of the supply sector of the economy with individual chapters describing the history and economic significance of canals, the improvements in light-house construction in the nineteenth century and the history of shipbuilding as reflected in the development of the government wharf in Amsterdam. A final chapter examines the fascinating variety of watertowers in the Netherlands. All in all this is an excellent volume with a standard of contents much higher than usual in works of this kind and containing much of interest to the specialist historian as well as the general public to whom it is more specifically addressed.

An interesting study of early industrial enterprise by F.J.A. Broeze recounts how two leading entrepreneurs from Schiedam supported by the entire business community, made a successful attempt in 1835 to breathe new life into the economic life of the town. A new initiative seemed absolutely necessary as the all-important gin industry which had been declining since 1815 had reached crisis point by the 1830s. The scheme in 1835 was to provide the town with a fresh economic basis by building a ship-yard for the construction of East Indiamen, then setting up a shipping company (the SSR) and enlarging the harbour. Thanks to a subsidy from William I, the shipyard was built, while an undertaking from the government's Netherlands Trading Company (NHM) to charter any ship that might be built, encouraged the SSR to commission two Indiamen. The growing export of colonial products from Java as the Cultivation System took effect, led to an increased demand for cargo space between 1835 and 1840 so that a further eight Indiamen were soon built by the shipyard. Thereafter the expansion of world trade in the 1850s and the demand for cargo space from private charterers as well as the Netherlands Trading Company led to a rapid growth in the number of yards, ships and shippers in Schiedam. This expansion and the substantial profits made, seemed to confirm that the initiative of 1835 had been a success. Around 1860, however, just when the liberal government was trying to modernize the national economy, decline began to set in. Schiedam failed to change over from wooden sailing ships to metal bottoms and, furthermore, plans to enlarge the harbour came to nothing because of opposition from the now resurgent gin industry. Broeze's excellently documented study underlines the extent to which our perspective on State intervention in the 1830s has been distorted by the criticism of liberals in the 1860s when, in fact, the problems facing Dutch shipping had radically altered. He also demonstrates that the initiative of the two Schiedam entrepreneurs was at least as important as the financial support provided by William I and the Netherlands Trading

Company. Indeed, it largely dictated the manner and nature of that support. Although
drawn from the experience of only one town and in spite of the dangers of over-
emphasizing the role of the individual in history, Broeze’s conclusions have some
general significance. Moreover, his contribution is valuable in being one of very few
modern business histories to deal with the East India trade, a value which is enhanced
by the 40-odd documents which are appended to the work.

In his doctoral thesis R.W.J.M. Bos examines the conduct of Anglo-Dutch trade in
the context of the development of the two economies between 1870 and 1914. In
1870 Britain dominated the Dutch market for industrial imports and, in turn, provided
an important outlet for Dutch agricultural exports. Thereafter matters began to
change. The increasing industrial challenge, especially of Germany, eroded the British
domination of the Dutch market, a development which was accelerated by transport
improvements within the Netherlands itself. At the same time Dutch dairy exports to
Britain faced increasing competition from other European sources, though the Dutch
themselves exacerbated the situation by trade malpractices. None of this will come as
any surprise to historians of the two countries. What Bos contributes to the story is an
admirable synthesis of historical literature on the subject and a detailed statistical
exposition of the fluctuations in trade composition and direction derived from
contemporary Dutch trade statistics.

The history of one of the largest pharmaceutical concerns in the Netherlands is the
subject of a study by M. Tausk. Two years after the discovery of insulin, in 1923, the
entrepreneur Saal van Zwanenberg and Professor Ernst Laquer signed an agreement
establishing the firm N.V. Organon for the production of organic pharmaceutical
preparations. At the laboratory at Oss, Laquer succeeded in attracting a team of highly
qualified young researchers, including, in 1926, Tausk himself. Initially insulin was the
mainstay of Organon’s production, but as early as 1937, its importance had been
reduced to one third of total sales as the firm branched out into hormone and vitamin
production. In addition to describing the expansion of the firm itself, Tausk takes
 pains to explain the nature of innovations in the field and the backgrounds of the
inventors and chemists themselves. This is not purely an economic history of the firm
Organon but a survey of the entire field of organic chemistry with which it was con-
cerned.

DUTCH SOCIAL HISTORY IN THE LATER MODERN PERIOD

In its broad outline, the demographic structure of the Netherlands in the first half
of the nineteenth century fits neatly into a classical Malthusian mould with its clear

89. R.W.J.M. Bos, Brits-Nederlandse Handel en Scheepvaart, 1870-1914. Een analyse van machts-
90. M. Tausk, Organon, De geschiedenis van een bijzondere Nederlandse onderneming (Assen: Van
interaction between the age and frequency of marriage and the means of subsistence. However, according to E.W. Hofstee, several deviations from the standard pattern give the Netherlands a special place in West Europe demography. His conclusions are somewhat over-bold not only because the data available for the period before 1850 are fragmentary and unreliable but also because this does not prevent him from using them confidently and assertively. The two central problems in the interpretative section are the striking rise in the birth-rate after 1815 and the relatively high mortality rate in the western provinces. Hofstee's explanation for the first phenomenon is as interesting as it is questionable. Using data on the numbers of foundlings and illegitimate births before 1815, he argues that the Enlightenment brought about a revolution in sexual mores which first manifests itself outside marriage but after 1815 in the more conservative moral climate of the restoration, within it, resulting in a permanent rise in marriage fertility. Hofstee's liking for somewhat speculative sociopsychological explanations reveals itself here, for he gives little indication that there might be other explanations, such as the economic revival after 1815. Moreover, his statistical data are somewhat suspect. As for the relatively high mortality in the western provinces, Hofstee first of all eliminates a whole series of possible explanations before stating that the most important factor was the use of surface water for drinking. The drop in mortality after 1875 is attributed to a greater appreciation of hygiene and not to improved diet. Again a demographic phenomenon is linked to a change of attitude. Even the most dramatic demographic incident of the first half of the century, the sharp drop in births and marriages in the North (not the South) in the years following Belgian independence, is given a socio-psychological explanation: namely, the emotional upheaval which the event brought about in the North. This is one of the more intriguing themes in a book whose conclusions are considerably more speculative and tentative than the author himself appears to recognize. Nevertheless, the book is a useful pioneering work in a demographically little-researched period.

In the years 1846-47, at least 7,000 Dutchmen emigrated to the United States, many of whom were families with older children, thereby setting a pattern of large-scale emigration which was to continue for many years. P.R.D. Stokvis has analyzed the causes and motivation behind this emigration from the Netherlands. Among the material conditions he picks out economic malaise, particularly agricultural depression, and the ever-pressing burden of taxation. Many emigrants were also dissatisfied with social conditions; the higher wages for craftsmen and the greater social mobility in the United States exercised a strong attraction upon certain social groups. It was not the poorest who emigrated, but small farmers, farm hands, tradesmen, craftsmen and

journeymen who sought to escape the rigidities of the Dutch social structure. Finally, there was a special type of religious dissent which, attracted by the greater religious freedom of the United States, decided to turn its back on the depravity of the Old World. In short, a combination of demographic, economic, social and ecclesiastical conditions stimulated a massive exodus. The reactions of those who stayed behind are also extremely instructive. Many educated Dutchmen of all political colours tended to have a negative attitude towards the United States and deplored the loss of so many active members of the middle class. It was only the ultra-liberal and radical writers of the time who extolled the USA as a paradise of liberty. The dissenters also viewed it in that light and from their letters home, which the author cites at length, it is clear that they felt a deep need to justify their emigration. The generally negative attitude of the Dutch towards emigration manifested itself in the inadequate legal protection given to emigrants in the main ports. Moreover, the business world missed an opportunity of turning Rotterdam into an international emigration centre by failing to provide regular sailings to America with the result that the stream of emigrants from Europe as well as from the Netherlands was channelled through foreign ports and foreign shipping companies. Such negative conservatism seems to have been characteristic of the Dutch mentality in the mid-nineteenth century.

For some time now the pages of *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* have resounded to a debate on the factors determining class and social status in the Netherlands, in the nineteenth century in particular. An interesting contribution from J. Lucassen and G. Trienekens, offers a new perspective on the discussion. In their search for different and less one-sided sources than occupation and fiscal records, they hit on the idea of using the seating arrangements in Church as reflected in the sale and rental of Church pews. These pew-registers are by no means easy to use, but a number of clear conclusions emerged which were confirmed in each of the eight widely contrasting research locations. In the first place the hypothesis that one's seat in the Church reflected one's social status was clearly established. Secondly, it was also closely related to the level of income. Locally therefore, the pew-registers are useful supplements to pure income data. Furthermore, the position of farmers (hitherto a neglected group) in the social hierarchy was determined by their income. The authors conclude that 'class' cannot be defined solely in terms of occupation and that 'status' even in pre-industrial society cannot usefully be regarded as a non-materialistic concept. It is unfortunate that the data for the research are not continuous but staggered over fifty-year intervals which makes it impossible to observe the social rise or decline of individual families as an ongoing process or pinpoint the precise stage in that process where status and income come into conflict.

Similar conclusions are reached in an article by J. De Belder discussing ways of achieving a uniform method of reconstructing the social stratification of past so-

cieties. In so doing, he starts from the belief that the methods employed up to the present by Daumard, Sentou and others have serious weaknesses, particularly in their excessive emphasis on 'occupation' as the central factor in social stratification. From his researches into stratification in Antwerp society at the end of the eighteenth century, De Belder concludes that professional categories or groupings cannot be identified as socially homogeneous groups. It is therefore not enough merely to concentrate upon the occupations of individuals; it is essential to collect as much information as possible on the property-structure of the population as a whole. And as social groupings are not just collections of individuals but are made up of groups of families, it is the property of whole families which must be reconstituted. This requires an immense amount of investigative effort which can only be successfully undertaken by carefully planned teamwork.

Another methodological study is by J. Verhelst who argues strongly that historians should make use of the computer in studying social stratification. He too argues that such studies should be based upon research into the structure of property ownership. In this connection, he puts forward concrete suggestions on how to convert the methods of family reconstruction pioneered by Fleury and Henry into a method of reconstructing family property. Genealogy inevitably plays an important part in this. Furthermore, it is not enough merely to track down the membership of each family in the community under study; all available data on the property, occupation and status of these families must also be collected. Verhelst demonstrates forcefully how computers can be utilized in this process and discusses at length the respective roles of the historian and the computer specialist. His critical review of the various kinds of sources relating to social stratification which lend themselves to computer analysis is particularly valuable.

Mention must be made of a pioneering contribution on income growth and distribution in the Netherlands. The purpose of this substantial article by L. Blok and J.M.M. de Meere is twofold; firstly, to analyse the franchise on the basis of the 1848 franchise act and, secondly, to give an indication of the distribution of prosperity. As far as the first aspect is concerned the authors have established that enfranchisement was far more varied than had hitherto been realized. In terms of profession, because of the structure of the act, in many municipalities it was not exclusively the upper-classes that qualified but also people from the lower middle-class. With regard to the second aspect, De Meere has traced the distribution of prosperity in 1842 by municipality and by province. Before this could be determined it had to be established that the three

taxes — grondbelasting, personele belasting and patentrecht — accurately reflecting living standards. In a separate chapter the possibilities and limitation of this source are discussed whilst, in an appendix, the vulnerability of national income calculations on the basis of tax yields is investigated. Then with the help of two inequality measures, the Gini-index and the Theil-coefficient, the material is analysed and seven hypotheses are statistically tested. One might have expected that provinces where the welfare was highest would also have shown the largest inequality in distribution but this appears not to have been the case. It was striking that the most prosperous provinces, North-Holland and Zeeland, were those where, compared with the other provinces, the welfare inequality was relatively moderate. Those municipalities which demonstrated both high prosperity and a high degree of inequality tended to have a one-sided economic structure and related to this, the absence of a middle-class. In the province of Limburg another pattern was evident. The average level of prosperity was the lowest in the Netherlands, but the measure of inequality was also the least. Research into income inequality in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century is an entirely new venture and this first study must be welcomed for demonstrating the possibilities for further work in the field.

Moving on to the history of the Dutch labour movement, there is a very lengthy article by J. Giele on the rise of socialist trade organizations between 1878 and 1890. He points out that the historical cliché about the Dutch workers' movement being slow to evolve is largely the result of the prejudices of its earliest historians who did not take the movement seriously until the emergence of Social Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) in 1894 and the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions (NVV) in 1906, and belittled all that went before. Giele now attempts a re-evaluation of early socialist trade-unionism. In 1887 it led to a split in the still youthful General Union of Dutch Workers, (ANWV), the bulk of whose members had no interest in socialist goals. The left-wing splinter-group which broke away formed the Social Democratic Association (SDV) combined in 1881 with other socialist organizations in the Social Democratic League (SDB). At first its main emphasis lay on achieving universal suffrage, but increasingly its priorities shifted to establishing socialist unions which would form the basis of a party organization. However, by the end of the 1880s it was clear that these political preoccupations were jeopardizing its effectiveness as a representative of its members' economic interests. So for tactical reasons, general trade unions were set up to which non-socialists were admitted but which remained firmly under the leadership of the SDB.

Johan Frieswijk also concentrates on the early history of the workers' movement in his study of socialism in Friesland. His eye for graphic detail has enabled him to combine existing literature with a wealth of new material in a well-balanced survey.

though perhaps the main lines of development and the core problems could have been brought out with greater emphasis and clarity. What gave Frisian socialism its special character was not just its large number of supporters but also the Frisian People’s Party (Friese Volkspartij) which was not so much a party as a co-operative organization of many progressive groups and organizations. For a long time it appeared that these progressive forces could benefit from collaboration with revolutionary socialism. ‘Revolutionary’ could, after all, mean all things to all men! At the outset there did not seem to be a great difference between the Volkspartij which was born in the struggle for universal suffrage and the SDB with its similar background. The leadership of both parties overlapped, and the dramatic electoral victory of the SDB leader Domela Nieuwenhuis in 1888 was regarded equally as a victory for the Volkspartij. It was Domela’s failure to be re-elected in 1891 which brought the latent tensions and conflicts to the surface, the most important of which being over whether socialism should be achieved by gradual or by revolutionary means. The SDB opted emphatically for the latter, and broke off its contacts with the Volkspartij which, thereby robbed of its most active elements, began to decline. Frieswijk does not allow this conflict over direction and policy to dominate the book unduly. He has a good eye for the socio-economic context of the period and is particularly successful in bringing socialism to life at the grass-roots level.

In a separate article, Frieswijk describes the formation of the first major organization of agricultural workers in the Netherlands which was set up in 1889 in the Frisian parish of Het Bildt. 99 That such a movement should have originated here, he attributes to a combination of factors such as a relatively sharp decline in the influence of the Church, deep social divisions and consequently a fertile soil for socialist ideas. He recounts in minute detail the origin and activities of the various local associations which rejoiced in the name of Broedertrouw. Initial success culminating in the great campaigns of 1890-91 led to severe repressive action by the farmers and (often absentee) landlords. Though Broedertrouw disbanded in 1892 its importance was considerable as an example and precedent for the future. A weakness of this interesting article is that the descriptive approach and wealth of detail have tended to squeeze out interpretation and analysis.

J.M. Welcker’s book on gentlemen and workers in the Dutch labour movement between 1870 and 1914 is the third volume in the series of studies on the Dutch Labour movement, edited by the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. 100 This monumental work is dissertation, source publication, anthology and reference book all rolled into one. It has three sections: the first and longest consists mainly of the edited results of a workers’ enquiry published by Domela Nieuwenhuis in 1880 in his journal Recht voor allen, based on the questionnaire which Marx had

published earlier that year in the *Revue socialiste*. Domela himself made very little use of the 58 answers which he received to his questionnaire, but Welcker has not only published them in full but worked on them intensively, even to the extent of providing short biographies of the respondents. She has possibly exaggerated their significance: among other things they are hardly representative as she herself acknowledges repeatedly. But set against that, is the fact that such data provided by the workers themselves are so scarce that for that reason alone they warrant a great deal of attention. The second section consists of three studies of anarchism in the Netherlands. Two of them are biographical dealing with J.C. Ph. H. Methofer (1863-1933), and H.J. van Steenis (1862-1939). In the third, the world of co-operatives and communes is illustrated by an account of Walden, Frederik van Eeden's 'alternative community'. The aims and activities of this colony, its population, the misunderstandings, the ambivalent position of Van Eeden himself are all researched and recounted in the greatest detail. The result is both fascinating and sobering. The minute documentation which in other chapters is almost excessive is in this instance extremely functional, showing how the ideals of Walden came to grief on the rocks of everyday reality. Van Eeden's ideal, according to Welcker, was a kind of third road to socialism: an alternative community tending to anarchism but, on the other hand, deviating from anarchism in its recognition of the need for effective organization. The third section is an account of the 'uncomfortable alliance' between the SDAP and NVV from 1906 and 1913. The value of the book as a whole derives not so much from the quality of analysis or synthesis but rather from the wealth of detail which it contains. Fortunately, it is also provided with an excellent index which enables the reader to take full advantage of this mine of information about early Dutch socialism.

An interesting collection of articles on the Social Sciences in the 1930s and 70s has appeared under the title *Toen en Thans* (Then and Now). It should be said that apart from the concluding article, the 'now' remains very much in the background, but together they provide a fascinating account of the early development of the Social Sciences in the Netherlands. It is striking how, as is so often the case with new areas of academic enquiry, one or two individuals seem to play a dominant role: in this case the names of S.R. Steinmetz and W.A. Bonger crop up time and again. Of particular interest for historians are the articles by Feddema and Muijzenberg on the setting up of the famous 'oil-faculty' in Utrecht, a department subsidized by the Royal Dutch Oil Company in which students were trained for government service in the Dutch East Indies. Very interesting too are the contributions by Heerkhuizen and Witterdink on conservatism and sociology in the 1930s, containing suggestive remarks on the political climate of this period.

A completely different aspect of the interwar years is dealt with in volume XXVIII of the Netherlands art history yearbook, entitled *Kunst en Kunstbedrijf* (Art and its practice), though 'Art and society' would have been as accurate a title for this collection

of six articles all of which emphasize the close interaction between art and its social environment. The topics covered are a journal produced by socially committed artists, the political print, museum policy, art criticism, council housing, and interior decoration and utensil design. In this connection, attention must also be drawn to a Dutch translation of an Italian survey of Dutch architecture between 1900 and 1940. In this work the relationship between art and society crops up repeatedly because many architects deliberately sought to develop a clear connection between their work and the totality of town planning. Needless to say, H.P. Berlage was the dominant figure at the beginning of the period under discussion. The Amsterdam School and 'The Style' were both, in their different ways, his mutually complementing successors. It is a useful, well-illustrated book from which non-specialists will learn much. The artist and society is also the central theme of J.W. Mulder's somewhat over-detailed study of Dutch artists and their reaction to the years of crisis and occupation between 1930 and 1945. Unfortunately, the book is both poorly structured and particularly weak when it comes to relating artistic attitudes to the political, social and economic circumstances of the period. Moreover, though it is packed with factual information it barely rises above a superficial level of generalization and subjective judgement. In particular, the author's concern to condemn collaborators and those with right-wing views is not only crudely applied without consideration of individual circumstances and personal development, but seems to leave him confused and irritated when he has to admit that opposition to the nazis was frequently accompanied by right-wing 'ideals'. It is a pity that in spite of unearthing a great deal of new material, his ignorance of the period and lack of historical insight has prevented the author from giving an interesting and worthwhile subject the study in depth which it deserves.

A subject which lies on the borderline between politics and law is the right to strike. A recent publication on the development of strike law is useful for the quantity of documentary material which it contains such as numerous bills and judicial decisions. The commentary, however, is tendentious and unbalanced, reflecting the authors' belief that any limitation of the right to strike is wrong. They conclude that the labour movement is in no way served by judicial intervention in industrial disputes as it invariably jeopardizes one of its most powerful weapons, the strike.

The next three books, which warrant only passing mention, all deal with different aspects of the position of women in Dutch society. The first is a short survey of the

role of working women and changing attitudes towards them since the war. It contains interesting illustrations and raises questions which deserve fuller treatment. The second is a fascinating study of the advice column of the popular women’s journal *Margriet*. Covering the period 1938 to 1978, it provides empirical evidence of the changes in post-war attitudes in respect of social values, individual psychology and sexual morality. The third is a massive history of the organization which initially was named the New Malthusian Union and later became the Netherlands Association for Sexual Reform (NSVH). This work may be useful as a reference book for those needing factual data about the subject, but the abundance of source material proves too much for the author to hand effectively.

**DUTCH POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY IN THE LATER MODERN PERIOD**

Although the broad trends of development in Dutch elementary education during the nineteenth century are fairly familiar by now, relatively little work has been done in this field at the regional and local level. A lengthy dissertation by P. Boekholt on elementary education in Gelderland between 1795 and 1858 is therefore a welcome contribution. The author’s main concern is with the impact of legislation and the political interaction between the government and provincial interests. The content and quality of education in the province is only discussed in passing. The central theme of the book is the continuous pressure exerted by the Catholics to obtain a fair share in the educational system. Their understandable desire to break the protestant monopoly of education was also justified by the formal legal equality introduced by the Batavian revolution. Nevertheless, for many decades, this pressure from below had only limited success. Although the beginning of the nineteenth century was a watershed in educational legislation and the law of 1806 a positive triumph, new laws did not automatically provide new teachers, and even the new system (which provided for Christian non-sectarian education) played into the hands of the protestants. For many of the school inspectors who played a central role in the system were protestant ministers, and only in the Belgian crisis at the end of the 1820s did the government begin to curtail their influence. In fact, the Belgian question did not make the position of the northern catholics any easier, and it was only in the 1840s that the government began to react positively to catholic demands. This trend was strengthened by the

constitutional revolution of 1848 with two-fold results: in the first place, by appointing Roman catholic teachers the catholics were able to take over existing schools; secondly, though to a limited extent, special catholic schools were founded. One effect of this deprotestantization was that the protestants themselves began to feel dissatisfied and started to establish confessional schools of their own. Apart from the main theme, a large number of other subjects are touched upon in this survey. Particularly interesting is the continuity which links the system in 1806 with the situation after 1813 and the manner in which the legislation of 1801 and 1803 with its centralized system of inspection was resisted and sabotaged by the Gelderland authorities. By presenting his book as a survey, Boekholt has at times to abandon consistent thematic unity. Nevertheless, he presents the results of his extensive archival research in a judicious and interesting fashion and has thereby made an important contribution to the history of Dutch education and produced a model of regional historical writing.

For a number of years, J.C. Boogman has immersed himself in mid-nineteenth century Dutch history. The quintessence of his views on that period appeared recently in volume XII of the new AGN. An expanded version of that contribution has now appeared in book form, surveying two decades of domestic and foreign policy and paying considerable attention to the politicians responsible for that policy.\(^\text{110}\) That the radical constitutional changes of 1848 were not the natural climax of preceding developments but rather an unexpected success for the radical-liberals, is by now a familiar thesis of Boogman's. In this book he goes on from there to show how the new system of 1848 was consolidated. Unlike other European countries, the counter-revolutionary forces in society were too divided to offer any effective resistance to the new constitutional arrangements. In Boogman's view, it became quite apparent in 1856-57 that a constitutional counter-revolution had no chance of success. He hereby convincingly undermines the currently fashionable notion that the new political system was only confirmed after it had survived the crisis of 1866-68. A large part of his account is devoted to the activities of the political centre, the conservative liberals who until 1848 functioned as a financial opposition, but after that, despite feeling that the new system was too modern, nevertheless ensured its survival. Apart from the inevitable Thorbecke, Boogman attributes an unusual measure of importance to the role of A.F. van Hall as a pillar of the centre, clever tactician and trouble-shooter. His assessment of Van Hall is far more positive that the usual picture of a slippery opportunist. He has also highlighted the fact that the centre groups, which provided an element of continuity in Dutch politics, deserve to be investigated more thoroughly than has been done so far. We still know far too little, for instance, about their voting behaviour in parliament, the manner in which politicians grouped together and organized themselves or their relationship with the voters.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century doctrinaire liberalism has furnished the Netherlands with its political ideas, historiography, theology, and constitutional and

economic theory. Its spokesmen have always come from the upper echelons of the wealthy, cultivated bourgeoisie: honest, sober politicians, academics and writers whose ideas and actions have left an indelible stamp upon society. One of their number, the nineteenth-century economist W.C. Mees, played an important role as secretary of Rotterdam’s Chamber of Commerce and later as president of the Bank of the Netherlands. Unlike many of his spiritual bed-fellows, Mees has found a modern biographer in H.J.M. van de Laar.111 During his lifetime, Mees enjoyed a considerable reputation as the author of, inter alia, studies of the Amsterdam Exchange, poverty, and particular aspects of political economy. His pupil N.G. Pierson regarded him as the greatest Dutch economist of the nineteenth century, although his own work overshadowed that of his mentor. However, since then, Mees has been forgotten, largely because his contemporary reputation rested on a reworking of the ideas of Ricardo, Malthus and J.S. Mill, rather than any original contribution of his own. Poverty remained for him a consequence of premature marriage which could be resolved at the personal level; his theory of money was essentially a form of bimetallism. But in his practical work as managing director of the Netherlands Bank, especially in his organizational contribution, he paved the way to a future in which the Bank was to play a decisive role as the motive force of the economic process. Mees’s lack of important original ideas, the brevity and essay-like nature of his publications and in particular his practical leanings, mark him out as a typical Dutch doctrinaire liberal. Van de Laar’s study underlines the high intellectual calibre of the liberals who played a leading role in society after 1848, while his exhaustive analysis of Mees’s writings demonstrates that this celebrated economist was by no means the least of their number.

Volume XIII of the new AGN (Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden) which deals with the years 1874-1914, is a continuation of volume XII and together they form a complete whole, written largely by the same contributors and covering the period 1840-1914.112 In these two volumes, the use of different contributors with contrasting approaches leads to a certain lack of unity and cohesion, but this incoherence is not as serious as in some of the other published volumes of the new series, not least because the editors have themselves provided concluding articles which survey the main developments in the period 1848-1916 and summarize some of the more important conclusions. Although they appear at the end, they could usefully be used as introductions to the two volumes. Volume XIII consists of two main parts, covering the periods 1874-95 and 1895-1914, each divided into its economic history, social and cultural aspects and concluding with a survey of the political developments. Belgium and the Netherlands receive separate treatment and the chapters on the social and political history of Belgium in particular reveal the difficulties created by dividing the book between a number of authors. In the corresponding chapters on Dutch history

by the late J.A. de Jonge and Th. van Tijn much more of an attempt is made to provide a broad view and bring the results of recent research together in some kind of synthesis. In the expanding field of social and economic history, in particular, where so much work is being done, such syntheses, even if tentative, are absolutely necessary. For the history of education, the Belgian chapters by M. De Vroede are more satisfactory than the Dutch, whereas the political history of both countries receives solid and balanced treatment. There is no consistency in the annotation, which ranges from the extensive and instructive notes of Van Tijn to contributions without any references whatsoever. Some kind of standardization is surely not too much to ask. The annotated bibliography which concludes the volume is extremely useful.

A juridical dissertation by J. Donner describes how the constitutional freedom of education led to the establishment of private confessional institutions of higher education.\textsuperscript{113} Unfortunately, although he covers a time-span of almost two centuries, a historical dimension is largely absent or too elementary. His study mainly consists in a juridical analysis of the processes of founding the Free University of Amsterdam (established in 1880) and of the problems of securing recognition of academic degrees and equality of status with public institutions of higher education and of obtaining government subsidies by means of political lobbying. The author also deals with the decline of autonomy in the 1970s brought about by increasing dependence on public funds. The most interesting part of his book is that dealing with the post-war funding system, even though like the rest of the work it suffers from poor organization and uneven treatment of disparate subjects.

The extent to which history and the social sciences impinge upon, indeed often overlap with each other is demonstrated by a dissertation on the South Holland village of Ottoland (in the Alblasserwaard) in the period 1850-1971.\textsuperscript{114} Written by an anthropologist, J. Verrips, it is a fascinating account, set against the social, economic and religious developments of the period, of three conflicts which deeply divided the village community. The first of them was brought about by the split in the Netherlands Reformed Church in 1886. Verrips demonstrates that the term \textit{kleine hyden} (little men) which figures so largely in the historiography of this event is inapplicable to Ottoland. In particular, the social implication that the dissenters, the strict Calvinists who were later to be called the \textit{gereformeerden}, came mainly from socially inferior groups, turns out to be untrue in this case where they were usually to be found among the wealthier farmers who formed the local political elite. The case-study shows up the dangers in accepting broad historical generalizations too readily as well as the usefulness of thorough local research when applied to clearly formulated problems. The second case-study deals with the attempts of local Reformed Church members around 1930 to establish their own school alongside the State school and the confessional


school of the gereformeerden. The third deals with the tensions which arose within the gereformeerde community in the late sixties and early seventies when the old elite, most of whom were descendants of the leading dissenters of the previous century, tried in vain to resist pressure to modernize the Church from ‘immigrant’ members led by a young minister who had been trained at the Free University of Amsterdam. In each of these conflict situations the complex interaction of socio-economic, ecclesiastical, theological and personal factors was further complicated by the declining autonomy of the village community. As national and provincial networks of political, ecclesiastical and economic relationships expanded, so the village became increasingly dependent upon decisions and events over which it had no control. The resultant problems and frustrations are brought out very clearly in the case-studies and their impact upon the internal conflicts are lucidly, if at times over-emphatically, analyzed by the author.

The Dutch catholic community has also received its share of attention. First of all, there is a biography of W.H. Nolens (1860-1931) who succeeded Schapman as the political leader of the Dutch catholics. Its author, J.P. Gribling, sees Nolens primarily as a ‘social’ politician and devotes a great deal of time to expounding his ideas on social matters, which found their inspiration in Aquinas, the encyclical Rerum Novarum and the writings of the German theologian, Georg Freiherr von Hertling. He also provides an extensive survey of Nolens’s practical work, nationally, and internationally, in the area in particular of social legislation and its application. He thereby convincingly defends Nolens against his detractors as a politician with a highly developed social conscience. Unfortunately he tends to treat Nolens in isolation from his environment and virtually ignores other social ideas of the period, including even socialism. Outside the field of social policy, the material though interesting and solidly researched is somewhat arbitrary and poorly integrated into the rest of the book. All in all, the work is disappointing in spite of the useful factual material which it contains.

The most attractive of the books dealing with the catholic community, is a history of the Catholic School of Economics of Tilburg between 1927 and 1954 by J.A. Bornewasser. The School’s development, administration, research, teaching and student life are thoroughly researched and fully described. But its main value is the manner in which Bornewasser relates the history of the institution to outside developments in the Netherlands as a whole. There are, for instance, interesting passages on relationships within the catholic community, on catholic social thought in the thirties and forties, on the problems connected with collaboration and resistance under German occupation, and on the attempts to bring about social renewal after the Second World War. Without actually producing a new interpretation of the period, his observations


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on some of the wider problems of Dutch history are perspicacious and stimulating. All of which raises the book far above the level of a run of the mill commemorative volume.

The Catholic organization, Action for God, which was active between 1936 and 1941, is the subject of a detailed and interesting dissertation by P. Lyxky. Using archive material, brochures and other printed sources, the author shows that the organization was representative of a wide cross-section of Catholic opinion, and analyses its attempt to combat what it regarded as dangerous developments in 'modern society'. It attacked, for instance, everything which appeared to endanger 'normal' family life and marriage, such as new-Malthusianism, contraception in general, pre-marital intercourse, homosexuality, etc. Its over-riding concern, however, was undoubtedly the threat of communism, although, in spite of manifest radical right-wing tendencies, Action for God was also explicitly and openly anti-fascist and anti-Nazi which it saw as representing the 'new paganism'. The author's detailed picture of the spiritual climate in which the Catholic population lived and the attempts made to defend its spiritual values by means of relatively simplistic propaganda and education is always interesting and at times quite fascinating.

Between 1925 and 1941 there appeared a Catholic literary journal, De Gemeenschap. This journal is still remembered for its somewhat eccentric views and for being a particularly early example of anti-fascism in Catholic circles. H. Scholten gives a detailed, at times long-winded survey of the subject matter contained within its pages and divides it into three main groups: literature, philosophy of life, and political and social commitment. In his opinion it was its defence of faith and culture rather than anti-fascist principles per se which inspired the periodical to oppose fascism. Moreover, it appears to have been considerably more anti-democratic than earlier historians had assumed. It is a pity that the author does not go beyond such isolated conclusions to provide a personal summation, a coherent characterization of this curious, critical and somewhat maverick Catholic journal, our detailed knowledge of which he has done much to expand.

In 1946 a new Catholic periodical, De Linie, was launched by the Jesuits in an attempt to propagate the Catholic faith by modern methods. The aggressive nature and relative inexperience in journalism of its first chief editor, J.H.C. Creighton, S.J., combined to make the early years up to 1950 the most turbulent and embattled in the journal's history. This period therefore tends to dominate B.R.C.A. Boersma's study of De Linie, which traces its history up to 1963 when it broke with the Jesuits and changed its name to De Nieuwe Linie. Indeed, the years after 1950 are dealt with

very sketchily, but the author's treatment of the earlier period is not only full, but an
exciting example of a multi-faceted approach to the history of the press. As well as
summaries of content matter, he provides an insight into editorial policy, organiza-
tional and administrative relationships (particularly interesting where the Jesuit
authorities were involved), and incidents and events arising out of the publication of
particular articles. De Linie's anti-communist, anti-socialist, anti-humanist polemics
represented a curiously 'closed' conservative catholicism which seems to have been
virtually unaffected by the changes in society brought about by the war. So much so,
indeed, that on a number of occasions serious difficulties were created by the fact that
some of its contributors were discovered to have had a less than blameless war-time
record.

Before taking leave of the catholics, mentions should be made of the Year Book of
the Catholic Documentation Centre at Nijmegen, which provides extremely useful
information about its own work, general archival developments and acquisitions, and
also publishes articles on all aspects of catholic history.120

Among the numerous publications dealing with World War II, L. de Jong's latest
volume once again must take pride of place.121 Volume VIII is an impressive account
of the fate of the prisoners and deportees. After a description of the German system
and the function performed by the persecutions and the concentration camps, De Jong
deals in turn with the prisoners of war, the hostages and the political prisoners. Then
comes a lengthy chapter on 'the concentration camp' in which the various aspects of
life (and death) in the camps are presented, followed by a study of four Dutch con-
centration camps (Schoorl, Amersfoort, Ommen and Vught). The fate of the Jews and
the horrific 'final solution' of the Jewish question in the extermination camps are
naturally enough dealt with in a separate section. The volume concludes with the
attempts made to assist the prisoners and deportees. In spite of De Jong's impressive
ability to present highly emotive events in an objective and analytical fashion, the
reader will find it hard to remain in control of his emotions in the course of this
almost thousand page narrative. With the aid of memoirs and a mass of statistical
evidence De Jong brings out the structure and the phases of these events clearly and
concretely. The most chilling statistic is undoubtedly the fact that 102,000 Dutch
Jews were exterminated, that is nearly 73 per cent of the 140,000 Dutchmen who
were regarded as Volljuden, and nearly 80 per cent of those to whom the 'final
solution' was to be applied. It was after all never the intention to deport the 12,000
who had married non-Jews. For the history of the camps, De Jong sees three phases:
the phase of 'extermination by labour' (till the end of 1942); the phase of limited
alleviation (1943-44); and the phase of evacuation-transport and mass epidemics
(from the end of 1944 to the capitulation). As far as outside assistance is concerned,

120. Jaarboek van het Katholieke Documentatie Centrum (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt,
1971).
121. L. de Jong, Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog, VIII, Gevangenen
he argues persuasively that despite the immense difficulties and the self-sacrifice of many of those involved, the official organizations in The Hague and London failed badly in many important respects. A sombre conclusion to a sombre book.

A number of subjects touched on in De Jong's major work receive fuller treatment by him in a collection of eight articles all of which are of high quality. 122 A particularly good example of detailed source exposition are the studies of Felix Kersten and the case of the 'traitor' of General Headquarters in London. There are also useful articles on Queen Wilhelmina in London and on the secret contacts which were made during the period of neutrality. For De Jong's interesting account of the Engelsdelpielen which he published separately, the reader is referred to the English list.

Of the remaining publications dealing with the war years a short biography of A.A. Mussert, the leader of the Dutch Nazis (NSB) deserves mention. Mussert's political evolution in the pre-war years is particularly interesting. 123 The author, R. Havenaar, traces in a convincing manner Mussert's evolution from bourgeois conservative to national socialist. A respectable man with nationalistic leanings, respect for authority but without any ideological schooling or interest, his concern with practical results and his subsequent political opportunism drew him towards the folk movement and caused him to adopt pro-Italian, pro-German and anti-Semitic views. During the war, his unrealistic and illusory struggle for what he saw as the national interest led him increasingly to a betrayal of his country. Although it raises a number of unanswered questions, particularly in connection with the war years, it is a successful and interesting study.

For more specialized tastes, brief mention may be made of the memoirs of F.R. Reuter which deal in a partisan and confused way with the activities of the illegal Dutch Communist Party in the early years of the war, 124 and a thoroughly researched account by L.L. von Münching of the Dutch merchant fleet during the war. 125

The war years also figure fairly prominently in three very informative books dealing with the history of Friesland. The first by Sj. van der Schaff traces the development of the Frisian nationalist movement from its roots in the eighteenth century up to the present day. 126 Its effective organization dates from the 1820s and the original preoccupation with culture, language and political liberalism dominates the movement throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. By the turn of the century, however, its unity was being threatened by the emergence of radical and confessional


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groups concerned with the emancipation of the workers and Calvinist dissenters. Between the wars, the movement was mainly involved in the campaign to introduce the Frisian language into primary and secondary schools and even to have it taught at university level. The government’s marked lack of sympathy for these aims and the outbreak of war led to a rift in the leadership between those who believed that their aims could be furthered by co-operation with the Germans and those who saw the dangers of such a policy and refused any part of it. After the war and the policy of confrontation associated with Fedde Schurer, the Frisian movement has gradually gained more sympathy in government circles and this has been reflected in the wider use of Frisian in the schools.

The second book on the Frisian movement by G.R. Zondergeld investigates in minute detail the numerous organizations and periodicals associated with the movement in the period 1914-45.\textsuperscript{127} He pays particular attention to the specific aims of groups and individuals, the means they adopted to achieve their ends and, to a lesser extent, the reactions of government, political parties and Church organizations. The most substantial part of this rather congested work is devoted to the activities of the movement during the Second World War. Zondergeld is extremely critical of its relations with the nazis especially at the beginning of the war, and argues that even those who broke off contacts with the German occupiers continued nevertheless to associate with those who did become nazis. In his crudely emotive criticism of the Frisian movement he parts company with both Van der Schaaf and also P. Wijbenga, whose three-volume work on Friesland under the occupation deals at length with the Frisian resistance movement.\textsuperscript{128} In spite of the important role which he himself played in the resistance, Wijbenga does not glorify it unduly, although he does emphasize the independent stance of the Frisians \textit{vis-à-vis} the attempts of Holland’s underground movement to establish a centralized, hierarchical resistance organization for the Netherlands as a whole. He gives most credit to the part played by the orthodox calvinists (gereformeerden) and is extremely reticent in passing judgement on those who fraternized or co-operated with the enemy. It is with understandable pride that he describes how the Frisians were liberated in April 1945 largely through their own efforts.

Of the growing number of books dealing with the post-war period, two are considerably more important than the rest. The first of these is A.D. Belinfante’s work on the special judicial procedures established at the end of the war to deal with the thousands of people suspected of war crimes and misdemeanours.\textsuperscript{129} The intention was to avoid the dangers of private retribution and blood-letting, the long-awaited ‘day of reckoning’, by instituting an orderly system of judicial investigation and punishment.

The result was a gigantic operation of legislation, detection, detention, trial and judgment which in the end involved between 120,000 and 150,000 persons. As a policy-making official in the ministry of justice, Belinfante was himself actively involved in the whole process and has produced an impressively well-written and documented account which also takes due account of the social context in which the events occurred. Quite apart from the highly technical and legal aspects, the range and variety of problems touched upon make it impossible in a short summary to do full justice to this book. However, some general themes of interest are the shift in attitude towards the guilty, from regarding them in 1945 as traitors who should be cast out of society to treating them a few years later as political delinquents in need of rehabilitation; the questionable legality of the treatment meted out to suspects in the early years in respect of permissible evidence, legal defence and so on; and the controversial policy around 1950 of extending free pardons to the guilty, primarily inspired, so it appears, by the view especially current among Roman-catholics, that it was desirable to forgive those guilty of political crimes. In the author's opinion, the government ministers responsible for this policy went too far. All in all, it is an impressive and wide-ranging work which opens up many avenues for further research.

The other important contribution to the history of the post-war period is J. Bank's study of the rise and fall of the Dutch People's Movement (NVB). During the war there was a growing feeling that the failure of Dutch society to deal effectively with the crises of the 1930s had discredited pre-war social attitudes and structures, particularly the phenomenon of verzuiiting (the formal political, confessional and cultural organizations which permeated and divided Dutch society at every level), and that a completely fresh start would have to be made based upon social renewal and national unity. At the start of the occupation, the Nederlandse Unie attracted considerable support for these ideals, so it was with some optimism that its successor, the NVB, resumed the campaign after the war. It received a great deal of publicity, membership rapidly grew to about 15,000 and one of its leaders became prime minister. However, the old 'pillars' of society were harder than had been suspected and speedily re-established themselves with the result that voting patterns in the 1946 elections were substantially the same as for the last of the pre-war elections. Probably the most important result of the movement was its influence on the formation of the Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party), a broad-based social-democratic party which attracted many NVB members. Bank's detailed account of the rise and fall of the NVB contains much interesting material, particularly on the period leading up to the collapse of 1946 and the founding of the Labour Party for which it is now the standard reference work. Although the NVB continued to exist until 1951, its influence after 1946 was insignificant.

The NVB provides a logical link with H. Zunnenberg's theological dissertation on...

W. Banning (1888-1971). A non-conformist minister with deep social and political commitments, Banning served on the executive committee of the Social Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) before the war, and during the war was one of the most important pioneers of the NVB. He also played an important role in the Partij van de Arbeid. His biographer argues that Banning's long involvement in practical politics was inspired and sustained by his religious convictions. He believed that modernism and paganism were undermining culture and social morality, which in his view could only be restored by a man-oriented religious socialism. This was later taken up by the NVB as 'personalist socialism'. It represented an approach which was superior to both liberal individualism and the collectivism of communists and national socialists because it wanted to treat men as fully responsible members of society. Zunnenberg's book is interesting, although for the non-theologian the discussion on theology and religion may appear rather vague and not obviously connected with Banning's social and political beliefs. The author certainly indicates the connections, but he does not always do so very clearly.

Left-wing intellectuals in the early post-war years are the subject of a mainly descriptive book by A. Bleich and M. van Weezel. It concentrates on a group of left-wing radicals centred on the Municipal University of Amsterdam, most of whom desired closer collaboration with communism. The authors argue, not very convincingly, that the chances for radical political renewal in 1945 were good, but for a number of reasons (in particular the Cold War) were blighted by the resurgence of the old conservative structures of the pillarized (verzulde) society. The authors appear to see in the immediate post-war years a foretaste of that coalition between intellectuals and the working-class which was so marked in the 1960s. That perspective leads them to exaggerate the extent, and particularly the potential, of this group in 1945. Moreover the evidence of the book itself seems to suggest that it was not so much the Cold War as the group's own ambivalence in the face of the Soviet Union und its lack of freedom which lay at the heart of its problems.

Finally, we come to the field of foreign and colonial policy. Pride of place must go to the ongoing process of source publication. The series for the period 1919-30 has been brought up to August 1921; that for the war years to 31 May 1941. Both are of very high quality and invaluable for future research. An illuminating article by


N. Bootma on the Netherlands and the Washington Conference 1921-22 shows how, despite the lack of great power status and the policy of neutrality, foreign minister Van Karnebeek and his team of diplomats were involved in several of the discussions and were successful in extracting declarations from the four Great Powers that they would respect the Dutch colonies in Asia. The conference the Dutch delegation was fairly satisfied with the outcome. It was later that a memorandum by A.D.A. de Kat Angelino sounded a less optimistic note by pointing out that the strengthening of Japan's position would threaten the Netherlands' hold over her colonies by encouraging their internal nationalist movements. On the foreign policy of the Dutch government in exile, A.F. Manning has written two important articles. The first, on its Pacific policy immediately after May 1940, has been translated into English (See English list). The second deals with the government's attitude towards de Gaulle's Comité de la France Libre and the conflict between loyalty to their American and English allies on the one hand, and, on the other, a belief that de Gaulle would be the best guarantee of stability in France after the war. In the event they were to recognize the Comité on 21 Juni 1944, three months before the allies (England, Canada, the Soviet Union and the USA) did so. A collection of articles brought together under the title Dutch Foreign Policy: Past and Present provides a very successful introduction to the problems facing the Netherlands after the war.
A skillful, condensed, introductory sketch by J.C. Boogman of the main trends in Dutch foreign policy since the sixteenth century sets the scene, followed by J.L. Heldring's defence of the proposition that in spite of the manifest changes occurring after 1945, post-war policies reveal a strong element of continuity from the pre-war years. Then follow separate studies of Atlantic co-operation, European integration, decolonization, co-operation with the Third World, arms control and détente. A book which links in with these themes is a politico-geographical analysis of the views held by the 'foreign policy elite' (that is the various groups who from widely differing positions were actively concerned with this policy) and of the actual influence which these groups exerted on government policy in the 1970s.

For Dutch colonial history, source publications again provide a useful starting point. The second volume of R.C. Kwantes's careful edition of sources relating to the natio-
nalist movement in Indonesia covers the period 1923–28.\(^{139}\) This includes the communist riots of 1926–27 and there is a great deal of material on communism and the government’s efforts to combat it. The series entitled euphemistically ‘Official Documents concerning Dutch-Indonesian Relations’ deals with the process of decolonization and has now been taken up to 20 March 1947, a few days before the signing of the Linggadjati agreement.\(^{140}\) The background to the agreement and the difficulties of putting it into effect form the central theme of this volume. Both publications are of the same high quality as the preceding volumes and provide an excellent basis for more detailed studies and monographs in the future. For the present, however, there is not a great deal to report in the field of colonial history. A number of articles on Indonesian history by W.F. Wertheim have been collected together and reprinted,\(^{141}\) while J.M. Pluvier has produced a survey of Indonesia since 1940 which is, for the most part, a piece of traditional political narrative.\(^{142}\) More important are two sets of memoirs relating to Indonesia before independence. The first, by an ex-colonial officer, L.G.M. Jacques, is interesting more by virtue of his retrospective assessment of the policies pursued than of any new information based upon his recollections.\(^{143}\) His experiences as a district officer in the jungles of Sumatra are certainly interesting, but the account of the diplomatic history from 1940 up until independence contains nothing that is not already well-known. Quite a different perspective is offered by J. de Kadt, a Jew who escaped from the Netherlands to England in 1940 and then went on to the Dutch East Indies. The third volume of his memoirs recounts his sojourn there until 1946 when he returned to the Netherlands.\(^{144}\) Like the previous volumes this is a well-written book full of fascinating observations and commentary on the events which he lived through. He can find nothing good to say about Dutch colonial policy. In his opinion, the only policy with any chance of success was to have given Indonesia her independence as soon as possible. This would have ensured the Netherlands the status of most-favoured, instead of most-hated nation. It was the realization that this was politically impossible which led to his hasty and disillusioned departure after the war.


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


H. Van der Wee and E. Van Cauwenbergh, eds., Productivity of Land and Agricultural Innovation in the Low Countries (1250-1800) (Leuven: University Press, 1978, 187 p., ISBN 90 6168 073 3, BF 580). A fundamental contribution not only to the economic history of the Low Countries, but to the history of European agriculture in the late medieval and early modern period generally. The various contributions provide a considerable amount of data, mostly from the records, as to variations and development in agricultural productivity. The findings confirm the importance for the whole of Europe of the 'agricultural revolution' which took place in the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Provides useful technical information on ship-building and emphasizes the fact that, although galleys are not usually associated with Dutch naval tradition, the Dutch in fact made use of this type of ship from the fourteenth century.

A thorough study of Dutch shipbuilding from 1400 to 1800, adding much to our information about the changes in ship design and the rules for ship-building as laid down by the shipcarpenters’ guilds.

A useful collection of the author’s previously published writings, either locally or specifically concerned with Spanish policy in the Netherlands and the international context and significance of the Revolt of the Netherlands, with interesting forewords explaining the genesis of each article.

A re-assessment of Orange’s role and motives, emphasizing the fundamentally personal nature of his quarrel with Spain and his crucial contribution to the organization of resistance in Holland and Zeeland in the early 1570s.

Shows how lack of finance, and lack of support both from central and municipal authorities in the Netherlands, hampered the agents of Philip II in bringing Spanish heretics in north-west Europe to book.

Examines the content of image criticism among circles sympathetic to the reformation before 1566, emphasizing the role of the Chambers of rhetoric in spreading anti-image propaganda as well as the more direct efforts of the reformed writers.


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An able study in Levantine and general diplomatic history based upon Turkish and Dutch sources. A number of Turkish documents (with translations) are here published for the first time. The subject is firmly placed within a broad religious and historical framework and provides much valuable information about the eastern Mediterranean world in the early seventeenth century.


An excellent study analysing the widespread use of peat as a fuel by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. It suggest a correlation between the Dutch Golden Age and the availability of this relatively cheap energy source at a time when wood was becoming increasingly scarce and expensive in the rest of western Europe. Moreover the Republic lost its dominant economic position as the more accessible peat deposits became exhausted.


A brilliant study of the horse-drawn passenger barge, the network of passenger transportation and its economic and social significance for the Netherlands. Its massive detail, sophisticated analysis, and a broad canvas which touches upon almost every aspect of Dutch economic development make this work a fundamental contribution to the economic history of the Netherlands.


Eight contributions on various aspects of demographic research, mostly contemporary developments. Interesting chapters on nuptiality in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century and on Belgian immigration from 1890 onwards.


An analysis of the Fareastern policy of the Dutch government in exile. Argues that the Dutch had an inflated idea of their international position and that their claim to recognition as an 'independent ally' and middle-ranking power was only partially accepted.

An abbreviated version of the author’s Engelandspel, Mededelingen van de Afdeling letterkunde van de Koninklijke academie van wetenschappen, new series XLII, no. 1 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1979, 28 p., ISBN 0 7204 8481 2, f 7,80). Argues convincingly that it was not due to treason, but to incompetence on the part of British intelligence officials that so many Dutch agents sent from England to the Netherlands during the Second World War immediately fell into German hands.

Highlights the problems experienced by Jews in Dutch society after the Second World War. The Jewish community gradually overcame these difficulties, partly through the inspiration provided by the founding of Israel.

A sketch of the post-war problems created by the 2000 or so Jewish orphans left behind by the war. A long battle was fought whether they should stay with their war-time foster-parents or be returned to sometimes widely dispersed members of their families. Pastor Kalma defended the right of the Jewish community to these children.

A case study of the problem discussed in the previous article. The conflict between Anneke Beekman's foster-parents and a Jewish organization over her guardianship led to a public debate which is here analysed with emphasis on the relation between Jews and catholics.


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