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 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 1980 and early 1981, and cover the history of the Low Countries from the middle ages to the present day.

The retirement of several eminent historians in Belgium and the Netherlands has given rise to an unusually large number of Festschriften in this survey. Three of them have a wide chronological range appropriate to the general section. The first is a special volume of Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis dedicated to the well-known Flemish historian, Karel Van Isacker S.J., on his retirement from his chair at the University Faculties St. Ignatius in Antwerp. It contains fourteen articles on Flemish and Brabant history from the late thirteenth to the late nineteenth century. P. de Ridder investigates the use of Latin, Dutch and French in charters issued by dukes John I and John II of Brabant and discusses the substitution of Latin by the vernacular. He has found that although French was dominant at Court, the dukes addressed their non-noble subjects in Flemish unless they belonged to the 'Roman pays de Brabant'. This contrasts with the practice in Flanders were the count addressed the burghers of his towns in French. E. Aerts reconsiders De Roover's views on banking and especially on exchange, and argues that the eminent American historian failed to appreciate the importance of sixteenth-century Antwerp for the development of European banking. Other contributions deal with fortress building in sixteenth-century Brabant (B. Roosens) and with food supplies and payment for the Spanish troops in the Southern Netherlands from 1567-1713; these were admirably organized in theory but lacked the necessary economic and financial infrastructure: the imitation of the system in seventeenth-century France was therefore infinitely more successful (E. Rooms). G. Devos' article on the prevention of industrial pollution in Belgium deals with a little-known aspect of nineteenth-century industrial history. Other authors draw attention to some interesting supporters of the Flemish Movement. A complete bibliography of Van Isacker's works is added.

The second Festschrift appeared in honour of Prof. J.L. van der Gouw, formerly

Keeper general of the Dutch State Archives, on his retirement from the chair in modern palaeography and archive administration at the University of Amsterdam.² It contains 20 mainly very short, highly specialized articles on subjects ranging from ninth-century royal charters to the government's attitude to state archives in the nineteenth century. Somewhat longer contributions come from P.A. Henderikx on the early medieval course of the rivers Hollandse Ijssel and the Lek which, from the ninth century onwards, widened to become the main stream of the Lower Rhine beyond Dorestad and C. Dekker, who examines the data concerning the building of a dam across the Rhine at Wijk bij Duurstede in 1122. The dam channelled the main stream definitively into the Lek and made cultivation of the area along the Kromme Rijn possible. However the construction of a new canal was necessary in order to preserve the position of the town of Utrecht as a trading centre on the northward route from the Rhine.

On his retirement as professor in the history of modern institutions at the Catholic University, Louvain, J.B. Buntinx was honoured with a collection of over 30 articles by friends and colleagues written in Dutch, French or German.³ H.C.C. De Schepper has used this opportunity to publish his inaugural lecture (Amsterdam, 1980) on jurisdiction and administration in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. He states that these two elements of government were less clearly distinguished than is commonly assumed. Conflicts of competence arising between different public authorities and private complaints about tax assessment and other government measures were dealt with by the Grand Council of Mechlin, although in the course of the century the Secret Council became a popular alternative. R. Van Caenegem in a short contribution on the Precepta imposed by Count Philip of the Alsece on the town of Ghent in 1178, supports, with some qualifications, Leon Vanderkinderen's view (against Pirenne) that the main object of the count's policy towards the Flemish towns was to keep his urban subjects well under control. J. Decavele explains the unusual role of Ghent's 'buitenpoorters' (bourgeois forains), as a valuable instrument until 1540 for extending the town's hegemony over the surrounding countryside. N. Maddens (whose work on the beden (aides) in Flanders in the sixteenth century was reviewed in the Low Countries history yearbook 1980 (143-44)) adds a contribution on the amount of money which the town of Courtrai had to provide for the central government between 1538 and 1567. Amounting to one-fifth of the town's total expenditure it was the main reason for its financial deficits. J. Grauwels deals with the representation of the Dutch-speaking towns in the prince-bishopric of Liège in the Standing Committee of the Estates of Liège from 1608 onwards. From the second half of the seventeenth century the Dutch-speaking towns, like the Walloon towns, nominated two deputies from their part of the country. In the second half of the eighteenth century nomination became

2. Scrinium et scriptura ... aangeboden aan Professor dr. J.L. van der Gouw ... (Groningen: Van der Kamp, 1980, c 300 p., fl. 60). Also: Nederlands archievenblad, LXXXIV (Groningen, 1980) 197-496. With summaries in English.
MIDDLE AGES

In the field of medieval history some useful source editions have been published. H. van Rij has re-edited and translated Alpertus Mettensis’ *De diversitate temporum* and his biographical fragment on Bishop Theoderic of Metz. In a judicious introduction Van Rij dates the former around 1005, the latter shortly before 1024, and advances the monastery of Honhorst (Amersfoort) as the most likely place for Alpertus to have written his moralizing treatise on contemporary events. The editing is conscientious, the translation both sensible and readable. Miss Anna Sapit Abulaf has translated and commented the long passage on the conversion to Judaism of the cleric Wecelin and the refutation of Wecelin’s attack on Christianity by the royal clerk Heinricus.5

The town of Nijmegen is the object of renewed interest from both archeologists and historians who have joined forces to trace the development of the medieval settlement adjacent to the Carolingian *palatium* of Noviomagum and its Ottonian and Staufenian successors. In aid of their research P. Leupen and B. Thissen have collected all the passages in which the place is mentioned from every available written source from Roman times until the year of the momentous lease of the castle and district of Nijmegen to the count of Guelders (1247) which led to its permanent attachment to Gelderland. The 190 items form a useful collection.6

The very incomplete accounts of the country of Holland/Zeeland under the house of Hainault were published by I.H.G. Hamaker from 1875 onwards in the series Werken van het Historisch Genootschap. Efforts to prepare a similar edition for the period

5. H. van Rij, ed. and transl., *Alpertus van Metz, Gebeurtenissen van deze tijd en Een fragment over bisschop Diederik I* (Amsterdam: Verloren, POB 6157, 1980, ix + 132 p., fl. 40; paperback ed. fl. 25,–). Van Rij’s arguments in support of Honhorst as the birth-place of *De diversitate temporum* are discussed by R.M. Kemperink, ‘Kanttekeningen bij Alpertus van Metz’, *Flekte XIV* (Amersfoort, 1982) 8-16, who argues that Tiel is a far more likely place.
of the Bavarian counts broke down on the sheer bulk of the available documents. In 1975, however, a group of historians with a special interest in the history of Holland took the laudable initiative of preparing an edition of accounts from a 'cross-section' of years for which the available accounts of the most important officers of the country, the *ballis* and treasurers, are more or less complete. The first fruit of these endeavours is a small volume containing the accounts from 1393 to 1396 of the *balliwes* (*ballis*) of Rijnland and Woerden, of The Hague and of the later acquired Lands of Heusden (1357) and of Voorne (1372), faithfully edited by De Boer, Faber and Jansen and other members of the group. An introduction explains the nature of the offices of the respective *balliwes*, their income and personnel and the currency used in the documents.7

The Keeper of the town archives of Zwolle, F.C. Berkenvelder, has interrupted his useful work as editor of the town's medieval accounts in order to prepare a collection of abstracts from documents concerning Zwolle between 1350 and 1399. During these years, together with Deventer and Kampen, Zwolle played a dominating role in the politics of the province and in the consolidation of the prince-bishop's territory. The abstracts are full of particulars on political, institutional and legal questions as well as on local conditions. A second volume will appear in 1982 and a third is in preparation, to bring the collection up to 1450.8 Another publication of abstracts shows the uncommonly rich collection of original letters addressed to the urban magistrate of Zutphen from c. 1350 - 1550.9 They contain interesting information on a variety of subjects, including safety of the roads and war damage in the troubled fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and such unexpected items as the communication from the burgomasters, aldermen and council of Lochem, regretting that they had been unable to assist Zutphen in a certain matter since they had been relieved of their authority by the town burgurers. The retirement of Professor J.G.N. Renaud of Utrecht, well-known for his archaeological research on medieval castles, is the occasion for a *Liber castellorum* in which moated sites are understandably predominant.10 There are also articles on architects and craftsmen as, for instance, H. Janse's contribution on the counts of Holland as commissioners of public works in the fourteenth century and T.J. Hoekstra and H.L. Janssen on Marcellis and Rombout Keldermans respectively as designers of fortifications in Utrecht and Gelre. The book is lavishly illustrated and has excellent bibliographies.

W. Vroom's monograph on the financing of medieval cathedrals is an outstanding achievement. He is the first to make systematic use of the near-complete series of accounts from 1395 onwards of the fabrica of the cathedral of Utrecht, the Dom, and of the plentiful additional material in the Dom chapter archives concerning the rebuilding of the church after the town fire of 1253 destroyed the original Roman cathedral. The chapter's ambitious plans for an entirely new structure required a constant stream of funds and an efficient organization for the exploitation of resources and the complex administration of revenues. Gifts from the diocese were at all periods the mainstay of the fabrica but they arrived through many channels. Large contributions were required from the numerous parishes of the extensive diocese.

During the thirteenth century, the parish priests collected special gifts for the cathedral at the Holidays of Obligation and delivered the money themselves at synods and other meetings. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this system was modified and supplemented by another, more successful method: the use of special envoys (questierders), well supplied with relics and letters of indulgence, who induced parishioners to make generous bequests. Their success inevitably diminished the amount of money available for parish funds and unco-operative parish priests had sometimes to be won over by allowing them to lease the collecting rights of the questierders. The chapter held the monopoly of 'quests' in the diocese. Religious orders or charities who wanted to raise money in the bishopric by the way of 'quests' could do so by special permission only. This was granted exceptionally and then only on payment of high admission fees which in turn became an important source of income for the fabrica. The canons of the chapter themselves made contributions, both in the form of gifts and by a statutory two year grant of prebenda defunctorum. Other sources were legacies, gifts, commuted penitentiary sentences from church courts and daily offerings in the church itself which seems to have been used for holy service long before the main body was completed. Vroom has sorted out all these streams of money and has tried to establish their relative importance for the chapter's building budget. Tables and graphs supporting his calculation of the results are wisely relegated to appendices.

To arrive at a reliable estimate of the real value of the sums which the fabrica was able to spend - and actually spent - the author has commuted the money into wages of unskilled labourers and used the results to give a clear picture of the fluctuations in building activity. How reliable this system is may be a matter for debate but it certainly helps to reduce the problems of monetary evaluation. The sums spent on the cathedral reached a peak between about 1470 and 1525. We are not told how much labour was involved in those years nor how much money went into the purchase of expensive material, but Vroom does claim that the number of craftsmen employed at no time adversely affected the labour market in town or province. Shortly after 1525 the flow of contributions for the fabrica suddenly dried up as letters of indulgence and

relics lost their attraction—a phenomenon which the master of the fabrica imputed to the spread of Lutheranism. However, the faithful rallied in the sixties and provided the chapter with sufficient income to pay at least for repairs and some embellishment.

The author also provides his study with a broader perspective, on the one hand by discussing the responsibilities and resources of bishops and chapters engaged in cathedral-building all over Western Europe and on the other, by contrasting the financing of these cathedrals with that of urban parish churches which could rely on active support from the town magistracy. (The Utrecht Buurkerk provides material for this latter point.) The result is a lively and informative work which sheds new light on a wide range of ecclesiastical and religious practices in the later middle ages.

Florence Koorn has written a study of the bégüinages in Holland and Zeeland, religious lay communities of unmarried or widowed women, governed by one or two mistresses. In the eastern parts of the Netherlands these béguines used to share one large house, but in the provinces studied by Miss Koorn (as also in the town of Utrecht and the Southern Netherlands) they lived on their own or in small groups in houses around a closed court. The author has scrupulously gone through the available archive material which is very sparse for the thirteenth century but becomes more plentiful in the fourteenth after a period of mild persecution following the condemnation of the béguines by the Council of Vienne. She provides a systematic survey of the rules adopted by these communities, the property rights regarding the houses they inhabited (most of which belonged originally to individual well-to-do béguines but by the end of the fourteenth century were more often owned by the community and leased to members for one or two lives), the connections of the women with the town elite and their relations with the authorities. She demonstrates that although the settlements had much in common there were striking local differences in the details of their organization. She has also found traces of béguines in the countryside where communities seem to have existed in some larger villages, only to be commuted at an early stage into regular convents of the third rule of St. Francis. She tacitly rejects the possibility that the same development may have taken place in some smaller towns in Holland such as Schoonhoven and Oudewater; and she does not explain why the béguines thrived in some towns like Haarlem, Amsterdam, Leiden, but apparently found no following in others. The book is solid but unimaginative.

A study of Philip of Burgundy, youngest bastard of Philip the Good, army leader, admiral of the Burgundian fleet and from 1520 until his death in 1524 bishop of Utrecht, has been written by an art historian, J. Sterk. His interest was aroused by an inventory (1529) of the late bishop's castle of Wijk bij Duurstede, which lists among more practical objects the art treasures collected by Philip. He has edited this


inventory as an appendix to the book and has added an interesting commentary. This source material naturally led him to a discussion of Philip’s role as a maecenas, which forms the central theme of the book. The middle part consists of short separate studies of the artists who were employed either casually or on a permanent basis by Philip and their activities on his behalf. The author claims that Philip differed from other Burgundians and from the Habsburgs in that he personally intervened in the work of the artists in his pay, especially Jan Gossaert of Maubeuge (the first renaissance artist in the Northern Netherlands), not just by showing his marked preference for certain subjects (plump female and herculean male nudes for instance) but by telling them exactly how to paint them. The author’s defence of his thesis is not entirely convincing. Possibilities end up as certainties, hypotheses as conclusions, without a great deal of evidence being produced, as, for instance, the entirely new ‘Italian style’ which he believes characterized Philip’s ‘court’ at Souburg (Zeeland). The actual biography which provides the background for the study of Philip’s maecenas-role, forms the first part of the book. It is marred by the fact that the author’s assessment of his hero relies entirely upon the extremely flattering ‘life’ of Philip written by his chaplain the well-known humanist Geldenhauer (Gerardus Noviomagus). As a result, the biography is a strongly biased story of a flawless renaissance magnate, excelling in virtues, learning, artistic talent and inspiring force who, in the end, emerges from this treatment as an irritatingly flat character without flesh or bones; which is a pity.

In the half century after Gossaert, an important contribution to renaissance art in the Low Countries was made by Cornelis Floris de Vriendt of Antwerp. The catalogue of an exhibition held in his honour at Antwerp contains articles by L. de Barsée and P. Baudouin, E. Pais-Minne and others on Floris and various aspects of life in sixteenth century Antwerp. There are also useful bibliographical references.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Volume Five of the New Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden consists of fifteen contributions divided into three almost wholly unrelated sections in keeping with the general approach of the series which invariably involves defying all traditional and conventional notions of periods and periodization in Low Countries History. A.M. van der Woude’s introduction to this volume serves also as the general introduction for all five volumes (up to vol. IX) covering the early modern period. It is as uncompromising an apology for the ‘New History’ and the views of Braudel and Le Roy Ladurie, photographs of whom grace the opening pages, as one can find and confidently asserts the primacy of long-term structures and cycles over mere ‘historical

events’. Accordingly, the first and longest section of the book deals with long-term trends in environment, landscape, demography and class structures over the whole early modern era. The general standard of these contributions is undoubtedly high and some, such as J.A. Faber’s discussion of the structure of Dutch society in the period 1480-1780, are really excellent. While not everyone will be happy with the editors’ sense of priorities, it is consistent with their approach that the second section, devoted to the political and constitutional structures of the Low Countries in the period 1480-1800 should be relatively brief, comprising only about a quarter of the volume.

In this volume the bizarre disjointed grouping of themes and periods which so mars volumes VI and VII intrudes only with respect to the last section. This, amounting to a mere seventy-five pages, including numerous illustrations, consists of four contributions which valiantly strive to cover the whole political and religious history of the Low Countries in the period 1480-1555. Apart from being much too short a space in which to cover this ground in an acceptable and useful manner, this last section is compiled without any reference to or discernible connection with the preceding sections. Needless to say, it is not a little disconcerting to the reader to find that the chronological scope of this last part is totally out of keeping with the perspective of the rest of the volume.

H. Miedema has produced a voluminous though not very professional edition of documents concerning the St. Lucas Company (St. Lucagilde) at Haarlem,16 which embraced craftsmen producing mainly luxury articles - glaziers, pewterers, gold- and silversmiths and also picture painters, which is why art historians have shown considerable interest in this and similar companies. The documents (1496-1795) belong to the company’s own archive and the town archive of Haarlem. They contain regulations, resolutions, accounts (the latter partly in nineteenth-century abstracts), lists of members and governors and, since the company held the monopoly of the sale of pictures within the town, also lists of paintings from inventories drawn up after their owners had died. The introduction is not very helpful. The author pays little attention to the interesting institutional development of the company and what he says on the subject is often unclear, even misleading, and in details refuted by the documents themselves. He is, he says, interested in the history of the social appreciation of art and artist from the late fifteenth to the late eighteenth century, but in this reviewer’s opinion the collection is of more importance for urban institutional history.

The legal aspects of the type of agricultural land lease, known as beklemrecht and until recently wide-spread in the province of Groningen, have been frequently discussed but W.J. Formsmma is the first to deal with this interesting phenomenon in its social-historical context.17 The beklemrecht owes its name to the fact that the farmer


144
owns the buildings but rents the land; the buildings and the land are said to be 'clamped' together and the farmer is said to be clamped to the land. At one time on the expiry of a lease it was normal (not only in Groningen) for a farmer who had built his house on rented ground to sell his buildings to the landlord or to the next lease-holder. In Groningen this simple form a rather complicated system developed. In the sixteenth century, the farmer obtained the right to life-long extension of the lease on condition that every six years he paid a gift to the owner and the amount of rent could be renegotiated. In the eighteenth century this six-yearly payment was replaced by a gift from the 'clamped' farmer when he married and, after his death, from his heir who would require an extension of the lease. It also became possible to sell the 'clamped' lease to a third party who then paid a gift to the landowner. Also in the eighteenth century, more and more rents became permanently fixed by agreements called 'letters of clamping'. Although beklemrecht still obtains in the province, providing farmers with hereditary rights to the land in perpetuity, many 'clamps' in the course of the twentieth century have been converted into freehold tenures and nowadays rarely comprise more, and usually much less than 40 per cent of farmland held in rural communities. Formsma, who as director of the State archives in Groningen – he retired in 1967 – acquired an intimate knowledge of the history of beklemrecht, explains how economic ups and downs and political interests have influenced the gradually changing position of the 'clamped' farmer (beklemde meier) and the landowner. He also traces the development of comparable agricultural leases in Friesland and German Ost-Friesland.

The last of the works spanning the entire early modern period is a collection of papers presented at the 1980 Leeuweborch conference which set out to explore one of the bulkiest and yet most neglected sets of sources available to historians of the early modern period, namely probate inventories. In most European countries, surviving probate inventories begin to become numerous in the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth centuries and generally cease to be so from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. It is a sobering fact that in the Amsterdam city archives, no less than three thousand inventories have been found for the decade 1700-1709 alone. Probate inventories are a source which, if properly exploited, necessarily requires computers and highly sophisticated quantitative techniques. But when and if these are available what results from such research? These contributions by French, German, Swedish and British as well as Low Countries historians show that important progress can be made in several fields, notably in the study of popular culture and in the history of agricultural and industrial methods and practice. In Golden Age Amsterdam, for instance, it was common among all classes to invest in stocks and shares while few even of the wealthiest inhabitants had many books. In the case of eighteenth-century England, the inventories can be used to illustrate significant changes in farming practice. However, one may reasonably doubt whether probate inventories will ever elicit interest or

results comparable with that shown in parish registers during the fifties and sixties.

The character and significance of the reformation in the German towns has been keenly debated ever since the publication of Bernd Moeller's now famous essay on the imperial cities and protestantism twenty years ago. It is scarcely surprising that German scholars, who have tried to unravel the complex relationship between religion and urban culture, should now take an interest in the towns of the Low Countries. Among these Franz Petri, with his longstanding interest in the ties between the Rhineland and the Netherlands, was especially well-placed to edit a collection of essays on religion and society in the towns of Germany and the Low Countries in the early-modern period. Of the seven contributions three are concerned with aspects of the urban reformation in the Low Countries. The veteran Flemish scholar, Robert Van Roosbroeck, argues that religion, more specifically Calvinism, rather than social distress provoked the crisis in Antwerp in 1566. In fact, Van Roosbroeck provides a summary for the German reader of his doctoral thesis, published some fifty years ago. Though his footnotes take some account of research conducted in the intervening period, the essay is disappointingly _dejà vu_. Wolter's short contribution on the town and the reformation is more illuminating. Whereas many historians have argued that the events of 1572 mark a clear break in the political and religious traditions of the towns of Holland, Wolter prefers to emphasize the remarkable capacity for survival demonstrated by the Erasmian-minded oligarchies in control of the towns and the partial nature of the Calvinist triumph. In conjunction these account for the apparent modernity and bourgeois character of Dutch society in the seventeenth century. In one of the longest essays Dr. Schilling, who is no stranger to the history of the Low Countries, examines whether the relationship which existed between religion and society in the United Provinces may properly be described as modern. Modernity is defined by reference to certain criteria, including the acceptance of religious pluralism, the withdrawal of the state from spiritual concerns and the retreat of the churches from the supervision of marriage, schooling, and poor relief. Schilling concludes that Dutch society was less modern than it might at first seem. For example, though the principle of freedom of conscience was upheld, even by Dutch Calvinists, the state did not relinquish its role as _tutor religionis_, by which it understood the maintenance of the Reformed Churches. Again, the consistories, though they permitted a larger number of people a measure of political influence, did little to prepare Dutch society for political democracy, for the elders did not represent their congregations so much as act as God's lieutenants. On the other hand, the public Church and the civil authorities were less closely associated than was then common in Europe.


146
Schilling illustrates this point by considering the matter of matrimony and the position of the midwife in the United Provinces. Soon after the Revolt civil marriage was permitted in a bid to end the confusion caused by clandestine unions, a problem which elsewhere in Europe was resolved by making marriages in church obligatory. In the case of midwives, the emphasis shifted from concern about the spiritual welfare of the mother and child to their physical well-being. As Schilling makes clear, these shifts were not opposed by the Reformed Churches, which believed that such matters should properly be left to the godly magistrates.

The publication of the acts of the classis of Dordrecht from 1573 to 1600 represents the first fruits of an enterprise begun in 1954, when plans were made to publish the proceedings of all the Holland classes before 1620. The value of these records has already been demonstrated by Dr. Tukker in his doctoral dissertation on the classis of Dordrecht. In the early organization of the Reformed Church in South Holland the classis of Dordrecht played the dominant role: between 1574 and 1616 four new classes were formed out of the original classis of Dordrecht. In the classis matters affecting relations with the civil authorities were discussed, so that you find here a wealth of information about poor relief, matrimonial affairs, church fabric, ministers' stipends and schools. These records also enable us to understand the problems facing the Reformed Churches as they struggled to set a Calvinist stamp on a society which was little attached to any form of discipline, let alone 'the Genevan inquisition'.

The arrival in the Netherlands of the duke of Alva at the head of a large army in the summer of 1567, marked the end of Margaret of Parma’s attempt to pacify the country with 'minimum force'. As well as hunting down the rebels, and all concerned with the troubles of the previous year, Alva also saw his responsibilities as including the defence of the country. This was reinforced after Orange’s abortive invasion and the seizure of Alva’s pay ships by Elizabeth I in 1568. Largely as a response to these developments, Alva despatched a commission in the spring of 1569 to examine the defences of certain key places in the maritime provinces of Holland and Zeeland. The report which the commission produced has been edited, with an introduction, by S. Groenveld and J. Vermaere. The commission was headed by one of Alva’s most able captains, the Italian Chiappino Vitelli; and included two other Italians - Gabrio Serbeloni, a man with considerable experience in the building of fortifications; and a military engineer, Bartolomeo Campi. The fourth member was a Netherlander, Servaes van Steenland, lord of Wissekerke, who penned the eventual report. The commission spent most of its time in the delta-area of Zeeland and South-Holland, and the smaller towns of the Noorderkwartier, concluding its enquiry in Amsterdam. Not surprisingly,

the commission decided that the approaches to Walcheren and the smaller channels to
the north were the most vulnerable to seaborne attack - a conclusion reached by an
earlier report compiled by Cornelis de Scheper in 1552, and one which was amply
borne out by the Sea-Beggars in 1572. However, Vitelli's commission went further by
inquiring into the number of houses in each town, the number of arms-bearing men,
sailors and ships, and the availability of food and other supplies. The information ob-
tained appears to have been more reliable for the delta-area than for the rest of Hol-
land, perhaps reflecting the time spent by the commission in each region. But it seems
that most of the commission's findings remained largely unused.

The period 1578-81 witnessed the polarization of the conflict in the Netherlands.
During these years, Orange's attempt to maintain a broad opposition front, based on
his religious policy, collapsed under the weight of internal dissension and external
military pressure. The break with Spain became complete. The driving-force behind
the revolt was now the 'left wing, protestant' Union of Utrecht. Many 'moderates'
who had supported the wider revolt were now faced with a difficult decision: to
swallow their pride and be reconciled with Philip II, or to throw in their lot with the
rebel Union. For some, such as Aerschot, the choice was relatively clear cut; for
others, such as Remmenberg, it was rather more problematical. Yet there were many
others of less lofty status for whom the decision was more difficult and lengthy
process. One such was the Frisian jurist, Aggeus van Albada. After a career spent
mostly in the service of the Empire and the prince-bishop of Wurzburg, Albada re-
turned to the Netherlands and sided with the rebels only after the conclusion of the
Pacification of Ghent. In 1579 he acted as spokesman of the States General delega-
tion to the Cologne peace-talks; but his support for the revolt waned thereafter. K. van
Berkel ascribes this change of heart not to any mundane political considerations but
to a crisis of conscience.27 For Albada, 'haec religionis ergo' was the only justification
for the revolt. But he was no Calvinist ideologue. As a follower more of Schwenck-
feld than Calvin, Albada was an advocate of tolerance and compromise, and had much
sympathy for the views of men such as Coornhert. Berkel argues that Albada finally
abandoned the revolt because between 1579 and 1584 he saw the religious situation
in Holland and the other rebel provinces deteriorate to a point where he felt it was
worse than it ever could be under any catholic monarch, and could no longer justify
revolt. The author sees Albada's case as evidence of a 'moral' crisis, as well as a political
and military one, in the revolt during these years.

A crucial aspect of the break with Spain was Philip II's decision in 1580, at Gran-
velle's instigation, to outlaw William of Orange. Orange made a vigorous defence of his
position in his famous 'Apology', which was presented to the States General at the end
of the year. J. Verlaan and A. Alberts have produced an abridged version of this
document in modern Dutch translation, under the auspices of the 'Orde van den

27. K. van Berkel, 'Aggeus van Albada en de crisis in de Opstand (1579-1587)', Bijdragen en me-
Prince’ in commemoration of its 25th anniversary. A series of short introductory articles by J. Decavele, J.J. Woltjer, H. Brugmans, P. Van Peteghem and R.C. Van Caenegem present brief biographical details on Jacob de Somere and Pierre Loyseleur de Villiers, the latter being the main author of the Apology; the background of religious and political ideas against which the Apology was written; and an assessment of the extent to which the Apology reflected Orange’s own views, as far as these are discernable, especially on religion. The book is aimed more at the general reader, and is of limited value to the researcher. The text of the Apology itself is based on the contemporary Dutch translation of the original French, and the work is marred by a number of factual and printing errors.

The polarization of the conflict also had profound consequences for the Reformed Church. The National Synod which met in Middelburg in 1581 – after the three-year interval prescribed by the Synod of Dordt in 1578 – did so under the realization that the Reformed Church was now the only permitted public religion in the rebel territories. The definition of the place of the Reformed Church in these changed circumstances was the main task of the Synod. To mark its quartercentenary, a collection of articles has been published by the Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen. The most important contribution is that by R.H. Bremmer, who traces the developments leading up to the assembly of the Synod, and analyzes the problems facing it. The Synod was a truly ‘National’ one, more so than Dordrecht in 1578 or any subsequent Synod, in that it included representatives from the eastern and southern provinces. The driving forces behind the Synod were Arend Cornelisz. van der Corput, president and clerk respectively. The main task was to produce a Reformed Church Order which would be acceptable to the civil power, and thereby confirm the Reformed Church’s position in the new order. But the Synod also had to contend with the problem of Orange’s breach with Dathenus, and the much publicized unorthodox views of Caspar Coolhaes, minister at Leiden. The Synod had mixed results. The Church Order which it produced went further than that of Dordt, 1578, claiming more influence for the Church in the appointment of ministers and schoolmasters. But the States of Zeeland only confirmed certain recommendations concerning the maintenance of law and order, while the States of Holland never approved any of it. It


seems to have had a more direct effect in Germany, where it was adopted by the
Synod of Herborn (1586), largely under the influence of Jan van Nassau, for the
churches in Nassau, Wittgenstein, Solms and Wied.32
Furthermore, the Synod was unable to heal the rift between Orange and Dathenus,
whom Orange had never forgiven for his part in the coup d’etat in Ghent in 1578 and
his subsequent violent denunciation of Orange’s ‘French policy’. With the threat of
prosecution hanging over him if he returned from his haven in the Palatinate, it is not
surprising that Dathenus declined to attend the Synod. Although Dathenus was less
then co-operative in the search for a solution, the Synod was not prepared to attempt
to impose a solution which could lead to further dissension within the church, both at
home and abroad.33 Coolhaes, on the other hand, chose to attend, in spite of the
attempts of the Leiden city council to prevent him from doing so. As the council
feared, Coolhaes compromised himself by accepting most of the Synod’s criticisms of
his writings and teachings, but then refusing to endorse the Confession of Faith and
the Church Order. His eventual excommunication, and dismissal by the Leiden city
council, removed a troublesome character; but it was not the solution which Cornelisz.
and van der Corput had desired.34
The collection also includes the ‘Acta’ of the Synod,35 and some interesting details
on the members of the Synod and the congregations that they represented.36 Although
the Synod was not exclusively a Zeeland event, the collection is rounded off by four
short articles which reflect the state of religious life in the surrounding areas: the
‘Acta’ of the classis of Zuid-Beveland and the consistory of Flushing during the years
1579-81,37 the problems confronting the Reformed in the Vrije of Bruges in 1581,38
and an examination of the difficulties confronting the Catholic population of Zee-
land during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.39 Although rather uneven in
length and weight, this is an interesting collection of essays which will repay careful
study.
Although officially banned in the rebel territories after the outbreak of the revolt,
the Roman-catholic religion did not die out. On the contrary, the last decades of the
sixteenth century saw something of a revival. A leading figure in this process was
Sasbout Vosmeer, scion of a prominent Delft family. From Sasbout’s correspondence

32. W. van 't Spijker, 'De overname van de kerkeorde van Middelburg (1581) op de generale synode
te Herborn (1586), ibidem, 144-57.
33. W. Punt, 'Midlukte bemiddeling “inder saecken der Excellentie tegens Petrum Dathenum”',
ibidem, 159-73.
34. J.P. van Dooren, ‘Caspar Coolhaes: het een en ander uit zijn leven voor en na de synode van
Middelburg’, ibidem, 174-83.
35. W. van 't Spijker, ‘De acta van de synode van Middelburg (1581), ibidem, 64-127.
36. J.P. van Dooren, ‘Enige bijzonderheden over de afgevaardigden en over de door hen verte-
genwoordigde gemeenten buiten de Noordelijke Nederlanden’, ibidem, 128-39.
zelfredzaamheid tot late wederopkomst’, ibidem, 202-17.
with his brother, Tilman, B.A. Vermaeren has pieced together Sasbout’s attempts to
encourage and strengthen the Roman-catholic community in the Northern Nether-
lands. Names as ‘vicar apostolic’ for the whole of the Northern Netherlands in 1590
by the papal nuncio, Frangipani, Sasbout was given wider powers for the organization
of the catholic revival by pope Clement VIII himself in 1592. Sasbout had been active
in his native Delft since his covert return in 1583, and his labours culminated in his
rather unreal plan for the appointment of a new bishop – either in Haarlem or Delft,
with the remaining brothers of the religious houses of Sion, ‘s-Gravenzande, Stein,
Den Hem and Ten Donck forming a new cathedral chapter. Sasbout clearly saw him-
self in the role of bishop, but his grandiose scheme came to nothing. One problem was
how to finance a new chapter when all ecclesiastical properties and revenues had been
confiscated; but the main difficulty seems to have been that appointments to bishop-
rics were in the gift of Philip II, not the pope, and the king apparently had little enthu-
usiasm for Sasbout’s plans.

The final volume of A.Th. van Deursen’s quartet on what he terms the popular
culture of Holland during the period of the Eighty Years War is concerned with reli-
gion. The first chapter attempts to sketch the system of popular beliefs, and the rest
of the book considers successively the Calvinists, catholics and baptists. The content
of this volume is rather more predictable than that of the preceding ones, partly be-
cause the chapter on the Calvinists is very largely based on a previous work by the
author, while those on the catholics and baptists, as Van Deursen makes clear, are
chiefly derived from the writings of Rogier and Kühler respectively. Nevertheless, even
in this well-worked field he is able to make a number of interesting points. For example,
he is illuminating on the dilemma posed to the civil authorities by the presence of such
a large number of catholics, pointing out that any serious attempt to eradicate cathol-
icism through systematic persecution would either have failed or have involved killing
on a very large scale (matsmaoord). On the other hand, the chapter on popular beliefs
is really too brief to allow the author to do more than touch the surface of such a
complex problem.

An interesting feature of Dutch politics in the course of the war against Spain was
the apparent gulf between the academic treatment of political questions in the uni-
versities and the practical, even urgent, political and constitutional problems facing
the Dutch in the real world. A striking illustration of this is the way that professors con-
tinued to teach, and students to accept, the maxim that monarchy was the best form of
government throughout a period when the republic was seeking an identity and inter-
national recognition. Neither they nor the authorities seemed to feel that this was
anomalous or indeed had any bearing on the constitution of the United Provinces.

bisschopszetel?” Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland, XXIII (Utrecht,
41. A.Th. van Deursen, Het kopergeld van de Gouden Eeuw, IV, Hel en hemel (Assen: Van Gor-
42. Iem, Bavinens en stiikgezonen (Assen, 1974).
H. Wansink's fascinating study of the teaching of politics at Leiden University from the time it was founded to the mid-seventeenth century does much to clarify the position of politics as an academic discipline and its relationship with the contemporary political scene.\textsuperscript{43} Leiden rapidly became the largest, most cosmopolitan university in Europe which a strong humanist tradition struck deep roots. Wansink demonstrates convincingly and in detail how this tradition placed a philological-historical stamp on the study of political ideas in which imitation and emulation of the ancients, history as \textit{magister vita} and the ethical values of neo-Stoicism were of greater importance than Aristotle or Calvin. Only in the second half of the seventeenth century was there a significant shift of emphasis in political thought under the influence of Cartesianism and Hobbesianism and the resultant \textit{philosophia novantiqua}. It was the universal and abstract nature of the traditional approach which enabled academics simultaneously to extalt monarchy and accept the existence of the Dutch Republic, and also persuaded the authorities that what was taught in the universities would have no subversive effect upon the United Provinces. By the mid-seventeenth century traditional \textit{politica} was beginning to look decidedly old-fashioned and as political speculation started to take account of particular historical circumstances and constitutional traditions it was to the jurists, within the framework of public law and the nation-state, that the future development of political theory was to belong.

The Rotterdam writer and publicist, Pieter Rabus, has already been the subject of a co-operative study of various aspects of his life and work,\textsuperscript{44} and this is now complemented by a book combining an account of his life and literary activities with a detailed examination of his practice as editor of the \textit{Boekzaal van Europe}.\textsuperscript{45} De Vet is particularly interested in the extent to which Rabus can be seen as an important precursor of the enlightenment in the Northern Netherlands. The core of the book is an investigation of the way that the writings of Pierre Bayle, Antonius van Dale and Balthasar Bekker were dealt with in Rabus' \textit{Boekzaal}. The fact that the \textit{Boekzaal} was written in Dutch made the authorities, and especially the Reformed Church, particularly sensitive to its contents. De Vet makes it clear that Rabus, despite his considerable sympathy with the ideas of these radicals, had to proceed with extreme caution, in particular under pressure from the local church council, and especially in the case of his treatment of Bekker's famous work on witchcraft. This study demonstrates clearly the sort of pressures operating which in practice restricted freedom of publication in the late seventeenth century. Such constraints were more serious for editors of periodicals than for the authors of individual books or pamphlets.

In a prosopographical study of students from North Brabant, a team from the University of Nijmegen have listed, in so far as they were able to trace them, everyone

\textsuperscript{44} I.M. de Vet, \textit{Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe 1692-1702} (Amsterdam, 1974).
from this province (using the present provincial boundaries) who registered as a student from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. A little under 6,000 persons are listed alphabetically, and basic biographical information accompanies each entry. Students not born in North Brabant but domiciled there at the time of their registration are also included. There is a useful introduction which discusses in particular the social and geographical origins of the students, according to their disciplines and their confessions, and their subsequent careers.

Of all aspects of the Dutch Golden Age, the popular culture and living conditions of the working classes has been one of the least studied. Aside from N.W. Posthumus' magisterial study of the Leiden work-force, there are strikingly few studies of note. J.R. Brujin and J. Lucassen have therefore performed a most useful service in making available in one volume and supplementing the five seminal essays on the East India Company's shipcrews during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries published by J. de Hullu in 1913-4 in the *Bijdragen tot de taal, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.* By far the longest and most important of De Hullu's five studies (31 pages) deals with the recruitment of seamen and soldiers for the Company's ships and garrisons, the other four dealing respectively with sickness and medical care, order and discipline, nutrition, and entertainment.

De Hullu's five essays occupy some seventy-six pages of text. The editors also provide forty pages of introduction, seven pages of statistical annexes and a useful bibliography. The introductory material is of considerable importance as Brujin and Lucassen provide a cogent analysis of the labour market at the disposal of the Company and examine the general economic background to its recruitment and conditions of service. It is striking how large a proportion of the Dutch seafaring population the crews of the Company eventually came to represent. The Company's crews were in fact a steadily increasing proportion rising from about one sixteenth of the total (including the crews of the herring fleets), in 1610, to no less than one quarter by 1770. This valuable compilation also includes a welcome appreciation of De Hullu as a person and as a scholar.

In the same field, Brujin has also co-edited a collection of essays about conditions on Dutch East India ships and specifically on the series of mutinies which periodically broke out on these vessels. The publication is particularly welcome as, until recently, remarkably little has been written on this subject. For reasons which are not yet fully explained, there was a marked tendency for conditions on board ship to worsen, the death-rate on outward voyages to increase, and the proportion of crews made up of foreigners (mostly Germans and Scandinavians) to grow after 1740. How-

ever, at least in part, these trends reflect the significant falling off in the availability of hardened, experienced Dutch seamen in the mid-eighteenth century. The essays by ten different authors are both descriptive and analytical and the result is often fascinating. While Dutchmen figure prominently in a few of the non-violent mutinies, which may be categorized essentially as strikes or as a refusal to undertake particular work or tolerate particular conditions, in the spectacular cases of full-scale mutiny where the insurgents took over the vessel by force, it is striking that few and often hardly any Dutch figured among the leaders and active participants.

A study by R. Dekker and L. van de Pol of some ninety cases of Dutch women who assumed men's clothing and (in the main) joined the army, navy or an East India Company crew in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is soundly based on archival material, especially from the Amsterdam city archive and the East India Company archive in The Hague. In intention it is certainly a serious contribution to women's history, but it remains basically anecdotal and amusing rather than analytical. While it will undoubtedly be seen as a valuable contribution by those who regard women's history as a viable field of study, many others will understandably remain sceptical as to the value of this type of enquiry.

C.J.A. Jörg has produced an interesting study on the China trade of the Dutch East India Company from 1729 to 1794 and in particular on the trade in chinaware as a profitable by-product of the tea trade. The author describes the organization of the permanent V.O.C. factory at Kanton and the relations with Chinese merchants and officials and he assesses the importance of the porcelain trade. There is also detail about how the delicate merchandise was packed in Kanton. The chine was encased in boxes and formed the bottom layer of the cargo, tea being placed above to keep it dry. The porcelain was bought according to the precise orders sent by the directors who even sent their cargo (merchants) designs of the articles they wanted them to commission. A number of these designs have been preserved in the V.O.C. archives and Jörg has used some of these as illustrations in his book. He has also collected details on designs and decorations from the directors' order lists and the cargas' shipping lists. The number of the different items also appear in his tables which can be used to demonstrate the importance to traders of the social aspirations of the upward-striving layers of society below the traditionally wealthy and aristocratic. Why should the amount of Chinese sugar pots sold in the west quadruple between 1736 and 1740, and soup bowls exported from east to west in 1758 be ten times more than a mere five years earlier? Such detailed changes in demand are not easy to come by. The author also provides valuable information on prices paid in Kanton and obtained at sales in

Amsterdam and Middelburg. Towards the end of the century the variety of articles imported was restricted: the chinaware trade – as Jörg shows convincingly – followed the trend of the Dutch China trade as a whole. This book, written by an art historian, is well worth the attention of economic and social historians and specialists in eighteenth-century Chinese products of all kinds. The title does not altogether do justice to the scope and variety of the fascinating contents.

In 1977 Mrs. E.P. de Booy presented her doctoral thesis, a detailed study of rural education in the province of Utrecht in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Her recent book Kweekhoven der wijsheid (Nurseries of Wisdom) appearing only a few years later, can rightly be seen as its logical complement. Its central theme is the various forms of education in the Utrecht towns: Utrecht itself, Amersfoort, Rhenen, Wijk bij Duurstede and Montfoort. The author has attempted to sketch the educational opportunities in the various towns as a whole, and to bring out the relations between them. The University of Utrecht has properly been excluded from her picture. Most attention is paid to the situation in the city of Utrecht, where there were a great many different varieties of school, described with much attention to their characteristic details. Because of this varied provision, the situation differed sharply from the uniform development of the countryside, where education in the average village school was limited in character and directed above all towards the church and religion. The city bourgeoisie made higher demands and was prepared to pay for education at numerous private schools. The sources, however, for these so-called ‘by-schools’ are scarce, especially for the catholic schools which had to operate clandestinely after 1619. An important conclusion for the city of Utrecht is that the educational opportunities for the lowest stratum of the population were greatly extended in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For the children of less well-off parents, though not for those of beggars and poor catholics, however, opportunities remained limited.

The book concludes with chapters on educational reforms in the years after 1795, and on literacy, investigated by means of data from marriage certificates of the period 1811-20. The author shows herself to be well aware of several lacunae in her research. What she has assembled in both her books gives an impressive picture of the educational situation in an interesting region outside the much more strongly urbanized west of the country. The question of how representative it is can naturally only be answered by further research.

Thorough research underpins H. Feenstra’s bulky dissertation on the nobility in the Ommelanden, roughly the areas to the west and north of the city of Groningen, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The work falls into two clearly defined sec-

tions. In the first, more general part the emphasis falls on the economic position of the 'jonkers' as a class, while the second part is devoted to the various families or groups of related nobles, and contains a mass of details, which form the basis of the generalizations in the first section. The period studied is from the so-called 'Reduction' of the city of Groningen in 1594, when the city and surrounding Ommelanden were reunited as one province, to the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the relatively quiet period after 1594 the jonker estate acquired its characteristic form and features. Until 1650 the number of noble families remained relatively constant, but thereafter there was a rapid change. In the years 1650-1700 the relative decline was already 26 per cent, between 1700 and 1750 42 per cent, and in the period 1750-1800 47 per cent. These numerical changes fit the general picture, still inadequately supported, of a nobility in decline, but they differ clearly from the development which Faber has sketched for the neighbouring province of Friesland. The gross wealth of the Ommeland jonkers consisted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries largely (40-70 per cent) of landed property. In connection with the question of its value, the author has also paid some attention to the evolution of rents. The stagnation which set in in the first half of the eighteenth century in conjunction with the rise in prices led to a worsening of the economic position of the jonkers. The sale of the provincial monastic estates (confiscated in the sixteenth century) in the years 1764-74, from which the nobles also profited as purchasers, could only delay the decline. As well as land, bonds, most of them issued by the province, and the seignories in some cases with their associated feudal rights, made up a part of the gross wealth of the class. Other investments were limited to the reclamation of fenlands for peat, while a few jonkers were owners of brickworks. Incomes remained a long way behind those in the western Netherlands. There seems to have been no decline in the eighteenth century even though, the tax registers give some grounds for such an assumption. The author is of the opinion that the registration of taxable property in this respect gives a distorted picture of reality, since evasion of taxes was a general phenomenon. There is no specific information about cultural life in this work on material property, although something is said from time to time on the composition of libraries. That a few genealogical tables and the index of persons are included as a loosely inserted appendix in another format, is an inconvenient but not too serious shortcoming in a study which deserves to be described as extremely valuable.

A fine study by M. van der Bijl investigates the social, economic and ideological background to the political agitation and disturbances in Zeeland, and especially the situation in Middelburg, during the years 1702-1715. While focusing in detail on this short period, M. van der Bijl nevertheless adopts a long-term view of developments in

Middelburg civic life, constantly referring back into the seventeenth century as well as forward into the eighteenth. The title aptly fits the content. The author extensively examines the role of wealth, interest and marriage connection in the allocation and perpetuation of civic and provincial power and influence. But this is no mere Namirenization of the topic. For at the same time, the author brings out the profound significance of ideology, both political and religious, in defining and intensifying the rivalries and disputes that characterize Zeeland’s history under the Republic. For nothing could be more mistaken that to regard the Zeeland regents as a compact and unified social entity displaying solidarity in the preservation of definable class interests.

On the contrary, it is the rivalries and divisions, the constant prevalence of faction, which is the key to matters. While some regents champion war policies, others support peace policies. Some backed the West India Company and adhered to the dogmatic Calvinism of Voetius; others were committed to the East India Company and more liberal trends within the church. While some regents did switch their role and ideological labels from time to time, Van der Bijl emphasizes that the continuities are actually more striking. The families Thiibaut and Huyssen headed the Orangist cause in Middelburg for generation after generation. On the other side, the families Veth and Van Reygersberge for many decades dominated the States party.

The importance of this thoroughly researched book which includes a number of statistical tables which serve to define the financial position and investments of leading Middelburg families, lies not only in the fresh light it throws on the political and social history of Middelburg and Zeeland but in the admirably precise manner in which the author ties economic, financial and religious trends in with his political and social analysis. The work is a telling illustration of the truth that the best contributions to historical studies are the ones that fuse political, economic and religious history together.

Much material is contained in the edition by A.J. Veenendaal Jr. of the correspondence of Anthonie Heinsius, of which the latest volumes to appear cover the years 1704 and 1705.\(^{55}\) This important work on the period 1702-20 will certainly help to revive interest in the political events of the first decades of the eighteenth century. Within the framework of a research project on foreign policy, conducted by the history department of the University of Utrecht, J. Aalbers has concerned himself with the developments after the Peace of Utrecht.\(^{56}\) In the first volume to appear, the background and general features of foreign policy are the central themes. The second volume will discuss the policy itself. The emphasis lies on the years between 1720, when it was decided that the Republic should not join the Quadruple Alliance, and

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1733, the year in which the War of the Polish Succession disturbed the balance of Europe. In one of his earlier chapters the author sets two conceptions of foreign policy alongside each other, against the background of the years of struggle against France: the 'neutrality policy' which was in force from 1719 to 1720 with the rise of the Amsterdam burgomaster Bambeck, a typical welfare policy, critical of England, in many ways realistic and by no means passive; and the proponents of a 'security policy' (with such prominent defenders as Heinsius, Fagel and Slingelandt) who aimed to make defensive alliances in order to guarantee the peace and equilibrium of Europe. The author sees the two conceptions as 'warp' and 'weft' in the basic pattern of foreign policy. He pays much attention to the successive attempts to redress the public finances, which had been embarrassed as a result of the wars, and emphasizes the division within the province of Holland as a result of the conflict of interests between Amsterdam and the other cities. Foreign policy was directly concerned in these conflicts. Among the more general aspects of foreign policy, as well as its institutional side, a number of leading figures are paraded for our inspection: provincial pensionaries, members of the nobility of Holland, burgomasters of Amsterdam, city pensionaries, and provincial deputies to the States General. All of these are briefly sketched and their place in the system is indicated, their mutual relationships often being revealed in well-chosen quotations. As already stated, the actual policy remains to be discussed in the second volume. That the question of the stadholdership will be raised then, is somewhat surprising, as is the fact that this information is only given in a casual aside in one of the footnotes. It seems to be an omission, that the chronological table included in this first volume makes no mention of any matters of internal politics. Furthermore, a rather more concentrated argument in support of the choice of the period 1713 (1720) to 1733 would have been welcome. It is to be hoped that the second volume of this interesting study, which is wholly in keeping with the tradition of research at Utrecht, will not be long delayed.

P. Lenders discusses the 'national debt' of the Austrian Netherlands, that is the long term debts of the subordinate administrations. They were of two main categories: direct and indirect debts. To the direct debt belonged above all the burden of the outstanding loans which had been raised by the subordinate authorities. The indirect debts were concerned mainly with loans raised for the benefit of the ruler, the debts of the craft guilds, funds for the poor etc. In the-second half of the eighteenth century, craft guilds were occasionally abolished with the result that the civic authorities not only had to pay compensation to the guild masters (who saw their group monopoly under attack) but also had to take over debts of the former guilds. In the same period the civic authorities also concerned themselves more and more with poor relief, which brought an increase in the 'national debt'.

57. P. Lenders, 'De “nationale schuld” in de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden na 1750. Duidelijke en on-

158
In an interesting article which had its origin in the study group investigating 'bureaucratization' at the Historical Institute of the University of Groningen, O. Vries calls our attention to a group of clerks employed in the periode 1710-96 at the Secretariat of the States General at The Hague. It is the result of a prosopographical investigation, which in this case has been found suitable for a social group which did not belong to the political or social elite. The choice of this group (68 persons) was made much easier by the existence of the archives of the Fagel family, perhaps the best known of the secretarial dynasties. A few top officials, the clerks employed by the provinces, a few specialized functionaries and the numerous junior clerks have been excluded from the specifically prosopographic enquiry. Nevertheless that does not prevent us from learning something even about these latter groups. After some brief details of the setup of the Secretariat and the functions of the various departments within it, there follows information on such matters as appointments, dismissals, and the career pattern of the clerks. A considerable number of these clerks seem to have been domestic servants of the two highest officials, the griffier, and the commies upon whom they were entirely dependent. By means of his analysis of the personal data collected, the author sheds some light on their geographical origin (mainly the present-day province of South Holland) with Amsterdam, Haarlem, the Noorderkwartier and Zeeland strikingly absent) their social status and their fortunes. The question of how far the results arrived at in this article are valid for a much broader cross-section of the official world in The Hague or for the development of the earlier nineteenth century, must remain open for the time being.

In contrast to the spectacular maritime trade, river navigation during the Republic has received very scant attention in historiography. W.F. Leemans now turns our attention to the Gelderland tolls in Arnhem and IJsselooord, Nijmegen, Tiel, Zaltbommel and Zutphen, to the way in which the collection of tolls on the rivers at those places functioned, and to the persons who were employed as 'toll-collectors' or receivers of the various dues levied. He confines himself to the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries. The starting point of his narrative proper, is 1738 when the States of Gelderland as sovereign possessors of the river tolls decided to farm them out no longer, but to restore the situation of before 1677 and take the collection of tolls back into their own hands. The toll officers who were appointed after this decision all came from the circles of shippers and merchants on the Rhine. With the aid of a great many fragmentary genealogies the author shows how over the years there arose typical related families of toll collectors. In a separate chapter he makes some interesting observations on shipping and commerce on the Rhine.

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C.R. EMERY AND J.A. KOSSMANN

sterdam seems to have occupied the first place in this trade, a situation which only altered in Rotterdam's favour in the nineteenth century. Only the trade in timber, in the form of steadily expanding timber fleets, moved around 1650, to Dordrecht and to a lesser extent to Rotterdam. In this work, which is only intended as an introduction, and bears all the hallmarks of it, the author has given us a framework within which further research can be carried out. The accounts of the Gelderland tolls have been preserved and appear to offer interesting possibilities for a specialized study of the riverine trade.

1976 was the 250th anniversary of the birth of the famous art collector and artist Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726-1798). The desire to commemorate this event led not only to an exhibition in the Rijksmuseum (1976) but also to the publication of two closely related monograph studies. The first to appear was a standard work of art history, its subject being the artistic activities of Ploos as collector, artist, designer and publisher of prints. As well as details of Ploos' technical achievements, the work also gives a completely new catalogue of all the prints. It was compiled and written by Th. Laurentius, an expert in the field of graphic techniques, J.E. Niemeijer, a connoisseur of eighteenth-century paintings and drawings, and G. Ploos van Amstel.

The latter, a descendant of the artist, and greatly interested in the history of his family, is the author of the second study, mainly devoted to Ploos' social and general cultural activities. After a rather overdetailed exposition of the family circle, there follow chapters on his business activities, (the timber trade and timber brokerage, financial participation in sawmills, art auctions) and his relations with many academies and societies of artists, including such examples as the Holland Society of the Sciences, of Haarlem. Although the book's rather fragmented approach does not provide a fully rounded picture, we still gain a good impression of the irrepressible energy and activity of a man who took the initiative and managed to stimulate others in a number of fields.

Inspired by such authors as G. Lefebvre, E.P. Thompson and G. Rudé, I.J. van Maanen and K. Vermeulen have posed the question, in a wideranging article, which groups of the population of Amsterdam made up the supporters of the Patriots and the Orangists, and what role these supporters played in the political history of Amsterdam in the years 1780-1800. Their attention is focussed exclusively on the lower classes, whose social boundaries they have tried to determine by means of mainly fiscal data from the middle and end of the eighteenth century. In the turbulent years between 1780 and 1800, 235 Orangists, and 149 persons of Patriotic convictions were brought before the courts, all of them from the lowest levels of the population.


160
The details on them which are preserved in the judicial archives form the most important source from which such elementary details as age, occupation and address were used to trace possible differences between the two groups. The social composition of the representative samples of the Orangist and Patriot support seems to differ hardly at all, a conclusion which is confirmed by a study of their places of residence. Only on the eastern islands did the Orangists have a clear majority, a conclusion which is in accord with their predominance in shipbuilding. According to the authors, religious and social or economic motives scarcely played any role in the choice of party. The lower classes made their choice solely on political grounds. In their conclusions on the social composition and motives of the crowd, the authors oppose the views of C.H.E. de Wit, for whom the 'proletariaat' as a result of pauperization had become a mere instrument in the hands of a small court clique, and let itself be used for Orangist terrorism. By virtue of its method and the nature of its source material, the article, despite some queries and some questions which remain open, makes a welcome contribution to a debate which has not yet been concluded.

Two hundred years ago, in the late summer of 1781, appeared the pamphlet Aan het Volk van Nederland (To the people of the Netherlands) though more than a century passed before it became known who the author was. It turned out to be Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol, the staunch defender of the Americans in their struggle for freedom from England. In 1966 W.F. Wertheim and A.H. Wertheim-Gijsse Weenink published an edition of the text in modern Dutch, with an introduction in which they portrayed the jonker, and member of the States of Overijssel, as a true democrat. In the revised introduction to their recently published new impression, Mr. & Mrs. Wertheim take up the cudgels against all those who have cast doubt on or denied Van der Capellen's commitment to democracy. In their opinion, the root of the evil lies in the biography by M. de Jong of 1922, which by its stress on the split and ambivalence in the personality of Joan Derk, has opened the door to entirely mistaken interpretations. They are particularly critical of C.H.E. de Wit, who dared to include the 'leader of the democratic wing of the Patriot movement' among the so-called Old Patriots, the supporters of the state organized in estates. On the other hand, the authors are convinced that De Wit, as 'an historian with great understanding of the democratic tendencies in our country', will confess his error with respect to Van der Capellen if he takes into consideration his total personal and political activity as well as his general political theories. The chance of De Wit's conversion to the view of the Wertheims seems extremely slight to this reviewer.

In search of eighteenth century 'historical personalities and their contribution to the political atmosphere of their time', Eliane van Impe chanced on Marie-Christine

of Austria (1742-1798). She was the favourite daughter of the empress Maria Theresia, and in 1766 married the man of her choice, Albert Casimir of Saxony-Teschen (1738-1822), with whom during the years 1781-89 and 1790-92 she exercised the governorship of the Southern Netherlands. Although their previous successful governorship in Hungary is referred to, the emphasis is on the turbulent period during which they acted as governors-general of the Netherlands. The history of their rule is dominated by tragedy. Joseph II forced them into a purely figurehead role, with merely representative duties. Political power was in the hands of a minister plenipotentiary, whose task it was to carry through the planned institutional reforms in a way which was hardly in keeping with the cautious methods of the Theresian period. The Brabant Revolution forced the couple to seek refuge in Koblenz and later in Bonn. Under Emperor Leopold II, with whom Marie-Christine had long carried on an intensive correspondence, she and her husband returned to the Southern Netherlands, and were now placed in a position of real power. In the brief period of the restoration, the policy of the governor-general bore a strongly traditional and conservative stamp, which restrained and limited the emperor's efforts at reform. The book is based largely on published Austrian sources, which limits its approach and its working out. Sometimes the often lengthy French quotations are disturbing: oddly enough, a number have been translated from German into French. In short: a useful and convenient summary of knowledge about a person who should deserve a broader approach and a wider context.

LATER MODERN HISTORY

The classic debate on the nineteenth-century Dutch economy appears to have become livelier than ever in recent years. One of the most active and most original participants is R.T. Griffiths, now teaching at the Free University of Amsterdam as the successor of the late J.A. de Jonge. In the inaugural address which he gave on taking up his chair, under the suggestive title 'Backward, Behind or Different' he made a series of critical observations on economic development in the nineteenth century, and especially the formation of our historical picture of it. Thus, he claims that the fixing of attention on the beginnings of the process of industrialization has favoured an unnecessarily negative verdict. That the Netherlands was a relative latecomer in this respect does not mean, according to Griffiths, that the economy as such deserved to be called 'backward'. In a continuation of the research which he undertook for his dissertation, Industrial retardation in the Netherlands 1830-1850, he suggests that the

64. E. Van Impe, Marie-Christine van Oostenrijk, gouverneur-generaal van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1781-1789; 1790-1792. Standen en Landen, LXXVII (Course) Heule: UGA, 1979, 204 p.).
Dutch economy experienced a steady, albeit sometimes 'hidden' growth after 1830. In view of the often problematic character of the available statistical material, Griffiths is unwilling to frame his conclusions too dogmatically. That does not detract from the fact that he places an emphatic question mark against the importance of 1850 as the magical year of transformation, and thus also casts doubt on the commonly accepted connexion between economic and political revival. In general he asks for an understanding of the peculiar character, the 'difference' of the Dutch economic structure.

The retirement of Professor W.J. Wieringa from the chair of economic and social history at the Free University at Amsterdam in December 1980 was marked by the publication of a Festschrift prepared by a number of his ex-students and colleagues. The fact that the editors did not try to impose a unifying theme on the volume and that many of the individual chapters touch areas of only peripheral interest makes this very much a 'lucky-dip' book. The topics considered include the development of wages in the first half of the nineteenth century, the industrial support fund set up by William I in 1821, an analysis of Mokyr's work in the light of various development models, the South Holland flax industry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the proposed labour legislation in 1903. Four contributions deal with the period after World War I, an analysis of Colijn's economic thought, the pattern of strikes in the inter-war building industry, industrial research in the interwar period and the attitude of the socialist trade union organization to the development of quasi-autonomous public bodies in the years immediately after the Second World War. Finally, three chapters pick up various aspects of Dutch colonial history - the Curacao slave trade in the first half of the nineteenth century, the prohibition of silver export from Suriname in the 1920's and the development of the Indonesian textile industry in the 1930's.

The history of the development of technical instruction for post-primary school children and adults in the first half of the nineteenth century is the subject of a detailed and well-researched study by N.B. Goudswaard. It covers the period between the first attempts to abolish the guilds in 1798, which threatened the hitherto primary form of such education, and the establishment by the Thorbecke administration in 1863 of forty-eight secondary and higher institutes of technical education which marked the first comprehensive step of the government to deal with the problem. It was a period characterized by numerous, often far-sighted reports by government commissions but government action lagged far behind - limited to the encouragement of art academies and attempts to provide industrial training for non-students at

universities. The void was partially filled by local authorities and by various private initiatives. The problems confronted by these experiments in terms of finance, attracting students, designing suitable syllabuses etc. as well as an evaluation of their success form the main body of Goudswaard's analysis. However, the essential problem of creating a trained and skilled work-force could not be resolved without statutory measures by the government and even when these came in 1863, those relating to the regulation of these schools remained unexecuted. As a result it was not until the 1890's and 1900's, under pressure of parliamentary and public opinion, that the government began to face up to its responsibilities in this area. Goudswaard's study provides an interesting and thought provoking insight into one of the 'might-have-beens' of Dutch economic history since a forceful implementation of the early recommendations would have made the country the most progressive nation in Europe in general industrial education. Alas, perhaps, supply tended to follow demand in this respect, as it did almost everywhere else in Europe.

The subject of the factors underlying the late industrialization of the Netherlands has been attracting increased attention lately, particularly in the wake of the stimulating and provocative work of the American historian, Joel Mokyr, whose explanation of the delayed industrialization of the Netherlands compared with Belgium centred on the role of differentials in productivity in non-industrial occupations determining differences in levels of industrial wages and, in turn, differences in levels of industrial competitiveness/profitability and the rate of internal capital accumulation.68 Two articles, in one way or another, take up Mokyr's themes and add to our understanding of the problem both by the introduction of new data and the reinterpretation of existing evidence. The article by J.M.M. de Meere provides, on the basis of new data, a far more detailed and sophisticated picture than hitherto available of the provincial pattern of wages in the two countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century.69 Whereas, previously, the evidence had been converted into a single series for adult industrial wages, this has now been broken down into separate series for urban and rural areas (municipalities above and below 5000 inhabitants) and two new series similarly divided have been compiled for agrarian wages. De Meere then uses this data to run correlation tests on possible causative variables which he subdivides into those which serve to raise nominal living costs (the weight of indirect taxation and the cost of housing) and those which reflect real differences in the opportunity cost of labour (levels of poor relief payments and agricultural productivity). For the Netherlands the results yielded high levels of significance for all four variables but the tests against Belgian wage data of poor relief payments and agricultural productivity yielded results of no statistical significance. The importance of this study for the interpreta-

tion of wage differences is that on the basis of existing evidence there is little support for Mokyr's interpretation as far as Belgium is concerned. In the Netherlands everything is still possible. On the one hand, the weight of differences in levels of agricultural wages in explaining industrial wages is far greater than the two cost of living factors combined. However, data for these are derived from the mid-nineteenth century and earlier data may yet change this picture. On the other hand, De Meer demonstrates that differences in the purchasing power of industrial wages are much less than differences in the nominal wages themselves. Something one would not expect if opportunity costs were the major factor involved. The article by P. Kint and R.C.W. van der Voort attacks Mokyr's thesis on a far wider front.70 The first part of the article is devoted to an analysis of the econometric model employed to explain the relationship between wages, the rate of profit and the choice of production technique. In particular they conclude that using Mokyr's model a low-wage economy was more likely to adopt a labour intensive technique of production which is exactly the opposite of what Mokyr argued actually occurred in Belgium. In the second, and longer, part of the article the authors demonstrate the differences in aggregating the 1819 wage data if one distinguishes between the price of labour and its cost. In the first case the data is aggregated without making an allowance for different levels of payment for different kinds of labour. If a low-wage sector, as textiles, is overrepresented in the occupational structure of a particular province, it will have the effect of depressing the average compared with another in which its occurrence is rarer, even if no differences exist in the actual rates of payment for similar work. Similarly, the raw wage data is distorted by different lengths of working day, different lengths of working season etc. After attempting to correct for these various defects, the authors have compiled a new series for the adult industrial wage which reveal that the difference between the Netherlands and Belgium in the cost of labour was 13.7 per cent in place of the 56.5 per cent suggested by Mokyr. The pattern of wage differentials within the Netherlands itself, however, remains fundamentally unchanged. A number of calculations are also made for the development of Belgian wages in the rest of the first half of the nineteenth century which show an upward trend greater than that calculated by Mokyr whilst it is suggested, but not demonstrated, that wages probably rose less quickly in the Netherlands with the result that it is possible that the small differential between the two countries which existed in 1819 may have disappeared altogether by the 1840's.

In addition to the article by Kint and Van der Voort, the latest volume of the *Economisch- en Sociaal-Historisch Jaarboek* contains a number of other interesting contributions of importance to historians of the period. Owing to limitations of space it is proposed only to discuss in outline the broad contents of these. In 1777 the Patriotic movement expressed its dissatisfaction with the declining economic fortunes of the Netherlands by setting up the so-called 'economic section' of the Holland

Society for Sciences (Economische Tak van de Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen). The fortunes and activities of the branch at Zutphen which was formed a year later, only to collapse again three years afterwards because insufficient members paid their dues, are described in an article by H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt. The diligent and painstaking researches of J. MacLean in the national archives have yielded a great deal of factual information on the development of the copper industry in the Netherlands between 1750 and 1850. Welcome though this information is, the general reader will be disappointed by the lack of any contextual framework whatsoever, whilst the interested historian must ask himself whether the provincial and municipal archives are really so utterly barren as to justify the author's having neglected them altogether. In a contribution by A. Stolp a great deal of additional light is shed on the career of Bernardus Koning who began work in 1804 on the invention of a gas motor and, later on experiments in gas lighting. The advances and set-backs in his activities, the support he received from the government and the parallel developments elsewhere provide a useful insight into the microcosm of early nineteenth-century life and administration. The question of the relative importance of internal and external financing in industrial expansion, or lack of it, has been a recurrent theme in the Dutch industrialization debate. Through an analysis of the business records of the textile firm S.J. Spanjaard established at Borne, E.J. Fischer and R.E.M.A. de Peuter attempt to test some of the hypotheses with a concrete case study. Among the more interesting conclusions are that external finance played only a small role in the expansion of fixed capital and that although internal accumulation had already yielded sufficient capital for mechanization by 1858, the actual switch over to factory production was delayed until 1864/5 when infrastructural improvements altered the pattern of factor costs decisively in the firm's favour.

It is a rare but happy occurrence when the loving dedication of an enthusiastic amateur historian produces a valuable insight into the past but this is exactly what G.J. Schulten has accomplished in his attempt to reconstruct the lost world of the local shippers in the east of Overijssel. The title 'sailing where there is no water' sums up the essential paradox of water traffic in an area where in order to navigate some of the rivers in dry summers it was necessary to dam the stream until sufficient waters had accumulated, break down the dam and ride the 'flood' water as far as possible before repeating the process. Despite the dates in the title, most of the work is focused on the nineteenth century and details on the construction of the ships, the

73. A. Stolp, 'Het levenswerk van de uitvinder Dr. Bernardus Koning. Zijn gaslicht en zijn gasmotor-experimenten (1778-1828)', Ibidem, 64-104.
organization of the traffic, the work routine of the shippers and the levels of activity through the period. It captures the final prosperous period between the upturn in activity in the area, especially from the 1830’s, and the coming of the railways which sounded the death-knell over this form of transport. Whilst professional historians may bemoan the lack of a theoretical context and the relatively narrow focus of the work, this cannot detract from what is a highly informative and highly enjoyable read.

In 1818 a number of prominent people in the Netherlands founded the Maatschappij voor Weldadighheid (Society for Charity) with the purpose of relieving urban poverty by establishing pauper colonies in the relatively underpopulated east of the country. The idea was that volunteer families in the west would be leased an area of land in the colony (approx. 3 ha.) the income from which would enable them to support themselves, contribute to the social services provided by the colonial administration, pay off the lease and accumulate some savings. Very early in its life this ambitious social experiment was tainted by a series of contracts concluded with the government which had the effect of turning the colonies into a scarcely veiled alternative to prison for convicted beggars. Nevertheless the original aims were never entirely lost from sight. Most of these developments have already been extensively documented but what the monumental study of the late Dr. C.A. Kloosterhuis attempts to do and accomplishes admirably is to recreate the environment within which the ‘free’ of volunteer colonists led their lives in these communities. Drawing for the first time on the extensive records of the Maatschappij itself she succeeds in producing a detailed reconstruction of the composition of the colonists in terms of province of origin, age distribution, prior occupation, family size etc. as well as the problems of administration and the details of day to day life. Despite their originally shaky start and the strong discipline imposed within the ‘free’ colonies, Kloosterhuis demonstrates that they evolved into self-supporting communities with a standard of life higher than in the surrounding areas. All in all this work provides a vivid picture of an ambitious and pioneering experiment in social engineering for which students of the social history of the period will owe a debt for many years to come.

A detailed picture of the structure of the plantation economy on the Dutch colony of Curacao in the nineteenth century is provided in an extensively researched monograph by Dr. W.E. Renkema. Unlike other Caribbean plantation economies, Curacao produced little by way of staple export crops, and government-owned experimental stations set up in the 1840’s to encourage such developments were closed a decade later. The plantations were, by and large, integrated mixed-farming units designed to meet the needs of the urban trading community which formed the backbone of the colonial economy. The 5000-6000 slaves, which made up virtually a third of the

colony's population not only provided the main labour force on the plantations but also acted as a safety valve in times of poor harvests; the export of a few slaves provided extra income and ensured that the available food was sufficient to go round the rest. Since failures of the staple sorghum crop were relatively frequent, this helps explain the resistance of plantation owners to measures which would afford slaves increased legal protection but which would at the same time reduce their merchandizability. When, in 1863, slavery was abolished, the plantation system did not collapse. Indeed the financial position of the plantation owners improved since they no longer faced the obligation of feeding slaves at times of poor harvests whilst the tenancy and labour service agreements concluded with the freed slaves tied them to the plantations as effectively as legal arrangements had done before. Nevertheless, the plantations could hardly be described as highly profitable ventures; their attraction being as much the social prestige they conferred upon the owner as the revenue they yielded. In many ways, Renkema concludes, the Curaçao plantation system was an exception to the typical Caribbean pattern and finds its closest counterpart in the hacienda of Latin America.

Turning now to the political and social history of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, we have under the title 'Authority and Conflict' eleven studies on the history of social protest in the Netherlands, especially in the first half of the century. They are the work of a study group from the Institute for Teacher Training connected with the Free University; Amsterdam, carried out under the leadership of A. Doedens. The research was concerned with collective resistance in various forms. Alongside the protests of the peat-cutters and the polder navies there appear also a beggars' riot and the militia protest of 1831. The contributions vary widely in quality and approach and this heterogeneity - especially the extent to which they experiment with theoretical concepts - makes it difficult to compare them, and to draw general conclusions. It might have been more sensible to set about the various case studies - for this was a collective research project - according to a fixed format, and to emphasize their descriptive character. Despite the criticisms which can be made of method and content on many points, it must be said that a great deal of useful information is gathered, and partly systematized in a detailed list of manifestations of social unrest and social protest - cautiously grouped into various types - in the period 1813-48. This typology is given further content by a detailed supplement which includes a selection of contemporary source material.

The history of the early socialist movement has received increasing attention in recent years. The International Institute for Social History publishes a series 'The Dutch Workers Movement' in which there has now appeared a monograph by G.

Bruintjes on the history of socialism in Groningen from 1881-1894 which may be seen as a counterpart to an earlier work in the same series on Friesland. The author has set himself the task of giving a primarily descriptive survey. He distinguishes four phases in his period. In the first (1881-84) it was the propagandist activities of Donkelaar Nieuwenhuis which were most important. In the second phase (1884-91) there was a gradual trend towards organization in various forms (the suffrage movement, trade unions). The third phase (1891-93) was one of a belief in revolution, mass mobilization of the workers, confrontation and disappointment. The fourth phase was characterized by the debate on the future of the movement and ended with the schism of 1894. The entire process is clearly and convincingly presented. A supplement contains a detailed summary of socialist movements and associations in Groningen in the period covered.

The fifth Jaarboek voor de geschiedenis van socialisme en arbeidersbeweging in Nederland (Yearbook for the history of socialism and the workers’ movement in the Netherlands) is for the most part devoted to the party political organizations of socialism. It includes, inter alia, an article on the relationship of ‘pillarization’ (verzuiling) and class struggle and an appreciation of W.H. Vliegen, the historian par excellence of the early socialist movement and the SDAP, and one of the co-founders of the party.

The published memoirs of the social democrat W.H. Meijer are primarily concerned with the life of seamen around the turn of the century and the Seamens’ Union. If this can be called a true ego-document, the same cannot be said of the ‘Walden diary’ which Frederik van Eeden kept, in addition to his personal diary, about the events and fortunes of the colony of Walden which he set up as an idealistic producers co-operative. The edition of this narrative also includes reports from the assemblies of the colonists and an introduction on the development of Van Eeden’s social ideas.

In ‘A gentleman’s world dissected’ the sociologist K. Bruin gives a preliminary report of an inquiry into the old and new élites of Amsterdam in the latter half of the nineteenth century. His point of departure was a concept of Norbert Elias, concerned with the area of tension between established groups with considerable group cohesion, and new groups which have not yet attained such cohesion. Bruin distinguishes two

groups of old élites: the 'first coterie', members of the former regent patriciate, and the 'second coterie' families from the prosperous bourgeoisie which had come to the force since 1795. As new élites, he opposes to them the 'Haute Juiverie', the Germans and the East Indian fortunes. This makes for an interesting and very readable cross-section of the top layer of Amsterdam society, although there are some question marks over the author's method of selecting and processing his data. He himself admits that the area of tension between old and new élites does not emerge sufficiently clearly.

The development of jurisprudence in the Netherlands from the later eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth is the subject of a legal history dissertation from Nijmegen. The author attempts to link the changes in the relationship between judge and legislator, to changes in society at large. The main line which he traces is not very surprising. First, a process toward legal unification and codification, resulting in the appearance of the national codes in 1838. Then followed a period of strict legalism, against which the first criticisms were voiced in the seventies and eighties, a period in which social relationships were growing more complex. Finally in the first decades of the twentieth century, there was a clear breakthrough into a freer system of justice. In giving the socio-economic and political background the author has not been content to repeat the historical syntheses of yesterday, but has made consistent use of the most recent historical literature. Yet many of the nuances go undetected because he squeezes his data into a rather simplistic, marxist-inspired interpretative scheme. The all too emphatic pre-eminence which he accords to socio-economic development scarcely leaves any room for autonomous influences in the political or juridical sphere. What should in fact have been the central theme of the book, the evolution of the judicial function, is squeezed out by the excessive attention given to socio-historical context. Moreover, the approach of these crucial paragraphs is unsatisfactory. The author falls too readily into long and detailed quotation in reporting legal opinions, without troubling to offer an interpretation or an analysis. His choice of source material is equally open to question, since he has used exclusively juridical literature, and has not included judicial decisions themselves within his purview. From a purely practical standpoint, this decision may at first seem defensible, but from the point of view of the result of the research it would undoubtedly have been desirable to investigate, even if only by samples, the actual conduct of the judges. Finally, when the author presents, as his most important conclusion, the statement that justice operates within society, this is hardly more than a truism.

The historical importance of the well-known Dutch physiologist and radical materialist ('Ohne Phosphor keine Gedanke') Jacques Moleschott, (1822-93) is the central theme of a dissertation by R.J.Ch.V. ter Laage. This is not a biography, more a sort

of preliminary study, which gives an inventory of Moleschott's life and sets him in the context of nineteenth-century intellectual and scientific history. Moleschott's life was passed largely outside the Netherlands. After a lecturership at Heidelberg he was successively professor in Zurich, Turin and Rome. Although, like other physicians such as Voorhelm Schneevogt and J.P. Heije, he had belonged to the 'Young Holland' circle and had carried out scientific work in the stimulating entourage of G.J. Mulder, the Netherlands of the 1840's was too small and too restricted a sphere for him. (In 1848 he was to argue for the inclusion of the Netherlands in the German Confederation). Yet he continued to keep up his contacts with the Netherlands, and that he was appreciated there is plain from the special issue which the freethinkers periodical De Dagernaad (The dawn) devoted to him on his seventieth birthday. After such a detailed statement of her position Ter Laage is not very convincing when she concludes that despite Moleschott's deservedly great reputation he probably does not warrant a full-blooded biography.

The monarchy is scarcely a subject of discussion in the Netherlands, and in its century and a half of existence it has managed to defend itself against some heavy shocks, as was evident in, for example, the Lockheed affair of some years ago. This tone of national consensus is echoed in a collection of articles on the monarchy, in which, however, the institution is otherwise dealt with in a great variety of ways. N. Cramer reconstructs the way in which the son of the last stadholder was entrusted with, and assured himself of, the royal dignity. A.P.J. van Osta gives us a typology of the nineteenth century monarchy. The editor, C.A. Tamse, discusses the functions of William I, William II, and William III, from the point of view of the social importance of their kingship. In good Calvinist tone, G. Puchinger traces the relationship between the Netherlands and the House of Orange past and present. J. Bank investigates the feelings of the catholic population and its leaders towards the House of Orange in this century. The former prime minister W. Drees devotes a chapter to the crown and its ministers, and combines political information with his own observations. A.M. Donner looks for a historical explanation and a contemporary evaluation of heritable and inviolable monarchy. Finally, J.L. Heldring philosophizes in a lightly ironic tone about, on the one hand, the unassailability, and on the other the relativities, of contemporary monarchy.

In September 1980 the Eighteenth century study group in Louvain and Brussels organized a symposium on 'enlightened despotism in the Netherlands', which was concerned largely, though not exclusively, with Joseph II and William I. The eight papers have been assembled, with a synthesizing and evaluating introduction by J.A. Bornevasser, as a double issue of the Documentatieblad werkgroep 18de eeuw. Here, only the four nineteenth-century papers are discussed. Th. Clemens discusses the concentration of power under Louis Napoleon and shows how convinced demo-

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crats and republicans of a few years previously could accept the monarchy without compromising their beliefs, as the best way of realizing their policy objectives. M. Chappin and J.P. de Valk have applied themselves to the classic problem of whether or not William I deserves to be called an enlightened despot. Their argument concentrates on the king's own view of his position, in which they claim that a development took place, in the sense that William I placed an increasing emphasis on the historical roots of his sovereignty. They suggest that the concrete form in which his kingship manifested itself, was probably seen by William I himself as a passing phase in a longer term development. N.C.F. van Sas, in his contribution, lays the stress on the over-simplified and thus misleading picture which is normally presented of the structure of authority under William I: too much attention has been paid to the role of the king, while the forces which constrained the exercise of his power have been insufficiently investigated. By placing the monarchy in the context of constitutional prescription and actual power relationships, Van Sas makes the political system under William I appear less of a monarchical monolith, and also softens the often sharply drawn contrast with the later North Netherlands political scene. Luc François analyses the in many respects similar political careers of three Belgian politicians, Reyphins, Dotrege and Tarte, who began their careers as supporters of the modernist revolutionary Vonck, in the Brabant Revolution, and after a period of opposition to William I, finally went over to active support for his régime.

In two articles which complement each other, C. Mooij reports on his research into the attitude of Friesland at this time of the Belgian Revolution. In the first he is concerned with the reaction of the population and the response of the authorities; in the second with the attitude of the Leeuwarder Courant. Both are placed in the context of more general remarks on political life in Friesland. Mooij states that there was a strong opposition in the Provincial Estates at the end of the 1820's. These findings accord with the gradual realization that political life in the Northern Netherlands under William I was less dead than is sometimes assumed. With regard to public opinion in the first months after the Belgian revolt, Mooij adds some nuances to the current historical cliché of little-Netherlands nationalism and hatred of the Belgians.

In the political system of the nineteenth century, the press played a central role partly as a result of the prolonged absence of formal political organizations. Perhaps the most important paper in the first half of the century was the Arnhemsche Courant, to which a number of leading figures in the liberal opposition lent their support. A group of doctoral students at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, under the leadership of G.A.M. Beekelaar, have investigated the history of this paper for the period 1830-50. Within this framework each of the collaborators has been able to choose

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a specific field of research, which has led almost inevitably to the result being somewhat heterogeneous. The main themes, of which various aspects are illuminated, are the Belgian Revolt, and the political developments of the forties. Among the most worthwhile of the studies are those on Belgium as a political phenomenon, and that on the attitude of the newspaper to the laying of railways and colonial policy. It is also extremely interesting to see the Arnhemse Courant come forward as a defender of the separatists in order by so doing, to be able to criticise the system of government in general. There are also some less successful contributions, in some of which the authors’ knowledge of the literature has fallen short, the questions have not been sufficiently formulated, or, as in one case, a definite non-problem is discussed. Special mention is also due to the introductory discussion by the editor, in which, basing himself on the tone of the press in the 1840’s, and following in the footsteps of an older bibliographical tradition, he makes a strong attack on the wellknown standpoint of J.G. Boogman, that the constitutional revolution of 1848 must be seen as a relatively fortuitous success for the liberals. The authors of this pleasant and especially well-produced collection do not claim to have written the definitive history of the Arnhemse Courant. Some important aspects have not yet been adequately investigated. For example, it would be desirable to follow the political attitude of the newspaper systematically over a longer period of years, and to use this as a sort of barometer of the political climate in the Netherlands.

It was a good idea of the SUN publishers to bring out a reprint of Thorbecke's Historische schetsen, (Historical Sketches), and C.H.E. de Wit, who has been proclaiming the importance of Thorbecke as historian for fifteen years, was the obvious choice to write an introduction to this classic text.90 De Wit’s comments take up no less than 176 pages, but they do not contain what one might expect from an introduction. A critical evaluation of Thorbecke’s historical views is lacking, and there is no systematic attempt to investigate the relationship between Thorbecke as a politician and as a historian. In his preface, De Wit points out that ‘the sketches are closely and naturally related to the political life of the author’, but he draws almost no conclusions from this remark. In the middle of some observations on Thorbecke’s ‘self-awareness’ and ‘realization’ he gives a rather superficial and, considering this is a reprint of them, superfluous summary of the sketches. Anyone who is at all familiar with De Wit’s work will not meet any great surprises in reading the introduction. Whether it is a question of historical insight or political deed, Thorbecke is always right. Dutch liberalism is defined in exclusively Thorbeckian terms, and its development identified solely with Thorbecke’s personal political evolution. Whoever dares to adopt reformist views in any but the one true way, is soon suspected of dishonest intentions and branded as an opposition aristocrat or an anti-government conservative. Like De Wit’s earlier work, this book swarms with conspiracies and unholy alliances between historians and the political establishment. Furthermore De Wit has a strong


173
tendency to present hypotheses and interpretations as facts. He seems to take the criticism which has befallen him over the years only as proof of the character of the historians of the 'conciliationist' school, in which, as is well known, he has put his opponents. Unfortunately, he makes no real response to their criticisms.

One of the more attractive aspects of 'pillarization' (verzuiling) is the sense of responsibility which the various 'pillars' have developed in respect of their own past. Thus in 1930, the Réveil archives were established, acting on an idea of Gerretson, to preserve the papers of the leading families which had been active in the Réveil, a religious revivalist movement of the previous century. The initiative was a success, and among the collections which have since found a home in the archive are those of Koenen, De Clercq, Da Costa, Van der Bruggen and Heldring. Beside its conservationist role, the Réveil Archive Foundation also had from the start the goal of stimulating historical study of the Réveil. Much has been achieved in this field, not least owing to the expertise of the long-standing secretary M. Elisabeth Kluit, herself the author of several important publications. In the meantime, the Réveil Archive has been able to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary, and two collections of articles have appeared to mark the occasion. One of them, Figuren uit het Réveil (Figures from the Réveil) is a collection of essays from the years 1929-40, written by B. de Gaay Fortman, co-founder and for a long time treasurer of the Foundation. The main focus of this symposium is on the antirevolutionary politics of the time of Groen, but there are also contributions on A.M. van Hall who died early after following and defending the schism of the orthodox Calvinists, and on the circle before which Groen gave his famous addresses on 'Unbelief and Revolution'. The fact that they are the work of a single author naturally gives these studies some homogeneity. Much more disparate are the newly written essays in the collection Aspecten van het Réveil (Aspects of the Réveil). For example, C.E. van Koetsveld and Hofsteede de Groot are discussed, but also the attitude of the Réveil to the questions of vaccination and the place of hymns in church. Worthy of particular mention is the contribution of W.J.G. Buitendijk who tackles the romanticism of Isaac da Costa, and has a number of acute observations to make on the intellectual climate under William I.

The fifth volume of the correspondence of Groen van Prinsterer has now appeared. This is the first part of two supplementary volumes which together will, like the original four volumes, span the whole of Groen's life. Even so, a further supplement to the first supplement is already in prospect. It is also to be expected that once the whole series (correspondence and official reports) is complete, some surprising connections will be discovered. A further oddity of the edition is that it includes a volume (Bekendheden I, eerste stuk, RGP 93) which does not exist officially though it does in
practice. This first supplementary volume contains both letters which were not included in the original project as well as those which have come to light since. A few general observations may be made on the contents. Within the period concerned (1827-69) the emphasis is quantitatively on the latter part. Worthy of special mention is a detailed correspondence on the school question with M.D. van Otterloo, and a long series of letters and notes to Aeneas Mackay. For the connoisseur there is also once more a number of letters in which the Leiden professor Van Assen makes his epigrammatic comments on the political situation.

The 'school question' takes up a central place in the political memory of the protestant part of the population. A crucial moment in this struggle was the School Law of 1857, which laid down that there was to be a mixed state school, to educate children in all the Christian and civic virtues. This was in opposition to the view of Groen, the leader of the anti-revolutionaries, who had wished for the separation of the state schools by denomination. In orthodox Groenian historiography the blame for this development has come to fall largely on the head of his kindred spirit the minister Van der Bruggen who is alleged to have 'betrayed' his confessional supporters, and broken his earlier promises. In a Nijmegen dissertation 94 J. Brouwer attempts to overthrow this Groenian myth and rehabilitate Van der Bruggen. His point of departure is that the falsification makes the verdict on Van der Bruggen entirely dependent on that one moment in 1857. By putting the 'whole' Van der Bruggen in the centre of the picture, it becomes clear that he always went his own way and remained faithful to his principles. Although the author has succeeded in his aim, and his conclusions are convincing, some comments may be made on the way in which he has gone about his work. For example, his account of Van der Bruggen's intellectual development is excessive, while on the other hand he does not seem to be sufficiently familiar with the complex political situation of the forties and fifties. Of the book as a whole it may be said that it would undoubtedly have benefited by a much more clearly defined composition. The very fact that it speaks of a 'rehabilitation' demonstrates that even now it is apparently difficult to approach Van der Bruggen more objectively. The uninitiated reader should realize that it is above all the dying embers of an internal protestant debate: in non-confessional historiography Van der Bruggen is a much less controversial figure.

The difficulties faced by political groups and movements of all complexions in organizing themselves on a nationwide scale in the second half of the nineteenth century had much to do with the constituency system of elections which automatically enhances the importance of local and regional relationships. Hence the importance of research into regional political history during this period in particular. For Friesland – always a region with a face of its own, and an awareness of its own historical evolution –, there has now appeared a dissertation from the Calvinist Free University,

Amsterdam, on the beginning of confessional party formation (1842-71). The author has placed his subject in a broad context, in which developments within the Reformed Church (the influences of the Groningen tendency, modernism, the Friesian Réveil, the 'Secession' of the Calvinists) and the multifarious aspects of the 'school question' are discussed. An objection to this approach is that what was intended as context often takes on a life of its own, so that the link with the formation of confessional parties is sometimes hard to see. An explanation of this imbalance is perhaps that in fact there was only limited evidence of confessional parties being formed in this period. One may even wonder whether the author might not have done better to choose the Friesian 'structure of politics' as such, for his theme. This seems, however, to be asking rather a lot, in view of the author's strong personal involvement with his theme. That this involvement stands in the way of a critical verdict is clear. For example, when he repeatedly laments the absence of any fusion in political matters between confessionalists and conservatives, he is obviously unaware how important differences of religion and social standing were in this connexion. In short, the book is not easy to summarize and the problems it poses have not been sufficiently thought out. Nevertheless, what it has to offer is a mass of information on local politicians, the sort of people who set up the confessionel organization, methods of political activity, the regional press, electoral publicity and electoral associations; data which are indispensable for the true understanding of political life at the grass roots.

It has frequently been pointed out that there is still no systematic description of Dutch liberalism and its forms of organization. Van der Mandele's book in 1933 had too many lacunae to be able to fill this function adequately. One of these lacunae has now been filled by an important Groningen dissertation by G. Taal: the period from 1872 to 1901, from the death of Thorbecke to the schism in the Liberal Union. It is also the period in which the Liberals still formed the largest political bloc. As well as the liberals, Taal also discusses the radicals, the Nieuwe Gids-movement, the 'young Amsterdam' circle of the 1880's, who, with M.W.F. Treub as the leading politician, finally joined with the left wing of the Liberal Union in 1901 to form the Free Democratic Alliance. Only a few lines of Taal's detailed study can be indicated here. The central theme is the liberal organization. In a chronological narrative he describes how conflicts and schisms were an almost chronic affliction of the liberal camp, and a serious threat to group formation and organization. He also stresses, however, that the differences which arose were based not so much on matters of principle as on the emphasis given to various policy objectives, and the speed with which it was hoped to achieve them. The most notable stumblingblock was the regulation of the franchise. The problems on this point reached a climax in the epic struggle over the Tak franchise law, which caused great discord both within the liberal ranks and outside

them. This conflict is also the pièce de résistance of this study. What seemed to stand in the way of a liberal organization, almost as a matter of principle, were the individualist assumptions and outlook which all liberals shared. Moreover, the constituency system led rather to fragmentation than to organization on a national basis. The Liberal Union which was set up in 1844-85 was a fairly loose federation of electoral associations, and very hesitant whenever it was a question of putting demands to members of parliament once they had been elected. True, groups were formed in the Second Chamber, but they must be seen as a sort of debating club and not as formal parliamentary parties. Internal division sometimes led to three liberal parliamentary clubs existing alongside one another. In the end the strongest bond between the liberals seems to have been negative rather than positive: the formation of a common front against the rise of confessionalism. Just as problematic as their organization was the question of the liberal leadership. While that of Thorbecke had by no means been unquestioned, the man most widely accepted as leader for a while after his death, Kappuyne van de Coppello, often seemed to have difficulty in taking himself seriously in the role. Another leader, Van Houten, was by nature eternally contrary. In a milieu where personal insight and individual responsibility counted for so much, the individual politician also deserves much attention. Taal has therefore enriched his narrative with a very successful series of character sketches of well-known and less well-known liberals and radicals.

The chronological arrangement of the book has evident advantages, but also a few important disadvantages. On many themes, data are spread through the book which would be better dealt with systematically; for example the functioning of the monarchy and the relationship between king and ministers, especially under the queen regent. Or, to name another important sub-theme, the conventions of parliamentary life. This problem is only partially solved by the excellent index. Naturally, Taal's book only shows one side of the liberal coin. He concentrates on parliamentary activity and the national organization. Of the other side, the electoral associations which gave shape to liberalism at ground level, he shows us a great deal, but in this field the actual research, local and regional, to a large extent still awaits to be carried out. Without doubt, this monumental work will serve, for years to come, as a guide for such researches.

Nicolaas Gerard Pierson is usually regarded as the leading Dutch economist of the nineteenth century. He was the author of the influential Leerboek der staathuishoud-kunde (Textbook of Political Economy) and was, amongst other offices, president of the Bank of the Netherlands, minister of finance, and prime minister. J.G.S.J. van Maarseveen's Rotterdam dissertation deals only with the first decades of Pierson's life. The often startling variety of activities which the young Pierson engaged in between 1839 and 1877 appear, nevertheless, amply sufficient to fill a book. This book is largely biographical in approach, and makes much profitable use of archival

material. Pierson grew up in a typical Réveil background. In a relatively short time he
developed, mainly by his own efforts, into a noted economist. As a scholar he also
won influence in politics. Van Maarseveen sees him in the sixties as an outspoken
young liberal who was, however, to make a shift to the right in the following decade.
One may wonder whether this move to the right has not been somewhat exaggerated.
At any rate the label 'conservative' is applied rather loosely. Van Maarseveen has
succeeded in giving substance to the man behind the economist. All of Pierson's social
and publicist activities are carefully recorded. It would have been desirable to con-
clude with a systematic analysis of his economic and political ideas.

As a young liberal Pierson distinguished himself above all by his contribution to the
discussion on the 'Cultivation System'. M. Kuitenbrouwer demonstrates how Pierson's
colonial views gradually came to bear the character of an explicit theory of colonial-
ism. The value of this evolutionist theory was above all in the legitimacy which the
liberals could derive from it, after the rejection of the Cultivation Law of Fransen van
de Putte for a policy of gradual reform of Javanese society.

Both H. Wesseling and H.W. von der Dunk have concerned themselves with the in-
creasing tension which the Netherlands' paradoxical position as a small European
power with a great colonial empire brought with it at the end of the nineteenth
century. Wesseling analyses the Netherlands' position at the Berlin conference of
1884-1885, which was to solve the problems of West Africa. The Netherlands
followed a most cautious course, which was intended above all to safeguard Dutch
interests in the East Indies. There was a risk that agreements would be made at Berlin
which - although formally only referring to Africa - might come to be seen as general
rules by which to judge the effectiveness of the exercise of colonial power. To prevent
this was the high political goal to which the commercial interests - in themselves not
insignificant - which the Netherlands possessed in West Africa, were subordinated.
Von der Dunk shows that the traditional Dutch policy of simultaneous friendship
with both Germany (for European reasons) and England (for colonial reasons) was to
become an ever more urgent necessity towards the end of the century as a result of
growing Anglo-German antagonism. At the same time there was also an increasing
economic and cultural bond between the Netherlands and Germany, which threatened
Dutch neutrality and perhaps even Dutch independence. The counter-pressure which
this development provoked was twofold. On the one hand, the Entente Powers could
not possibly permit the Netherlands to fall into the German sphere of influence. On
the other hand, the growing dependence on Germany led to an explicit reassertion of
Dutch nationality in the Netherlands themselves.

98. M. Kuitenbrouwer, 'N.G. Pierson en de koloniale politiek, 1860-1909', Tijdschrift voor
559-76.
100. H.W. von der Dunk, Die Niederlande im Kräftepiel zwischen Kaiserreich und Entente. In-
3 515 03425 0, DM 8.20).

178
BELGIUM SINCE 1800

Following its series of dossiers on the Ghent textile workers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the 'Centre for Recent Social History' at the Free University of Brussels has now begun a series of publications on wages and prices in Belgium for the same period. Those responsible for this initiative, Et. Scholliers and J. Hannes, hope by means of the publication of such quantitative data to be able to make a decision contribution to the old debate on the question of living standards during the Industrial Revolution. In the series on wages, five volumes have now appeared in 1979-80, and one volume of the series on prices was published during 1979. The first volume of the wage series contains, besides wages for the period 1809-1934 compiled from the accounts of public institutions in Brussels, a bibliographical survey of the history of prices and wages in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, intended as an introduction to the whole series. It includes works in which detailed wage and price series appear, and publications discussing the problems of wages, prices, purchasing power and the standard of living. As far as Belgium is concerned, the bibliography is virtually exhaustive. The second volume in the wage series gives a selection from the results of a survey made in 1942 by the Statistical Department of the Belgian National Bank into the wages paid in Belgian industry. The data refer to the years 1913-40, and to the following sectors: metals, glass, ceramics, zinc, quarrying, textiles, foodstuffs, chemicals, gas, electricity and building. They are important, as they permit us to follow the evolution of wages in detail: a substantial rise in 1920, a slight fall in 1921-22, a modest rise in 1924 and 1925, a more marked rise from 1926 to 1930, and a constant fall from the latter year to 1935, followed by a renewed rise until the level of 1929-30 was regained immediately before the Second World War. Since this dossier contains not only details on hourly rates of pay, but on weekly rates as well, it is possible to trace the evolution of real wages during the years of economic crisis. Until now researchers have been unable to take sufficient account of the marked rise in partial unemployment in this period, so that it was generally assumed that the purchasing power of the working population was increasing during the crisis years 1930-35. The data now published show, however, that purchasing power was falling in this period, in some sectors very considerably. The third wage series contains data from the Labour Exchange in Brussels ('Bourse du Travail') and concern wages in the most important sectors of the Belgian economy in the years 1922-39. In dossier four the wage data of the Brussels printing firm of Hayez are published for the period 1865-1934. From its establishment in 1780 the firm specialized in administrative and scientific printing. Mechanization of the firm began only in the beginning of the twentieth century, with the introduction of electric power. This had the result, that

the productivity of the workers, (compositors, printers, binders) remained unchanged for a very long time. Because of the firm's specialized clientele, and its highly specialized products, the number employed remained virtually constant. In general the well-educated workforce received relatively good wages. Since there is also information preserved on the hours of work put in by the workers, it is possible to establish the real daily rate of pay. It appears that daily pay in the firm of Hayez fell during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. 104 Scholliers' publication of a wage series for the chocolate firm of Cote d'Or (of Anderlecht, near Brussels) is preceded by a short historical survey, not just of the firm concerned, but of the entire Brussels chocolate industry. Here too, we have data on the hours worked, as well as on the daily and weekly wages paid. 105 In 1962 Et. Scholliers published an extremely important index of Antwerp house rents from 1500 to 1873. Now, under his supervision, a rent index series for Brussels from 1800 to 1940 has been prepared, on the basis of 383 houses and 89 flats. This index is intended to serve as a study of the material living conditions of the lower classes in Brussels in the nineteenth century. 106

These lower classes played an important role in the struggle for Belgian independence in 1830. This was stressed as long as half a century ago by M. Bologne, in a book which has been forgotten since it did not fit into the patriotic bourgeois historiography of the Belgian Revolution. The book has now been translated from French into Dutch, and was published in 1979, 107 with an addendum which is intended to indicate the changes in historical writing since then resulting from research into the background of the events of 1830. Some interesting themes are mentioned in this appendix: the composition of the Belgian proletariat in 1830, the development of mechanization, and the rise of industrial capitalism, the role of the workers in the armed struggle, the way in which the bourgeoisie appropriated the revolution to themselves, the role of Belgian patriotism as a lightning conductor against a proletarian revolt when this revolt threatened to turn against the bourgeoisie as a whole. Both Bologne's text and the supplement make stimulating reading but unfortunately the editors do not seem to be sufficiently familiar with the available historical literature on the subject. The role of the proletariat in the Belgian Revolution is a topic which deserves to be investigated in more depth.

Since K. Van Isacker, S.J., published his study of 'Daensism' in 1959, increasing attention has been paid to this christian democratic movement led by the priest Adolf Daens and his brother Pieter. Separate studies have already appeared on Daensism at Alost, Bruges, in the countryside of South Flanders, at Deinze and at Antwerp.
Now in F. Vanhemelrijck’s study, it is the turn of the arrondissement of Brussels, where the priest A. Daens was elected as a member of parliament in 1902. The author studies the attitude of conservative catholics, liberals and socialists in the Brussels region to Daenism, and the way in which the Daenist breakthrough in Brabant eventually became possible. He investigates the organization of propaganda and discusses the platform adopted by the christian democrats in the election campaign. The support won by the ‘Christian Peoples Party’ in Brabant was above all drawn from the workers in the brickworks, the hopgrowing population of the district to the west of Brussels, and the lower middle class of the capital.

Songs played a leading role in socialist propaganda. H. Vandecaveye discusses the rise of popular songs with a clear socio-political content which were aimed exclusively at the industrial proletariat. Particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, these songs had a very important function in the workers’ struggle. The author shows this clearly for the Flemish industrial city of Ghent, where songs were used as a means of propaganda, mainly in the socialist movement. Catholics and liberals tried to counter the success of these songs, among other methods by intimidating their composers and singers. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the socialist party was going further along the path of reformism, the crude and often revolutionary proletarian song evolved into the ‘culturally educative’ workers song.

The views of the Flemish priest-poet Guido Gezelle, as they were expressed in the Bruges weekly, ‘t Jaer 30’, were characteristic of a whole group of Flemings who took up the struggle against the laicized industrial society which was in the ascendant. They were convinced ‘ultramontanes’ who strove to preserve the threatened age-old bond between the church and the life of the people. In his weekly, Gezelle tried to prove that there was an old inner relationship between the Flemings on the one hand and God and Nature on the other, and that the Flemings must remain true to the old values and traditions which still lived on among the humbler people of the countryside. In the rise of factory life Gezelle saw a great danger for religion and for the customs of his forefathers. J. Geens’ explanation of Gezelle’s vision of society helps us to understand why the workers’ movement found it so difficult to get off the ground in nineteenth-century catholic circles.

The Catholic governments which were in power in Belgium from 1884 to 1914 paid a great deal of attention to the rural population. A number of factors contributed to this, the need to maintain national food production; a belief in the value of agri-


181
culture as a means of maintaining the physical strength of the country; the conviction that only a highly developed primary sector could build a defence against the social consequences of urbanization and industrialization, which was seen as a danger to belief and morality. Considerations of purely party politics also played a role: the rural people who were protected by the clergy and the great landowners formed the most loyal electoral clientele of the Catholic party. A study by L. van Molle demonstrates that this policy bore fruit: the exodus from the country to the towns was slowed down, so that the existing social, religious and political order, despite the economic difficulties which made themselves felt in agriculture, was at any rate never threatened by the countryfolk. On the contrary the farmers contributed much, via the corporatism which was built up in the agricultural sector by the Catholic authorities, to a conservative social policy.

The history of the trade union movement in Belgium has up to now, according to F. Lehouck, been written, by Catholics and socialists alike, in a rather subjective manner, a consequence of the competition between the socialist and Catholic trade unions. In a sociological study Lehouck tries to give a synthesis, based on existing Catholic and socialist historiography, but without making use of any new archival material. Against the background of social conditions and political development in Belgium, he investigates the origins and growth of the trade union movement in Belgium in the period from the end of the eighteenth century to 1914 (with the emphasis on the period after 1830). Lehouck deserves much admiration for his attempts to reach a balance in his study, between 'catholic' and 'socialist' material. However, he occasionally makes use of sources which are unable to withstand the test of scientific criticism, and is thus not wholly free from inaccuracies and erroneous interpretations. He has also failed to include a number of recent innovative scientific contributions in his study. Nonetheless, his exceptionally stimulating book is an extremely worthwhile contribution to the history of trade unionism in Belgium. In particular, his last chapter, ('some characteristics of the trade union movement before 1914') invites further research into crucial problems of the development of the workers' movement, for example confessionalism among the Catholic workers, the relations between trade unions and politics, the anti-syndicalism of the employers, the anti-clericalism of the socialist unions, the anti-socialism of the Catholic trade union movement and the role of women in union affairs.

Ecclesiastical archives in Belgium are often inaccessible or open only to a chosen few so editions of texts are more than welcome. L. Gevers provides an almost

complete survey of what is to be found in the episcopal archives at Malines, Ghent and Liège, as well as in the archives of those religious orders, especially the Jesuits, who occupied themselves with education, concerning the language of education and family life, the teaching of the vernacular, and Flemish national consciousness. It refers to the catholic boys' schools of the Flemish speaking part of Belgium, including Brussels, in the nineteenth century. Two hundred texts are printed in three chronological periods divided at 1850 and 1883. Each period is introduced by an explanatory foreword, followed by the texts, arranged according to the archives from which they are drawn and provided with a descriptive title to facilitate their use. The texts which derive from ecclesiastical functionaries, politicians, teachers and pupils, are mostly in French, the language of the elite and the language of instruction in secondary education. Latin texts are accompanied by a translation. The author has provided a detailed critical apparatus, biographical notes, and references to periodicals and societies. A text-edition of the highest calibre, which not only helps us to gain an insight into the diversified structure and organization of catholic secondary education, but also invites further reflection on the importance for power politics of the linguistic ideology which it reveals, and the Flemish reaction against it.

The reformist policies of Belgian socialism continue to inspire study. A. Mommens' book on the Belgian Workers' Party fills a gap between the work of D. De Weerdt (period 1972-1880) and that of M. Claes van Haegendorpen (1914-1940), the crucial period between the forming of an organized party in 1885 and the outbreak of the First World War. The author shows, using newspapers and the reports of party congresses, not only how the B.W.P. was a reformist workers' party from the very beginning, but also how opportunism and pragmatism came to determine its political practice. Various elements in his analysis help to explain this: the leadership of the skilled craftsmen which was closely associated with the progressive petty bourgeoisie from whom it took its ideology and tactics, the importance of Brussels, the significance of the aristocracy of labour and the creation of a workers' bureaucracy, the key position of the rapidly developing co-operative movement. It was expressed, inter alia, in the policy of alliance with the liberals, and the attitude of the party leaders towards general strikes. The main criticism which can be levelled at this book is that the author has confined his discussion too narrowly to the policy of the leading groups within the party without paying enough attention to other factors.

Despite innumerable publications on the Flemish movement, the lacunae in our historical knowledge remain great. That applies a fortiori to the problems in the capital, Brussels, whose most obvious characteristic is the shift from a mainly Flemish speaking to a predominantly francophone district. This has led to the present-day problem of the status which this agglomeration must be given in a regionalized Belgium. It is a complex matter, influenced by social, economic, demographic and political factors, and as such is more than a purely linguistic question. To investigate this in

all its aspects, and to co-ordinate various disciplines, the Centre for Interdisciplinary Research was established in 1977 at the Free University of Brussels. Parts 3 and 4 of its publication ‘Language and Social Integration’ contain the proceedings of an international conference which was held in March 1981. One of the sections was concerned with the historical aspects, social and political. The results were particularly interesting: the findings of small scale investigation into migration; details on the poor population of Brussels, the key function of primary schools in the process of gali-

cization; soundings on how this gallicization was deliberately fostered by those in power, the ways in which it came about, who were responsible, and what resistance was met. All this is based on periodic samples from 1830 to 1914. In combination with the results of other sections, more concerned with the present-day state of affairs, it gives us the first insights into the mechanism of gallicization.

Part five of the series is the doctoral thesis of F. Loucks who has integrated the study of linguistic behaviour into the theoretical literature on ethnic and racial relations, in order to be able to apply to the best advantage the achievements of both branches of sociology. In the first place he has constructed a differentiated and empirically testable analytical model by studying various linguistic or ethnic confrontations. He then tests the model against the integration, linguistic and ethnic, of the Flemings in the Brussels region. He investigates first of all the linguistic situation in Brussels itself: the Dutch speakers, their position in the labour market, the Dutch speaking infrastructure. Then follows an analysis of individual linguistic behaviour based on 700 interviews. An indispensable book for those who wish to gain some insight into the linguistic and ethnic processes which are active in the Belgian capital.

In this context we may also mention the doctoral thesis of E. Gubin, which was awarded the Pro Civitate Prize in 1977. In it, she investigates the earliest development in Brussels of the movement for the protection of Dutch culture, paying much attention to its various levels: the Belgian background, the specific context of the capital, and its peculiar place in the Flemish movement. The book offers a critical dissection of the language censuses from 1846 to 1910, and a minute analysis of the various phases which the Flemish movement in Brussels passed through. Of great importance was its changing relationship with the other emancipation group which emerged from the higher middle class, francophone progressivism, and its resulting originality. The author gives a sketch of the leading militants, so that their group characteristics are well brought out. It is possible to criticize her divisions into periods and her interpretation of Belgian linguistic ideology, but she nevertheless gives a good

115. Onderzoek naar de Brusselse taaltoestanden. Acta van het Colloquium van 28 en 29 maart 1981. Taal en sociale integratie, III, IV (Brussels: Centre for Interdisciplinary research into linguis-

116. F. Loucks, Vlaamigen tussen Vlaanderen en Wallonië. Taalarmoedigers- en taalontwikkelingsprocessen in een meertalige situatie en bekeken vanuit de sociologische literatuur over et-

insight into ‘flamingantisme’ in Brussels, and deserves to be imitated both for the ensuing periods and for the other Flemish cities.

There are still many unsolved questions about the importance and influence of the political parties, both nationally and regionally. This is certainly true of the liberal party, more particularly with regard to the struggle for power between the doctrinaire élite and the competing middle class movements. In two articles, P. Lefèvre has revealed the process of democratization in the arrondissement of Bruges. He appears that in 1911 the leadership of liberalism there passed from the higher bourgeoisie, conservative and francophone, to the progressive middle class who were well disposed to the Flemish movement. This evolution is well described, with an eye for the shifts in tactics and goals, and their consequences. M. Reynebeau has made a similar analysis for Ghent in the period 1848-69. He investigates the political implications of the lowering of the electoral property qualification in 1848, one of the government’s measures against the year of revolutions in Europe, by which the electoral qualification was reduced to the constitutional minimum, almost doubling the number of electors for local councils, although it was still limited to 3.09 per cent. The author describes how the political élite was able to ward off the danger from the radicals within the middle class, and how the petty bourgeoisie were incorporated into the polarization between liberals and clericals and thus largely integrated into the existing political structure, so that the threat of a third party was averted.

The 150th anniversary of Belgian independence was the occasion for a number of commemorative volumes. Pride of place should be given to the special issue which the Belgisch tijdschrift voor nieuwste geschiedenis (Belgian Journal of later modern history) devoted to the year of revolution – 1830. The contributions discuss the correspondence of the papal envoy at Brussels, a profile of the typical revolutionary in Brussels, the September days at Mons, the reaction of the East Flanders lawyers as a vanguard and in terms of their careers, the composition and importance of the provisional administrative institutions of the new state, the choice of a two-party system as ‘la phase transitoire entre l’Ancien Régime et le régime nouveau’. The attitude adopted by the Société générale and the anticipations of the shareholders of this bank on the basis of economic – and to a lesser extent political – motives, as well as the financial strategy which was to lead, as a result of the Rothschild loans, to the dependence of the state finances on European high finance for the rest of the nineteenth century.

Also of interest are the proceedings of a conference on Belgian military history

120. Belgisch tijdschrift voor nieuwste geschiedenis, XII (1981) iii, special issue 1830 (689 p.).
1830-1980, held at Brussels on 26-28 March 1980.\textsuperscript{121} Thirty papers grouped around such themes as the revolution of 1830, Belgian armed forces abroad, the attitude of the monarchy to national defence, the military milieu and the defence of national territory up to the present day. They make a worthwhile contribution to military and general historiography. We should also mention another publication from the same source, an almost exhaustive bibliography of Belgian military history published between 1830 and 1970, from the earliest predecessors on 1830 to 1914, equipped with a number of indexes.\textsuperscript{122}

The problem of the existence of Belgium as a nation, and a number of themes up to the present time, socio-economic as well as political and cultural, come to the fore in \textit{Het Boek van België} (The Book of Belgium), a symposium of seventeen very different points of view.\textsuperscript{123} This is true also of several articles on the theme of 'Histoire et nationalisme' which are supplemented by an historiographical balance sheet of the Belgian political parties, the Flemish and Walloon movements and the workers' movement.\textsuperscript{124}

We should also mention a special number of \textit{Res Publica}, dealing with the Belgian parliament, in which the first contribution by E. Witte traces the historical evolution of the role of the parties.\textsuperscript{125} Over the years they have come to determine and control the channels through which the parliamentary form of government works, without being able to make effective decisions about the real exercise of power. This is a striking introduction to a later issue of this journal which was entirely devoted to the study of party rule in Belgium.\textsuperscript{126}

Of the many great changes affecting the Netherlands in the second half of the nineteenth century, one of the most striking was the improvement in the health of the population. This is especially evident in the sharp fall in the mortality figures which was accompanied by, and indeed partly a result of, the rise of a complex system of medical care and social hygiene. The provision of health care in the province of Limburg from 1850-1940 is the theme of a doctoral thesis by R. Philips.\textsuperscript{127} In it he analyses the mortality figures, sketches the development of medical knowledge, describes the

\textsuperscript{121} Akten van het Colloquium over de Belgische Krijgsgeschiedenis (1830-1980). Centre for military history, XVI (Brussels: Koninklijk Legermuseum, 1981, 529 p.).

\textsuperscript{122} Bibliographie de l'histoire militaire belge des origines au 1er août 1914 (ibidem, no date, 673 p.).


\textsuperscript{124} Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles (Brussels, 1981), special issue Histoire et historiens depuis 1830 en Belgique (234 p., BF 395).


number and quality of doctors and reviews the numerous institutions with widely differing goals, ranging from curing the sick and caring for infants to the provision of drinking water and workers' housing. Development was chaotic and unplanned. Government institutions and private, especially religious, organizations cooperated well on occasion but at other times found themselves in conflict. The powerful hold of traditional cultural attitude over the local population had a dual effect. On the one hand it meant that acceptance of the modern medical approach progressed only gradually. On the other hand, it was eased considerably by the support and involvement of the Roman-catholic church and its institutions, which thereby acquired a position of great importance alongside the public services.

The establishment in 1880 of the Calvinist Free University at Amsterdam was an important milestone in the process of organizational 'pillarization' (verzuiling) in the Netherlands. On the occasion of its centenary a number of publications appeared among which was a collection of essays edited by W.J. Wieringa. 128 In a short introduction he describes the principles upon which the Free University (V.U.) was founded and the changes which were introduced in 1971 when the direct link with Calvinism was abandoned for a much broader Christian base. Fourteen contributions deal in contrasting ways and with varying success with different areas of scientific and academic work, comparing that done in the Free University with developments outside. They naturally emphasize the relationship between the pursuit of learning in general and the specifically Calvinist approach to scholarship. Of special interest is A. van Deursen's critical appreciation of historians who have worked at the university since 1918, in particular A.A. van Schelven, A. Goslinga, H. Smitskamp and J.A. de Jonge.

It was another forty years before a Roman-catholic university came into being, at Nijmegen in 1923. Catholic academies had long sought closer contact with each other which led in 1904 to the founding of the Association for the Furthering of Scholarship among Dutch Catholics, better known as the Thijm Society. Its 75th anniversary was celebrated in 1979 at a conference whose central theme was 'the identity of Catholic scholars'. The published conference papers 129 comprise a series of historically orientated articles on various fields of scholarship though, unfortunately, there is nothing on the natural sciences. Of particular interest for historians are the contributions of J.A.


Bornewasser, A.F. Manning and J. Roes. Bornewasser discusses the achievement of
catholic historians in the Netherlands. Manning’s article on catholic attitudes to social
and political problems between 1912 and 1940 shows that they were dominated by
ethical values and also that catholic political and social organizations developed strongly
in this period. Roes provides a useful survey of the struggle to overcome the (assumed)
academic handicaps suffered by catholics. A period which was strongly apologetic
and inward-looking in character was followed by one in which scholarship became
more professional and contacts with non-catholics increased. Finally, catholics began
openly to question the sense of working exclusively within a closed community.

The socialist ‘pillar’ has not developed a network of educational institutions compar-
table to that of the catholics and orthodox protestants. That does not mean, how-
ever, that socialists did not attach any importance to educational development and
training. A doctoral thesis by H.C.M. Michielse\textsuperscript{130} provides a great deal of useful
information about the formative and educational work of social-democrats in the
years 1900-1940, with particular emphasis on the Institute for Workers’ Develop-
ment (IVAO) which was established in 1924. At the start, the predominant concept
was that borrowed from German theorists of socialist development work (cadre
training and worker’s consciousness). This later gave way to a more generalized view
of socialism as a cultural movement which emphasized the fostering of a communal
spirit. When neither approach appeared to lead anywhere they were, according to the
author, displaced by a bourgeois concept of development work which was directed at
creating independent, self-reliant individuals. Although Michielse’s account of these
changes is convincing enough, it is marred by his obtrusive disapproval of them and his
failure to place them satisfactorily within the wider context of social-democratic
developments in Dutch society. In spite of much useful information, therefore, the
work is rather disappointing.

A. Knooter on the other hand does not make the same mistakes in his study of
social-democratic views on wages and wage-conflict between the world wars.\textsuperscript{131} In
a lucid, informative and exhaustive discussion he concludes that a crisis occurred in
the predominantly reformist belief that wage-struggles were something positive. Those
like Tinbergen who propagated Plan-socialism were less favourably disposed to wage-
conflict. Knooter sees this crisis as part of a more general one facing reformism as an
ideological system which was to result in a complete ideological and political re-
orientation of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (SDAP) in the 1930s.

In the early history of Dutch social democracy and the social-democratic workers’
party in particular, the most notable figure even if not always the undisputed leader,
was P.J. Troelstra. Over the years, Troelstra expressed a number of ideas about what
might be called the political system of social democracy: the relationships which

130. H.C.M. Michielse, Socialistische vorming. Het Instituut voor Arbeidersontwikkeling (1924-
1940) en het vormings- en scholingswerk van de Nederlandse sociaal-democratie sinds 1900 (Nij-
megen: SUN, 1980, 391 p., ISBN 90 616 8151 0, fl. 29. –).
131. A. Knooter, ‘Sociaal-democratische opvattingen van loon en loonstrijd in Nederland (1918-
1940). Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis, XVII (March 1980) 3-44.

188
would prevail in the period between the winning of power by social democracy and the full realization of socialism. The problem is that these ideas were not very clear, not fully worked out and were scattered over a long period of time. It was obviously not a matter to which he gave systematic or regular attention. However, in their book *Troelstra and the model of the new state*, E. Hueting, F. de Jong Edz. and R. Neij have attempted to bring these ideas together systematically. It is a useful work because their research appears to have been exhaustive and all the relevant material has been collected. However, it is also disappointing in that they fail to show any clear line in Troelstra’s thinking. This is partly because of Troelstra’s own vagueness and incompleteness but also because the authors are very verbose and attempt to extract more from Troelstra’s words than they contain. A shorter and more concise book might have provided some clearer insights.

In the somewhat narrower field of parliamentary politics, a very important contribution is the second volume of G. Puchinger’s history of cabinet formations between 1913 and 1939. It deals with the formation of the first Colijn cabinet of 1925, the arduous deliberations which led to the formation of the first De Geer cabinet and that of 1929 which resulted in the third Ruys de Beerenbrouck cabinet. Most of the book, however, is devoted to the formation of 1925-26 after the second Vatican crisis. Shortly after the Colijn cabinet took office the Second Chamber passed a motion calling for the abolition of the Dutch embassy to the Vatican. This was unacceptable to the Roman Catholic Party and the catholic ministers, and the result was a long political crisis. Puchinger’s second volume has all the strengths and weaknesses of the first: a tidal wave of minute and unnecessary detail, top-heavy annotation, excessive documentation (which nevertheless lacks the systematic presentation of the true source publication) and the frequent failure to make connections between the events being described and the wider political questions of the period. Its strength lies in the detailed reconstruction of events. At times the actions of *dramatis personae* are followed minute by minute. The fact that quite trivial matters receive such close attention is a salutary counterbalance to the high-flown generalizations so often encountered in respect of cabinet-formation in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the book is a rich source of general information and delightful detail about politics and politicians in the 1920s which no serious student of the period can afford to ignore.

The first volume of correspondence between the historians P.C.A. Geyl and F.C. Gerretson has been followed rapidly by a further four volumes covering the period 1929 to 1958, the year of Gerretson’s death. During the 1930s the preoccupation

with the Flemish cause (which so dominated volume I) declined rapidly. In 1935 Geyl was finally appointed professor at Utrecht after a series of setbacks which dominate the correspondence of the preceding period. For Geyl the appointment provided his big chance to escape from his ‘exile’ in London, and he continually spurred his friend and supporter to greater efforts on his behalf in a struggle which to him was not just for a position but was also directed against the detested establishment of Dutch historians. After 1935, although they were now almost neighbours, they continued their correspondence. Their friendship was often severely tested for a variety of reasons among which, as well as academic differences and widely divergent political opinions, contrasts of personality and character played an important role. A striking feature of their correspondence during the occupation (when Geyl spent a considerable time in a prison camp) is that historical questions continued to receive as much if not more attention than military or political affairs. After the war their mutual differences led to a slowing down and at times a complete break in their exchange of letters. All in all, it is a fascinating correspondence between two fascinating individuals.

Another leading intellectual of the 1930s was the essayist Menno ter Braak. Never easy to categorize, he is the subject of two recent and totally contrasting studies. A. Borsboom in a work based on his dissertation of 1962\(^{135}\) approaches Ter Braak philosophically, paying special attention to his relationship with Nietzsche and nihilism, his rejection of all claims to a monopoly of truth and his concern to take up the right personal position vis-à-vis the world. A.F. van Oudvorst’s approach to Ter Braak\(^{136}\) has as its backdrop the debate on the role of the intellectual in society which exercised the student movement of the 1970s. He sees Ter Braak, despite his efforts to escape from his bourgeois nature, as a defender of a constitutional variant of the bourgeois order. Van Oudvorst repeatedly expresses the opinion that the choice between democracy and fascism in the inter-war years was ultimately a choice between different methods of repressing the working class. This seems a highly debatable contention.

Among the interesting new organizations which emerged in the Netherlands in the 1930s was one called Landbouw en Maatschappij (L&M: Agriculture and Society). It was a pressure group of farmers which, unlike already existing societies, was also prepared to act politically. J.H. de Ru’s sociological dissertation on the organization\(^{137}\) devotes considerable attention to general theories about peasant movements and collective behaviour. Of greater interest for historians, however, is the amount of information about the way L&M was organized. The author demonstrates that the popular belief that L&M was associated with political fascism has very little foundation.

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190
Only towards the end of the 1930s did the movement become more radical when its earlier fairly moderate aims and proposals had failed to generate much support. It is a pity that the subject is not placed more clearly in its historical context. De Ru limits himself to a number of remarks about agricultural politics and market trends in the crisis years, while his comments on inter-war society appear to be based on extremely limited background reading. From the little that he does say on the subject it is clear that a number of insights could be obtained by placing L&M against the growing opposition to 'pillarized' politics in the agricultural sector.

Dutch colonial history before 1942 is the subject of two important publications. A collection of five essays by E. Locher-Scholten,

138 take as their theme the so-called 'ethical politics' by which colonial administration from about 1900 is often described. Four of them have been published before and are detailed, source-based studies of, respectively, the journalist P. Brooshoof who first introduced the term, J.P. van Limburg Stirum who was governor-general from 1916 to 1921, the journal De Stuw (1930-1934) and the paper Kritiek en Opbouw (1939-1942). New, and of a more general character, is the article 'Ethical Politics: a fragmented image'. The problem is in defining the term which, according to the author, has been used over the years in four broadly distinguishable, if partially overlapping, ways. In the first place it has been used to mean the administration of the Indies on their behalf, in which the colonial relationship passed through the stages of trusteeship, association and emancipation. Secondly, it has meant welfare policies for the benefit of Indonesians. Thirdly, support for indigenous nationalism and fourthly, its later use by writers to designate the extension of imperial authority to the territories outside Java in the sense of ethical imperialism. Such multifarious definitions have often hampered the study of ethical politics as a phenomenon and Mrs Locher has tried to resolve the problem not by banning the scholarly use of the term nor by defining it narrowly and precisely, but by adopting a broad definition which encompasses every aspect of the many-sided process to which it refers. In her own words, ethical politics was 'a policy aimed at acquiring de facto political control of the entire Indonesian archipelago and the development of both country and people under Dutch leadership and after Western example' (213). This seems to be a fruitful approach on which more detailed work can build.

P.J. Drooglever has written an extensive dissertation on the Vaderlandsche Club (VC; Fatherland Club),

139 a political organization which, as the author puts it, reflected the reaction of the upper layer of colonial society to the rise of Indonesian nationalism and to a home government which was willing to take account of it. Its aims were to preserve the status quo, not to generate new or original ideas. Drooglever's treatment goes well beyond a mere description of the party's ups and downs.


and its place in colonial society. He analyses in great detail the numerous policy questions with which the VOC as a political party was involved and shows himself to be extremely knowledgeable about colonial politics. The book is virtually a reference work which, though difficult to read, will be an essential aid for anyone wishing to understand the politics of the Dutch East Indies in this period.

Two source publications deserve to be mentioned briefly. Firstly, the third volume of sources capably edited by R.C. Kwantes, relating to the rise of the nationalist movement in the Dutch East Indies comprises items from Dutch archives and understandably, therefore, is more informative about the judicial, political and policing aspects of government policy than the nationalist movement itself. It is nonetheless an important contribution. Secondly, an attractive 'ego-document' which throws some light on the upper reaches of colonial society in the slightly earlier period of 1914-19, comes in the form of a diary written by C.L.M. Bijl de Vrooij, adjutant to the governor-general during these years. His observations relate neither to important political matters nor to strictly personal affairs, but mainly to the social side of his professional and private life: receptions, visits, formal occasions, trips and so on. If not particularly important, it is pleasant and informative.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, the Dutch Foreign minister was E.N. van Kleffens. He held this post throughout the war, including the period of exile in London, until 1946 and continued thereafter to play an important part in foreign affairs. His reputation as a skilled diplomat and politician raised high expectations of his memoirs which are now being published. The first volume, however, is disappointing. Born in 1894, his early career was unspectacular as an able career-civil servant in the Foreign Office with an exaggerated sense of status and a limited vision. This was crowned by a ministerial post in 1939. In respect of the important political questions of the time, in particular the policy of neutrality, Van Kleffens limits himself entirely to long extracts from speeches which he made to parliament. Clearly he still believes the policy to have been correct – and there are good reasons for doing so but it is nevertheless a pity that he feels there is nothing more to add.

Van Kleffens' role as Foreign minister during the period 1940-45 (presumably to be covered by his second volume of memoirs) is dealt with in an interesting dissertation by A.E. Kersten. Despite the title, Foreign Affairs in Exile, the work is not primarily concerned with the foreign policy conducted by the London-based government although this does receive attention in two case-studies devoted, firstly, to the decision to nationalize the property of Netherlanders in occupied territory and, secondly,

to the role of the Netherlands in the instructions given to the allied commander in South East Asia, Wavell. In both cases, a one-sided attachment to principle prevented the Dutch government from accomplishing as much as a more pragmatic policy might have achieved. The main theme of Kersten’s book, however, is the organization of the ministry and its various sub-departments. In 1940 it was still organized along old-fashioned nineteenth-century lines and with the move to London this was understandably left as little changed as possible. But the war-years made heavy demands on the ministry which found itself taking on an increasing number of new tasks and responsibilities with which the old organizational structure was unable to cope. The reorganization which took place during the war gave the ministry a less antiquated air by 1945, but according to Kersten it remained inadequate in many respects. This was owing to insufficiently careful planning on the part of the civil servants on the one hand, and, on the other, to the relative indifference of Van Kleffens who had firm control over policy and a good grasp of what was going on, and was satisfied with that. A clear and lively stile makes this fascinating book a pleasure to read.

Still on the subject of the Dutch government in exile, H.H. Jongbloed provides an interesting and carefully documented account of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and the Soviet Union. Despite the German invasion of June 1941 which brought the Soviet Union into the allied camp, the Dutch government did not feel initially that this was sufficient reason to recognize it officially, a standpoint which proved difficult to justify or maintain. The chief stumbling block, however, was the personal attitude of Queen Wilhelmina and it was not until July 1942 that the matter was resolved. Some of the documents used by Jongbloed have meanwhile been published in the ongoing series of foreign policy source-publications which have now been brought up to 7 December 1941.

The most important publication on the Netherlands in the Second World War is the latest volume of L. de Jong’s mammoth work. In The Final Year a great deal of detailed attention is focussed on military operations, even those far removed from the Netherlands. In this respect perhaps more restraint should have been exercised. The Battle of Arnhem naturally receives extensive coverage, from an extremely personal standpoint. De Jong accepts that the allied attack was indeed betrayed to the Germans by the double-agent King-Kong, but feels that as the Germans did not believe him the betrayal was of little importance. He attributes the allied defeat to their decision to continue even when success seemed unlikely, possibly because of Mont-

gometry's inordinate ambition. From the point of view of Dutch interests, De Jong suggests that the defeat was a blessing in disguise since, at this stage of the war, the Germans would have responded to an allied victory by inflicting irreparable destruction on the western Netherlands. A second important theme in provided by developments in London. The ongoing disagreements between Queen Wilhelmina and Prime minister Gerbrandy and his colleagues, were fuelled and further complicated by the tendency of the 'military authority' in the liberated areas of the southern Netherlands to pursue independent policies. De Jong's description and analysis is extensive and, as in previous volumes, he is not reticent about passing judgement. Thirdly, the volume contains a great deal of information about the activities of the resistance, in particular the problem of armed resistance and the shortage of arms, difficulties affecting the mutual contact between the various organizations involved in resistance work, and the tribulations of daily life under the occupation. All in all, it is another tremendous achievement.

From the flood of other works on the war years only a few can be reviewed here. M.G. Buist has contributed the lion's share to a useful collection of articles on Groningen during the occupation. The intensity with which the province lived through these years was possibly owing in large measure to the extensive process of nazification which the Beauftragte for Groningen, H. Conring, introduced and the widespread opposition which it aroused. The NSB was also quite strongly represented in the province.

A publication directed at the general public is E. Werkman's attempt to present a picture of daily life during the war years. It is a topic which has not yet been satisfactorily dealt with but Werkman has too little space to do justice to it here. Furthermore, although the illustrations are excellent, the text is too anecdotal, unsystematic and selective.

Two short works look at the position and role of women in the resistance and come to the not altogether surprising conclusion that in terms of social status, education, political affiliation and role distribution the position of women in the resistance organizations broadly coincided with their position in society at large. Even after 1945 traditional attitudes towards women's social position seem to have been little affected by their active war-time contributions. Some clever detective work by a journalist, J. van Lieshout, into the activities of three connected resistance groups in South Limburg and Eastern Belgium has resulted in an absorbing book entitled The Hannibal-

Two conclusions stand out clearly: firstly, that German intelligence was of a very high order and secondly, that many resistance groups were extremely careless in the way they maintained their contacts with each other. References and annotation, however, leave much to be desired.

The psychological aspect of collaboration have as yet received little attention since historians have tended to be more concerned with the question of the political or moral guilt of collaborators. J. Hofman’s dissertation on the subject is therefore most welcome.\(^{151}\) In it he analyses fifty-two cases of collaboration based on the psychiatric reports on political delinquents drawn up by the Utrecht prison authority’s Psychiatric Observation Clinic. Although Hofman comes to no firm general conclusions, this new approach is a gratifying step towards a more analytical and less denunciatory perspective on the phenomenon of collaboration.

Turning now to economic history, the period after 1945 in sharp contrast to the inter-war period, is again has witnessed a veritable explosion of interest. The first work which deserves mention is a new book by F.A.M. Messing which surveys the macroeconomic development of the Netherlands between 1945 and 1980.\(^{152}\) An expanded version of a chapter written for the *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (vol. 15), it is designed to appeal to the general reader as well as to the more specialized student. It provides an admirable and succinct outline of the major economic trends and a useful chapter brings the post-war period right up to date. However, at this level, Dutch economic history is still more descriptive than analytical and, more particularly, still tends to stress peculiarly Dutch socio-economic institutional innovations at the expense of specific supply and demand factors which might emerge from a more disciplined comparative analysis. It is to be hoped that this neat little book, which claims to be no more than an introductory survey, will stimulate interest in producing a more ‘weighty’ and more definitive assessment of the period.

Two other works concentrate more specifically on the problems surrounding the formation of social and economic policy in the immediate post-war years. Of these the thesis of W.S.P. Fortuijn is narrower in focus, more deeply researched and by far the more satisfactory of the two.\(^{154}\) Fortuijn traces in detail the social and economic

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152. Virtually the only work on the inter-war economy is J. de Vries and L. Webers, ed., *Limperts dagboek van zijn studiereis naar de Verenigde Staten in 1929* (Leiden-Antwerp: H.E. Steenfort Kroese B.V., 1979, xx + 145 p., ISBN 90 207 0645 3). It is essentially a detailed record of a trip to the United States and, apart from the occasional comparison, has relatively little to offer on the Netherlands itself.
policies of the first three Dutch post-war cabinets and the effects on the ideologies of the political parties. The main issues dominating the period were the needs of economic reconstruction and relationships with Indonesia. He concludes that in a determined effort to remain in government the Dutch Labour Party was forced to become increasingly identified with policies which were not its own and became increasingly alienated from other progressive forces in society. For the other major coalition party, the catholics, these developments caused fewer ideological adjustments since in both outlook and policy their position reflected the growing conservatism in Dutch society. Nonetheless, the period as a whole witnessed not only the success of economic recovery but also the laying of the infrastructural framework upon which the pragmatic welfare policy of the 1950’s was based. These developments are placed against a background of the ideological history of the political parties in the inter-war period and the institutional setting of the 1940’s. Whilst an attempt is made to evaluate the success of specific policies, particularly in the wages area, macro-economic developments are rather summarily described in a short but highly statistical chapter at the end. Moreover, although the main body of the text provides a lucid and stimulating insight into policy-formation problems, tracking down the author’s sources is made difficult by the fact that the op. cit’s begin from the very first citation of a work, compounded by the total omission of a bibliography - a fault surely unforgivable in a Ph.D. thesis. The same area as that covered by Fortuijn was the subject of a study group at the University of Amsterdam, the papers of which have been edited and published in book-form. More descriptive and less analytical than Fortuijn’s, the volume nevertheless provides a useful introduction to the period and two chapters, dealing respectively with attitudes towards women and with industrial training for youth, provide perspectives not touched upon by Fortuijn.

Once Dutch post-war growth had got underway, the economy was characterized by a wave of business mergers. Unusual, in the sense that it anticipated this development by a number of years, was the merger of the textile firms Koninklijke Stoomweterij te Nijverdal and H. ten Cate Zn. & Co. in 1952. The background to this merger, and, more particularly, the business structure and results of both firms before and during the merger are the subject of a thesis by H.H. Vloesenbeek. He concludes that at a time when the textile industry was experiencing increasing competitive difficulties the merger can be interpreted rather as a pre-emptive move to deal more effectively with structural problems in the future, than a defensive measure to get out of current difficulties.

The immediate post-war years were the theme of a conference held in 1980, the

papers of which have been published under the title *Resurgent Netherlands*. A.F. Manning surveys the political developments in the liberated south 1944-45 and their impact upon events after the liberation elsewhere in the country. J. Bosmans discusses the catholic-socialist coalition which dominated the political scene in the post-war decade. J. Bank's contribution on decolonization in the Dutch East Indies focuses on the influence of economic and church pressure groups on government policy and produces much new material. P.W. Klein discusses economic recovery and concludes that the number of feasible options, for instance in the role of government, were probably very limited. H.A. Schaper considers foreign policy, in particular from the point of view of security. J.C.H. Blom studies the results of public opinion polls between 1945 and 1950 and characterizes the period as one of discipline and asceticism. M.D. Bongaarts, finally, describes the expulsion of Germans from the Netherlands as undesirable aliens. Although the articles do not provide an integrated view of the period, the collection is extremely useful.

Another useful contribution to our knowledge of the post-war years is D. Boscher's detailed study of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) from 1945-52 and its fierce opposition to government policy, especially its policies on Indonesia and the economy. Its attitude placed the ARP in an isolation to which it was not accustomed, since before the war, under Colijn's leadership, the party had played a leading political role and during the occupation had been closely associated with the resistance. Boscher links this isolation with the fact that after the war, the parties in power distanced themselves from positions which had held sway in the inter-war years and with which the name of Colijn was closely associated. The ARP on the other hand would not or could not break free from Colijn. It was only in the early 1950s that this began to change and two anti-revolutionaries joined the cabinet. The author has written an attractive, readable book packed with information about the ARP, its leaders and the prevailing ideas within the party.

During the same period, a leading role in the Dutch Labour Party was played by M. van der Goes van Naters, even though he always stood somewhat in the shadow of Drees and J. Vorink. He was parliamentary party leader from 1945 to 1951 and his memoirs 'With and against the times' provide an interesting account of an interesting career. Before the Second World War Van der Goes played an important part in

the formulation of ideas on restructuring government institutions and clearly saw himself as Troelstra's successor. After 1951 he was active in European politics. His book contains a great deal about his political activities and also provides evidence of a life-long interest in nature conservancy and environmental problems. At the same time, however, his rancour against anyone with whom he ever disagreed such as Drees, the Foreign ministers Stikker and Luns, and others is obtrusive. He gives the impression of someone unable to accept the relative obscurity which befell him after 1950 at the time when Drees's star was in the ascendant. His desire now to appear as a modern progressive avant la lettre is somewhat forced, and arouses the suspicion that he is trying to gloss over his share of responsibility for certain political decisions taken in the past.

Van der Goes is also one of the eight, once prominent figures in the Social Democratic Workers Party and the Labour Party who have written a collection of articles 'From Broad Vision to Narrow Margin'. Presented as an autobiographical history of social-democracy in the Netherlands, it is in fact a collection of contrasting reminiscences and reflections on certain aspects of the Dutch social democratic party since 1930. Since little has been written on the subject the contribution is a welcome one.

The fusion of the socialist and Roman-catholic industrial labour unions which finally came about in 1981 provides the theme of a book by G. Harmsen, J. Perry and F. van Gelder. How was it that seven, later on two, unions after a long period of fierce rivalry and antagonism could merge effectively as a single union? In answering this, the authors emphasize the evolution of social and political ideas in the Netherlands and the particular historical development of the individual unions. Their account is much fuller for the most recent developments and is strongly moralizing throughout. They seem to feel that praise is due in proportion to the degree of militancy shown and by that criterion the social democratic unions receive the most praise! The catholic unions only start to win their approval from the end of the 1960s. It is a one-sided work with useful information about events of the past few decades.

Returning now to the early post-war years, one of the biggest problems with which the Dutch Labour Party had to grapple was the process of decolonization in Indonesia. The way in which it dealt with this question is the subject of a well-documented, informative article by F.G. van Baardewijk entitled rather oddly 'The Labour Party of the Kingdom 1945-47'. The author shows how the party elaborated on proposals

contained in earlier reports and evolved a whole range of new ideas on the future of Indonesia. When it came to putting them into practice, however, the majority of party members opted for a policy which would not endanger their coalition with the catholics. Together with a general lack of sensitivity towards relationships within Indonesia and a strongly legalistic approach within the party, this contributed to the failure to reach any rapid accommodation with the Indonesian Republic.

Ide Anak Gde Agung has written an account of the negotiations between the Indonesian Republic and the Netherlands in which, as prime minister of East-Indonesia, he himself participated. Remarkably little of the work is based on his own recollections and owing to the lack of Indonesian sources he has had to rely mainly on Dutch sources which give the book, somewhat curiously from the hands of an Indonesian writer, a rather Netherlands-orientated approach. It contains, moreover, no real surprises, though the period between the Renville accord of 18 January 1948 and the so-called Van Royen-Rum agreement of 7 May 1949 is covered in much greater detail on the basis of archival material than ever before. He defends the main propositions: the first is that the Renville accord is the turning-point in the process of internationalization of the conflict between the Netherlands and Indonesia. (However, perhaps a case could equally well be made out for the United Nations intervention after the so-called second police action.) The second is that the Indonesian Republic embodied pre-eminently the aspirations of the Indonesian freedom struggle. The greatest mistake made by the Dutch was their failure to recognize that fact. This was already Anak Agung’s opinion when, as prime minister of East Indonesia, he went his own way in defiance of the course laid down by the Lieutenant Governor-General Van Mook. Some passages show that Van Mook’s opposition to his behaviour still rankles. The sources used by Anak Agung will eventually be published in the Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatien which continues to make steady progress. Since the previous Survey two new volumes have taken the series on relations with Indonesia up to 20 July 1947.

A libri amicorum presented to the sociologist F.W. Hofstee contains wide-ranging and interesting studies of the Netherlands since 1945. Only a few can be mentioned here. J.E. Ellemers’ clear and absorbing study of the development of society adopts the generally accepted division into three phases: reconstruction from 1940 to the end of the 1950s, accelerated change in the 1960s and a slowing down in the course of the 1970s. G.A. Kooy takes a closer look at the changes which have taken place in the

more intimate areas of life, like sexuality, marriage and the family, and notes an increasing permissiveness which fits the general pattern of development since around 1800. Life came 'increasingly under the impact of the control of nature through science and technology, secularization, socio-cultural differentiation and individualism.' (p. 61) H. Daudt, in his contribution on the development of political power relations, considers that the confessional parties after 1945 in fact continued to operate on the principle laid down in the 1920s by the Roman-catholic politician W.H. Nolens that only in cases of extreme necessity could there be co-operation with the social democrats. The reason that the Labour Party was accepted as a coalition partner for so many years was because it was seen as 'extreme necessity' and not because of any change in attitude on the part of the confessional parties. An interesting if debatable point of view.

A striking aspect of this collection is the interest shown by social scientists in historical development. This interest is also apparent in a number of social science journals; not just established journals like Mens en Maatschappij, Sociologische Gids and Acta Politica but also the Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift, the Cahiers voor de Politieke en Sociale Wetenschappen and Symposion. Furthermore, on the boundaries separating history and the social sciences there are the Jaarboek voor de geschiedenis van socialisme en arbeidbeweging in Nederland, the Jaarboek voor het Demokratisch Socialisme and the Jaarboek van het Katholiek Documentatie Centrum. A recent newcomer is the Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis while the Dutch Communist Party's irregular Cahiers voor de geschiedenis van de CPN also contains useful contributions. Only exceptionally has it been possible to review articles from these journals in the Survey but their value for historians is often considerable.

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200
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Poverty alone is not a sufficient answer to the question why people were driven to beg. The author shows how government policy had the unintended result of reducing beggars to a class of outcasts.

A useful and clear survey of the literature on the subject. The author also places these political movements in the context of Dutch society in the 1930s.

Literature-based survey of the reactions of the Dutch and Belgian social-democratic parties to the economic crisis of the 1930s, set against the wider historical background of these countries during this period.

Less general than the title perhaps suggests. Mainly about the so-called Netherlands Union, the author’s emphasis differs from that of L. de Jong in his Nederland in de Tweede Wereldoorlog.


Very useful historiographical survey of the history of Indonesia and Dutch colonial policies. Also discusses trends in the development of Dutch interest and scholarship in the field of European expansion.

A survey which is naturally dominated by the Congo.

A very wide comparative study of long-term social and economic developments in Indonesia. Emphasis is placed on the tension between stagnation on the one hand and forces for change on the other.
C.R. EMERY AND J.A. KOSSMANN

G.D. Homan, 'The United States and the Indonesian Question, December 1941-December 1946', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, XCIII (1980) 35-60. Argues that during this period the United States supported a continuation of strong Dutch influence in Indonesia, as advantageous to all parties. However, changes in the relationship were inevitable and the United States altered its position in 1947.


H.L. Wesseling, 'Post-imperial Holland', *Journal of Contemporary History*, XV, i (1980) 125-42. Global survey of the most important effects of the liquidation of the Dutch empire. As well as attention for the more obvious aspects (e.g. no economic collapse of the Netherlands; large-scale immigration from the former colonies) there are also interesting observations on developments in Dutch society since 1945.

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