

Economics 301Y1

Economic History of Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 1250 - 1750

Topic No. 12: **The Rise of the Dutch Commercial Empire, ca. 1360 - ca. 1580**

Revised: 6 October 2006

Within each section, readings are listed in chronological order of original publication, when that can be ascertained, except for some collections of essays.

READINGS

A. General Studies:

- * 1. Violet Barbour, Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century (Baltimore, 1950)
- * 2. Jonathan I. Israel, Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585 - 1740 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). Chiefly after this period; but read the introductory chapters.
- 3. Jan Luiten Van Zanden, The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy: Merchant Capitalism and the Labour Market (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).
- 4. Edwin Horlings and Ronald van der Bie, 'Dutch Economic Development and International Trade: A Small Open Economy in an Ever Changing World', in Michael North, ed., Nordwesteuropa in der Weltwirtschaft, 1750 - 1950/ Northwestern Europe in the World Economy, 1750 - 1950, Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, vol. 54 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), pp. 129-61.
- ** 5. Jan de Vries and Ad Van der Woude, Nederland 1500 - 1815: De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei (Amsterdam: Balans, 1995); republished in English translation as The First Modern Economy: Growth, Decline, and Persistence of the Dutch Economy, 1500 - 1815 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See an important review article based on this magisterial work, in the original Dutch version.
- 6. Arthur Van Riel, 'Rethinking the Economic History of the Dutch Republic: The Rise and Decline of Economic Modernity Before the Advent of Industrialized Growth', Journal of Economic History, 56:1 (March 1996), 223-29.
- 7. Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen, eds., A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

8. Marjolein 't Hart, Joost Jonker, and Jan Luiten Van Zanden, eds., A Financial History of the Netherlands (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
9. Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
- * 10. Bas J. P. van Bavel and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'The Jump-Start of the Holland Economy during the Late-Medieval Crisis, c. 1350 - c. 1500', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 57:3 (August 2004), 503-32.
11. Jan Luiten van Zanden and Maarten Prak, 'Towards an Economic Interpretation of Citizenship: The Dutch Republic between Medieval Communes and Modern Nation-States', European Review of Economic History, 10: 2 (August 2006), 111-145.

B. Dutch Agriculture and Agrarian Society: the Foundations of Commercial Expansion

1. B.H. Slicher-Van Bath, 'Agriculture in the Low Countries', Relazioni de X congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, 4 (1955), 169-203.
- * 2. B.H. Slicher-Van Bath, 'The Rise of Intensive Husbandry in the Low Countries', in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossman, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, Vol. I (London, 1960), pp. 130-55.
- ** 3. Jan de Vries, The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700 (New Haven, 1974), Chapters 3, 4, 6, and 7, especially pp. 119-73 (in Chapter 4, 'Transformation of the Rural Economy').
4. Herman Van der Wee and Eddy Van Cauwenbergh, eds., Productivity of Land and Agricultural Innovation in the Low Countries (1250-1800), Leuven: University Press, 1978.
 - (a) Herman Van der Wee, 'The Agricultural Development of the Low Countries as Revealed by the Tithe and Rent Statistics, 1250-1800', pp. 1-24.
 - (b) Eddy Van Cauwenbergh and Herman Van der Wee, 'Productivity, Evolution of Rents, and Farm Size in the Southern Netherlands Agriculture from the 14th to the 17th Century', pp. 125-62.
5. David B. Grigg, Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective (Cambridge, 1980), chapter 12: 'Holland in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', pp. 147-62.
6. H. K. Roessingh, 'Tobacco Growing in Holland in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Innovative Spirit of Dutch Peasants', The Low Countries History Yearbook, 11 (1978), 18-54.

7. J. Bieleman, 'Rural Change in the Dutch Province of Drenthe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', The Agricultural History Review, 33 (1985), 105-17.
8. Leo Nordgraaf, ed., Agrarische geschiedenis van Nederland van prehistorie te heden (The Hague, 1986).
9. P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, Een middeleeuwse samenleving: het land van Heusden, ca. 1460 - ca. 1515 (Wageningen, 1992).
10. H.K.F. Van Nierop, The Nobility of Holland: From Knights to Regents, 1500 - 1650, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
11. Jan de Vries and Ad Van der Woude, Nederland 1500 - 1815: De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei (Amsterdam: Balans, 1995); republished in English translation as The First Modern Economy: Growth, Decline, and Perserverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500 - 1815 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See an important review article based on this magisterial work:
Arthur Van Riel, 'Rethinking the Economic History of the Dutch Republic: The Rise and Decline of Economic Modernity Before the Advent of Industrialized Growth', Journal of Economic History, 56:1 (March 1996), 223-29.
12. Arie Van Duersen, 'Autobiography in a Dutch Village', Journal of Early Modern History: Contacts, Comparisons, Contrasts, 1:2 (May 1997), 107-23.

C. The Herring Fisheries

- * 1. Richard Unger, 'The Netherlands Herring Fishery in the Late Middle Ages: The False Legend of Willem Beukelszoon of Biervliet', Viator, 9 (1978), 335-56; republished in Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
- 2. Richard Unger, 'Dutch Herring, Technology, and International Trade in the Seventeenth Century', Journal of Economic History, 40 (1980), 253-79; republished in Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
- 3. Johannes Lepiksaar, 'Fisheries, Marine', in Joseph R. Strayer, et al, eds., Dictionary of the Middle Ages, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons-MacMillan, 1982-89), Vol. V (1985), pp. 66-73.
- 4. Jan de Vries and Ad Van der Woude, Nederland 1500 - 1815: De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei (Amsterdam: Balans, 1995); republished in English translation as The First Modern Economy: Growth, Decline, and Perserverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500 - 1815 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press,

1997). See an important review article based on this magisterial work:

Arthur Van Riel, 'Rethinking the Economic History of the Dutch Republic: The Rise and Decline of Economic Modernity Before the Advent of Industrialized Growth', Journal of Economic History, 56:1 (March 1996), 223-29.

D. Shipping and Shipbuilding

- * 1. Violet Barbour, ‘Dutch and English Merchant Shipping in the Seventeenth Century’, Economic History Review, 1st Ser. 2 (1930); reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. I (London, 1954), pp. 227-53.
- 2. Ralph Davis, ‘Merchant Shipping in the Late Seventeenth Century’, Economic History Review, 2nd Ser. 9 (1956), 59-73.
- 3. Richard Unger, ‘Dutch Ship Carpenters’ Guilds, c.1400 to c.1600’, Mededelingen van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Zeegeschiedenis, 24 (1972), 5-11; republished in Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
- * 4. Richard Unger, ‘Dutch Ship Design in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, Viator, 4 (1973), 387-412.
- 5. Richard Unger, ‘Selling Dutch Ships in the Sixteenth Century’, Maritime History, 3 (1973), 125-46; republished in Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
- 6. Richard Unger, ‘Regulations of Dutch Shipcarpenters in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 87 (1974), 503-20.
- 7. Richard Unger, ‘Technology and Industrial Organization: Dutch Shipbuilding to 1800’, Business History, 17 (1975), 56-72.
- 8. Richard Unger, ‘Four Dordrecht Ships of the Sixteenth Century’, The Marriner’s Mirror, 61 (1975), 109-16; republished in Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
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- 11. Richard Unger, Dutch Shipbuilding Before 1800: Ships and Guilds (Van Gorcum, 1978).
- 12. Richard Unger, ‘Scheepvaart in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1490-1580’, J.A. Van Houtte, et al, eds., Nieuwe algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden, VII (Haarlem, 1979), 1-18; republished as ‘Shipping in the Northern Netherlands’ in Richard W. Unger,

[Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800](#), Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).

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- 14. Richard Unger, ‘Admiralties and Warships of Europe and the Mediterranean, 1000 - 1500’, in R. W. Love, ed., [Changing Interpretations and New Sources of Naval History](#) (New York: Garland, 1980), 34-44; republished in Richard W. Unger, [Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800](#), Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
- 15. Richard Unger, ‘Regulation and Organization of Seamen in the Netherlands and Germany Before the Industrial Revolution’, in [Seamen in Society: Proceedings of the International Commission of Maritime History, Perthes-en-Gâtinais](#) (Bucharest, 1980), 66-74; republished in Richard W. Unger, [Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800](#), Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
- 16. Richard Unger, ‘Warships and Cargo Ships in Medieval Europe’, [Technology and Culture](#), 22 (1981), 233-52; republished in Richard W. Unger, [Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800](#), Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
- 17. Richard Unger, ‘Dutch Shipbuilding and International Competition in the Golden Age’, [History Today](#), 31 (April 1981), 16-21.
- 18. Richard Unger, ‘Dutch Design Specialization and Building Methods in the Seventeenth Century’, in C.O. Cederlund, ed., [Post-medieval Boat and Ship Archaeology](#), British Archaeological Reports (Oxford, 1985), 153-64; republished in Richard W. Unger, [Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800](#), Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
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- 20. Richard Unger, ‘Portuguese Shipbuilding and the Early Voyages to the Guinea Coast’, in [Vice-Almirante A. Teixeira Da Mota In Memoriam](#), Vol. I (Lisbon: Academia de Marinha & Instituto de Investgaçao Cientifica Tropical, 1987), 229-49; republished in Richard W. Unger, [Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800](#), Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
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23. Richard Unger, 'The Tonnage of Europe's Merchant Fleets, 1300-1800', The American Neptune, 52:4 (1992), 247-61; republished in Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
24. Richard Unger, 'Northern Ships and the Late Medieval Economy: Columbus and the Medieval Maritime Tradition', The American Neptune, 53:4 (1993), 247-53; republished in Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
25. Richard Unger, 'The Fluit: Specialist Cargo Vessels, 1500 - 1650', in The Ship, Vol. III: Cogs, Caravels and Galleons (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1994), pp. 115-30.
26. Jan de Vries and Ad Van der Woude, Nederland 1500 - 1815: De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei (Amsterdam: Balans, 1995); republished in English translation as The First Modern Economy: Growth, Decline, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500 - 1815 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See an important review article based on this magisterial work:

Arthur Van Riel, 'Rethinking the Economic History of the Dutch Republic: The Rise and Decline of Economic Modernity Before the Advent of Industrialized Growth', Journal of Economic History, 56:1 (March 1996), 223-29.

E. Textiles, Brewing, Other Manufacturing Industries, and Labour

1. Nicolaas W. Posthumus, Geschiedenis van de leidsche lakenindustrie, 3 vols. (The Hague, 1908-39). The classic study.
2. Charles Wilson, 'Cloth Production and International Competition in the Seventeenth Century', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 13 (1960), 209-21, reprinted in his Economic History and the Historian: Collected Essays (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), pp. 94-113.

3. Kenneth Ponting, 'Sculptures and Paintings of the Textile Processes at Leiden', Textile History, 5 (1974), 128-51. Also contains some history of the Leiden cloth industry.
- * 4. T.S. Jansma, 'L'industrie lainière des Pays-Bas du Nord, et spécialement celle de Holland, XIVe-XVIIe siècles: production, organisation, exportation', in Marco Spallanzani, ed., Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni di lana (Florence, 1976), pp. 51-56.
5. Dick De Boer, Graaf en grafiek: sociale en economische ontwikkelingen in het middeleeuwse 'Noordholland' tussen 1345 en 1415 (Leiden, 1978).
6. H.P.H. Jansen, 'Holland's Advance', Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, 10 (1978), 1-19.
- * 7. Robert DuPlessis and Martha Howell, 'Reconsidering the Early Modern Urban Economy: The Cases of Leiden and Lille', Past and Present, no. 94 (Feb. 1982), 49-84.
8. Richard Unger, 'Energy Sources for the Dutch Golden Age: Peat, Wind, and Coal', Research in Economic History, 9 (1984), 221-53.
9. Martha Howell, Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities (Chicago, 1986). Several chapters on the Leiden textile industries.
10. Richard Unger, 'Brewing in the Netherlands and the Baltic Grain Trade', in W.G. Heeres, L.M. Hesp, L. Noordegraaf, and R.C. Van der Voort, eds., From Dunkirk to Danzig: Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350 - 1850: Essays in Honor of J.A. Faber on the Occasion of His Retirement as Professor of Economic and Social History at the University of Amsterdam (Hilversum, 1988), pp. 429-46.
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13. Richard Unger, 'Grain, Beer and Shipping in the North and Baltic Seas', in C. Villain-Gandossi, S. Busuttil and P. Adam, eds., Medieval Ships and the Birth of Technological Societies, Vol. I (Malta: Foundation for International Studies, 1989), 121-35; republished in Richard W. Unger, Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400 - 1800, Variorum Collected Series CS 601 (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997).
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- * 21. John Munro, 'Anglo-Flemish Competition in the International Cloth Trade, 1340 - 1520', in Jean-Marie Cauchies, ed., L'Angleterre et les pays bas bourguignonnes: relations et comparaisons, XVe - XVIe siècle [Rencontres d'Oxford (septembre 1994), annual issue of Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes, 35 (1995)], pp. 37-60.
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Arthur Van Riel, 'Rethinking the Economic History of the Dutch Republic: The Rise and Decline of Economic Modernity Before the Advent of Industrialized Growth', Journal of Economic History, 56:1 (March 1996), 223-29.
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- a) Patrick Chorley, 'The Evolution of the Woollen, 1300 - 1700', pp. 7-34
 - b) John Munro, 'The Origin of the English 'New Draperies': The Resurrection of an Old Flemish Industry, 1270 - 1570', pp. 35-127.
 - c) Robert S. Duplessis, 'One Theory, Two Draperies, Three Provinces, and a Multitude of Fabrics: the New Drapery of French Flanders, Hainaut, and the Tournaisis, c.1500 - c.1800', pp. 129-72.
 - d) Leo Noordegraaf, 'The New Draperies in the Northern Netherlands, 1500 - 1800', pp. 173-196.
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E. Dutch Commerce: with the Hanse, England, the Low Countries, and the Baltic, 14th to 16th Centuries

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- III, Chapters 1 - 2. Republished in translation as The German Hanse, trans. and ed. by D.S. Ault and S.H. Steinberg (London: Macmillan, 1970): chapters 4, 9, 10, 12-13.
11. Michael M. Postan, 'Economic Relations between Eastern and Western Europe', in Geoffrey Barraclough, Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle Ages (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), pp. 125-74, republished in Michael Postan, Medieval Trade and Finance (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 305-34.
12. John Munro, Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, c. 1340-1478 (Brussels and Toronto, 1973), pp. 1-9, 67-70, 114-23, 181-85.
- * 13. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the Atlantic Economies (London, 1973).
- (a) Chapter 2, 'Western Europe, 1460-1560', pp. 15-36.
 - (b) Chapter 11, 'Rise of the Dutch Commercial Empire', pp. 176-93.
14. Artur Attman, The Russian and Polish Markets in International Trade, 1500-1650 (Göteborg, 1973), pp. 119-88.
15. Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1974), Chapter 4, 'From Seville to Amsterdam', pp. 164-223 (esp. pp. 199-223).
- * 16. H.P.H. Jansen, 'Holland's Advance', Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, 10 (1978), 1-19.
17. Dick E.H. De Boer, Graaf en Grafiek: sociale en economische ontwikkelingen in het middeleeuwse 'Noordholland' tussen 1345 en 1415 (Leiden, 1978).
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- (a) Richard W. Unger, 'Integration of Baltic and Low Countries Grain

Markets', pp. 1-10.

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G. **Holland Under Habsburg Rule and The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1506 - 1609**

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QUESTIONS

1. What were the chief factors responsible for the rise of the Dutch towns to commercial power, from

the late 14th century to the Revolt of the Netherlands? Discuss in terms of the following:

- (a) Geographic location of Holland and Zeeland, resources, demography, agrarian and social structure.
 - (b) The herring fisheries.
 - (c) Commercial relations with the Hanseatic towns, Scandinavia, and the Baltic regions.
 - (d) Commercial relations with the adjacent Low Countries and England.
 - (e) Trade in textiles, fish, salt, lumber, grains, and beer.
2. What was the economic significance of the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1568 (or 1572) to the Truce of 1609 with Spain? In what respects did it contribute, directly or indirectly, to the achievement of Dutch commercial and financial hegemony in the 17th century?
 3. What was the significance of the Baltic Sea region (Scandinavia, East Germany, Poland, and Livonia and Russia) for Dutch commercial power? How were the Dutch able to wrest control of this region from both the Hanseatic League and the English?
 4. What factors account for Dutch supremacy in both shipbuilding and shipping in the 16th and 17th centuries? Why couldn't the English compete effectively until the 17th century?
 5. What was the importance of the textile industry in Holland from the late 14th to the mid -16th centuries?
 6. The Dutch urban mercantile economy: medieval or modern?